

MABONSA KA SIDHLAYI

27.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Paul Ngwenya, Zwayi, Ratsha, Dawule

- 1 Mabonsa ka Sidhlayi ka Mbombosana ka Ntimane of the *Kubeka* people. [As far as I can make out Mabonsa's age is about 80.] I am of the same age as the Tulwana (Zulu regiment).¹ I am sure of this. I never was *buta'd*. I was of the Msayapansi regiment, under Langalibalele.²

Siyepu ka Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu ka Bungane ka Nsele ka Mashiyi ka Dhlomo ka Radebe ka Mtimkulu (*the first*) ka Musi ka Muhlanga ka Ndhlovu ka Mhuhu.³ I know Mhuhu is the last.

Siyepu is also called Sinepu and Siniki, for he was called after the long hair of goats.⁴ Langalibalele also had the name Mtetwa; this was the real name. It was given in consequence of Dingiswayo's visit to that tribe.⁵ Langalibalele was once *taken captive* by *cannibals* when Dhlomo his (Langalibalele's) brother died. After this capture Langalibalele was given the name.

- 2 We say Mtumkulu, not Mtimkulu [per Paul Ngwenya, but Mabonsa appears to me to say Mtimkulu every time, and I have so recorded].

The *isibongo* of our tribe is Hlubi. Hlubi must have been some person but I cannot connect up.

Our tribe *originated at the Lubombo mountains*,⁶ *at the large flat rocks on the summit*. The first to come south from the uBombo were the Basutos. There is a tradition to the effect that a footprint caused by the Basutos was left on the *rocks* at the uBombo whilst these *rocks* were still wet, and this footprint was always afterwards visible. The stone was hollowed out in the shape of a footprint.

When the Hlubis left the uBombo they were living on territory now occupied by the Mgomezulu people (Lubela and Mbikiza). They left behind them the Maseko people.⁷ There is a tradition to the effect that there was a *dancing competition* in the Mgomezulu territory, whereupon some wild beast *caused the reeds to stir* (this is probably the origin of (the name of) Muhlanga,⁸ our ancestor). The dance evidently was at the time when Muhlanga separated from the other portion of the tribe.

- 3 The dance must have occurred near a river where reeds were growing. The *ceremonial song* from which this tradition is derived was probably one of a regiment.

The Basutos speak of the Ngwenya people (i.e. Paul Ngwenya's *isibongo*) as Ngwena. The Ngwenyas were part of the Hlubi tribe. In the course of time their dialect changed to that of the Basuto.

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We are all closely associated with the Swazis.

The amaMpondo say that they *originated at the place of the Lubololwenja people*, which I take to mean the Zulus.⁹ I do not at all think they came from the Swazis.

I know the Kumalo people only as being the amaNtungwa.¹⁰ Matiwana ka Nomzaza of the Kumalo *pays taxes* at Estcourt under chief Mzakaza.¹¹ He is very old, older than Mabonsa. He talks all right. He cannot walk. When one of the Kumalos gave one food one originally said, 'E! Mntungwa!' Now of course many tribes are amaNtungwa. We Hlubis are not amaNtungwa, although, because we came from the north, the amaZotsha and amaLala talk of us as amaNtungwa. The amaZotsha are those who cut their faces. They are similar to amaLala. *The Madhlala people* (who live at the Mkomazi and about, in different parts) and the Dhlamini are also amaZotsha.¹²

Dingiswayo's coming to the Hlubi chief Bungane. He came to *ask about chieftainship*. 'When you overcame the nations, how did you do it?' Bungane received him kindly, and instructed him. Dingiswayo was accompanied by Tshaka (for Senzangakona was still reigning).¹³ Bungane *treated him with medicines* in various ways, and when he had finished he *gave him further instruction* when a buck made its appearance. He said, 'Go to that *inyamazane*.'¹⁴ He went and went and went, *until he began to fear it* and wonder what kind of buck it was. When he appeared to hesitate Bungane ordered that he was to be told to *approach it*. He then *approached it*. The buck remained standing. He hesitated, and eventually went up, took hold of the *inyamazane*, and *milked it*. He *milked it thoroughly!* He came back with the milk of this beast. Bungane then doctored him with this *milk*. He then let him go after he had finished, and he went off with Tshaka.

The *animal* was a *lioness*, that is, the one he was sent to. He merely milked the beast and *plucked out some of its hair*, which he also brought back. I have never heard of the cubs being brought away.

Dingiswayo was accompanied by Sisiyana of the people of Sirayo (father of Mehlokazulu).¹⁵ He was Dingiswayo's *mat-bearer* on the occasion of his coming to Bungane. He it was who told me Tshaka was present. Sisiyana died during the Zulu war. He was a very old man, say of Mgumanqa (age).¹⁶ He knew Bungane personally.

Paul Ngwenya says he has never heard of Tshaka's accompanying Dingiswayo to Bungane.

Bungane's principal kraal was Kwa Magoloza, at the Umzinyati near Newcastle where chief Nkabane now lives.¹⁷ Bungane would have doctored only at Magoloza.

There used to be many *lions* in that neighbourhood in years gone by. During Maranqa's time (*son of Bungane*; he was 'own brother' of Mtimkulu) - for he reigned too - some native found lion cubs in the veld and brought them home. The lioness followed the cubs for many miles and came to the kraal. She had extraordinary powers of tracing.

I think that Godongwana¹⁸ must have come to Kwa Magoloza kraal. This is on the southern side of the Umzinyati. The Hlubis blame themselves now for having educated Dingiswayo.

I, Mabonsa, was Langalibalele's *envoy* to Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo

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spoke of Langalibalele as 'father', and when he *distributed cattle* that (portion) given to Langalibalele was always given or issued first.

Dinuzulu and Siyepu do not know one another. There was intimacy only between Cetshwayo and Langalibalele.

The reason for Godongwana's going to Bungane must have been because he heard that he had *overcome other chiefs* and so thought he would *konza* there. Mabonsa supposes Godongwana of oYengweni¹⁹ stayed about a week, but thinks it may have been longer.

