

## NDHLOVU KA TIMUNI

7.11.1902

File 70, pp. 32-4.

Also present: Mbulawa

- 32 Conversation with Ndhlovu ka Timuni ka Mudhli.<sup>1</sup> This man called on me today with another, being referred to me by my old friend Mkando. He is about 43-45 years of age, has a headring, and is a chief at Mapumulo. His tribe is the Zulu one and, Ndukwana says, belongs to the *left-hand (ikohlo)* side of the royal house of Zululand.<sup>2</sup>
- 33 Mbulawa was present during my three-quarter-of-an-hour chat, Ndukwana being obliged to remain at home as I am moving to another house (Norfolk Villas, Musgrave Road).

Ndhlovu gave in detail the history of Nandi becoming enceinte and re the birth of Tshaka. When it was found she was pregnant, she said she was suffering from *itshati* or *ikambi* (a particular ailment). Mudhli, Ndhlovu's grandfather, secreted her. In those days kings had no sons (all were killed off); consequently, when Nandi was found out to be pregnant, an *impi* was sent to kill her and the child, but warning being received beforehand, Nandi and her child escaped. It was not commonly known the child had been born. The child itself was handed over to its grandmother to bring up so as to allow Nandi's breasts to 'dry' as soon as possible.

After a while Tshaka went to Dingiswayo.<sup>3</sup> He remained there more or less incognito. Senzangakona went to Dingiswayo's on the pretext of *courting girls*, but really to find out where Tshaka was. Ndhlovu described how Tshaka was *doctored* by Dingiswayo; how he (Dingiswayo) 'doctored' his assegai; how, when Senzangakona had taken his seat in a hut, a number of men came in, followed by young Tshaka who, by pre-arrangement with Dingiswayo, deliberately stood over his father, casting his shadow over him and completely covering him with it; how Senzangakona began to tremble, feeling that the man who did this was his son; how he departed, became ill and died after four of his greater men had come by their deaths at Tshaka's hands. It was Mudhli who brought word to Dingiswayo that Senzangakona, coming to *court the girls*, came really to find Tshaka out. [But see pp. 35-41.]<sup>4</sup>

Ndhlovu referred to Mpande having taken Monase to wife on behalf of Tshaka, who had had no children. By Monase Mpande bore Mbuyazi and Mkungo, whilst Mtonga was said to be a mat-bearer (*udibi*).<sup>5</sup>

Ndukwana later on explained to me that Mbuyazi was Mpande's rightful successor, and that Mpande loved Mbuyazi deeply and hated

Cetshwayo. The latter, Mpande said, was his heir whilst he was an *umuntu*, i.e. a commoner, whilst Mbuyazi was the proper heir as he was Tshaka's heir, the man who knit the country together. Mbuyazi was very tall, Ndukwana thinks 6 foot 4 inches or 6 foot 5 inches or more! When the Ndongakusuka battle took place he belonged to the Tulwana regiment and had not *put on the headring*.<sup>6</sup> He had a large *mass of hair (isihlutu)*, and was known as '*the elephant with the isihlonti*', i.e. hair (wool) low down on the back. His eye lids etc. were very meaty, fleshy - of a lightish-coloured skin.

34 Ndhlovu said Dingana was not killed by Swazis but his own troops.<sup>7</sup> The troops were afraid of saying they had done so for fear lest they would be blamed, as Mhlangana was in regard to Tshaka's death.<sup>8</sup>

Ndhlovu gave as an instance of the Zulus coming from the north: '*He looked at the dog's isigonogono, which had sticks thrust up its anus like the amaNtungwa up above*'.<sup>9</sup> The words of the common saying [underlined] tend to show the Zulus came from the north. [Not correct: vide p. 35.]<sup>10</sup>

Timuni belonged to the Ndabenkulu section of the iziMpohlo regiment. Ndhlovu often asked his father to tell him stories of the past.

Ndukwana, this afternoon, gave a long account of Mpande's relations (with) Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi. The latter had been practically nominated king. He *took medicine from the potsherd* immediately after the king, received the *shield made from the side of the hide with the wound in it*, whilst Cetshwayo got the other, etc. It seems Mbuyazi was given what is now Eshowe and Mlalazi districts to occupy. Mapita and Mnyamana supported Cetshwayo, and when Mbuyazi went to build, as told by Mpande he might do, Mapita advised immediate attack.<sup>11</sup> Mpande sent Ntshingwayo ka Marole to tell Mbuyazi to take refuge in Natal.<sup>12</sup> M. might have done this, and would probably have done so, but for the influence of Mantantashiya.<sup>13</sup> Tshonkweni resisted Mantantashiya but the latter's counsel prevailed.<sup>14</sup> Had he desired to escape Mbuyazi might have done so by the lower Tugela drift, but Mantantashiya called him a cur to leave, seeing only the Usutu people would fight, whereas, as it turned out, the whole Zulu people took up arms against the iziGqoza.<sup>15</sup> Mantantashiya was killed. Ntshingwayo was intercepted before he could deliver Mpande's message.

Mpande also *fathered children for* Dingana and Nzibe.<sup>16</sup> Tshonkweni became the heir of the former.

There was an *iLala innyanga with strange powers (imilingo)* called Nembe [Manembe?] attached to Mpande's court who played a part in these stirring times.<sup>17</sup>

It is not unusual in Zululand for a younger brother to take a wife and declare the son by her to be the heir of his elder brother who died without issue, but such practice often gave rise to serious quarrels.

8.11.1902, Saturday.

File 70, pp. 34-5.

Also present: Bunu? Others?

Note. Ndhlovu ka Timuni arrives with Bunu and two or three other

35 followers, and stays the night. I had a lengthy conversation with him this afternoon, about 3½ hrs. He says his father Timuni laid stress on the following doggerel as showing the source of the Zulu people: '*He looked at the dog's isigonogono, which had a stick of the amaNtungwa thrust into it; look up (pezulu).*'<sup>18</sup> The word *pezulu* was taken by Timuni to be the name of the ancient ancestor of the Zulu people, *Pezulu* being the father of *Lubololwenja*. (The name might be *Bekapezulu*.) [This, however, seems doubtful to me, for *Lubololwenja* is an *isibongo* and not a proper name and, out of respect, the Zulus are known as '*Those of the good isibongo*' ('*a ba kwa sibong' esihle*'). But for the stress laid on the above words in Zulu by *Ndhlovu*, I would not have gone into the matter.]

*Mudhli*, *Ndhlovu's* grandfather, was the son of *Nkwelo*, who was a son of *Ndaba*, the Zulu king or chief. *Senzangakona* was son of *Jama ka Ndaba*, and so *Ndhlovu* comes to be a near relation of the royal house. [I find his sympathies are on the side of *Mkungo*.]<sup>19</sup> *Ndhlovu's* son is named *Zibebu*.<sup>20</sup> The kinglet *Zulu* was son of *Ntombela* or *Malandela*, and *Qwabe* was his brother.<sup>21</sup>

*Ndhlovu* suggests the following men as likely to be of assistance to me: *Maqoqwana ka Mbesa*, *Jantshi ka Nongila* (a spy of *Senzangakona*), *Mruyi* (*Ndhlovu's* brother), *Mtshololo* (sickly) and *Jiyana of the Nzusa people*, also *Matshwili ka Mgoye ka Dingiswayo*.<sup>22</sup>

9.11.1902 - <evidence given 8.11.1902?>

File 70, p. 35.

Also present: *Bunu*? Others?

35 *Sotobe*, who crossed the sea to see the white people by direction of *Tshaka*, was the son of *Pangalala*.<sup>23</sup>

A man able to speak in assembly and suggest solutions to difficult issues was the late *Ncapayi*, living near *Verulam*. *Ndhlovu* considers the man's ability in that respect was conspicuous.

8.11.1902, Saturday.

File 71, pp. 76-7.

Also present: *Ndukwana*, two others

76 Conversation with *Ndhlovu ka Timuni of the Zulu people*.

Part of our conversations today and yesterday have been recorded in my notebook marked 'History of Zululand etc.' under yesterday and today's date. *Ndukwana* was present when I had a three-and-a-half-hour chat on the native question in its general aspect. There were also two other natives, accompanying *Ndhlovu*. *Ndhlovu* is a bright young man of about 45, medium height, light-coloured, talkative, agreeable, intelligent, with a keen interest in larger questions. Is a chief in *Mapumulo* division. He frequently conversed with his father *Timuni* as to the far-off past. *Timuni* said that before he expired, *Tshaka* uttered words to the effect that 'even though he had been treated in that way (killed), he was glad they would meet his friends the white men: the country would now be bright with the light of the stars and swallows would fly about.' What *Tshaka* said has come true.

Ndhlovu says everyone would hail with delight the holding of native public meetings in Pietermaritzburg from time to time. That is what is truly needed. He was of the opinion that the last generation had failed in not educating native children. He considers that *kolwas* and others are corrupted by new-comers from England and elsewhere who know nothing of the native. It is not mere education that alienates young men etc. But he was prepared to retract these words when I advocated the governing in accordance with old laws and customs. He approves the policy of 'repression'.

I told him of the comparatively recent possibility of crossing large seas, of the Spaniards coming in conflict with the Incas in Peru, of the comparatively recent period within which the European has come into contact with coloured and other races, etc.

He says people feel the laws as a great burden, and are unable to find the means of meeting the various calls on them by the government etc. They do not understand our laws - taxes reasonable and may reasonably be exacted. They cannot think where our king is, seeing he does not use his influence and ameliorate their condition.

He went to Tongaland (Ngwanaza's eNgonyameni kraal) about 15 to 18 years ago to buy *genet skins*.<sup>24</sup>

77 I read over the *praises* I have of Zwide, Senzangakona, Tshaka, Dingana, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Mapita, Mzilikazi and Dingiswayo,<sup>25</sup> and read them my lists of kings and regiments, all of which surprised and pleased them. My Dingana's *praises* (taken from Colenso's grammar - First Steps in Zulu) are mixed up with Mpande's.

He generally approves Sir T. Shepstone's policy.<sup>26</sup> Timuni considered Sir T.S. had on the whole deceived the people, for he told them it would all come right and the times would come when they would laugh.

9.11.1902

File 70, pp. 35-42.

Also present: Bunu, Ndukwana, another

35 I had further conversations today (9.11.02), Ndhlovu, Bunu and another (*an old man*), also Ndukwana, present. Here follows the story about Tshaka's birth etc. told by Ndhlovu.

36 When Senzangakona was a boy he was in the habit of herding cattle with other boys, and to do so properly *rough shelters* (*amadhlangala*) were erected for his temporary use. These rough shelters were a short distance from his home. In the neighbourhood of the Zulu tribe was the Langeni one, of which a girl named Nandi was a member. She was the daughter of Mbenge. It may here be stated that, a generation or so before, a girl had left the Mtetwa tribe to marry a man in the Qwabe one. A daughter of this pair went and married Mbenge of the Langeni tribe. Nandi, the subject of our story, was the daughter born of this union. Having an inclination to see and to marry Senzangakona, king of the Zulu people, Nandi, who not only had the approval, but active assistance of her relatives, arranged to go out from time to time to a particular spot behind some bushes where, unseen, she,

with her companions, could watch the royal youth Senzangakona. Accompanied by men and girls she proceeded on several occasions to this spot, which was close to Senzangakona's *shelters*, and beheld the object of her choice at a distance, being afraid from maiden modesty of making any nearer approach. Her male relatives too felt unable to convey her into the young man's immediate view.

To this spot those frequenting it carried beer and meat. After a little time one of the boys herding with Senzangakona discovered the spot in question. A short examination confirmed him in the belief that some persons made a habit of visiting it. There were, for instance, bones about, the grass had been worn away, and the place smelt of scent (*umutwa* or *amaka*). Surprized at what he had seen, the discoverer reported the fact to Senzangakona, when it was decided to watch and see what people went there. Once more the little party came and took up its position. Several of Senzangakona's young men went to find out who they were. They greeted the strangers and, on inquiring their business, were told that Nandi had come to see Senzangakona because she liked him. 'But do you know him?' they asked. 'Yes,' she replied. Reporting to Senzangakona what had transpired, the latter proceeded to the spot and met Nandi who, by this time, had been deserted by her men companions. A conversation took place and an acquaintance sprang up.

On subsequent occasions, as often as Senzangakona came to herd cattle, Nandi would come, bringing beer with her for him to drink in his *shelter*. And so a very close relationship came about between them. The result of this intimacy was that Nandi was found to be pregnant, for she no longer *menstruated*. At first she tried to deceive her relations by saying she had an ailment known as *itshati* (*ikambi*) which caused her to *have diarrhoea*. Such excuse was, for a while, accepted as a rational one. On the girl's mothers, however, perceiving that two and three months went by and the girl's breasts had swollen, the true cause of her illness was no longer a matter of conjecture and Nandi's theory fell to the ground. 'And who caused this?' they asked. 'Senzangakona,' the girl replied. This affair now came to the notice of Mudhli of the Zulu tribe, who gave strict instructions that the child, when born, should be carefully concealed. Care was to be taken that it was suckled by its grandmother, for it was inexpedient for Nandi to do so as her breasts would develop to too noticeable a size. Mudhli, close relation of Senzangakona as he was, warned Nandi's parents of the fact that Zulu kings never allowed themselves to have children, and therefore Senzangakona, as soon as he heard Nandi had a child, would be bent on putting it to death. Nandi's pregnancy was reported to Senzangakona, when he admitted he was fond of the girl. He made this admission when the *eLangeni* people came to him. It seems Mudhli directed these people thus: 'Take care of that for us and cause her to bring out that "illness" of hers.' Nandi's people acted accordingly.

In course of time the child was born. It turned out to be a boy. By degrees, unbeknown to its father, it grew under the secret circumstances prescribed by Mudhli. Its grandmother *made* string and took a measure of its waist, and by that means was able to judge how it compared with other children. When the child had grown a little, Mudhli expressed a desire to see it and it was accordingly taken to his kraal and there hidden under some mats in the hut. An intimation now reached

Senzangakona, by this time king, to the effect not only that he had had a child by Nandi but that this very child was being harboured at Mudhli's kraal. So astounding was this that the king instantly dispatched a body of men to put to death not only the child but Mudhli and his kraal (*umuzi*) as well. But Mudhli, as the *impi* set forth to kill him, had also heard of his danger, and, causing the child to be taken back to the eLangeni, left at once. On getting to the kraal the *impi* found Mudhli absent but killed the inmates thereof.

