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# JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

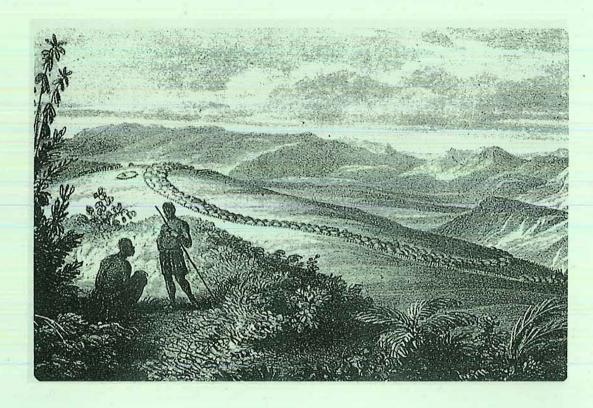
**VOLUME ONE** 

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C. DE B. WEBB

J. B. WRIGHT



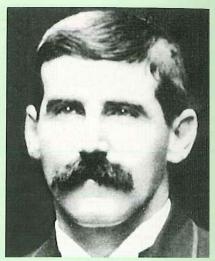
**Editors** 

C. DE B. WEBB

J. B. WRIGHT



Killie Campbell Africana Library Manuscript Series



JAMES STUART IN 1906

James Stuart was one of the most remarkable Natalians of his day. Though there was nothing outwardly spectacular about his career as a colonial official, in twenty-five years of single-minded labour he built up what is now regarded as the most valuable collection of African oral traditions in existence in southern Africa.

As a magistrate in some of the remotest corners of Natal colony in the 1890s and early 1900s, Stuart sought out old people who remembered the times of Dingane and Mpande, and whose fathers and mothers had been ruled by Shaka. Interviewing them in fluent Zulu, he painstakingly filled hundreds of notebooks with their reminiscences and the traditions which older generations had handed down to them.

The statements which Stuart recorded from nearly 200 informants are now housed, together with his own writings on Zulu customs, language, and praise-poetry, in the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban. Since 1971 the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, has been engaged in a project which aims to publish all the historical evidence collected by Stuart in a series of volumes collectively entitled *The James Stuart Archive*. This is the first volume in the series.



# KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT SERIES No. 1

JAMES STUART ARCHIVE



# KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT SERIES

JAMES STUART ARCHIVE, Vol. 1
Edited and translated by C. de B. Webb and J. B. Wright

Numbers 2 to 6 of the series will be further volumes of the JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

# THE JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

OF RECORDED ORAL EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE ZULU AND NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES

# **VOLUME ONE**

Edited and Translated
by
C. DE B. WEBB AND J. B. WRIGHT

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University of Natal August, 1975 C. de B. Webb

J. B. Wright

### FRONTISPIECES

The reproductions that follow are taken from Stuart's notebooks, and illustrate some of his varying styles of recording evidence. The original page sizes have been reduced.

- I page 14 of notebook 31, File 59. See p. 320 of this volume.
- II part of page 54, File 70. See p. 174 of this volume.
  - III part of page 137, File 74. The lists of Swazi kings appear on pp. 360-2 of this volume.

14

ugange lo muzi = outside fence of trad

nongette

Ido not know Jula ka nojandaya nggengelele, Iknes Nombanga ka ngeobli "iwasakazi \_ 2 li nga tmbazi" \_ was igawe of Tohaka's. Ihears of mobilaka ka neindi \_ Ido not know what

became of him. Insur hear) of Hambamanzi (Jacob). I did not know prounthlens, menziwa n'excho.

The whokate did not carry asseguis at encome battle, only amawisas.

There was no againge to musi at infunguntations only small fuces about outer hut to keep cattle off-those who cared but up the fences. and if one stays long at home you would come back of find that they had otal the fence it is made fire-wood of it. again, if one to gail he must take care toput the word visite amount, if you bear it at the door some one is sure to teal it.