Langalibalele was given the name Mtetwa by his father Mtimkulu.
8 Bungane was a greater chief than Zwide and the Swazis.

Siyepu's mother was Mzamose ka Sobuza the Swazi king. She is dead. She died at Bishopstowe.²⁰

Sobuza said to Mtimkulu ka Bungane, 'I will *find you a female dog* (i.e. a girl), and you must *find a male dog for me*' (that is, proposing an alliance). Mzamose was *lobola'd* with 140 head of cattle. She was accompanied by 20 girls.

.... <Praises of Bungane and Nsele omitted - eds.>

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File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 10-19.

- 10 Nsele was buried at the Mzinyati. All our kings must have been buried together. The graves are near Alcock Spruit.²¹ There is a stream there called iBungane after Bungane. Our kings' graves are all on farms now. The site of the graves is called *emakosini*.²²
- 11 The kings were buried *in the mountains among the rocks*. Langalibalele was buried near Estcourt and close to Ntabamhlope.²³ We had hoped to bury him at *emakosini*, but owing to the probable delay in connection with getting leave to carry the body up etc. we were obliged to bury it where we did. Chief Nkabane lives where our kings were buried - Nkabane ka Ncwana ka Mtimkulu ka Bungane etc.

When we tell a child (baby) to keep quiet we say, 'Keep quiet, *Zikode! Keep quiet, Zimende!*'²⁴

- The cause of our dispersal was as follows.²⁵ Mtimkulu was liked by the amaNgwane girls. *The amaNgwane plotted to kill him by using the girls against him*. They sent a *diviner of the Hlubi people* who had joined the amaNgwane. His name was Zulu ka Mafu ka Dwala ka Ntini (he *swore by the name of Meyezi*, i.e. a princess of their tribe) of the *clan-name Radebe*. The girl that liked Mtimkulu is not known. The girl, after sleeping with Mtimkulu, took his semen and took it
12 to her king for the doctor to use to *treat him* with. In consequence of having been *enticed out*, Mtimkulu went into the gardens at a place called Ejiyaneni at the Ezimbutu hill. He then sent his boy attendants away, saying they must *surround the field* and beat away the birds. He remained alone. The girl was not with him. As it happened there were three *companies* of amaNgwane concealed in the garden. They *rose up*, went to the king, and killed him. In consequence of this the *nation met with disaster*. The whole tribe *scattered*. Some went to the Cape Colony, viz. Mehlomakulu ka Mpangazita ka Bungane; some went to Madadiyela.²⁶ A large section

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of the tribe went and *konza'd in the Zulu country*. The Iziyendane regiment was formed out of them. The death of Mtimkulu must have taken place in Tshaka's reign. Those who *konza'd* Tshaka returned on his killing his mother Nandi; they could not approve his killing his mother.

- 13 Makata was the *induna of the Iziyendane*. Zwayi ka Mbombo ka Makata ka Ndhlukazi of the *Tshabalala people*, Mndebele, Mananga, Ntambama, all Mtimkulu's sons went and *konza'd* Tshaka.

As soon as Mtimkulu was murdered the tribe dispersed, each prince carrying off his own section.

The Matiwane chief at this time was Matiwane ka Masumpa ka Gwabini.²⁷

Mtimkulu's principal kraal was oDidini.

A number of our tribe went off with the amaNgwane when they were chased by Dingana, for Dingana attacked the amaNgwane very soon after the dispersal of the amaHlubi.

The Hlubis formerly used not to fight, even with sticks. They got into this habit because they were feared by all the *peoples*. Zwide never attacked them. They did not use assegais.

- 14 A saying: *uBungane wenza nga ku ningi*, i.e. all things belong to Bungane. Even today, when the sky rains, people say this. Bungane ruled a great deal. There was a great earthquake during his reign. It was shortly after this earthquake that Bungane died.

When Langalibalele was caught by Europeans there was a total eclipse of the sun.²⁸

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- 15 Langalibalele was once caught by cannibals when a youth. Duba, the son of Mtimkulu, was born of a woman who was a cannibal. Knowing this, Duba induced the cannibals (relatives of his) to go and catch Langalibalele, as Duba wished to reign as chief. They were to catch and make away with him. The cannibals went, caught L., and took him to the east side of the Mzinyati. Two daughters of Mtimkulu begged a man, Gxiva, of their tribe (the Radebe) to go and recapture L. Gxiva went to where L. was, saw L., and found that his head had been shaved by the cannibals (a sure sign that he was about to be eaten). He (said) to him that he was to run away as, having been shaved, he was going to be eaten. He ran away, got to the Mzinyati and, finding it full, entered the river and swam across. He was a splendid swimmer. The cannibals followed, but finding the river full, turned back.

After crossing, L. went off towards his home. He met Mhlakaza of the *Tshabangu people*. Mhlakaza took L. off to a cave at the Empongo, up the *Ncuba* stream.²⁹ L. lived with all of his own age in the cave, also some men. The cannibals did not come to this place. L.'s mother was there too; her name was Ntambose ka Matshoba ka Mgabi ka Mafu, clan-name *Mazibuko*. L. grew up at the home of his mother's people among the *amaNgwe people*. (The chief now is Sibamu.)³⁰

- 16 I know of a woman, wife of Masece of the Hlubi tribe, who was once caught by cannibals. This happened during Duba's dispute over the succession. She had her left buttock cut off, but when the cannibals began to eat it one called out as a warning to the others, '*This one is bitter to the taste!*', whereupon she was allowed to go. I have seen this woman.

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Another woman, daughter of Sitole of the *Tshabalala* people, had the flesh and muscle above one of her knees cut and the kneecap got loose. They let her go. She limped away and lived for years afterwards, always lame. [Mabonsa and Paul Ngwenya knew this woman.]

Dingana chased the cannibals away from our part of the country. The great cannibal chief was Mahlapahlapa ka Mnjoli of the *Radebe* people.³¹ He lived near Glencoe junction and Dundee.