It is reported that one of the girls of the place, seeing one of her mothers slain, boldly asked the intruders what they wanted and by what right they acted as they did, destroying a king's kraal for no reason. They told her. She thereupon challenged them to produce the child. Impressed by her censure, they hurried into the huts and there, in one of them, they saw mats set up, etc., under which but very shortly before the child had really lain. Quickly they pulled the mats away, to find nothing there. 'Is this the way the king's people are treated, put to death without a reason? Where is your child? Find him.' Hearing what had occurred and feeling as if a gross mistake had been made, he ordered his men forth once more to destroy the kraal from which the false rumour had emanated, which was done.

38 Whilst all this was taking place, Tshaka, for that was the child's name, was conveyed back to where his mother lived and from there taken to Mbikwana ka Mbenge's kraal. Here, safe from his father, he continued to live and grow. Time passed. Years went by. Then another rumour sprang up to the effect that things were not quite as they should be. Senzangakona scented the rumour. Feeling that after all there might be something in the original assertion that he had a child, he determined on a more diplomatic if less summarily drastic measure. It was as Nandi's lover that he would now approach the place where she and her alleged child lived. And so, pretending he wished to make her his wife, he caused a number of cattle to be conveyed to her parents as *lobola* for her, knowing that as his alleged son, presumably about 15 or 16 years of age, would be herding cattle an excellent opportunity arose for those who accompanied the cattle to see and even recognize him.

But the boy's relations were not going to allow themselves to be outwitted in this fashion. His grandmother instructed Mbikwana to the effect that he was at once to go out to the boys herding and fetch Tshaka away, but he was to call him away in a particular manner. When the cattle came homewards they were to come at a run in order that a dense cloud of dust should rise and, under cover of such a dust, Mbikwana was to decoy the boy away. The plan proved completely successful, and Mbikwana conducted the boy to his grandmother, killed a beast for him, and then took him off, away to the Qwabe tribe. Tshaka, however, refused to go back to the Qwabe tribe because, as he stated, when he had gone there on a visit they had poured or placed *curds* in his hands which, because he could not finish quickly, remained until they got warm; moreover they were the people who had broken his clay bulls. There being no time to lose, secrecy being all important if the lad's life was to be saved, Mbikwana decided to take him to Dingiswayo's Mtetwa tribe, the tribe, it will be remembered, where his grandmother had come from. No sooner did Dingiswayo receive him than he placed him with an *induna* of his, Mqomboli by name. [I thought Ndhlovu said Mqombolo, but Ndukwana says not.]

At Dingiswayo's, Tshaka, still unknown to his anxious father, served in the army. He became distinguished as a warrior, was a *noted warrior (iqawe)*.

39 A few more years elapsed. Tshaka grew into manhood - he became about the age members of the Nokenke regiment now are, say 54. [I cannot agree with this estimate but Ndukwana is inclined to agree with it.] Anyhow, Senzangakona was once more worried by hearing a rumour to the effect that his supposed son was hiding among Dingiswayo's tribe. He resolved himself to go down and see if he could not find him. Such search had, of course, to be disguised, and so he said he was going down to *court* the girls, no doubt with the view to getting a wife. Hearing of the intended visit, Mudhli dispatched a messenger to Dingiswayo, warning him. Senzangakona, on arrival, was treated with great respect. Mats were laid on the ground many yards from the door of the *hut (ilawu)* he was to occupy. In the meantime Dingiswayo had apprised Tshaka of his father's coming. Unseen, Tshaka himself looked on his father. Dingiswayo gave Senzangakona quantities of meat and beer, and treated him with every mark of civility. He directed that Tshaka, with others, should go very early to the pond where people usually washed and wash himself, it being his intention afterwards to conduct Senzangakona there for a similar purpose. The intention was that Senzangakona should wash in water already soiled or dirtied by Tshaka's having washed in it.

Tshaka followed his guardian's instructions, and Senzangakona himself, with all his followers, except two who were left behind to mind the *hut*, went to the river to wash. Dingiswayo, who remained at home, then sent for the two men left in charge, caused them to be taken into a hut, and there supplied both with meat and beer in large and inviting quantities. The men, however, at first demurred, but, on two others in the employ of Dingiswayo (being his men) saying they would remain in charge, eventually consented to go. Whilst the two men were engaged eating and drinking, Dingiswayo and Tshaka entered the *hut*. Dingiswayo took a mat, a *sitting-mat* belonging to Senzangakona - that on which that king himself sat - and made Tshaka stand on it. He, moreover, drew an assegai from the bundle belonging to Senzangakona and gave it to Tshaka, who held it, while standing, in both hands as Dingiswayo applied various drugs not only over Tshaka but the mat and assegai as well, the intention being to enchant or bewitch the king, cause him to become sick and die, when Tshaka would succeed him. This done, the two left the hut, Tshaka, of course, taking the assegai with him.

40 Next day Dingiswayo caused a lot of girls to be brought into Senzangakona's hut, and himself went in to converse with him. Senzangakona whiled away the time pleasantly enough, then, in pursuance of a preconceived plan, Dingiswayo ordered the girls to leave, as he wished Senzangakona to see what he called his *great warriors*. It might be observed here that Tshaka's identity was practically unknown at Oyengweni (Dingiswayo's kraal). Dingiswayo, Mqomboli and Mudhli (with some others living at a distance) were the only ones who knew his exact whereabouts. Whilst sitting on the *takata'd* mat, the young men passed in one by one, Dingiswayo, as they did so, singing their praises by way of introducing each individual to his distinguished visitor. It was so arranged that Tshaka should be the last to come in, and as it had been arranged so it was done - and in this way.

By the time Tshaka had to come in, that side of the hut on which Dingiswayo sat - he sat in a particular position - was chock-a-block with men whose bodies were in contact with one another's. With large curling horns poised on either side of his neck, dressed from top to bottom in -- <sic>, Tshaka entered. Finding that side of the hut on which, according to custom, he ought to sit, full of men, he stood still a moment, immediately opposite his father so that his (Tshaka's) shadow completely covered him, and, glancing at him but once face to face, proceeded to a short distance and there sat down, not on the ground but raised up. No sooner did the shadow fall on the king, their eyes meet, and Dingiswayo ask if Senzangakona knew who that was, than great trembling came over the latter. Report says he gave no reply to the interrogation. The drugs had evidently done their fatal work. Senzangakona got ill and decided to return home on the following day. He was accompanied by several of Dingiswayo's followers, who brought back news that it was very doubtful if the king would recover of his illness, seeing it was already of a serious character.

Mudhli then sent to ask Dingiswayo when he was going to instate Tshaka as king, begging him not to attempt to do so then, seeing the part Mudhli had taken in bringing up Senzangakona. He was afraid lest Senzangakona would kill him. Dingiswayo however advised Mudhli should be put to death. As Tshaka proceeded on the way to his father's kraal to assume the government, he killed all at once four prominent men, their names being as follows: Mudhli himself, Zivalele ka Jama [Ntombela], Sojisa ka Jama, and Nobongoza ka Jama. Zivalele is father of Mkanyile. [Ndhlovu and Ndukwana say Mkanyeli, but Jantshi adheres to Mkanyile.]<sup>27</sup> Mudhli is Ndhlovu's [my informant's] grandfather. [I will give Ndhlovu's son (whom I saw today) and so on backwards: Zibebu, Ndhlovu, Timuni, Mudhli, Nkwelo, Ndaba and so on, Ndaba being a king of the Zulu tribe.] No sooner did Tshaka arrive than his coming was reported to Senzangakona, when the man so long in search of his son came by his death from fear because Tshaka had come to see him.

41

Just after this incident Zwide attacked Dingiswayo; then disturbance broke out in every direction. Men were sent one way, only to be sent another after returning from a bloody and successful mission. Presently the whole country was upside down, and it continued so until subdued by Tshaka's energetic action.

As showing his personal strength, people say that once, at Dingiswayo's, a number of young men were determined on leaving the *cattle enclosure*. Tshaka did not wish them to leave, so he took up a stand at the gate and, holding on either side, successfully resisted alone the united strength of the men demanding exit, and as the last passed out he remained standing as before, clutching still to either side.

Then again he is reported, also at Dingiswayo's, to have got hold of a man, shield in hand, by the arm and, by an effort of strength, lifted and hurled him to one side, the shield flying into the air.

[Here ends the account I got from Ndhlovu of Tshaka's early days.]

Bunu, a young man (*insizwa*) who is present with Ndhlovu and another elderly man, gives the following. Jobe, the father of Dingiswayo, was the son of Kali, and Kali was the son of Madango. [This goes beyond both Fynn and Sir T. Shepstone.]<sup>28</sup>



<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 10, pp. 19-20 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

Ndukwana, after Ndhlovu had left, criticized his account of Tshaka thus.

Senzangakona went to Dingiswayo on a friendly visit, not to *court the girls*. Seeing Senzangakona admitted the girl was pregnant by him, why this mystery about concealing the child? If kings might not have children, the question about Nandi or her child being killed, or both, would be expected to arise when the matter was first mentioned to Senzangakona and he admitted the *responsibility* was his. Still, S., when Nandi became pregnant, was not king and would not therefore have been so strict.

It is news to Ndukwana that Nandi *bore the child outside marriage (esihlahleni)* and did not *marry* S. Common report on that point is that Tshaka went to live at Senzangakona's, who quarrelled with him, as he was *badly disposed (itshinga)* and wanted to kill him. He then fled to Dingiswayo.

The word *itshati* is unknown to Ndukwana - probably *ukuhlonipa*.

The *impi* that went in search of the child probably attacked  
42 Siklebeni kraal, a kraal which, as Ndukwana believes, *went out (puma'd)* with Tshaka. Ndukwana got his information from a fairly old man (say 72 now) of the Zulu tribe.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

The strings *made* from time to time must have been intended for Senzangakona. Who else were they for? And if for him, then the incident shows he took an interest in the child and did not at that time desire to kill it.

Tshaka was of the iWombe regiment (one of Senzangakona's). How could he have become that if he had never been *buta'd* by Senzangakona and lived with him?

Mqomboli was the father of Ngomane who again was the father of Magidi, a chief in the Lower Tugela division.<sup>29</sup>

Ensindeni is the name of a royal kraal (small) where those who got the *gourd* put up.<sup>30</sup>

[Ndhlovu's account of Tshaka, which he says he got from his father, is at variance with Fynn's, Isaacs' and Shepstone's in *Bird's Annals of Natal*, also with other native versions, e.g. Ndukwana's and Mkando's. It has to be remembered that Ndhlovu takes a deep interest in these matters, and that he heard them from his father who, although he left Zululand in Dingana's reign, was nevertheless many years in the country, his father Mudhli being the very person referred to in the narrative. The story was told straight off without hesitation, though probably a little fiction was brought in here and there.]

[Note. Ndhlovu left with his followers about 1.45 p.m., 9.11.1902. He will send Jantshi, a good *imbongi*. See notebook of general opinions etc. on native affairs for other subjects of conversation with Ndhlovu yesterday and today.]

9.11.1902, Sunday.

File 71, pp. 77-9.

Also present: Bunu, Ndukwana, others

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 10, pp. 14-16 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

77 Further conversation today: Ndhlovu, with Bunu and others, his followers, present, also Ndukwana.

Ndhlovu started by saying he had considered my remark of yesterday about the natives being allowed to have their own parliament and be permitted to manage themselves according to their own laws and customs. He said the present state of affairs has turned them into mice. If such a policy of allowing them to manage their own affairs were conceded, the people would be able to bear any burden, however great it might be, seeing that they would then have a full knowledge of what they were doing. Things have greatly altered from what they used to be. Take as an illustration the turning out to work on the road parties. In former days boys used to look forward to such work, wondering when their turn would come. As soon as there was a demand for such labour, boys would be found on the look-out, but nowadays boys detest the work and do everything to escape it, run away to towns etc. Formerly men of note were known by the European authorities, and treated accordingly; now everyone is on a par with others and all are nobodies. Men should not continue to be *izigubu* (dummies), and not be allowed to *state their views (pendula)*. Natives have become *izamuku* (mutes); we cannot make ourselves heard. When cases are tried natives do not understand our procedure. The magistrate says, 'Have you anything to say? Do you wish to give your evidence on oath or to make a statement etc.?' But the man addressed is puzzled and does not know what to say, whereas if native custom had been followed he would have been able to present a better defence.

Timuni left Zululand in Dingana's time with his elder brother Sigwebana because they were to be killed. Although practically independent in Natal, Timuni was afraid of holding the *umkosi* as this would create the impression he was a king, when the Zulu people would attack him.

78 *Umteto u isiqwaga*, i.e. the law is a tyrant (no respecter of persons). A law is passed by the European and it is forcibly applied straightaway. There ought to be councils among the natives, for no man can *make laws* alone. Sir T. Shepstone deceived the people by appointing many chiefs in the country who are known as *amakosi*. This is a false form of government. The land can only be ruled by *the word of one man (igamu li be linye)*. At present there is conflict and disagreement in every direction. Even though Ndhlovu might approach another chief and invite discussion on common affairs, the other will find some pretext for refusing, preferring to go along his own line, leaving it to the magistrate to decide what is to be, and considering as sufficient the talk with the magistrate, without previously conferring with fellow chiefs. N. himself tried, when the late Native Suitors' Commission (Samuelson, Chadwick and Allison) met at Stanger, to get others to agree as to what they should say to the commission, but the others resisted.<sup>31</sup> As a matter of fact

the chiefs were called in separately and so must have expressed divergent views.