15 8:09

Dentered the impossion about 6 times in al. my father was appointed in Juna in John hule by Toha ke & so was often

The last heads of the dwale tribe were muse and memforgonyma. meseni and Sizeba are the poors of the former and Zidums of the latter igungo; in this was yo maizi, yo ku naindela, a yo ku tohikaga inkozi la kad'ithi ioniti; kutiwa'll yine wena na, nyo sikubana pe miti ye nkozi, ka u luto ku ba nta b'enkozi, ba nge kulume newe ngob'a ngo was emisijini.

Sut for all that suich child is rightly regarded as unterventions. Memfongonyana ka Godide is the real heat of the Rivabe people

monday. And Mole. after having to send Notakwana to Stanger and mafund for him, Jantohi ka hongila arrived today about 2.40 P.m. he arrived with his son. Moves, a man (kolura) from amangiments; also came to see me.

Santohi and Noukwana present (8.2.03), Jantohi speakon - Iwas born at etypegane in Jululand and aim of the same age as the Kandempemore regiment. My father's rayne was Nongila who was an inhloli (spe) under lengingationa, to hata Dingaria and Impande to crase over into Natal in Impande's reign being then tired of the duties of a Spy. I of course knew him well for he only died when Cetal ways was living at Schowe after his peturn from Ingland. Part of the Jibongo I will presently recite I learnt from him as well as other historical frets.

Dingiewayo's father was Jobe and Jobe's father was Kali. I cannot go beyond this.

go beyond this.

Among Dingiawayo's pour were migoze mgcobo, Cakijana.

Mikwana assed the latter two It also pair whiteshata I was som of
Myandeya ka mbiya ka Ishangana.

According to what has been told me in Bekapayulu was the first

descring to what has been toto me in Bekapezulu was the first this men had a son montungwas whilst montungwas son was unifor Now it so happened that the a backwas learner quantitate fought with utrija and gave him the theme a fulenul wenja.

The following are the Kings of Tox Les Swaziland Tongaland Silambowa Ohlankumbar Simin Mangobe la Hiertunia mabuda kamangia mwali ka habudi makasane The Tonges eventout and blasela's mapunga, ascer Mama wer required to pay land. to the Tales o vioce offermation Ishaka mee got bullock blood, specialled it, about the ground since the kroad; in the morning he would call in witch ovelone one ook them to divine how the blood had come to be there Le witch - doctors made a mistake whereupon Tohaka had them. Litter as importors. (Noukwana 40,57)

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The documents published in this volume are drawn from the James Stuart Collection in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. Four companion volumes are projected. With their publication, scholars working in the field of southern African studies will have available an 'archive' of recorded oral evidence that should open new historical perspectives. While the evidence relates principally to the Zulu in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is not confined within rigid temporal and geographical limits. Information about neighbouring societies and related groups features prominently in many of the statements, as do traditions of pre-nineteenth century origin. The range of subject matter is thus extensive, and it is hoped that the present volume, even without its companions, will be of immediate scholarly use.

The man who had the vision and energy to record this assemblage of oral testimony still awaits a biographer. Born in Pietermaritzburg on 30th January, 1868, James Stuart grew up among Zulu-speakers. By the age of 20 his language proficiency was such that he was employed as interpreter in the newly annexed colony of Zululand, and for more than twenty years after that his postings in the government service were to positions where he was constantly in touch with the African peoples. His entry in the Natal Who's Who of 1906 indicates how extensive these contacts had become by that date:

Clerk and Interpreter to Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate, 1st Feb., 1889; sent to Swaziland, March, 1894, to interpret during the political crisis then existing in that country; proceeded in Oct., 1894, to London with a deputation of Swazies; received the thanks of Her late Majesty's Govt. for services rendered in Swaziland; Acting British Consul, Swaziland, March to Aug., 1895; Secretary for Zululand, Aug., 1895, and Resident Magistrate, Ingwavuma, Zululand, 1st Sept., 1895; during 1898 and 1899 acted as Magistrate in Natal for the following Divisions:

Umgeni, Impendhle, Upper Umkomanzi, and Alexandra; Acting British Consul, Swaziland, Oct., 1898, to April, 1899; Magistrate, Lower Tugela Division, Oct., 1899; Acting Magistrate, Lion's River Division and Klip River Division in 1900 and 1901; Acting Asst. Master, Supreme Court, March, 1901; Acting Asst. Magistrate, Durban, March, 1901; Magistrate for the Colony, 21st April, 1902.

From the dates that appear in his notebooks, it seems that Stuart was not yet thirty when his interest in the African peoples matured into a plan for seeking out well-informed persons for the purpose of recording their knowledge of the history, social customs, language and oral literature (especially the praises, tales and mythology) of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples. In 1902, in a jotting in one of his notebooks, he formulated his hopes in the following words:

My object is to collect native custom so universally and thoroughly as to become an authority on it and compare that with existing legislation &c., &c. All will then be bound to come to my well to drink. Such work was never done in any country.

At this stage of his career Stuart was also beginning to write and speak on Zulu affairs. His knowledge received recognition in his appointment as Natal representative to the Zulu Orthography Conferences of 1905 and 1907, and he also served as examiner in the Zulu language for the University of the Cape of Good Hope. The 1906 'Bambatha' disturbances in Natal led to his services being employed in a number of new directions: as a captain in the Natal Field Artillery; as a member of the Greytown Court Martial that tried many of the rebels; as Secretary to the Natal Native Affairs Commission in 1906-7; and as Intelligence Officer with the Zululand Field Forces from 1906 to 1909. The culmination of his career in the Natal colonial service was his appointment in 1909 as Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs. With the unification of South Africa in the following year, the colony's Native Affairs Department was absorbed into the central administration. By then Stuart was engaged in the writing of A History of the Zulu Rebellion, which the Natal government had commissioned towards the end of the disturbances of 1906. This work, based partly on information gathered in interviews with participants, was published in 1913.

Stuart remained in Natal until 1922, continuing all the while to

build up his treasury of recorded oral evidence. Then he moved to Britain. By this time he was engaged in a new project: the preparation of readers in the Zulu language, based on the information he had gathered over the years. In 1923 his <u>Tulasizwe</u> appeared, and was followed by a number of similar volumes: <u>Hlangakula</u> (1924), <u>Baxoxele</u> (1924), <u>Kulumetule</u> (1925), and <u>Vusezakiti</u> (1926). Another project of the latter years of his life was the editing of the <u>Diary</u> of Henry Francis Fynn, the Port Natal pioneer and intimate of Shaka, but this task remained uncompleted when Stuart died in London on 8th March, 1942.

In acquiring Stuart's collected papers, the Killie Campbell Africana Library gained possession of one of the richest sources available to the student interested in the language, the literature, the customs and the history of the African peoples of Natal, Zululand and Swaziland. The collection is housed in 78 files. Its real core, the oral testimony, is recorded in more than a hundred notebooks and on numerous loose sheets of paper. Also in the files is a mass of other documentary material: texts of Stuart's lectures, copies of published articles, unpublished manuscripts, private correspondence, and typed transcripts, made under the auspices of the Killie Campbell Library, of some of Stuart's notes.

This volume, and those that are to follow, incorporate only a portion of this vast documentary assemblage. We have classed as original <a href="https://documentary.com/historical">historical</a> evidence all testimony in which informants were recounting, or commenting on, the past, or discussing the issues and events of their own day. Excluded from our selection are Stuart's own writings, and also his extensive records of nursery tales, legends, myths, praise poems and linguistic information. While these latter categories may all yield information useful to the historian, they require interpretation by specialists with training and skills which the editors do not adequately possess.