17 I was once sent to Basutoland by Langalibalele to ask for feathers. I there came across Mahlapahlapa himself, a big man but (with) thin legs. He denied having ever eaten any people. I spoke to him about the matter. I said I had heard that a woman was beaten in front until she swelled, and that this part was *presented* to the chief. 'Oh no,' he said, 'I never ate people. Only members of my tribe did so.' He had run off to live in Basutoland, as he had been chased from Natal. He had no chance in his new surroundings of being a cannibal. I heard that the heel is a very juicy piece.

There was no cannibalism in Bungane's day, nor Mtinkulu's, but when Mtinkulu was murdered the tribe became dispersed, and as a drought set in, people, having nothing to eat, began to live on one another.

Mahlapahlapa ka Mnjoli had a large tribe, all these being said to be cannibals.

18 We do not speak of ourselves as amaNtungwa, nor are we abeNguni.³² We *originated* by ourselves, and are known as amaHlubi. I heard from my father, from Macaleni (father of Paul Ngwenya), and from others of our having come from where Lubelo lived. Lubelo was of the Mgomezulu *isibongo* and belonged to Swaziland. The Basutos came away south first, then the Hlubis. (It is) not known if the Mgomezulu people were then on the place the Hlubis started from, or went to live there later.

Paul N. says that Musi is the chief who originally left the parent tribe, wherever it was. The Xaba people and the amaBongweni also (as one tribe) left the same place. These are all descendants of Radebe.

There is a tradition, says Paul N., to the effect that a beast was killed and the young claimants to the chiefship were called on to select the piece which would confer the highest rank. Xaba took a *hind leg*, Mbongweni took *the ribs*, and Musi took *the meat covering the ribs (insonyama)*. As the *insonyama* had been previously agreed on as that which would confer chiefship, Musi got the highest rank.³³ This is what caused the tribes to separate. The Xaba and Mbongweni peoples are part of the Hlubi tribe to this day and have no chief of their own.

19 Mabonsa: I am of the Hlatshwayo or Kubeka tribe, separate from the Hlubis.

There is a tradition that the Ngwenya people are never attacked by *crocodiles*. Paul N. says he has no hesitation in entering the water and crossing. The Radebe people too are not eaten by crocodiles.

We used to go in for circumcision. Paul N. says his father had been *circumcised*. We and the Basuto must have sprung from the same place, for our customs are very much alike.

Paul N. says the reason given him for the Hlubis coming down to where they went to in Newcastle division was *a shortage of food*.

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There were no people in occupation in the country when we first went to occupy it, i.e. those near Newcastle.

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File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 20-9.

Also present: Paul Ngwenya, Zwayi, another

- 20 Paul N. says that about two years ago word came from the Cape Colony to this Government about the possibility of Siyepu going to join the rest of the tribe at Matatiela. There are 14 chiefs of our tribe in the Cape. The Natal Government replied that '*Siyepu is happily situated*'. After this, messengers came from the tribe heads at the Cape and asked Siyepu how he had come to say he was living happily. Siyepu denied ever having made such a statement. Siyepu has a farm of his own of about 1 000 acres where he now is. Part of his land is laid claim to by a neighbour, a European, a Mr Franklin. There are many European farmers in the immediate vicinity. Siyepu would like to move to the district now occupied by Nkabane in Newcastle division as it is extensive and (there are) few farms about.

Dispersal of the tribe.

Mtimkulu occupied the whole of Klip River county minus Msinga division, also practically the whole of the present Utrecht district.

- 21 The amaNgwane were not a large tribe. They used to fight with Mkungela ka Pitsholo, a *leading man* of the amaHlubi tribe. Mkungela lived on the Ncomo;³⁴ he lived there with Ntanzi and Ntanzi's son Jozana. This shows that the amaNgwane were a very small tribe as compared with ours.

Matiwane's chief kraal is unknown to me.

Mtimkulu went out from oDidini kraal (his chief kraal) to *inspect one of his fields*. He went about five or six miles, when he was attacked by Matiwane's men in the garden, as already described. He was *inspecting the amabele in the autumn*.

The oDidini kraal was at the eZimbutu, three hills *which were closely similar and arranged like hearthstones*, not far below Newcastle and near the Mzinyati.

Mpangazita lived about where Newcastle is now.³⁵ The doctor, Zulu ka Mafu, who caused Matiwane to murder Mtimkulu, complained of Mtimkulu having been *stingy towards him with cattle* when he *treated him with medicines*. He was Mtimkulu's doctor.

- 22 After Mtimkulu's death, Maranqa looked after the people when they came back from where they had fled to. The greater number did not return.

As soon as the force sent by Matiwane had murdered Mtimkulu, they returned to their chief. They did not go on at once and attack oDidini kraal.

Mkungela was in charge of the Gumbi people. Matiwane's troops passed through the Gumbi people's country but were not seen or followed up. Mkungela's people were simply paralyzed like the rest of the tribe and did nothing. The whole tribe (Hlubi) collapsed like the breaking of a bottle to atoms.

Compare Dingiswayo's being *decoyed* by Zwide with Mtimkulu's being *decoyed* by Matiwane, but the Mtetwa tribe did not scatter.

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Yotwana of the Nkomo people was Langalibalele's *induna*. I do not know Mtinkulu's. Nkayitshana and Macaleni were also Langalibalele's *izinduna*.

The Swazi Didini kraal was called after the Hlubi kraal of that name.³⁶

Langalibalele's regiments³⁷

Msonganyati (Isiqamelo) - Langalibalele's own regiment, his age.
(Ndongaziyaduma)

Zintaka (amaRende)

Ntabayezwe

Msingapansi - my regiment, (says) Mabonsa.

Impumangingene *yamahlati*³⁸

Zitshelera

Imrotsho

Izinkonjane

Inguboyenkosi

amaNgwane - Langalibalele's last regiment

The Msonganyati was *butwa'd* by Maranqa. The Zintaka (amaRende) was Langalibalele's first regiment. The Imzimane or Umzimane comes next before the Msonganyati.