Everyone likes to feel he has a *chief*; we have none. We are *simply dhlíbikéle* (disintegrated) on account of our having so many chiefs. Were there fewer we would not *lose direction* (*pambuka*) as we do. *Happy is the man who knows his chief*, for then he would *guide himself by the law of the chief*. We do not understand and cannot appreciate white men's laws. They may not in themselves be bad for us, but we do not understand and cannot assimilate them. Ndhlovu often argues with others as to whether Europeans call children or not into towns to work. N. considers they are not called. '*Has this ever actually happened?* You charge them falsely; you foolishly attribute to them what as matter of fact they do not do. Quote a case of anyone they have taken from his or her parents.' They pay wages all-right. The fact of the matter is that children *leave home of their own accord*; they *like the food, and are lured by the attractions*; no one actually beckoned or called him or her. After getting their pay, children will spend it on drink and clothes in order themselves to become white men.

79

Ndhlovu now quotes a rather remarkable illustration of what he calls *ukweduka* (going astray). A number of years ago Maxwell took some 176 or 186 natives to Kimberley to work on the diamond fields (Du Toits Pan).<sup>32</sup> Ndhlovu was one of this number. Some did not reach their destination through sickness. Ndhlovu thought the body would hold fast to one another. Not so, for when they got to Kimberley, a large percentage took to liquor - easily procurable. Ndhlovu remonstrated - '*Are you living on water, then?*' - but they persisted. He was there 12 months and then came home, but only with four! Liquor played havoc among them. Then the Basutos made a dead set at them at the mines, for Ndhlovu's gang were police set over the Basutos. The Basutos one night caught one of the police, cut off his lips (showing all his teeth), slit both ears, cut him on the right side of the forehead etc., and let him go. There were indeed many strange practices at Kimberley. Some of the police even cut off their *headrings*, whilst others tied them up with string to their overgrown hair. In other ways too did the Basutos injure the police, smashing their teeth in with a *grindstone*, etc. At the end of all these experiences those who returned came back with little or no money.

What is necessary is to teach the boys wisdom (*ukuqonda*) and cause the land to *tomba*, i.e. arrive at years of discretion. We have *qoqa'd ukulahleka*, i.e. sought out all those things which disintegrate, and made them the instrument for governing. Peoples (*izinhlobo*) formerly *unimportant* (*citshile*) have now come into view.

The remedy is this, according to Ndhlovu, to *gather everyone in one place*, i.e. under the former laws and customs, and enforce education, compel everyone to learn to read and write. If this were done the *land would mature*, i.e. be in a position to work out its own salvation.

By creating a national native parliament there would be no chance of natives becoming hostile from a consciousness of their strength.

10.11.1902 - &lt;evidence given 9.11.1902&gt;

File 71, pp. 79-81.

Also present: Bunu, Ndukwana, others

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes: these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 10, pp. 16-18 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

On the occasion of Sir T. Shepstone going to eNcome, Msutshwana ka Mfusi of Undi *voiced his objections*; he said the circumstances did not warrant war.<sup>33</sup> If Mehlokazulu went into Natal and killed girls and relations there, that should not be permitted to be a casus belli.<sup>34</sup> When in Zululand on previous occasions the same people (Sirayo's) had killed their mothers, where were they going? Mehlokazulu killed people in another country, therefore they must be given up in accordance with the demand. Not many years before, a number of Cetshwayo's forces had fought against the Boers at Maqongqo, and met with success.<sup>35</sup> They felt confident they could do the same against the English. In those days too it was regarded as doing wrong to reply to the king when he had expressed his opinion. Cetshwayo took his advice from hot-headed young men, as he did when he *wanted to give tribute in oxen*, for the *young men objected*.<sup>36</sup> Cetshwayo agreed with mere boys. Just about the outbreak of the war the bearing of the youth towards their elders was extremely impudent. When, for instance, a man's wife had come to the royal kraal, the young men, wanting no doubt to get back again into the hut she occupied, would say, 'Do quickly what you want to do to her. *Hurry up and fuck (zeka) her.*' In this way youths had come to *defy the nation (delel' izwe)*.

Ndhlovu's suggestion at a solution of the native question is that *reading and writing (incwadi)* should be *spread across the whole land*, that *ukugiya* etc., etc., should be brought to an end. The country should, however, be put in a fit state to receive such wholesale instruction. Natives should be permitted to govern according to their own laws and customs, and when they had been given control over their own affairs, to *spread learning*. *Disorder (ubuyaluyalu)* would then *cease*. Having learnt to read, children would, by reading *the izibongo* and the back history of their people, come to know something of their traditions and achievements. Ndhlovu says it is very noticeable how obedient and respectful children are to their parents among Europeans; native children are not thus. Europeans are not in trouble with regard to their young.

The white man (Englishman) entered the country very quietly and unostentatiously; now, however, having got a firm foothold, they are *immoveable (qiyeme)*.

As regards prostitutes, they are a *disgrace to the land (dumaz' izwe)*. In towns, *sex (isibunu)* is *easily obtained*, i.e. is plentiful, and boys in consequence no longer care for purer girls in the country. They can obtain all the sexual intercourse they want by paying money for it. *Ibumba means gonorrhoea (isimpantsholo)*.

Girls should be beaten and sent back; they would then inform others what had happened to them and cause these to fear.

Very little drastic action would be sufficient to frighten native



1.1.1903

File 60, nbk. 11, pp. 1-4.

Also present: Ndukwana, Luboza

1 Ndhlovu (chief).

[Did not Senzangakona go to Dingiswayo on friendly visit, and not to *court the girls?*]

Jiyana.<sup>39</sup> Thought he would die in Zululand. No heart to speak - good position formerly.

C.'s *impi* was *defeated* by Mbuyazi's but Zulu assisted and so defeated Mbuyazi.<sup>40</sup>

*Isomo samakosi.*<sup>41</sup>

Mhlangana *quarrelled* with Dingana.<sup>42</sup>

*At the inkoto - the inkoto of the kings.*<sup>43</sup>

*He eats sweet potato (ubatata) - no heart for anything - now a dog - eat sweet potato.*

Lubololwenja (Lokoza) - Ndhlovu does not know Lubololwenja as grandfather.<sup>44</sup>

We are *amaNtungwa* - 'It was thrust through with a stick of the *amaNtungwa*; look up'.<sup>45</sup>

2 *Tshukuza on account of Manzolwandhle, the eldest son of Cetshwayo - does not rule - rules if no king. He, Manzolwandhle, is their 'father'.*<sup>46</sup>

Mantenesa, Mahanana - *Luboza was a bearer there - Luboza ka Nombanda.*<sup>47</sup>

*Inkata grass was gathered from all the paths of the nations - go for a year with people and cattle - plucked when going out to urinate - it would be a load. It would be plaited and have medicines mixed with it - become the seat of the king - always sit on it - wash on top, washing with medicines - to gain ascendancy (tonya) over kings so that impi will catch him and defeat. Placed above pots -*

3 *face of lions - fat of pythons - stick across in centre - carried by the sticks - about 12 inches in diameter.*<sup>48</sup>

Luboza saw Mbuyazi's *inkata*. Mbuyazi's *assegais* with Mkungu - broom, *inkata*, *assegais*, *stick of horn (knobbed stick)*. Still existing.<sup>49</sup> A wagon took the things to Ndhlovu who is to give them to Mkungu.<sup>50</sup>

*We do not know the gate of your place. Our gate is to go and konza. We should show the gate. We cannot open a gate.*<sup>51</sup>

Heifer. Nojikijelwa caused it to give milk.

Nzuza (aba kwa) - Luboza's *isibongo*. Mpunga regiment - Mxapo regiment.<sup>52</sup>

*Firesticks - different kinds - ipahla, mtombe, isisanto, mqaqongo (pehlaqwati), iboza, hwehlwe (the firestick of the king), uhlungu-hlungu.*<sup>53</sup>

4 *Emapasolo - name of kraal behind the Nodwengu kraal (Mpande).*<sup>54</sup>

2.1.1903 - &lt;evidence given 1.1.1903&gt;.

File 71, pp. 81-2.

2 Norfolk Villas.

Also present: Ndukwana, Luboza

81 Further conversation with Ndhlovu ka Timuni.

I yesterday had a further chat with Ndhlovu, who has come to Durban on a visit. Ndukwana and Luboza present, Luboza being a son of Nombanda - he has come along with Ndhlovu to Durban and belongs to the Mxapo regiment.

(Ndhlovu) says that Mtonga once sent him Mbuyazi's things to look after, his *inkata* (for he had one), assegais, broom, a stick of horn (i.e. a stick made of rhinoceros - this stick was a knobbed one). Ndhlovu was directed himself to take care of these things and to hand them over to Mkungo, with whom they now are. When sent to Ndhlovu they were very carefully put in a waggon and by that means conveyed to him.

'We cannot find your gate; the gateway in our own times consisted in going and tendering our allegiance.' The chief laid stress on this. His meaning is that the native people, so far from being taken into our fold and becoming one with us, are standing outside and drifting further away as time goes on, and at the same time treated unsympathetically. Our fathers, like Miselemusi [this might be the name 'Mr Williams'] and Jekiseni [Mr Jackson], who were magistrates at Stanger, were men who governed the natives well.<sup>55</sup> They knew them. 'Nowadays the younger generation have come up who do not know the people. It is to the present generation, the sons of such men as those referred to, that we look and expect them to take our cause in hand and to help us. We are a falling people and we need help.'

At the beginning of this interview Luboza said he, by direction of Ndhlovu, had been to see Jiyana, a man of the iHlaba regiment [aged, I reckon, about 82]. He asked Jiyana to tell him something about the origin of the Zulu people, but he refused on the ground that he no longer had any heart in anything. Formerly he was a man of position and treated with respect. Now he was a dog, and had been reduced to living on mere sweet potatoes (*batata*). The messenger had therefore to return without getting any of the required information.

In reply to Ndhlovu I pointed out what appeared to me the proper procedure, something which would be effective in adjusting a state of affairs rapidly becoming worse, and that was to collect all Zulu law and custom and lay it before the Europeans in a printed form. This would help to educate the European and cause them to try and understand and know the people better. At present people were very ignorant. It was necessary to get a *firestick* and, by *rubbing*, gradually to kindle that flame which shall in some real manner bring about that union which so far has never existed. For the tendering of allegiance was an unreal act; though this allegiance was tendered it has never been accepted. The natives are still in their holes; out of these they must come. They cannot continue to retain within them the matter of a boil which should be pierced. And as regards the younger generation helping them, we, speaking for myself, are ready, but on our part we ask for the natives to assist us by opening their hearts fully and hiding nothing, or, when we go to our own people with what we have got, they may be dissatisfied and not arrive at the conviction we desire.

As an illustration of this reticence, take the case of Ndabankulu (by the way, he is Luboza's elder brother), who, when sent for by me,

on the advice of others, did not come. He was blind, but Mkando too was blind and he came.<sup>56</sup> Luboza explained that he was the cause of Ndabankulu not coming, and this was because, apart from being blind, he is an invalid. I went on to point out that natives should consider how best to effect what I proposed if they believed in its efficacy. It would be necessary to get some white man to do the work. They should communicate together to this end, i.e. the more enlightened among them. The native problem was a great subject and fraught with enormous difficulty. We Europeans do try and grapple with it, and, clever as we are, do not as yet know everything.

Ndhlovu quite agreed about the necessity for their giving us information in regard to themselves, and is himself very frank and open and, what is more, causes others to be so.

11.1.1903

File 70, pp. 48-53.

Also present: Mruyi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes. These are to be found in File 60, nbk. 11, pp. 15-24, and File 60, nbk. 12, pp. 1-3 - eds.>

- 48 Tshaka: birth, expulsion and wanderings, residence among Mtetwa tribe, and visit of Senzangakona to Dingiswayo, king of that tribe. Per Ndhlovu (chief), Mruyi (his elder brother) and Ndukwana being present, on 11.1.1903.

Ndhlovu speaks. The following narrative was related to me by my father Timuni. Senzangakona *herded* with others *in the bushes*. One day one of the boys with him discovered a spot at which people had been sitting, for dishes and vessels were seen there and the place smelt of *amaka* (scent). It was decided the spot should be watched to see who frequented it. Nandi came to it with two men and some other girls, and they were observed by Senzangakona's party. No sooner did this occur than the men went off, and the girls were questioned as to where they had come from and why they were there. After this Senzangakona sent and asked Nandi to come to him.

<The paragraph that follows appears to be an interpolation made by Stuart when he was writing up his rough notes of Ndlovu's testimony - eds.>

Before going further I may as well describe the position of Nobamba and the district from which Nandi came. Ndukwana and Mkando are my informants. The great kraal Nobamba lay close to the White Umfolozi on the South bank, several miles from the South African Republic customs house at the foot of the Emtanjaneni range where the waggon-road descends and well above the waggon drift. That is the well-known Makosini district where Nobamba, Sixebe and Dukuza kraals were, and where a number of the older kings are buried.<sup>57</sup> The head of the Langeni people, from which Nandi came, was Mgabi; this man is buried on the hills overlooking and near the Mhlatuze close to where Mr Harry Osborn's house is.



To resume: Nandi proceeded with the girls to where Senzangakona was. The boys *stood in a line*, Senzangakona among them. Nandi was then addressed as follows, 'Indicate to us the one you have come to see.' Without delay she pointed out Senzangakona. 'But why do you come and gaze at him?' 'Because I love him.' After this Nandi was conducted to Senzangakona's *hut* whilst the other boys took off the remaining girls to their own *huts*. Nandi was the daughter of Mbeki of the *eLangeni* people. Makedama was the son of Mbeki.

Every day the girls came to the place they brought beer with them, and Senzangakona *hlobongela'd* there. As a result of this contact  
49 Nandi became *enceinte* (*tola'd mlandwane*). She returned to her home. 'What is the *matter* with her?' people said. 'Oh, she has *itshati*,' i.e. what would now be called *ikambi*. Her breasts became darker at the nipples. On being questioned as to her state the girl replied, 'I do not know but the man I love is Senzangakona.' This she said to the *men*. Men were then dispatched to Senzangakona. They came to Mudhli as being the great man in charge of Senzangakona. They stated to him what Nandi had said about liking his protégé. Mudhli answered, 'Well, I'll question the boys about it.' He then called Senzangakona and said, 'These men say the girl Nandi has *itshati* (*ikambi*). Do you like her?' He replied, 'Yes, we do *like each other*.' Mudhli, however, did not go so far as to say he had caused her to become pregnant, but told him only that she was ill and not to expect her to visit him again. In those early days kings were not permitted to have children (illegitimate).