Stuart was both a note-taker and a note-maker. In some respects his methods were sophisticated. Very rarely did he fail to date the record of an interview; very commonly he noted the circumstances in which it took place. He seems to have been scrupulous about recording

the presence of third parties, and he was careful, in most cases, to check the credentials of his informants. Details of age, parentage, descent and social affiliations were almost invariably recorded, and he often questioned witnesses about the derivation of information that could not have been acquired by them at first hand. Yet the general observance of these basic procedures did not make for absolute uniformity, and in other respects Stuart's methods varied considerably, changing with experience, with the contingencies of the situations in which his interviews took place, and with the varying purposes that he had in mind in collecting oral evidence.

Because of these shifts of purpose and modifications of method. his notes are characterised by a number of anomalies. In some instances, he summarised or paraphrased the evidence supplied by his informants. In others, he recorded their testimony verbatim or in 'telegraphic' form. Not uncommonly, he shifted from one form to another during the course of a single interview. Although generally he kept a consecutive record of his interviews with a particular informant or group of informants, this was not an invariable practice. At times he seems to have categorised the information he was getting. so that the record of a single interview, or series of interviews, may be broken up and entered under subject heads in different notebooks. Often he also transcribed notes, so that the same evidence may appear in slightly different forms in more than one place. As his notes were intended for personal use, not for publication, breaches of the conventions of punctuation, syntax and grammatical construction are common, as are other uncorrected errors and imperfections. Stuart also used English and Zulu virtually interchangeably. At times he seems to have translated from Zulu to English while he recorded; at others, he adhered strictly to the mother-tongue of his informant; very often he slipped back and forth from one language to the other as an interview proceeded.

To these anomalies must be added others that stem from the varying styles and unequal abilities of his informants. While some held strictly to the subject under discussion, others were rambling and discursive. In such cases, one topic may lead to another with bewildering suddenness, and historical evidence may be heavily inter-

larded with non-historical information that would be inappropriate in the present volume and its sequels.

The placing of this material in numbered files in the Killie Campbell Library is a convenient storage arrangement rather than a meaningful ordering of the documents. It cannot be otherwise: the collection defies classification. Some notebooks contain information gathered on a number of different subjects from a number of different sources at a number of different times; others are devoted to particular subjects or sets of subjects in which Stuart was specially interested; still others contain Stuart's own writings interleaved with oral testimony. Compounding the problems of classification are the notes on loose sheets of paper. A single page may carry statements on a number of distinct topics derived from several sources; another may record information given by a witness the bulk of whose evidence is to be found in the bound notebooks.

Taken together, these characteristics of the recorded oral evidence confronted the editors with a number of technical problems additional to those commonly encountered in the preparation of manuscript material for publication. Set out below are the main considerations that shaped our policy in the face of these difficulties. I. Arrangement of the material

# Had we presented the historical evidence in the order in which it

appears in the files, we would, in effect, have been reproducing the present, essentially fortuitous, arrangement of a non-classifiable body of material. Instead, we have done what cannot be done to the original manuscripts: we have 'broken up' notebooks and sheets of paper that contain information derived from more than one informant, and have regrouped the testimony so that it now appears (as is often, but not always, the case in the original) in consolidated form under the name of the person who gave it, or, where more than one person was present, under the name of the leading informant. In doing this, we have ordered the evidence chronologically, following the dates given by Stuart in his notes. At the head of each entry, source references are given, and as an aid to precise cross-reference we have shown in the left-hand margin the pagination of the original. Thus reorganised, the material has been placed in alphabetical name-

order of informant, the present volume running from A to L.
II. Translation of Zulu

Even to readers with a mastery of both Zulu and English the frequent transitions from one language to the other are disconcerting, while obscurities of expression in many of the Zulu passages could pose problems for persons who have some knowledge of the language but lack ready access to expert advice. These considerations, and the fact that the bulk of the evidence was recorded by Stuart in English, persuaded us that the passages in Zulu should be translated, thus making the whole body of evidence accessible to the widest possible scholarly audience. Words that could not be translated for want of an English equivalent are explained in the Glossary. We have also retained the original Zulu for idiomatic expressions and praises which would lose their flavour in translation. These we have either commented on or attempted to explain in editorial notes. In reproducing Zulu names and phrases in the text, we have followed Stuart's orthography, although we have omitted the signs which he sometimes used to indicate aspirated and ejective consonants, and have used the modern 'kl' in place of his '(x)'.