Langalibalele was born just after the coming of Godongwana. He was called Ngodongwana *wo Yengo*,³⁹ also Dingiswayo. The Msonganyati was the same age as Dingana's Ihlaba regiment. Langalibalele was this age. Langalibalele was born the very year that Dingiswayo went off to the Mtetwa again [see p. 54].⁴⁰ That is why he was named after Dingiswayo. He may have been named several years after Dingiswayo's departure.

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When Mtinkulu was murdered, Maranqa, who followed Mtinkulu in age, fled off to the Mhlongamvula mountain.⁴¹ He was with his following - a large one. There was fighting with Mate ka Ndaonde (not Ndwandwe) ka Langa, who was Maranqa's maternal uncle. Mate was defeated and took refuge on Mhlongamvula mountain. Maranqa went down the Igwa and when he got near the Mpama hill he went up to Kwa Tsetse.⁴² He then returned to his father's country at the Mzinyati.

Mpangazita was driven out in the meantime by Matiwane to the Sutu country, the place of Mtshwetshwe, and caused to cross the Isangqu.⁴³ His own people carried him across, but it was only for a short time, as Mpangazita turned and came back to his father's district, to eMawuza hill near Ntabamhlope, Estcourt district. Mpangazita had fighting with Matiwane at Mawuza.⁴⁴ Matiwane was presently attacked by the Zulus, just as if they had come to interfere in the fighting going on. Matiwane was then chased by the Zulus via Basutoland; he was caused to cross the Isangqu, but the Zulus did not cross. The Europeans proceeded to attack Matiwane.⁴⁵ He took refuge in a large forest in Pondoland, near where Sir T. Shepstone's father was.⁴⁶ Matiwane eventually found his way to Dingane, who ordered him to be killed. Dingana said, 'Here is the one with watery, weak eyes. Take him away.' They then dragged him off to a small cliff.

Matiwane's son Zikali made off to Swaziland. Zikali, when Dingana was killed, returned to Natal and lived near where Dundee stands.

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This was reported to Langalibalele. Langalibalele refused to fight with Zikali, for two men were fighting, i.e. Matiwane and Mtinkulu, so he left him alone. Jozana ka Ntanzu ka Gelandhlovu of the Madakani people killed Zikali's *izinduna* before they could reach their chief, for they were following on behind. Zikali went on, crossed above where Ladysmith is, and on to the very source of the Tugela, where the waterfall is. Even at this day the tribe is living there. Zikali was succeeded by Ncwadi, and Ncwadi by Bambazi. Their national name is amaNgwane, their *isibongo* Zondo.⁴⁷ The amaNgwane people are not amaNtungwa as far as I know. Their tribal *isibongo* is Zondo.

- 27 *The stronghold of Rawane.* Rawane was a member of the Hlubi tribe. He lived at the northern extremity of the Hlubi district. Rawane was of the people of Zwana ka Mbambo. Rawane used to take refuge in his stronghold whenever an *impi* passed, say on its way after Mzilikazi.

- 28 Matshiyi (sometimes referred to as Matshiya) once attempted to fight with Dhlambula. Matshiyi's leg was deformed in some way. 'Where do you come from?' said Dhlambula to someone. 'I come from Matshiyi's.' 'O!' said D., 'you come from that thing that walks like a cow.' Matshiyi resented the insult. He then took some reeds, sent the reeds to Dhlambula, and directed him to arm and be prepared. The reeds were a sign that he was to arm with assegais. The people were then turned into an *impi*. Matshiyi went off with his men to attack. *Matshiyi and Dhlambula faced each other.* They were at a distance from one another, for they used to throw assegais at one another. D. began by hurling an assegai at M. The assegai missed and stuck in the ground. He threw again, and the same thing happened. M. then threw at him. The first assegai entered the shield. He took another, flung it, and it stuck in the shield like the other. D.'s shield got too heavy for him. Here the forces came to closer quarters and fought. M.'s men caused the others to run. As they did so, D.'s shield got too heavy for him. He lagged behind. M.'s men caught him. They then sang a song of triumph and conducted him home. He was not killed but his cattle were seized. An order was issued that the oldest were to be picked out and given back to him, whilst the younger ones were appropriated by M. M. then asked him what he had meant by insulting him as he had done. He then allowed him to go off, for the killing of one another was unknown in those days. No more fighting occurred after this.

- 29 Matshiyi was chief son of Dhlomo ka Radebe. He was one of the Hlubi kings. This is the way they fought in olden days. Our people used to fight at a distance from one another. It was the Zulus that fought at close quarters.

The foregoing story shows the character of the warfare the people indulged in before Tshaka's day. It shows people were of a forgiving disposition. The Hlubi tribe never used to go off and attack neighbouring tribes.

The amaNgwane tribe lived on the northern side of the White Umfolozi, about the neighbourhood of Vryheid.

30.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 29-40.

Also present: Dawule

The Hlubi tribe do not cut their faces or fingers in any way like other tribes. They *pierce the ears with an awl*. This may be said to be characteristic of them. The name 'Hlubi' is one given by themselves. I do not know how the name originated, for there is no man of the name of Hlubi among the ancestors of the tribe. Sometimes women's names give rise to tribal names, but I do not see that can be the case in the present instance.

The great *isibongo* is Radebe; the *isitakazelo* is Nzimende.

30 Branches of the Radebe tribe: Gumbi (Mkungela's lot); Mdakane (*isibongo* of Ntanzi's people); Mazibuko (Mgagaiyana, his ancestor being Maqubela); Mazibuko (Mngane ka Msebe ka Mazibuko).

I cannot give the numerous branches that went off at the time of the great breaking up and dispersal of our tribe, which to my mind was like the breaking of a bottle into a thousand fragments. *Izwekufa* is the name we used in referring to the breaking up of our people.⁴⁸

Mpangazita [see 6 pp. back].