Senzangakona then went away. Mudhli then addressed the messengers thus, 'You men of the Langeni tribe, whatever that *child of ours* may turn out to be, *look after it for us*, whether it be a girl or a boy. If she gives birth to a child, it should not be suckled by the mother but by its grandmother.' The men left. Mudhli now said to Senzangakona, 'The men have merely come to say Nandi has *ikambi*. I directed them to treat and doctor her, and so you must not be alarmed or disappointed if you find her discontinuing to visit you.'

In course of time the girl brought forth a child. It was a boy, and this boy was named Tshaka. Mudhli was notified of the fact. Mudhli kept this information to himself and did not apprise Senzangakona thereof. All the latter thought was that the girl was still ill. Senzangakona's mother *made a string* and sent it to measure, from time to time, the size of the infant's waist. After a time Senzangakona's mother (own) reported that she was ill. She summoned doctors who *cooked her pots of medicine for illness*. A large *mat*, made of *nduli* or *ikwani* or *ibuma reeds* (probably the latter), was set up with the *pots* hidden behind it at the back of the hut, and she too *was screened with the reed mat* so as not to be seen by persons entering the hut. Having made these preparations, the little boy Tshaka was brought to her to look at. The woman examined it and, in the day-time, hid it behind the mat and among the *pots*.

50 People began to fancy there was something amiss in the woman's hut, and acquainted Senzangakona with their belief. Ndhlovu does not recollect to what tribe the people who told this tale belonged. Jama at this time was dead; he died whilst Senzangakona was still a child. Senzangakona, being an *unmarried youth*, was living at another kraal. The tell-tales made out as if the child in his mother's hut was his own. 'Where can I have got it from?' he asked. Mudhli heard of this

report; he instantly snatched the child and had it taken away to its mother's home. An attack was made on his mother's kraal by Senzangakona's direction, when the inmates thereof were put to death. Senzangakona's sister remonstrated and asked on what grounds they were being put to death. '*Bring out what is behind the mats,*' she said, for she had heard why they were being killed. The sister said, 'Kill me if you kill her,' meaning Senzangakona's mother. The party became afraid for there was no order with regard to killing the girl. She continued, '*Sit there by the door until dawn, and then take it out.*' They acted accordingly. They waited till the following day. The girl then said, 'Go in and fetch him.' They thereupon entered and, tearing aside the mats, exclaimed, '*Ha! So it is not here!*' Messengers were then sent to Senzangakona to ask what harm this kraal had done to be treated in this manner. Senzangakona replied, 'But where is that which they said was there?' This incident greatly annoyed the king. He thereupon sent an armed body of men (*impi*) to kill off the kraals of those who had made this false report, and added that even their dogs were to be killed.

After these events matters quietened down.

Senzangakona's mother gave Tshaka his name, I think, but I do not know who actually gave it. Nandi's or Senzangakona's mother must have done so but, however given, it found its origin out of the *itshati* referred to. It may be added that the word *itshati* is a word used by women out of respect (*hlonipa*) for the commoner *ikambi*. It is possible Mudhli might have given Tshaka his name.

51 Tshaka now returned to the eLangeni country, grew into boyhood and herded cattle. Senzangakona was now permitted to marry. Nandi was sent for, and was duly married to the young king. Nandi, however, left Tshaka at her own home, for she had been directed not to suckle it and only her mother was to do so. I have not heard if Nandi had another child by Senzangakona. When Nandi married Senzangakona, Tshaka was a little boy, perhaps herding. Nandi then took up her abode at Senzangakona's kraal. She was *lobola'd*. Only Mudhli knew of the existence of Tshaka. Senzangakona married various women, being a chief.

After some time a further rumour arose about Tshaka. The informants said, 'The fault we have to find is among the eLangeni people.' The responsible men at Senzangakona's kraal urged that steps should be taken to ascertain if there was anything at the place of the eLangeni. Acting on this advice, the king brought out cattle to take a wife, and, under the pretext of paying Nandi's *lobola*, the messengers might be enabled to find something out about Tshaka. It would appear as if this later report was due to a quarrel which took place between Tshaka and the boys who were his associates among the eLangeni. What happened was this. Tshaka quarrelled with Makedama ka Mbeki; they had a dispute about stones in the field. Makedama said, '*This little Ntungwa is insulting me; he is taking my cattle*' (i.e. killing those cattle which he wanted). Makedama killed Tshaka's cattle as represented by the stones they were at the time playing with. Nandi at this time was still in the Zulu country, i.e. at Senzangakona's kraal.

The messengers sent by Senzangakona were to take cattle and observe the boys who herded the cattle belonging to the head of the eLangeni people. Spies (*izinsaba*) were taken and put on to watch.

Having got to know what was brewing, Tshaka's grandmother called Mbikwana and said to him, 'When the cattle come back, you proceed under cover of the dust which will as usual be on as the cattle are running homewards, and get the boy away. Bring him into the kraal through an *intuba* (side-entrance). The other boys will then go on with the cattle.' Mbikwana did as directed. There were many boys with the cattle. These were one and all closely scrutinized by the spies. ('They will observe the likeness; the stamp of his father's likeness will be on the boy.') Tshaka's grandmother told Mbikwana to  
 52 *take cooked meat for a journey*. He did so. 'Go and hide this lad for me; they are searching for him.' Mbikwana then took Tshaka off to his kraal. He *slaughtered a white male beast* for Tshaka, (one) old enough to be *castrated*. The flesh was consumed at night. All of it was *cooked* the same night. Tshaka then took the meat and went off with Mbikwana to the Qwabe tribe. Tshaka *herded cattle* there too; he was not introduced to the leading men of the place. He was kept *with the inkwebane*, i.e. with youths. He did not, however, stay long *among the Qwabe*. 'On no account will we speak to a little *Ntungwa with a little penis that sticks up*' - this is a remark made by the boys *while herding*, on the occasion when they 'killed' or destroyed *his clay oxen by trampling on them*.

Tshaka conferred with Mudhli on all these unsatisfactory features. He said, 'I cannot get rid of it; it still sticks to me. They want to beat me. Send me to my grandmother's, among the Mtetwa.' He was accordingly taken there by Mbikwana and put under the charge of Mqombolo. All that had happened to Tshaka among the eLangeni and among the Qwabe was reported to Mudhli, who approved the policy of hiding him. *The girl of the Qwabe was borne by a girl of the Mtetwa*, i.e. Tshaka's great grandmother came from the Mtetwa. 'Send me to my great grandmother.' Tshaka was a young man when he got to Mqombolo's. Mudhli did not appear much in all these proceedings, and the part he took was purposely concealed. He was anxious that Tshaka should not die. T. was of *his main house (indhlunkulu yake)*, and this is why he displayed so great an interest in the matter.<sup>58</sup> He *concealed his close relative* as he was afraid lest they should put the boy to death.

Tshaka lived years among the Mtetwa tribe; he became a *youth (insizwa)*, and took an active part in Dingiswayo's military enterprises.

The rumour that a child of Senzangakona's was among the Mtetwa people came to be circulated. Senzangakona then said, 'I will myself  
 53 go down and court girls,' i.e. look about himself for what he has lost and cannot otherwise find. He went to Dingiswayo's where he was given a splendid welcome.

19.1.1903 - <evidence given 11.1.1903>

File 70, pp. 53-4.

Also present: Mruyi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes. These are to be found in File 60, nbk. 12, pp. 3-6 - eds.>

Ndhlovu later, on the same day [11.1.1903], referred slightly to Senzangakona's visit to Dingiswayo. The question put by Dingiswayo to his visitor after the young men had entered the hut they sat in [vide pp. 39, 40, 42, 43],<sup>59</sup> ran somewhat as follows; '*Do you see the beast of your people among these cattle?*' S. then pointed to Tshaka but was overwhelmed with fear as he did so.

I do not disagree with Mruyi's version [pp. 42, 43]. I cannot recollect all my father told me.

Ndukwana approves Mruyi's version as to Senzangakona having been purposely sent for so as to get an opportunity of telling him that Tshaka was being brought back.

Mruyi cannot make out how Tshaka, Dingana, Mpande and others were called members of one regiment, viz. iWombe, or amaWombe, for, of course, their ages must have differed very considerably.

Ndhlovu says he is certain Tshaka was born among the eLangeni where his *umbilical cord* was cut.

Mruyi adds: Before Tshaka got to the Mtetwa, and whilst on his way there, he visited the emaCubeni people. The king of that place *touched him on the head* - on the crown of the head - and said, '*You will be a ruler; you will be a king. Go!*' I think, therefore, Mruyi says, Tshaka was coming straight from the Zulu tribe.

Mruyi is of opinion that Tshaka's birth took place at Kwa Nobamba.

Living authorities: Maqoqwana, Nyokana ka Benywayo, Jantshi, Matshwili, Sirongo (blind); Makabeni.<sup>60</sup>

*Izimbongi* were always great authorities on past history.

Malandela was the father both of Zulu and Qwabe, i.e. the heads of the Zulu and Qwabe tribes.

Qwabe came before Zulu did into what is now known as Zululand. The Mtetwa tribe arrived before that of Qwabe. The Qwabe *originated (dabuka'd)* at the Mhlatuze. They do not speak of themselves as *abeSutu*; that name is ours alone (Zulu tribe). From this it seems they were the first arrivals and that we must have lived among or near the *abeSutu* in the north.

Everyone *was circumcised* in the old days, and each tribe was presided over by a 'king'.

54 The last heads of the Qwabe tribe were Musi and Mamfongonyana. Meseni and Siziba are the sons of the former, and Zidumo of the latter.<sup>61</sup>

*Strengthening with medicines (iqungo) - the small hut of the umsizi, where the king takes medicines and is doctored. It would be said, 'You are the discarded thing (isikubana) of the king's medicines. Of the king's children you count as nothing. They will not talk to you because you are of the umsizi hut.'*<sup>62</sup> But, for all that, such child is rightly regarded as a *child of the king*.

Mamfongonyana ka Godide is the real head of the Qwabe people.

22.3.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, p. 13.

Also present: Baleni? Another?

<The notes that follow are recorded in the original in telegraphic form. We present them in a form as close to the original as our editorial conventions allow - eds.>

13 Per Ndhlovu ka Timuni.

Mfutshane ka Mlomo of the *Cele* people. Regiment: Ndabakawombe. Zibizendhlela called son of Tshaka. Rumours of his coming in Dingana's and Mpande's reign.<sup>63</sup>

Mpande married Monase to raise seed for Tshaka.

*Making provision for a house (eqisw' indhlu)* - given medicine - cut up.

Went to the ebuNguni - to the amaXoza - told to go away. Was of the main house (*mdhlunkulu*) of Tshaka - not known where Zibizendhlela was born.

Nzwakele, father of Habana, was killed by Dingana for saying Zibizendhlela was living.<sup>64</sup> He said he was at his mother's kraal.

9.5.1903

File 60, nbk. 21, p. 9.

9 Ndhlovu.

We cannot do all the work required of us.

We used to put out regiments.

*We have no isicubu*, i.e. no plot of land.

Grievances: no land; pay taxes for nothing; pay taxes for dogs; dig roads.

Tununu ka Nonjiya of the Mkulutshana regiment was an *incoeku* in Dingana's day.<sup>65</sup>

2.9.1919

File 57, nbk. 10, pp. 11-42, 44-8.

11 Ndhlovu ka Timuni ka Mudhli.

*'You have done well, Nkosikazi. You have done well (wenze ngakona) by producing a son for me. It is good. You have done well (wenze ngakona).'*<sup>66</sup> He was giving praise. That is how Sensangakona got his name.

.... <Praises of Ndlovu kaThimuni and of Thimuni kaMudli, with notes, omitted - eds.>

12 *The killing of Dhlatiya.*

*Dhlatiya was an ordinary commoner (umuntu). It was said that he was an umtakati. A force was sent out to go and kill him. Our fathers were then youths; they were boys. This was their first*

13 *experience of fighting. Dhlatiya was an ordinary man of the Zulu people; he was not of the royal house (wo ku zalwa); he was simply a commoner, an iduna.*<sup>67</sup> *They killed Dhlatiya. They surrounded his place and killed him. They were sent out by Nzobo and Ndhlela. Nzobo*

and Ndhlela were amapini of Mdhlaka's, in the time of Tshaka.<sup>68</sup>

.... <Praises of Sigwebana kaMudli, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 14 Good informants: Silongotsha (age of Mbonambi regiment) ka Masala of the *Koza* people (he has family troubles); Mazibuko ka Mapanga ka Mudhli (an invalid) - about age of Nokenke regiment - the latter is a good *imbongi* - he lives under Chief Mtonga;<sup>69</sup> Lokoza ka Timuni, of about Mbonambi regiment's (age).

To say, 'Give us a hair!' ('Sip' unwele!') i.e. bring on angry feeling, as if wanting to go off and fight for your king.<sup>70</sup>

Manqindi (alias Songqobozana) ka Mpinda ka Mbanda of the *Sibiya* people. Chief: Nododana ka Nomsimekwana.<sup>71</sup> Possibly a good *imbongi*, for his father (Mpinda) was Timuni's *imbongi*, and an excellent one. Search for him through Mngeni court police. Lives below the *Mkambati*.<sup>72</sup> Is short, not old. Would be about 70 years of age.