To alert the reader to the presence of the translator's hand, and also to give some indication of the character of the original, we have used italics to demarcate all passages which were recorded in Zulu. The only exception to this rule is in respect of the translation of locatives. The frequent interruption of lines of roman type by italicised renderings of 'at', 'to', 'of' etc. would have been pedantry of the least desirable sort.

### III. Textual emendation

As has already been indicated, Stuart's notes are characterised by numerous minor anomalies and irregularities, resulting in the main, one suspects, from the speed at which he worked when interviewing informants. Spelling, though generally good, is flawed from time to time; closing quotation marks are omitted at the end of direct speech; the query mark is often forgotten; paragraphing is irregular and (where it exists) may be indicated either by indentation or by marginal dashes; practice in respect of the use of abbreviations, numerals and capital letters is inconsistent; and punctua-

tion signs, while standard in some passages, are idiosyncratic in others, the dash, for example, being used as an equivalent to the stop, the semi-colon and the comma, as well as serving for parentheses.

Thus had the evidence been reproduced uncorrected, the result would have been a bewilderingly defective and clumsy text, poorly paragraphed, strangely punctuated, and littered with irritating errors and irregularities. Equally disconcerting would have been the use of special typographical devices to indicate editorial emendation of all these minor defects. Had we adopted such a system, our text, though conforming to the highest canons of scholarship, would have become a printer's and reader's nightmare.

We have, therefore, employed a differentiated method of emendation. While all major instances of editorial intervention have been clearly indicated by setting amended passages in sublinear 'cup' brackets, the purely formal task of eliminating minor errors and inconsistencies has been effected without burdening the printed page with frequently repeated tokens of the editorial presence. In addition, at the head of each entry, we have standardised the presentation of basic information relating to the date, time and place of interviews, and the presence of other persons.

Two other editorial activities should be mentioned: the annotation of the evidence, and the provision of an index.

With these aids, we hope that scholars will indeed drink deeply from the waters of Stuart's well.

The Editors.

# NOTES ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES USED IN THE TEXT

### Roman and Italic Type

As almost all the original Zulu appears in translation in this volume, Stuart's frequent shifts from one language to the other are indicated by the use of roman type for passages originally recorded in English, and italic type for passages originally recorded in Zulu.

### Underlining

Stuart underlined for emphasis and, inconsistently, for other purposes. Underlining has been retained where it was used for emphasis in the original, and has also been used for book titles, names of newspapers, ships, farms, etc., which in the original may appear underlined, or in inverted commas, or without any identifying device.

#### Brackets

Inconsistent usages in Stuart's notes have been eliminated and the following standardised styles adopted to cover parentheses in the original as well as editorial intervention:

- 1 Round brackets ( ): parenthetical statements which are integrally part of the evidence supplied by informants;
- 2 Square brackets [ ]: Stuart's comments on, or amplifications of, statements made by informants;
- 3 Angular brackets < >: statements or information inserted into the text by the editors;
- 4 Sublinear 'cup' brackets [ j: editorial emendation of defective text.

## GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

- isAngoma (izAngoma): diviner; one inspired or possessed by an ancestral spirit and employed to detect practitioners of witchcraft and to interpret mysterious occurrences.
- amaBele: sorghum; millet; grain.
- ukuBhula: to beat with sticks on the ground, as done by the assembly during divination by an isangoma; hence, to divine.
- ukuBonga: to declaim praises, extol; to express gratitude.
- imBongi (izimBongi): praise-singer, specialist declaimer of praises.
- isiBongo (iziBongo): 1. clan-name; 2. (p1. only) praises, praisenames.
- ukuButha (pass. ukuButhwa): to gather; to form young men or women into age-grades; to enrol young men into new military units; to muster fighting men for war.
- iDlozi (amaDlozi): spirit of a dead person.
- inDuna (izinDuna): civil or military official; person appointed by the king or chief to a position of authority or command.
- ukwEshwama: to perform the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony, in which, about a month before the umKhosi ceremony, the king or chief ritually tastes the new crops.
- ukuGiya: to dance about performing war-antics; to dance a war-dance.
- isiGodlo (iziGodlo): 1. king's or chief's private enclosure at upper end of his ummzi, where the huts of his household are situated; 2. women of the king's establishment; girls presented to the king as 'tribute' or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. um-Ndlunkulu.
- ukuHlobonga: to practise external sexual intercourse.
- ukuHlonipha: to show respect through practising certain formal avoidances in action or speech.
- ukuJuba (pass. ukuJutshwa): to give orders for an action to be performed, especially to give the order permitting age-grades to marry.
- iKhanda (amaKhanda): major military centre; royal umuzi where military units are quartered.
- iKhehla (amaKhehla): man who has put on the headring; elderly man.

### GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

- iKholwa (amaKholwa): Christian; literally 'a believer'.
- ukuKhonza: to give one's allegiance to, or subject oneself to, a king or chief; to pay formal respects to.
- umKhosi (imiKhosi): the annual 'first-fruits' ceremony held at the great place of the king or chief in the period December-January, a festival at which the king or chief is ritually strengthened, the ancestral spirits praised, and the allegiance of the people renewed.
- ukuKleza: to milk a cow straight into the mouth, as done for a period by youths newly enrolled in an age-grade; hence, to pass the boyhood stage, to qualify as a young warrior.
- inKosana (amaKhosana): heir to a chieftainship or house.
- inKosi (amaKhosi): king; paramount; chief.
- inKosikasi (amaKhosikasi): principal wife of a king, chief, or umnumsana; title applied by courtesy to any wife of a man of such position.
- ukuLobola: to formalize a marriage by the conveyance of cattle or other property from the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.
- iLobolo (sg. only): cattle or goods handed over in a marriage transaction by the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.
- iMpi (iziMpi): 1. military unit or force, army; 2. battle, engagement, war.
- iNceku (iziNceku): attendant in a king's or chief's household responsible for the performance of certain domestic duties.
- indlunkulu (iziNdlunkulu): 1. hut of king's or chief's principal wife; the group of huts attached to it; 2. the family attached to those huts.
- wmNdlunkulu (sg. only): girls of the royal establishment presented to the king as 'tribute' or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. isigodlo.
- iNsizwa (iziNsizwa): youth approaching manhood; young man who has not yet put on the headring.
- umNumzana (abaNumzana): head of an umuzi or household; family head.
- iNyanga (iziNyanga): doctor, medicine man, herbalist, diviner.
- ukuSisa: to place livestock in the care of a dependent, who then has certain rights of usufruct.
- ukuTekeza: to speak in Swazi, Lala, or Bhaca fashion, in which 'tsh'
  is substituted for Zulu 'th', and 't' or 'dz' for 'z'.
- ukuThakatha: to use supernatural forces for evil purposes.
- wmThakathi (abaThakathi): one who uses supernatural forces for evil purposes.

### GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

for Zulu '1'.

ukuThunga: to sew on a headring.

isiVivane (iziVivane): accumulation of stones or other objects placed next to a path by travellers as 'good luck' tokens.

umuZi (imiZi): 1. homestead, collection of huts under one headman;
2. the people belonging to a homestead.

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