Ngalonkulu ran off to the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein; that is where the tribe still is.

Sondezi ran off *down the Igwa*, in the Transvaal. They now live close to the Mpama mountain, where Dingana followed up Mzilikazi.

Maranqa ran off to Swaziland, to *the place of his mother's people*. Mate fought him. He then came down the Igwa and came up the Namakazi river and then to the Ntabazwe; then he came down to where Newcastle is now.⁴⁹ Dingane was reigning at the time of his return.

31 Siyepu is also called Mandiza, a name given by the young men as a good-sounding name to *swear* by, and for girls to *swear* by.

When Mtimkulu was killed Langalibalele was already born. He could run about at that time. He and his elder brother Dhlomo ran off to Putini, *their maternal uncle*, and there took refuge. They stayed until Maranqa returned to the Mzinyati from his wanderings, whereupon Maranqa *fetched them back*. Langalibalele became Maranqa's *inceku*. Dhlomo was not liked. If, when out herding, Langalibalele happened to kill a rabbit that got up, Maranqa would praise him and say he would be the one to reign, swearing by his (Maranqa's) sister, Nomloyi ka Matshiyi, whilst he would say Dhlomo was unsuitable.

32 I am quite sure that our Msonganyati regiment (was of equivalent age, to the Ihlaba in Zululand. [The Ihlaba would have been recruited about 1837 and at the age of 18 or 19. This would make Langalibalele as about 91 now, or born about 1818. Hence, if (he had been, old enough to 'run about' when Mtimkulu was killed, such incident would have occurred about 1822 or 1823.] Langalibalele himself, when I visited him at Cape Town, told me he was of the Ihlaba regiment, and that when his father was killed he and his elder brother ran off to Putini, i.e. that he travelled on his own feet. He went with his mother Mntambose ka Matshoba of the Mazibuko people. She was Mtimkulu's chief wife.

Dingane killed Dhlomo at Mgungundhlovu. He also had Makata ka Ndhlukazi, the *induna* of the Izinyendane, killed for *insulting* him. Makata had referred to Dingane as the '*good-for-nothing that has not*

been circumcised'. The Iziyendane regiment, which was known as the *Iziyendane of Nandi*, was recruited in Tshaka's day, and Makata was the great *induna* of that regiment. They were called Iziyendane because none of them had the *headring* on, i.e. their hair lay back on their heads.⁵⁰ This regiment was composed of amaHlubi. Owing to this fact, Mtimkulu must have been killed early in Tshaka's reign, for the

33 Iziyendane *campaigned* with Tshaka *in the Mpondo country*. It was only after Mtimkulu's death that the Iziyendane were made into a regiment. People went off in a body and *konza'd* Nandi and became her regiment. [Nandi was killed in, I fancy, 1827.]⁵¹

My father Sidhlayi was never seen by me. He died a natural death when the Swazi king, Mswazi's father, Sobuza, was still living. He went and lived at the Pongolo at the Ngcaka after the dispersal of our tribe. I was born at the Ngcaka. My father came to *konza* the Hlubis during Mtimkulu's reign. I do not know the reason for his coming to *konza*.

Langalibalele was circumcised. As soon as he had done so he married a daughter of Msimanga, the mother of Mbayimbayi, then he took many other wives. He had I suppose about 30 wives.

My father lived at the Ngcaka before coming to *konza* Mtimkulu, and after the king's death he returned to the Ngcaka. On his death-

34 bed he directed that his children etc. should go back to *the daughter of Matshoba* (i.e. Langalibalele's mother). I do not know the name of my father's regiment. Yotwana was the big *induna* of the Mzimane regiment; the small *indunas* were Macaleni and Nkayitshana.

Dhlomo was recognized as the proper heir to the chieftainship as against Maranqa, who had already begun to collect around him a regiment. This regiment deserted and joined Dhlomo, becoming the Mzimane regiment. A conflict arose between Dhlomo and Maranqa in consequence of the dispute as to the succession, whereupon the Mzimane regiment succeeded in murdering Maranqa and cutting him up. In the meantime, Makata was with the Iziyendane *down-country*, i.e. at the Zulu king's. Messengers were sent to him to report what had happened to Dingana, but Makata sent back word that Dhlomo himself had better come and report the occurrence, because if he did so, as Makata supposed, he might be presented with a few head of cattle.

35 Dhlomo came down. Dingana is said to have examined Dhlomo carefully for two days, turning him round and round as he stood. On the third day he was ordered to be put to death for some reason. This greatly annoyed Makata, who used the epithet already referred to in regard to Dingana's being uncircumcised, whereupon D. had him put to death too. What D. objected to was that Dhlomo, who had put his 'father' Maranqa to death, should himself come and report that fact.

Afternoon, 30.1.1909.

I feel sure Godongwana came to Bungane (only, and not in) Mtimkulu's day. To put it in M.'s day would be, I think, to make it too late.

The old troops used to go in extended formation (*uqiwu*), as if out hunting, when going to war, (and did) not *viva*, i.e. (go) in line of column (*amaviyo*).⁵² Old and young men were put together. Mtimkulu had only the Izitshelera regiment. The Mzimane regiment

36 had been recruited by Maranqa; it revolted in favour of Dhlomo, and

after Dhlomo's death the regiment went over to Langalibalele and took him off to be *circumcised*.

Langalibalele also had an Izitshelera regiment [see list some pp. back]. The Izitshelera of Mtimkulu was a different regiment. No Izitshelera (of Mtimkulu) or Imzimane are now living. In the Zulu regiment Iziyendane there were members of the Imzimane and Izitshelera regiments. On Nandi being murdered by Tshaka, many of the Iziyendane deserted from Tshaka and fled away through the Transvaal or Orange River Colony down along the Igwa so as to be beyond his (T.'s) reach. They feared they would be killed now Nandi, their patroness, had been murdered.

Bungane's kraals were: Kwa Magoloza (eNgolozini), south-east of Newcastle near the Mzinyati, (near) Alcock Spruit and Ingagane railway stations.