I don't agree that Tshaka used to impale children on posts.<sup>73</sup> This was not done by him. They were of our place, those children who were said to have been impaled on posts by him. People were concocting stories about him. The person who impaled those children was Mkitika ka Mudhli (who was of the time of Timuni and his contemporaries). His father was Magunuza ka Jama. [Mkitika ka Magunuza ka Jama?]<sup>74</sup>

- 15 Kutshwayo ka Nzwakele of the Dube people was a friend of Tshaka's.<sup>75</sup>

Tshaka once gave orders for a woman to be cut open so that he could see how her child lay. They did this; the child was taken out, and they saw that it lay in a sac inside her. The mother died. Kutshwayo ka Nzwakele of the Dube reproved him. He said, 'Woh, Nkosi! This is evil. When a person is killed it must be done so that he is finished off; he must not be cut open. It is evil to cut open a person as if he were a beast. If a person has done wrong, and the king does not put him to death, he should be sent into the wilderness to disappear.'

An activity that Tshaka was very fond of was continually to send out his army, so that people did not sit still and did not rest.

'Why do you deny having something that is in your possession?' - said by Tshaka re the snuff incident. 'Why do you deny having what, in fact, you really have?'<sup>76</sup>

The birth of Tshaka, and his return to the Zulu country. [See Yenza's version of Tshaka's birth attached, p. 17.]<sup>77</sup>

- 16 The birth of Tshaka. A man of the eLangeni people, a man of Mbengi's, went out from eNguga.<sup>78</sup> Mbengi sent out the man, together with a youth; the man's baggage was carried by a boy. They found Senzangakona herding cattle out in the veld with many other boys. They slaughtered young steers, ones with horns longer than the width of a hand. Senzangakona gave meat to the people from the eLangeni country. When they had eaten the meat, they went on to the place to which they had been sent by their chief. After this they returned, going via the clump of bushes where Senzangakona was, and were again given meat. They then went home. Upon their arrival, they

related the story to the girls, including Nandi. They said, 'We found the child of a chief out herding cattle. He gave us meat.' Nandi asked, 'Who was he?' The man replied, 'It was Sensangakona.' The girl said, 'How I wish to see him!' The man replied, 'I could show him to you.' Nandi said, 'Do so, then.'

17 Nandi then gathered the girls of her place; there were many of them. She went with the man, the youth, and the boy who carried for the man. They came to the place where the boys were. They sat down to the side of the bush where the herdboys were. They watched them from one side. The boys could not see them, though they could see the boys. The boys were playing with branches, hitting at one another. The man pointed Sensangakona out to Nandi, saying, 'There he is. That is really he, Sensangakona.' They sat and watched.

18 Every day the girls would go to that spot with the man. Then one day the cattle wandered close to where they were. Boys were told, 'Go and head them off.' The boys who were with Sensangakona said this. They found the place where people had been sitting. They saw bones and beer there. They said, 'Hau! There are people who come to sit here! They must be girls. They have gone away to their homes.' They went and told the others, 'Au! While we have been sitting here, there have been people over there sitting watching us!' The others said, 'Hau! What sort of people are they?' The boys replied, 'There is a scent of umutwa there'. (Umutwa is a perfume used by girls.) They went on, 'We did not think that these people were men; we thought they must be girls, because the place smelt of umutwa. We also saw bones there, and other things. The places beneath the bushes where they have been sitting have turned white.'

Sensangakona and his companions then went home to sleep. They returned the next day, and went to their bush. When they got there, the girls had already arrived. Some of the boys were told, 'Go and see.' Some boys went forward with those who had made the discovery; there were four of them. They discovered the girls. As they came up, the man, the youth and boy left, and made their way home. The girls remained seated. Those who had been sent to investigate returned to Sensangakona and said to him, 'We came to them. There are many girls; they came with that man to whom we gave meat. He has now left.'

19 Sensangakona said, 'Go and call them.' They did so, and the girls came to them.

The boys asked of them, 'Where are you going?' The girls replied, 'We have come to see the son of the chief.' They asked, 'Who is he?' 'He is Sensangakona.' 'Do you know him?' The girls replied, 'We know who he is but we have only seen him from far off.' The boys asked, 'Who will be able to point him out?' The girls replied, 'There he is!' They asked, 'Where are you from?' They replied, 'We are from eNguga, in the eLangeni country.' 'Of whose people are you, there at eNguga?' 'We are of the people of Mbengi at eNguga.' 'So then, who is the daughter of Mbengi who has come to see Sensangakona?' They replied, 'It is Nandi.' The boys asked, 'Why has she come to see him?' Upon which Nandi replied, 'I have come to see him because I like him.' They asked, 'Which is he, then?' The boys arranged themselves in a row, and said, 'Point him out!' The girl proceeded to do so, saying, 'There he is.' They asked, 'On what account do you like him?' She said, 'I want to soma with him; I want him to be my lover (isiklebe).'

Then Nandi went forward, took Sensangakona by the arm, and went to

his makeshift hut, the one which she had often seen him go into. As she went in, sitting mats woven from rushes were spread out. They all seated themselves. All the youths were taken by the girls who fancied them. Nandi went in with her close attendants (*izigqila*), those who liked her and whom she liked, those who cooked food for her at home; they went into Sensangakona's hut. They sat for a while, drinking beer and eating meat. At sunset they went home. The girl, Nandi, said, 'Let the four boys who were staying in this hut remain here; let them not go home.' She was referring to the boys with Sensangakona. She said that they should guard the hut, and that they should sleep in it. They gave them cloaks so that they could remain behind and sleep there. They gave them food as well. Then the girls went home.

Nandi told them to go and dig up incombó and put it into water.<sup>79</sup> The man referred to had been building a hut at his place; he had made a wicker door; he had cut timber for rafters; he had got everything ready. Nandi came home. Next day the man said that she should look for people, for youths, to carry the hut to the place where those bushes grew. Girls would carry mats, which had been woven over a period of many days, for putting on the roof of the hut. People carried the hut to the place. They took the framework and carried it off. The hut was put up. Holes were dug for the framework; it was put in, and the holes filled in. The framework was thatched that same day. When the thatching was finished, the floor was laid down. After this the boys went to sleep in it. Then the makeshift hut that Sensangakona had been using was repaired. It became the hut in which his meat and other food was cooked, and in which his beer vessels were kept. He stayed in his own hut.

Sensangakona now hlobonga'd with his girl. Her stomach began to swell. She was pregnant with Tshaka. Her people saw this and said, 'Hau! What is the matter with the child of the chief?' They said, 'Hau! She has an *itshati* (a name for the *ikambi*).' [See what Bryant has about *ikambi* and *iBungane*.]<sup>80</sup> 'How can this be when the girl has not yet menstruated? Has she indeed not got an *itshati*?' They saw that her breasts swelled and grew darker. It became clear that she did not have an *itshati*, and that she was pregnant. They asked her, 'Hau! Who has caused this? It is not caused by an *itshati*, but by a man.' She replied, 'I don't know; I soma with Sensangakona.' They said, 'Well now, girl, we shall go to the place of his people to ask if they know of this matter.'

They came to our place (i.e. to the Zulu tribe), to Kwa Nodunga, the place of Sensangakona's people. Those who came to ask about this matter met Mudhli. Mudhli asked, 'What is the matter? Where do you come from, men of the eLangeni?' They replied, 'We come here.' He asked, 'What brings you here?' They replied, 'We thought that she had an *itshati*. In fact she is pregnant. She said a man from this place was responsible.' He said, 'Hau! Who did she say was responsible?' They replied, 'She said that it was Sensangakona.' He asked, 'What did she say that he did?' They replied, 'She said that he hlobonga'd with her.'

Upon this, Mudhli summoned Sensangakona. He came. Mudhli said, 'Do you know these people?' He replied, 'No, I do not know them.' Mudhli said, 'They come from the eLangeni. Is there anyone whom you know among the eLangeni?' He replied, 'No. I know girls from that



place.' Mudhli asked, 'Which of them do you know?' He replied, 'I know Nandi.' Mudhli asked, 'Where do you know her from?' He replied, 'I know her from herding cattle there.' Mudhli said, 'Yes. What were you doing with her when you were out herding?' He replied, 'I know her from staying with her and somaing with her.' Mudhli said, 'Yes, I hear you. These people have come to report about her. They say that they have come to tell you not to wonder where she is now. She is sick. She has an itshati. Go now. I called you to tell you this, that she is in pain, she is sick with an itshati.'

24 Senzangakona went off. After he had gone, Mudhli spoke to the men from the eLangeni who had come with the report. He said, 'O! Men! This matter that you have come to us about; please will you make it easier for us by taking care of this child of ours. I would be glad if it were a boy. Do not mention the matter to anyone else. Keep it completely to yourselves. Speak to no other person about it. If it turns out to be a boy, I would be glad, for among our people it is not spoken of when the chief has a child. Hide it for me. Do not let the mother suckle it; let it suck from the grandmother. The mother should not squeeze the milk from her breasts so that they dry up and the milk ceases to flow; it should not be seen that she has suckled a child. When the child in her stomach is born, return and tell me, but tell no one else.'

In due course the child was born; it was called Tshaka. They came to inform Mudhli. 'Hau! What is it, men of the eLangeni?' They replied, 'We have come in connection with the matter that we previously reported to you, the matter concerning the girl.' Mudhli asked, 'How does the matter stand?' They replied, 'She has a child.' 'What is it?' They replied, 'It's a boy.' Mudhli said, 'Indeed?' They replied, 'Yes, indeed.' Mudhli said, 'Wo! It is good. Go now, and do not even think of talking about it to anyone else. Keep it entirely to yourselves. For my part, I shall tell no one here at 25 home. I shall be the only one who knows. I shall not even tell the grandmother that the child has been born.' They left, and returned to their homes.

Some time passed without anyone's coming to know of the matter. Then Mudhli revealed it to the grandmother, the mother of Senzangakona. He did so when Senzangakona was taking a wife. He said, 'Mame, do you know what there is there among the eLangeni?' She said, 'What?' Mudhli said, 'A boy.' The mother said, 'Indeed?' He replied, 'Yes!' She then asked, 'How big is he?' He replied, 'I don't know, for when they told me of it, I asked them to keep the matter secret.' The mother asked, 'Who is the mother?' He said, 'She is a girl of the eLangeni whom he had begun to soma with.' She said, 'Indeed?' He replied, 'Ehe!' She then said, 'I would like you to go and see it for me.'

26 Mudhli then went off. He found the child with his grandmother (his mother's mother). He was a sturdy child, already well-grown. The mother of Senzangakona then plucked some umuzi grass and twisted it into a string. She said, 'I should like you to go back and put this string round the child's waist. Measure the size of the child, and tie a knot in it. Then put it round the chest, and tie a knot to indicate its size. Then stand the child up and tie a knot to indicate its size. Then bring the string back to show me.'

He went off and did this. He returned with the string. She was

then able to see the size of the child: one knot indicated the size of his waist, another the size of his chest; another his height. She was happy. Matters rested there. After a while she sent him off again, saying, 'Please go and find out for me how big the child is now.' He went off again to go and have a look. He found that the child had grown, and was as big as the young boys of his own place. He returned, and told the mother, 'The child is as big as So-and-so over there.' She then said, 'Hau! Do you think that you could snatch it away in the night so that I could see it?' Mudhli replied, 'Well, Mame, it could be done.' 'Well, my child, what is to be done? How am I to get to see it?' Mudhli replied, 'No, Mame, leave the matter to me, and I shall make a plan for you to see it.'

He went off. Time passed. Then the mother said to him again, 'My child, you said that you would make a plan. Have you done it? Your heart is no longer in it.' Mudhli replied, 'No, Mame, let out that you are ill, that you have a pain in your bones. People will then go to fetch an inyanga who heals illnesses. He will make medicines for your illness. This will be so that I can fetch the child for you without having old people coming to visit you, for the preparation of medicines for you will have begun.'

Indeed it was noised about that the inkosikazi was ill. A healer was fetched to prepare medicines. She told girls to weave a large rush mat for her to screen the pots of medicine. She told boys to bring her white torches of dry ugagane wood, so that when she took medicine during the night she would have light to do so. This was all done. Mudhli then fetched the child, and placed it behind the screen. That is where it stayed. The grandmother could now see him for herself all the time, by day and by night. Old people no longer came to the hut for they were afraid that the medicines of the inyanga would be spoilt. Only she and Mudhli saw the child. Tshaka remained there in the home; the two of them were the only people who saw him.

Then one day the chief came to hear that his mother was hiding something; that she was hiding an impaka in her hut.<sup>81</sup> No sooner did Mudhli, who was keeping watch over the impaka, come to hear of this than he hurried off to take the child away, thinking, 'Habo! They have let the secret out! They are destroying my plan!' He took the child out by a side-entrance during the night. They kept quiet, and heard the order given, 'When it is dark, go and surround the kraal and kill the thing, together with that little old crone who is my mother.' Mnkabayi and the chief's other sisters came to hear of this, that the chief had been told, 'Your mother is concealing something.' They learnt that it had been revealed to the chief that there was an impaka which his mother played with every night, and that she was to be killed. The girls came to their mother's hut together with those who were coming to put her to death, and prevented them from entering. The Zulu force assembled during the night and sat outside the hut, surrounding it. They built fires. At dawn the girls were still sitting before the door. When it was light the girls called out, 'Come out, mother!' She did so. The men went inside, and pulled away the grass mat which formed a screen. The girls called, 'Bring out the mat, and bring out the impaka so that we can see it.' The mother was standing with the girls out in the yard near the doorway. The men brought out the mat, and handed it to the girls. They took it and

spread it out on the ground. They said, 'Bring out our mother's impaka; bring it here so we can see it.' The men said, 'There is nothing here.' The girls said, 'Bring out that medicine.' The men did so. The girls said, 'Go in, indunas, and fetch our mother's  
 31 impaka, on account of which you have come to kill her.' The men said, 'It is not there.' The girls said, 'What has happened to it? What is our mother to be killed for, then?' They cried; they raised a great wailing, and went off to see their brother. They asked, 'What has our mother done that she is to be put to death?' They cried. 'So there is nothing there?' 'No!' The girls said, 'We told them to bring our mother's impaka here before your eyes.' He said, 'Hau! So people have been concocting lies about my mother! Where is this thing, indunas?' The induna said, 'There is nothing there.' The chief said, 'Well! How has this come about?' The induna replied, 'They have told a great lie. They are being untruthful; they are telling malicious tales. There is nothing there.' The chief then ordered, 'Go and kill them all. Destroy everything, even the dogs of the place. Let not a single person survive.' Senzangakona was referring  
 32 to the eBaqulusini umuzi, at Kwa Mfemfe.<sup>82</sup> It was these people who were put to death, for it was they who had said that there was an impaka in the home, meaning Tshaka. But when they came to kill him they found that he was gone. He had been rescued and taken back to the eLangeni.

The were all put to death; they were finished off. The survivors of the Baqulusini people were taken in at Mnkabayi's kraal and kept there in secret by her. It was said that they had been finished off. That was the end of it.

Time went by. Then after a while word was brought to the chief, 'The thing on account of which the umuzi was destroyed is alive!' 'Indeed? Where is it?' 'Wo! It is among the eLangeni.' He asked, 'How could you recognize it?' They replied, 'Could we ever forget a child of our place?' Cattle were selected, and taken to the eLangeni as lobolo. The people came to the eLangeni place when their cattle were out grazing. They arrived with our cattle, those from the Zulu country, and drove them into the cattle enclosure; they filled it  
 33 up. The izinduna went to make their salutations, and to say that the cattle had been brought as lobolo for the inkosikazi Nandi. The eLangeni people said, 'Au! Did you not know that she is dead?' Our people replied, 'No, we did not know. Why did you not tell us?' The eLangeni people said, 'Was she married, then? After we had told you that she was sick with an itshati she died.'

Our people were sitting at the gate, the whole body of them. They kept a close watch there so that they could catch sight of Tshaka when the cattle were brought back. They thought that they would see him among the boys when the cattle were brought back. Mudhli then told the old grandmother (Nandi's mother), 'They have come here to see Tshaka.' The old woman then called Mbikwana (the brother of Mbengi), who was of the royal house (wo ku zalwa) of the eLangeni. She said to him, 'Woh! Mbikwana! Go out into the veld and fetch my  
 34 daughter's child for me. Pick him out from among the other boys, bring him through the dust made by the cattle, and fetch him in by a side-entrance.'

Mbikwana went off to fetch him from among the other boys out in the veld. He said, 'Let the cattle be brought back, and let them

make a cloud of dust.' He then took him through the dust, where it was very thick and they could not be seen, and brought him to his grandmother. She presented him with a large joint of cooked meat. She then said to Mbikwana, 'Go with him; take him to his mother's place among the Qwabe.' Mbikwana went off with him as dusk was falling; he took him to his own kraal. He slaughtered an ox for him, a white one with red ears. Food was cooked for him there in the night. He then took him off, and went to the Qwabe country, where he was to stay with his great-grandmother, the mother of Nandi's mother. And so he lived in the Qwabe country.

35 Then a rumour arose similar to the one which had caused him to be removed from the eLangeni country. For tales had been told about him among the eLangeni. People of the eLangeni had come to the Zulu country and said, 'The thing on account of which the kraal was destroyed is alive.' For Tshaka had herded cattle with the eLangeni chief's son [Makedama]. They had played at making bulls from stones and setting them against each other. Tshaka's arm was strong, and he had pushed back the bull held by the other boy, the chief son of Mbengi, and driven it away. On another day they again played with bulls, and again Tshaka's bull had driven the other back. People asked, 'Hau! Why do you not milk the cow's udder into your mouth as Tshaka does?' He replied, 'My hand hurts.' They asked, 'What hurt it?' He replied, 'It was hurt by Tshaka.' 'How?' 'With the bull he made from a stone.' The people were astonished. They said, 'Hau! So this little nothing that has been in hiding has killed the son of our chief? So the son of our chief has been killed by a little Ntungwa that has been in hiding?'

36 This was overheard by Tshaka; he heard the boys who were milking talking about it. He left off milking the udder into his mouth; he kept quiet and listened. He heard them talking in his presence. People then went off to sleep. The next day the cattle were taken out to graze. The boys went out into the veld again, there where they herded the cattle. Again they set their bulls against one another. This time Tshaka deliberately let his be pushed back. The son of the eLangeni chief drove it back. He then took a stone and destroyed Tshaka's bull. He crushed it into pieces, threw them away, and then proceeded to declaim the praises of his own bull.

Tshaka then looked for another bull and made it 'bellow' in his own cattle enclosure. The eLangeni bull came from its own place to fight at his place, for it had already destroyed one of Tshaka's bulls. They came together and fought. Tshaka let his be pushed back. The eLangeni boy took a stone and crushed it as he had done before.

37 Tshaka did not look for another bull; he intended to do so the next day.

When the cattle were brought back, the eLangeni boy told the story to those who were milking. He said, 'Wo! When our bulls were fighting, I drove Tshaka's away with mine. Then I took a stone and crushed it; I completely destroyed it.' The eLangeni boys who were doing the milking then laughed. Tshaka was listening as the other boy told the story to the boys of his place. They laughed because Tshaka's bull had been defeated and destroyed, and because the same thing had happened again. The eLangeni boys said, 'That's it!' to the boy of their place whose bull had overcome Tshaka's and who had then destroyed it with a stone. They said, 'Ho! So the little Ntungwa thought

his little bull would overcome ours?' They laughed in the cattle enclosure. All the while Tshaka was listening.

38 Tshaka arose early the next day when the cattle were taken out to graze. Tshaka looked for another bull, and found one. It bellowed, making for its home at Tshaka's kraal [plan of kraal built of dung]. The eLangeni bull, which had already killed two bulls, came out and made for the kraal. Tshaka's bull came outside and engaged with it. They fought, and Tshaka's was victorious. The bull of the eLangeni boy was knocked out of his hand and fell some distance away. He picked it up, and brought it back to fight again. Tshaka loosened his grip, and his bull was knocked out of his hand. The other boy ran and crushed it with a stone. He had now killed three of Tshaka's bulls.

While the boy was still pounding up his bull, Tshaka ran off, seized an assegai, and stabbed a cow of their place that had recently calved. Eu! The matter was taken to Mbengi. He was told, 'He has killed a cow of our place!' Mbengi asked, 'Who has killed it?' They replied, 39 'Tshaka has done so.' 'Why did he kill it?' 'They were setting their bulls on to fight.' 'But why did he kill the cow?' 'Because when the bulls fought, and his was victorious, he never smashed the other one with a rock. But when the other boy's bull overcame Tshaka's, he smashed it up - every time.' Mbengi asked, 'Did Tshaka never do this?' 'No.' Mbengi said, 'Then he did well to stab the cow.'

This was what made Tshaka go away from the eLangeni to live among the Quabe, where the girl who had married Mbengi had been born. This girl's mother had been born in the Mtetwa country.

In the Quabe country Tshaka ruined his opportunity of being allowed to live there through what he did with clay bulls that he had made. He made one for himself and another for Pakatwayo, the chief son of Kondlo.<sup>83</sup> It was Tshaka who knew how to make clay bulls. They set them on to fight. Tshaka's bull gored Pakatwayo's, because it had dried. Its horns had dried hard, and it gored Pakatwayo's. Pakatwayo's bull 40 then poked Tshaka's, and broke one of its own horns, which were still not dry. Pakatwayo exclaimed, 'Hau! Look how my bull's horn has broken!' Tshaka said, 'It is your fault for saying that they should fight when they were still not dry.' He then made another one for Pakatwayo, saying, 'Let them dry first.' They did so, intending to make them fight the next day. The next day they fought, and one of the horns of Tshaka's bull broke off. Then both the horns of the Quabe bull broke off. The Quabe boy then became angry, and went to tell the men of his place. 'I was making my bull fight Tshaka's, when both its horns broke off, while only one horn broke off his bull.' The men said, 'Hau! What has done this? A little Ntungwa, a little nothing in hiding, with a little penis that points upwards? Has he been troubling the son of the chief, then?'

Tshaka heard this, and told Mbikwana. He said, 'Grandfather, there is no place for me here. Please take me away to the Mtetwa country. 41 The same thing is happening that caused me to be driven from the eLangeni country.' 'Really?' 'Yes. They say I am a little Ntungwa with a little penis that points upward, a little nothing that is in hiding, that mixes curds and hits the dog with its head.'<sup>84</sup> (It was on account of this that Pakatwayo was killed [i.e. later on, when Tshaka attacked him].)<sup>85</sup> So Mbikwana took him off to the Mtetwa country, to Dingiswayo.

He became one of Dingiswayo's men. Dingiswayo gave them to

Mqomboli; Tshaka and the chief son of Dingiswayo stayed together at Mqomboli's. The order was that a dish for curds should be carved for them, a vessel made of wood from which they would both eat. Each was given a wasakazi beast.<sup>86</sup> Each had a basket for crushed grain (*wncaba*) woven for him. They were given two girls to grind grain for them. Tshaka's calabash would be filled, and they would both finish it; then that of Dingiswayo's son would be filled, and they would both eat from it. What they left the girls would finish off.

42 They would often go to the chief's kraal, oYengweni, to giya. [This narrative continues p. 44.]

44 [Continued from p. 42.] It was there at oYengweni that Tshaka learnt about war. When they went out to fight, the order was that they should hurl their assegais at the enemy with whom they were fighting. They fought, and the enemy fled. They were ordered to leave off, and return, as the enemy had run away. The next day the enemy *impi* would return to fight again. Men were killed who had survived the fighting of the previous day. Then Tshaka said, 'Wo! This is a bad way of fighting. No sooner have we routed the enemy than we are ordered to leave off fighting. They then return and kill our men. If we continued to pursue them, we would finish them off.' He said, 'Wo! It would be better if we did not let them go.' He said this to Dingiswayo's son. Dingiswayo's son agreed with him. After this they would stab the enemy; they would press the attack without withdrawing. With this method of fighting they were always victorious. They caused Dingiswayo to be a great chief who overcame the nations.

45 Then Dingiswayo said, 'Hau! What are you doing, pursuing the enemy to the very end? See how the people are being finished off. What was the matter with fighting by holding a contest, with fighting by throwing assegais?' They replied, 'O! We no longer like that way of fighting. Every time we drove the enemy away, they would return and kill us. We prefer the method of finishing them off when we have defeated them, so that tomorrow there will be no enemy *impi*. Once we have begun, there will be only one fight.' This is what made Dingiswayo a great chief, a feared one, for his people were now stronger than all the other nations (*izizwe*) with whom he fought; he overcame them all.

We Zulu, too, were as nothing to Dingiswayo; we feared him. Then Tshaka returned from his place, and we developed and became a people.<sup>87</sup> On his arrival among us he ordered us to carry only one assegai and to leave off being cowards. He made every one of our men into great warriors; they no longer went in fear as had happened before, when people had rapped our grandfathers on the head, crying, 'We overcome you!' This came to an end with the advent of Tshaka, this being rapped on the head.<sup>88</sup> He continually sent his men out to fight, until he had overcome the nations. The land became that of the Zulu (*kwa se ku ba kwa Zulu*). Tshaka's power expanded; the land became unified.

46 All the nations *konzal'd* Tshaka, for he had killed their chiefs and eaten up their cattle and taken their people.

Then one day Senzangakona came to the Mtetwa country to see if Tshaka was there. He gave out that he was going to court the girls, when in fact it was a plan for him to see Tshaka. With him went some of his people, and also his *wndhlunkulu* women. He arrived at oYengweni, and found Tshaka and others in the cattle enclosure where they were *giyaying* in quick succession. Senzangakona did not see that

Tshaka was there; he did not recognize him among the others. Tshaka and the others saw Sensangakona at the gate. Mats of grass and rushes were laid out all the way to the hut where S. was to stay. He went into the hut. Then the umdhlunkulu girls of the Mtetwa assembled; those who were to sleep in his hut and whom he was to court. Then Tshaka and the others left the cattle enclosure. As they went out Sensangakona did not recognize him, nor did they recognize him. Then he saw Mudhli talking to Mbikwana.

47 Then Dingiswayo summoned Tshaka, together with his son, saying, 'Come here.' They did so. He said, 'Rise early in the morning, go to eMrodi, to the lake, and wash.' He gave them medicine. He said, 'Here is medicine. When you wash, finish off by washing yourselves with it. Wash on the path which Sensangakona will take when he goes to wash. When you have finished washing, come back and eat. Then, when he goes to wash, come here to me.' Indeed, when they washed they did all that he had told them, and then returned to him. He then sent people of his place to fetch away the two men who were keeping watch over the hut where Sensangakona was staying. These men said, 'We are keeping watch over the hut.' The others replied, 'Hau! Why are you doing so? When the chief summons you, are you going to say that you are keeping watch over the hut? Obey his summons. We shall look after the hut for you.' They went off; they went to where they had been summoned on the other side of the kraal.

48 Then Dingiswayo and Tshaka went and made their way into the hut. Dingiswayo then took Sensangakona's sitting-mat, made Tshaka stand on it, and doctored him with medicines. He then smeared it with medicines; he rubbed it with the fat of many types of fierce animals, so that when Sensangakona saw Tshaka, his neck would 'break' and Tshaka would be foremost. Sensangakona would bow down; his neck would bend; he would no longer be able to look upon Tshaka; he would hold him in fear; he would be overcome by fear. Dingiswayo finished doctoring him, then pulled out two of Sensangakona's assegais which were bound round with the tail of an elephant. He doctored Tshaka with them, and then placed them back with the others. He then went out with Tshaka. He ordered the men who had been removed from the hut to be brought back, and then at once sent them off again with the instructions, 'Go and fetch Sensangakona from the river; his food is ready.' Sensangakona returned. The food was brought in; people ate, and finished.

When they had eaten, Dingiswayo came to Sensangakona and said, 'Wo! Nkosi. I make a request. I make it on behalf of my sons, who have said that I should come and greet you.' Sensangakona agreed to this. His men then left the hut; his induna, together with Mudhli, remained. Then Dingiswayo called his sons; he was inside the hut. They proceeded to enter, while he called out their praises. He called out the praises of each one who entered. He thought to himself, 'Hau! His son's shadow will fall on him.' (Dingiswayo saw that Tshaka's shadow would fall on Sensangakona.) Dingiswayo called his son in, the first one. He entered, taking care that his shadow fell to the side of Sensangakona. Then Tshaka entered. <Continued below - eds.>

20.9.1919 - &lt;2.9.1919?&gt;

File 57, nbk. 19, pp. 1-6.