Mtimkulu's kraals were: Kwa Nobamba; oDidini (chief kraal), which was at the Ezimbutu hills, three small hills below Utrecht.

37 I do not know any regiment of Bungane's. As a matter of fact there was no recruiting of regiments in the early days. The men and boys of each kraal would go together and form a company; the same with each other kraal. There was no regular regiment in which persons recruited from the whole tribe were included.

I do not know the name of Nsele's kraal.

I heard of Godongwana's arrival in our tribe from members of the Mzimane regiment, who said that Godongwana had come to the tribe during Bungane's reign, not during Mtimkulu's. He went to Magoloza kraal, not to Didini.

Langalibalele was never a *mat-bearer* in Tshaka's day. His eldest half-brother Marele (*isokanqangi*)⁵³ never went to Tshaka as (a member of) the Iziyendane. I do not know what Hlubi regiment he belonged to.

Origin of the name Iziyendane, The Hlubis *plaited their hair into strands*; it then *hung* to their necks and, as they walked, the rolls or strings of hair moved or swayed gently to and fro (*ukuyenda*, as a man who is sleepy sways to and fro).

38 Mtimkulu was killed after only his sons Marele and Gilikidi had been *circumcised*. The rest were *circumcised* after his death.

We had a custom similar to the *umkosi* in our tribe but called *igagane*, held every year. But it was a very different affair. People used to go and beg permission of the king to eat *pumpkins*, on the ground that there was famine at (their) kraal. People would, as it was called, '*ask for the gourd*', *i.e.* *pumpkins*. The king would then give permission to one after another. Those who had plenty of food would wait till the *igagane* was called up. It was the *igagane* which afforded general information that all might partake of the new fruits as the king himself had partaken thereof.

In Zululand this custom of first-fruits was much more stringently observed than with our kings. We held the *igagane* at the same time that the Zulus had their *umkosi*.

39 It was Sisiyana who was Dingiswayo's *mat-bearer* on the occasion of his coming to the Hlubi tribe. I spoke to Sisiyana himself at Sirayo's Emfeni kraal in the Nqutu district, quite close to Rorkes Drift. I had my conversation shortly after the Mbuyazi-Cetshwayo

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war of 1859.⁵⁴ Sisiyana said he was, at the time, an Mtetwa man. I believed from his circumstantial account that he had really accompanied Godongwana.

I have heard that Bungane had *intumbane* (disease) in his knee.⁵⁵ People never liked to speak of this as, if anyone had such disease, it was a certainty that he would die. Mtimkulu had no *intumbane*. The breaking up of the tribe was said to be due to the death of Bungane, and as *intumbane* was a complaint which he had, so people *hlonipa* it ever since. A king is never said to *gula*; he is said to *ukuba nomzimba*.⁵⁶

Zulu ka Mafu ka Ntini of the *Dwala* people was one of the Hlubi tribe. He lived near Jonono hill, Waschbank, and Mhlwaneni hill.⁵⁷

40 Makata remained on in command of the Iziyendane until he was killed by Dingane, notwithstanding that many of this regiment deserted when [in 1826?] Tshaka put his mother to death.

The death of Tshaka's mother. I hear she was killed because she was nursing a child in the *isigodhlo* when Tshaka entered. He asked whose child it was. She said hers, and (on her) being unable to give a proper reply he caused her to be put to death by having a rope tied round her neck then struck, she being strangled. She would not say the child was T.'s.

Among the Zulus one never said '*Baba*' to a man even though grey-headed. It was always '*Mnewetu*', for people did not marry.⁵⁸ Tshaka wished to have no children and not to marry.

Having no security, as their patroness had been killed, many Iziyendane deserted. After Makata was killed by Dingana, another batch of them deserted. I do not know who became Iziyendane *induna* after Makata.

29 & 30.1.1909 File 59, nbk. 29, sheet attached to front cover.

<In the lists that follow we have used the symbols A, A.1 etc. to indicate relationships which in the original are shown by arrowed lines and other devices. We have retained the original groupings of the names of the sons of Bhungane, Mthimkhulu, and Langelibalele - eds.>

Hlubi royal family⁵⁹

Matshiyi's son: Nsele

Nsele's sons: <A> Bungane	Mapanga
Sondezi	<C> Jozi
 Mpelerwana	

Bungane's sons: <A.1> Mtimkulu ^a	Zingelwayo
Maranqa ^a	Monakali
<A.2> Mpangazita	Ngalonkulu ^b
Manyaza	Mabona ^c
	Makanda ^c
	Makonza ^d
	Sidhlayi ⁶⁰

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^a Mother was Ngiwe ka Ndawonde ka Langa (not Langa the father of Zwide).

^b AmaDhlakadhla were borne by a daughter of Ndumo, the mother of Ngalonkulu.⁶¹

^c These two are immediately next to one another in age and belong to the amaDhladhla.

^d Own brother of Mtimkulu. He was the inkosana encane, son of a co-wife of Ngiwe, the mother of Mtimkulu.⁶²

<A.1> Mtimkulu's sons:	Dhlomo ^a	Ntambama
	Jijila	Luzipo
<A.1.1>	Langalibalele ^b	Marele ^c
	Ncwane ^d	Magadhla
	Gilikidi	Ludidi
	Duba	Mhlambiso
	Mananga	Mcagwe
	Pakatwayo	
	Mndebele	

^a Chief son (died). Langalibalele follows him in age.⁶³

^b Sijama or Mkwamide (girl).⁶⁴ I do not know where she married. She was the same age as my mother. She was of the Amapucula regiment. Mtimkulu recruited this regiment of girls. This regiment was followed in age by the amaGangafana (also Mtimkulu's).