<The notes which we render in translation below are recorded in File 57, notebook 9, of the original under date 20.9.1919. This dating is difficult to account for, as these notes are a continuation of the notes which Stuart recorded in File 57, notebook 10, under date 2.9.1919. It may represent a slip on his part - eds.>

- 1 Ndhlovu ka Timuni continues story: *The birth of Tshaka and his return to the Zulu country.*

*Dingiswayo proceeded to declaim his praises, crying out, 'The one whose fame spreads even as he sits, the son of Menzi, The axe which surpasses other axes.'*

*As he entered his shadow fell on his father, Sensangakona. Sensangakona was overcome by fear. His neck 'broke' on the spot; it went snap! His eyes stared fixedly. When Dingiswayo saw him collapse he called out, 'Hau! Does the chief see the beast from the place of his people?' Sensangakona replied, 'Hau! I see it.' Dingiswayo asked, 'What do you see?' Sensangakona replied, 'I see the beast here.' Dingiswayo asked, 'Where do you think it comes from?' Sensangakona replied, 'It is from our place.' Dingiswayo asked, 'Is it from your place?' Sensangakona replied, 'It is mine.'*

*The princes then greeted Sensangakona. He acknowledged their greeting. Then Tshaka said, 'Father! Give me an assegai.' They took the assegais and Sensangakona said, 'Choose the one you want.' Tshaka then drew one out. Sensangakona exclaimed, 'Hau! That is Nomkwayimba's!'<sup>89</sup> Tshaka then drew out another. Sensangakona said, 'Yes, take that one.'*

- 2 *The youths then left the hut and went to giya in the cattle enclosure. Tshaka went off to giya with the assegai which his father had given him. Dingiswayo remained behind. He said, 'Let us dance with the chief.' They agreed. Upon this Dingiswayo left the hut. Then Mudhli said, 'Weu! If the chief is ill, how is he now going to dance? Go and tell Dingiswayo that since the chief is ill he can dance with me.' People went to tell Dingiswayo this. He agreed, saying, 'It is good that Mudhli has spoken thus.'*

*They went out to go and dance below the kraal. The two of them danced. The Zulu and Dingiswayo's people formed a circle. The two men danced inside the circle. They had put on their finery. Mudhli had on his headdress of jackal tails. The chief, Dingiswayo, wore a crane feather. It fell to the ground, where it stuck in and stood swaying. When his izinduna made to pick it up he checked them, and they left it. That is how the dance was spoiled. The circle broke up. As they went away the spectators were saying, 'Dingiswayo has been overcome; he has been overcome by Mudhli!'*

- 3 *Then my grandfather, Mudhli, said that they would now return home, and he went off to make Sensangakona's farewells to Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo said, 'I am thankful that I have been able to see the chief.' Then they went off. Dingiswayo said to Mudhli, 'Please do not go just yet.' Then Sensangakona left with the men who attended him. Dingiswayo said to Mudhli, 'All is well. Here is your son; I shall now return him.' Mudhli replied, 'Yes, Nkosi. It is well. But do not do it today.' Dingiswayo asked, 'Why should I not do it today?' Mudhli replied, 'Wo! I fear the Zulu.' 'What will the Zulu do to you?'*



asked Dingiswayo. Mudhli replied, 'Hau! Nkosi, they will put me to death.' 'Why should they put you to death?' Mudhli replied, 'They will say, "So you have been put in charge of two people at once? You have been put in charge of Sensangakona and of Tshaka?"'

Dingiswayo remained silent. Mudhli went off. After he had gone Dingiswayo summoned Tshaka. He summoned Mqomboli, and Mbikwana, and  
 4 the great men of his place. He said, 'Do you hear what this man says?' They replied, 'We hear, Mtetwa.' He said, 'Hau! Why does he do this, when it was he who caused Tshaka to come here to me? It was he who caused Tshaka to be here, and now he is refusing to return him to his country. It seems that he wants to make Nomkwayimba chief. My men, take Tshaka to his country. Go with him this very day; take him after his father.' 'Wo! That is how it was. The men agreed, saying, 'Yes. Let him be taken back.' He then said to Tshaka, 'When you see this man, put him to death. You will not be chief if you leave him alive. You yourself saw how, when I was dancing with him, my feather fell to the ground. If you do not kill him you will not be chief.'

Tshaka then followed after the others. At each kraal where they slept, he would arrive the next day. He went on; they went on; they reached their homes. On their arrival, Tshaka went to Kwa Nodunga, the place of Mudhli and Sensangakona. (The Kwa Nodunga kraal was of the isizinda section.)<sup>90</sup> He killed Mudhli there. He then went and  
 5 killed Nomkwayimba, and then Nomapikela ka Jama of the chiefly house. He then went to his home and sent to inform Sensangakona that he had killed Mudhli and Nomkwayimba and Nomapikela. Sensangakona asked, 'Who is it who has put them to death?' The people replied, 'They have been put to death by the one who beats but is not beaten.'<sup>91</sup> Sensangakona was overcome with fear. As the report was being made to him, Tshaka and his people arrived, chanting a Mtetwa cry that went, 'Those cattle are a great bone of contention.'<sup>92</sup> Sensangakona fainted away in his hut as the men of the Mtetwa, Mqomboli and the others who had arrived with Tshaka, were declaiming Tshaka's praises outside.

Then a messenger came to report to Tshaka that Dingiswayo was dead. He asked, 'How did he die?' 'He has been killed by the Ndwandwe (the Nxumalo people).' 'What was he doing there?' 'He went off after you had left; he went to the place of the Ndwandwe of Zwide, who put him to death.'<sup>93</sup> They caused cattle to trample him. He had stakes driven through his hands and feet, and was placed  
 6 face upwards on the ground. Then cattle were driven over him while he was still alive; they trampled his chest and stomach. That is how he died.' Thus Tshaka heard that Zwide had killed his father. He then sent out an army; it made for the place of the Nxumalo at eMlandwaneni (the name of Zwide's kraal). At Zwide's place they found an army assembled; it was awaiting the arrival of the Mtetwa. They fought each other; they fought a great battle. They did not succeed in defeating the Nxumalo. They saw that the Nxumalo were great fighters, but the Zulu were more numerous. The Nxumalo were joined by others who had been fighting in the Mtetwa country. But then the chief, Zwide, fled, even though his regiments were more numerous. These peoples then went off with him. They fought fiercely with the Zulu. They stabbed them; they were not afraid of them.

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Questions on the foregoing.

- a How is it this story is so little known throughout the country?
- b Did you hear of it from your father, Timuni, only?
- c You say the people now called Baqulusi were those killed for making the alleged false report? Will they be found to admit they were killed for making false accusation against Senzangakona's mother?
- d Who is present chief against Baqulusi? And where does he pay taxes?
- e Describe incident of Tshaka being called *to the Zulu country* when Mudhli *winked at him*. Was it from Langeni or Qwabe he so went?
- f Give account of Nandi's marriage with Senzangakona, and say why she left him, and afterwards married Gendeyana, seeing no divorce in Zululand.
- g What about circumcision? Was it not because Senzangakona had not *been circumcised* when cohabiting with Nandi that so much care was taken to hide Tshaka?
- h Were not cattle in the habit of being *taken to graze far away* in those days, and so, as Senzangakona had many young men with him, they built *rough shelters* and temporarily lived there? You imply they went away of a night - *vide p. 20*.
- i What happened to Tshaka when Nandi went to marry Senzangakona? Did he go *to the Zulu country*? If not, where did he stay? Was Nomcoba born in the Zulu country?<sup>94</sup>
- j Does Nodunga kraal still exist?
- k Where did Tshaka spend most time, at eLangeni or Kwa Qwabe, for he was about 24 when he went to Dingiswayo?
- l What did he do all the time from say 15 to 24?
- m Is it in keeping with custom for Nandi to take hold of Senzangakona's arm as stated?
- n *Incombo*, what? - p. 20.
- o *Itshati* - is it *'itshati* or *'itshati*?<sup>95</sup> Was it not called *itsheka*? (Fynn). Explain fully what it is. See Bryant, *iKambi*, *iBungane*, *iQoto*.
- p What is meaning of word 'Tshaka'? Is it from *tshati*? Who would have given name Tshaka?
- q *Soma* and *hlobonga*, explain - pp. 22, 23.
- r How is it Langeni people made report about Nandi's state to Mudhli and not to Jama? Was Jama living then? If not, who was the regent? Then, again, if Jama was not living, why was not report made to the regent? Did Senzangakona become chief as soon as Jama died? Was Mudhli older than Senzangakona? We have Mudhli ka Nkwelo ka Jama, and Senzangakona ka Jama, and Sojiyisa ka Jama. Was it not Nkwelo who took part in this plot, and not Mudhli, who was too young apparently, though he might have associated himself therewith later on when Tshaka was between 16 and 20?
- s Did not Senzangakona demand Tshaka of Mbengi or Mgabi, say, when a boy?
- t Did not Tshaka fly for refuge to Macingwane? Or was it Godongwana did so? - Holden, p. 12.<sup>96</sup>

- u Does Mazibuko know the early story of Tshaka as you know it? What regiment was his father, Mapanga, and was he older than Timuni? Does Silongotsha, Lokoza, or Manqindi know it?<sup>97</sup>
- v Give the Zulu old family tree as you know it.
- w Are adults prohibited from going to invalid's hut when *pots (izimbiza)* are cooked? - p. 28.
- x Was the woman who had to be killed Mnkabayi's own mother? Mmama.<sup>98</sup>
- y You say Mqomboli, p. 41, you mean Ngomane.
- z Complete the general story you have been relating.
- aa Why was Mudhli killed by Tshaka?
- bb Who was Senzangakona's *chief wife*?
- 43 cc What would you say Sikiiti means?

20.9.1919

File 57, nbk. 10, pp. 43-4.

Also present: Munyana kaSomaloko

Ndhlovu ka Timuni continues (Munyana ka Somaloko, of Mpatesita's tribe, present).<sup>99</sup>

<The information that follows was given in answer to some of the questions that appear in the preceding list. Although Stuart does not so indicate, it is clear that the information in the first paragraph was given in answer to question 'b' in the list - eds.>

I heard the whole story of Tshaka from my father Timuni. I had many talks with him. I wanted particularly to hear stories of our tribe. I heard also from Sipika of the uMnkangala regiment.<sup>100</sup> He was much older than my father. He died at eGilanyoni, *in the country of Ngunezi*, of the Embo tribe.<sup>101</sup> He died in 1880, i.e. the year that Cetshwayo returned from England.<sup>102</sup> Sipika says he accompanied Senzangakona when he went to oYengweni, *to court the girls* as Senzangakona said, whereas in truth he was going to *look for Tshaka*.

The story of T.'s birth was kept hidden by *the abanunzana*. It was not a story common to everybody.

(c) *It was said that the people of Mnkabayi, the people of Rubu ka Bejana (metaphor),<sup>103</sup> the people of Kwa Mfemfe, were liars. I don't know if the old people now living with the Baqulusi would know. People say, 'You are from Kwa Mfemfe; what do you mfemfeza about?' To mfemfeza is to tell lies. To qulusa is to stand silently alone, as one who fears no one, one who is independent, one who remains silent. Abaqulusi - derivation of name.<sup>104</sup>*

(d) Sikobobo? Ngotshe?

(g) My father did not say the motive for hiding Tshaka was because Senzangakona had not *been circumcised* when he was born. Munyana (aged about Mavalana age) says that the custom of the *leopard* is, when say three young are born, one of them a male, the male is taken away and hidden by its mother and *suckled* where hidden, for fear lest the father should kill it. Ndhlovu says the *lion* does the same thing. Thus the Zulu kings were following this practice. Timuni said, '*A Zulu chief does not father children*', i.e. he is not supposed to *father children*; he takes precautions not to *father children*. That

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was the reason for hiding him.

Mtonga has no *chief son*; he has not appointed one for this very reason, because afraid it will cause a disturbance in his tribe.<sup>105</sup>

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>Ndlovu was chief of the Zulu in the Mapumulo division. His grandfather Mudli played a prominent role in public affairs in the Zulu chiefdom in the time of Senzangakhona.
- <sup>2</sup>Mkhando kaDlova and Ndukwana kaMbengana were others of Stuart's informants; the former's evidence appears in vol. 3 of the Stuart Archive, and the latter's in the present volume.
- <sup>3</sup>Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa.
- <sup>4</sup>The reference is to the evidence which we reproduce on pp. 201-6 of the present volume.
- <sup>5</sup>Mthonga was another of Mpande's sons.
- <sup>6</sup>The Ndondakusuka battle was fought in December 1856 near the mouth of the Thukela between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.
- <sup>7</sup>Numerous traditions recount that Dingane was killed by the Nyawo people who lived near the southern end of the Lubombo mountains.
- <sup>8</sup>Shaka was assassinated by his half-brothers Dingane and Mhlangana in September 1828.
- <sup>9</sup>The original reads, '*Wa bek' isigonogono senja, esi hlohlwe nge zint' egolo, njeng' amaNtungwa pezulu*'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 192, gives *isigonogono* as 'Ear-wax...; the small red flesh at the inner corner of the eye...'. For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks & Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vols. 1-3, indexes.
- <sup>10</sup>The reference is to further statements made by Ndlovu on the origins of the Zulu people: see p. 200 of the present volume.
- <sup>11</sup>Maphitha kaSojiyisa was chief of the Mandlakazi people; Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was chief of the Buthelezi people.
- <sup>12</sup>Ntshingwayo kaMahole was chief of the Khoza people.
- <sup>13</sup>Mantantashiya was one of Mpande's sons.
- <sup>14</sup>Shonkwani (Tshonkwani) was one of Mpande's sons.
- <sup>15</sup>The uSuthu were the adherents of Cetshwayo, and the iziGqoza those of Mbuyazi.
- <sup>16</sup>Nzibe was a brother of Mpande's; he died during the Zulu expedition against Soshangana in what is now southern Mozambique in 1828.
- <sup>17</sup>For discussion of the term Lala see the references as for discussion of the term Ntungwa given in note 9 above; and also Hedges, 'Trade and politics', p. 88.
- <sup>18</sup>The original reads, '*Wa bek' isigonogono se 'nja, si hlonywe nge nduku ya maNtungwa, beka pezulu*'.
- <sup>19</sup>Mkhungo was a son of Mpande who, since the late 1850s had been seen by some as a potential claimant of the Zulu kingship. At the time of Stuart's interview with Ndlovu he was chief of a section of the Zulu in the Eshowe district.
- <sup>20</sup>Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, chief of the Mandlakazi people, had emerged in the 1880s as one of the main opponents of the uSuthu led by Cetshwayo.

- <sup>21</sup>The reference is to the supposed founders of the Zulu and Qwabe lines.
- <sup>22</sup>Jantshi kaNongila and Mhuyi (Mruyi) kaThimuni were others of Stuart's informants: their evidence is to be found respectively in vol. 1 of the Stuart Archive and in the present volume. Matshwili kaMngoye, chief of the Mthethwa in the Lower Tugela Division, was also interviewed by Stuart; the only surviving record of his evidence is to be found in uBaxoxele, a Zulu reader which was compiled by Stuart and published in London in 1924.
- <sup>23</sup>Sothobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiya people was sent by Shaka on an embassy to King George IV in 1828. He reached as far as Port Elizabeth, where he had a series of interviews with British officials.
- <sup>24</sup>Ngwanaza (Ngwanasa, Ngwanasi) was chief of a section of the Mabhudu from the early 1890s.
- <sup>25</sup>Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century. Mzilikazi kaMashobana of the Khumalo people was the first of the Ndebele kings.
- <sup>26</sup>Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.
- <sup>27</sup>For Jantshi see note 22 above.
- <sup>28</sup>The references are presumably to brief accounts of Mthethwa history written by Henry Francis Fynn and by Theophilus Shepstone and published in 1888 in Bird, Annals of Natal, vol. 1, pp. 60-1 and pp. 160-1 respectively.
- <sup>29</sup>Magidi was chief of the Mdletsheni people in the Lower Tugela division.
- <sup>30</sup>The reference is presumably to the gourd used in the *umkhosi* ceremonies.
- <sup>31</sup>The reference is to the Commission on the Representation of Native Suitors in Court; its report was published by the Natal Government in 1903.
- <sup>32</sup>The reference is probably to T. Maxwell, who was magistrate in Umsinga in the early 1900s.
- <sup>33</sup>The reference is probably to a meeting held near the eNcome (Blood) river in October 1877 between Sir Theophilus Shepstone, then Administrator of the Transvaal, and a number of leading men in the Zulu kingdom to try to resolve a long-standing dispute about the border between the two territories.
- <sup>34</sup>Mehlokazulu was a son of Sihayo, chief of the Qungebeni people on the south-western border of the Zulu kingdom. In July 1878 Mehlokazulu led a party of men into Natal, seized two women who had fled from Sihayo's territory, took them back, and put them to death. The incident was magnified by Sir Bartle Frere into a pretext for the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in January 1879.
- <sup>35</sup>The amaQongqo hills near what is now Magudu were in 1840 the scene of a battle in which the forces of Mpande, who was in alliance with the Boers of Natal, defeated those of Dingane.
- <sup>36</sup>The reference is possibly to the refusal of men of the Zulu army on the eve of the battle of Ulundi in 1879 to allow Cetshwayo to surrender a herd of cattle to the advancing British army.
- <sup>37</sup>Nkulunkulu, literally the Great One, was a Zulu word for the deity.
- <sup>38</sup>The informant is here naming members of the Mthethwa chiefly house.

- See the genealogies in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 85.
- <sup>39</sup>In the *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, p. 164, Mkhando kaDlova gives Jiyana as the name of a headman in the Mapumulo division. The informant Ndlovu was a chief in this division. See also Ndlovu's statement on p. 212 of the present volume.
- <sup>40</sup>The reference is to the battle of Ndongakusuka in 1856: see note 6 above.
- <sup>41</sup>We have been unable to establish the meaning of the word *isomo*. The word *samakosi* which follows it means 'of the chiefs'.
- <sup>42</sup>After the assassination of Shaka (see note 8 above), Mhlangana and Dingana quarrelled as to who would succeed him.
- <sup>43</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 321, 322, gives *inkotho* (*inkhoxe, isikhoxe*) as 'hole, pit, or groove formed in a thing by a sinking in, scooping out...or the empty space made in a pot of beer after a long drink has been taken...'
- <sup>44</sup>Lubololwenja is given in some traditions as an ancestral figure in the Zulu chiefly line.
- <sup>45</sup>See notes 9 and 18 above.
- <sup>46</sup>The verb *ukutshukuzisa* (*ukushukuzisa*) means 'be restless'. We have been unable to establish its connotation here. The word 'their' in the last sentence presumably refers to Manzolwandle's younger brothers.
- <sup>47</sup>Mantenesa and Mahanana were sons of Mpande. Lubhoza is here the informant.
- <sup>48</sup>The *inkatha* was a grass coil placed on the head when a load was being carried. On the Zulu king's *inkatha* see Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 469, 476.
- <sup>49</sup>For Mkhungu (Mkhungo) see note 19 above.
- <sup>50</sup>This sentence is scored out in the original. Adjacent to it in the original is written the name 'Mzongozinyane'. We have been unable to identify any such person.
- <sup>51</sup>'Gate' here presumably means the way into a relationship with the whites. In 'We should show the gate', 'we' presumably means the whites; in 'We cannot open a gate', 'we' presumably means the blacks.
- <sup>52</sup>The informant Lubhoza belonged to the iMpunga (alias umXhapho) *ibutho*.
- <sup>53</sup>On p. 479 of his *Dictionary*, Bryant identifies *iphahla* as *Brachyloena discolor*; on p. 641, *umtombe* as *Ficus natalensis*; on p. 563, *isantisanto* as 'Certain shrubby climber...'; on p. 529, *umqaqongo* as *Clerodendron glabrum*; on p. 50, *iboza* as *Moschosma riparia*; on p. 247, *isihlehle* as 'Small cactus-like plant...'; and on p. 260, *uhlunguhlungu* as *Vernonia corymbosa*.
- <sup>54</sup>KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.
- <sup>55</sup>C.H. Williams was resident magistrate in the Tugela division from 1853 to 1873 or 1874, and W.P. Jackson from 1874 to 1883.
- <sup>56</sup>The Ndabankulu here referred to is a different person from the Ndabankulu whose evidence appears in the present volume. The evidence of Mkhando kaDlova appears in vol. 3 of the *Stuart Archive*.
- <sup>57</sup>The *imizi* and kings referred to are those of the Zulu.
- <sup>58</sup>Traditions differ as to the exact genealogical relationship between Shaka and Mudli.
- <sup>59</sup>The reference is to statements made by Ndlovu which we reproduce on pp. 204-5 of the present volume, and to statements made by Mhuyi (Mruyi) kaThimuni which we reproduce on p. 36 of the present volume.

- <sup>60</sup>For Jantshi and Matshwili see note 22 above.
- <sup>61</sup>Meseni is chief of the Qwabe in the Inanda, Indwedwe, Lower Tugela and Mapumulo divisions.
- <sup>62</sup>*Umsizi* means powdered medicines. At a certain point in the *umkhosi* ceremonies, the chief or king, daubed with *umsizi*, was required to spend the night in a specially prepared hut in the *isigodlo*. There he would be attended by a selected wife, or a girl from the *isi-godlo*, with whom he might have intercourse. A child born of this connection was held to be of inferior rank in the chiefly house.
- <sup>63</sup>Zibizendlela is variously given in traditions recorded by Stuart as a son or a brother of Shaka.
- <sup>64</sup>Nzwakele kaKhushwayo was chief of the Dube people.
- <sup>65</sup>Thununu was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- <sup>66</sup>Ndlovu is here putting words into the mouth of Senzangakhona's father Jama.
- <sup>67</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 122, gives *iduna* as '...a highest-class *i-nDuna*, of which there were only a few in Zululand, forming, as it were, the ministry of the Zulu king...'
- <sup>68</sup>Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli of the Ntombela people and Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people later became two of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. Colenso, Dictionary, p. 471, gives *iphini* as '...*induna*, second in command of a regiment'; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 663, give it as 'Underling, inferior officer; personal representative'. Mdlaka kaNcidi of the emGazini people was one of Shaka's principal *izinduna*.
- <sup>69</sup>Mthonga, a son of Mpande (see note 5 above), was chief of a section of Zulu in the Eshowe district.
- <sup>70</sup>We have been unable to establish the connotations of the expression, '*Siph' unwele*', which translates literally as, 'Give us a hair.'
- <sup>71</sup>Ndodana was chief of the Mcoseli or Nyavu people.
- <sup>72</sup>The umKhambathi mountain (Table Mountain) lies ten kilometres to the east of Pietermaritzburg.
- <sup>73</sup>'Impale...on posts is our translation of *fak' ezibondeni*.
- <sup>74</sup>The note in parentheses appears to be a later insertion made by Stuart to draw attention to the ambiguity of the information given in the preceding paragraph about Mkhithika's paternity.
- <sup>75</sup>Khushwayo was chief of the Dube people. See also note 64 above.
- <sup>76</sup>Zulu etiquette required that on being asked for snuff a person in possession of it should at first deny having any.
- <sup>77</sup>The account that follows was published in the original Zulu by Stuart in uBaxoxele (London, 1924), pp. 59-80. Yenza's evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- <sup>78</sup>Stuart, uBaxoxelele, p. 59, gives eNguga as the chief *umuzi* of Mbhengi, the eLangeni chief.
- <sup>79</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 79, gives *incombo* as 'Species of small white ant...making the ant-heap *i-nGanga*...'. In the present context it probably refers to the earth from ant-heaps used for making hut floors.
- <sup>80</sup>On p. 290 of his Dictionary, Bryant gives *ikhambi (ikambi)* as '...certain parasitic beetle...inhabiting the intestines of Natives and a common cause of abdominal and nervous disorders among them (= *i(li)-Bungane, i(li)-Qoto*)...'. On p. 58 he gives *ibhungane (ibungane)* as 'Generic name for any flying beetle; hence, applied

in a more particular sense to the human intestinal beetle (= *i(li)-Kambi*)...'.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>81</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 480, gives *impaka* as 'Cat possessed by an *um-takatī* as a "familiar" and sent by him on villainous errands...'.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup>EbaQulisini and kwaMfemfe or ezimMfemfeni were Zulu royal *imizi*.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup>Khondlo was chief of the Qwabe.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup>The insulting implication is that Shaka was of the same status as the dog which wanted to eat from his bowl of food: see J.K. Ngubane, 'Shaka's social, political and military ideas', in Burness, ed., Shaka King of the Zulus, p. 129.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>85</sup>Phakathwayo was one of the first chiefs to be attacked by Shaka after the latter had become chief of the Zulu.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 693, gives *iwesakazi* as 'Cow coloured like the *i(li)-Waba* bullock'. On p. 694 he gives *iwaba* as 'Black ox... with a white patch under the belly and running slightly up the flanks or about the stump of the tail...'.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>87</sup>'...we developed' is our translation of '*si jiye*', which appears in the account published in uBaxoxele (p. 74). The original has '*si giye*', which would translate as 'we danced about, brandishing our arms'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 279 gives the verb *ukujiya* as 'Become thick, firm, stiff...; become hardened...; attain one's full growth and become physically set...'.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup>'...being rapped on the head' is our translation of *ukungqongqozwa*, the passive form of the verb *ukungqongqoza*, which Bryant, Dictionary, p. 427, gives as 'Rap, tap...; be the master or "cock" over, as... one boy over another of his set - from the common practice of a boy rapping contemptuously with his stick on the head of any other boy whom he has thoroughly beaten in fighting or over whom he assumes superiority'.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup>The informant later identifies Nomkhwayimba as a son of Senzangakhona.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup>In a chiefly household the wives and their children were grouped in sections or 'houses'. Although the *isizinda* ranked below the other houses (*indlunkulu*, *inqadi*, *ikhohlo*), the senior son of the *isizinda* would, on the death of his father, or the latter's removal to a new homestead, remain at the old homestead as its formal guardian.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup>The original reads '*...uSitshaka ka si tshayeki*', a well-known praise of Tshaka's.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup>The original reads '*Zi no mland' omkulu lezo nkomo*'.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>93</sup>For Zwide see note 25 above.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>94</sup>Nomcoba was a daughter of Shaka's mother Nandi. There is doubt as to her paternity.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup>In his notes Stuart frequently uses the sigus <sup>c</sup> and <sup>d</sup> respectively to indicate aspirated and ejective consonants.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup>Macingwane was chief of the Chunu. Godongwana was another name for Dingiswayo (see note 3 above). W.C. Holden, The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races (London, 1866; repr. Cape Town, 1963), pp. 11-12, records that during his youth Shaka took refuge for a time with Macingwane.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>97</sup>Thimuni was the father of the informant Ndlovu. We have been unable to identify the other persons named in this paragraph.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>98</sup>Mnkabayi and Mama were sisters of Senzangakhona.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>99</sup>We have been unable to identify Mphathesitha.



- <sup>100</sup>The 'Mnkangala' is given by Memi, Stuart Archive, vol. 3, p. 271, as one of Shaka's *amabutho*.
- <sup>101</sup>Ngunezi kaSiyingela was chief of a section of the abaNkomo (Mkhize) in southern Natal in the late nineteenth century.
- <sup>102</sup>The restoration of Cetshwayo took place in January 1883.
- <sup>103</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 268, gives *uhubhu* as 'A lying person, given to saying and relating untruths', and comments, 'Such a person is spoken of in full as *uhubu ka'Bejana...*'.
- <sup>104</sup>Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181, on the derivation of the name abaNkomo.
- <sup>105</sup>For Mthonga see note 5 above.