^c The isokanqangi.⁶⁵

<A.1.1> Langalibalele's sons:

1 Mbayimbayi	Sinikani	Malambule ^a	Sambane
Siyepu ^a	Qwababane	Jakalazi	Msizi
2 Ncapayi	Ratsha	Mageba	Cetshwayo
3 uMuhaye	Zatshuke	Mlokotwa	Nkambayedwa
4 Fipa	Madikane	Nceke	Xegu
Manaba	Njayomtakati	Ngobandwane	Mandhla
Mdungazwe	Masipula	Gojela	Nkovana
Ndongeni	Juqu	Dayimana	Mango
			Mosi

Mnambiti	Tshali ^b	Mhlahlo	Mtamo
Peni	Gayifoko ^b	Mgunundwane	Sighedhle
Dubuyana	Jenene	Nhloko	Mdwebu
Mazwi	Maragane	Jangeni	Ndiyane
Nsinginsingi	Ndomba	Mdutshulwa	Tshonapi
Mnukwa	Zitwana	Boyi	Ngazi
Mbulawa ^b	Galaza	Mkandu	Tayi
Mzabateki ^b		Ngazana	Mtshodo

^a Chief son. Nceke (see below) was his only brother.

^b Born at Cape Town.

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<A.2> Mpangazita's sons: <A.2.1> Sidinane^a Mehloimakulu^b

^aChief son.

^bThe *isokanqangi*.

<A.2.1> Sidinane's son: Zibi

 Mpelerwana's son: Madubedube

<C> Line of succession to Jozi: Jozi

|
Mlenge

|
Sibabo

|
heir is in Basutoland

31.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 41-8.

Also present: another

41 The amaBele lived on the south of us. Ndhlela ka Sompisi of the Ntuli tribe came from the amaBele people.⁶⁶ The Ntuli people were formerly cannibals. Qunta, father of Ndomba (*induna* at Mtshezi, Estcourt), was one of the principal men among the Bele people.⁶⁷ The amaBele people are spoken of as Qunta's. They lived about eLenge (Umsinga division). The Ntulis lived about the Lenge too (Job's Kop).⁶⁸

Another tribe near us, where we used to buy tobacco, were the Dhlamini under Mmiso (father of Kukulela). These are the same as the amaKuze. (Mnjoli of the *Radebe people* lived right under the Berg, where the railway goes up to Harrismith. *The Miya people* lived in the stronghold of *Renqwa* under the Berg. The amaKumalo of *Mtezuka* and *Mzungeni* lived about *Zungeni* mountain and on further east. They also lived on the land subsequently built on by Sirayo ka Xongo. *The Radebe people* lived all about Ingogo, Majuba.⁶⁹

42 At oTaka (Wakkerstroom), Mate (father of Mandhlangampisi) lived. He was of the *Tshabalala people*. (Bungane)⁷⁰ got his chief wife from Mate's; her father was Ndawonde. The girl's name was Ngiwe, sister of Mate. He *lobola'd* her. Ngiwe bore Mtimkulu and Maranqa.

The Inhlongamvula is a mountain in the vicinity of the Mkondo river. Going from Newcastle, one crosses the Pongolo and, proceeding northeast, comes to the mountain just before reaching the Mkondo.

The Kumalo people used to be on good terms with the Hlubi people and visit them freely.

We never *cultivated tobacco*.⁷¹ We got it from eZungeni among the Kumalo (*Mtezuka*), and from the amaKuze (*Dhlamini*).

Our king used to send to the sea for sea water. Those that went for it (my maternal uncle, Maqulumba ka Sibenya ka Mvakali(?) of the *Tshabalala* tribe, used to be employed on the service) travelled close along the Tugela so as to avoid traversing occupied areas.

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especially when returning with the king's water. This water was used for *strengthening the king* and was not fetched year by year for *igagane* purposes.

- 43 I do not know if our Ingagane river⁷² took its name from the *igagane* ceremony. The word *igagane* only came into vogue after Tshaka began to reign, for it was forbidden to hold the *umkosi* ceremony. It used to be *umkosi* among our tribe previously to Tshaka. We were prohibited from practising the custom as it was intended our tribe should become extinguished in order that Tshaka's nation should be augmented.

We used to marry into the amaNgwane tribe. Myazane, a girl of the amaNgwane tribe, married Maranga. She died at Dweba's district, i.e. near Draycott railway station.⁷³ Although we inter-married with Matiwane's people we were not on good terms with them.

- I know that Mzilikazi left Intumbane hill when he fled from Tshaka. I know this from our speaking of his people as '*those beggarly people from Ntumbane*'. This Ntumbane hill is low down the
44 Bivana and near Dumbe mountain.⁷⁴

The Matiwana people lived all about Hlobana and Vryheid [*vide* Gibson p. 43].⁷⁵ The Hlubis went as far as *the stronghold of Rawane*.

When we Hlubis came from the uBombo, we kept a northerly route. We passed the Swazi Makosini⁷⁶ travelling almost due west till we came to the eNgcuba stream and Newcastle district.

EPangweni, the name of one of Langalibalele's kraals, was very close to where Utrecht now stands. That is the kraal at which Langalibalele was *circumcised*.

Bungane was buried on this side of the Mzinyati. Nsele was buried at eMange, a small hill close to the Mzinyati, but on the north side of it and above the Ingcuba stream.

When we came to live in Newcastle division etc. the Kumalo people must have already been in occupation of their lands about Ntabankulu to Nhlazatshe etc.⁷⁷

I do not know where the amaNgwane originally sprang from.

- 45 Tshaka's forces are said to have once shut a number of people in a hole or cave until they all died and rotted there. Presently a green fly was seen - a sign as to what had happened. This took place somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dumbe or Mhlongamvula.

[When were Iziyendane formed? As soon as Hlubis were dispersed, did not some go at once to Tshaka and, becoming Iziyendane, proceed with T.'s forces to attack Matiwane? Who was Motsholi?

Read pp. 376-382, Theal, *History of S.A.*, 1795-1828 - a lot of information regarding Hlubi tribe. Mpangazita is said by Theal, p. 378, to have left Natal in 1821 in consequence of Matiwane's attack. Shepstone is therefore mistaken in saying 1812 is the year that disturbances began in the north.]⁷⁸

Mabonsa continues.

Mpangazita's mother's *clan-name* was Kesa. He was in his own hut, i.e. no others of those I have enumerated *followed him in age*.

I know Sigonyela's people as abaDhlongwe [Bathlokwa - Theal].⁷⁹ These lived about the sources of the Wilge river in Harrismith

district.

- 46 Mpangazita left Natal only after the death of Mtimkulu. I do not know of Motsholi's leaving the Hlubis and going to *konza* Mokotsho of the Bathlokua tribe, nor do I know anything of the necklace and cutting off of Motsholi's head as described by Theal [pp. 378, 379].⁸⁰

Mpangazita, to avenge Mtimkulu's death, clashed with the amaNgwane at Emawuza hill across the uMrulgwana (or uMrulugwane) river [Caledon]. Whilst fighting them there, the Zulu army appeared. This was during Dingana's reign. The amaNgwane were chased. Mpangazita died about this time.⁸¹

After Tshaka dispersed the amaNgwane they or a section of them went and lived near Mont aux Sources (waterfall). To this day some are there still. It was here that Dingana found and chased them off. Matiwane was still with them. They remained only a short time at the Tugela sources.⁸²

Mangena ka Binca ka Mvakali ka Mtshengu ka Wawawa ka Sidwabasilutuli <praise omitted - eds.> of the *Tshabalala* people (Mangena's *clan-name*). This was also Makata's *clan-name*, i.e. the *Iziyendane induna*. Mangena was of *Tshaka's Ndabenkulu regiment*. Mangena followed my mother in age.⁸³

- I heard from my uncle Mangena that he, on Mtimkulu's death, went to Tshaka and there joined the *Iziyendane* regiment, and was present when Matiwane (amaNgwane chief) was attacked and dispersed by Tshaka. He took part in that attack. Mangena died some 20-25 years ago.
- 47 Sibabo ka Mlenge ka Jozi ka Nsele ka Matshiyi etc. was also of the *Ndabenkulu* regiment.

Mangena was a young boy when Mtimkulu was killed. He had not *been circumcised* when he went to Tshaka. He, in Langalibalele's reign, became (one of) the *Mzimane* regiment.

The *circumcising* took place just before or just after (one's) arriving at puberty. If a boy *was circumcised* whilst still young the wound healed more rapidly than when he had become older.

Matiwane lived about the White Mfolozi, i.e. Vryheid. Tshaka *attacked* him, possibly with the *Iziyendane*. Makata (already referred to) and Mdhleleni ka Ndhlela of the Hlubi were *izinduna* of the *Iziyendane*. I cannot say if it was Tshaka's friendship for the Hlubis that caused him to attack Matiwane, or if he attacked Matiwane with the *Iziyendane* (probably he did).

- 48 [To be read: 'Historic Sketch of the Tribes anciently inhabiting the Colony of Natal - as at present bounded - and Zululand', by Sir T. Shepstone, in Cape Colony Native Affairs Commission Proceedings, at end, 1881-1882, and in pamphlet 'Correspondence relating to granting to Natives in Natal of documentary tribal titles to land'. See also Shepstone's lecture, p. 155, i, Bird, Annals of Natal.]⁸⁴

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File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 48-56.

Also present: Dawule, Mageba ka Langalibalele

Mabonsa continues.

The Izintaka regiment for the most part were born after Mtimkulu's murder, but some were born before his murder. Those who, when they went to *konza* in the Zulu country, became members of the *Kokoti* regiment, became Izintaka when they returned among us to their own people, hence uKokoti (is the equivalent of) Izintaka.

I know Mini, son of Maranqa, *disputed the chieftainship with Langalibalele* and then ran off to *konza* Sigonyela ka Msatshane. [Theal says Mokotsho and his - S.'s - mother was Ma Ntatisi.]⁸⁵ Mini contended that *his father had obtained the chieftainship for himself*, i.e. had found it, no one laying claim thereto. Langalibalele had gone off with his mother to Putini ka Matshoba of the Mazibuko. Putini's father came from the uZwana tribe.⁸⁶ One of the Zwana people was Rawane, of the *stronghold of Rawane* fame.

49 Kanda ka Nyoka was also of the Zwana tribe. He lived next to where Mzilikazi was. (Mpelana lived with Nyoka; *one followed the other in age*.) He was turned out by Dingana. They arrived among us very badly wounded.

Putini (or his father Matshoba) first settled at the Ngcaka, where the Pongolo rises. Putini was attacked by Mpande on the ground that *'Chiefs have long been dying, but he is not dead; it is he who kills chiefs'*. The order was given that the river was to be guarded to prevent the cattle getting away, and that care was to be taken not to injure Mtimkulu's people. But although Mpande had ordered the amaHlubi not to be attacked, he presently did so when the *amabele* were red. I remember the time well. Our cattle were all driven off over the Berg in the direction of Basutoland. They got as far as Harrismith. There *messengers* were sent to *prevent* them from going on to the Basutos on the ground that it was too cold for them and that they were to go down to the Mnambiti river (Ladysmith district). Just at the same time the Boers were defeated by Smith at Durban. They came to Ntabazwe
50 and there built a great *lager*. Hanise, their commandant, spoke to our people and advised us not to take the cattle down far on to the flats at Mnambiti, but to remain close under and along the Berg. This we did. They said they were coming back again to attend to the Zulus a little more, but never came.⁸⁷

We then built and ploughed a little, when Sir T. Shepstone came and directed us to go and live across the Mzimkulu where Ramcana afterwards went, and Stoffel Molife, but owing to Langalibalele's mother's illness we did not leave at once. We came down to Ladysmith and there had an interview with Nyoniyentaba (Bird), who had some men with him who wore small caps on the side of the head.⁸⁸ He advised us to go to the Mkomazi, but L. referred to his mother's illness. Presently the mother died. The fact was we were not acquainted with the country in question; moreover there were wild animals there. As it
51 turned out it was rich in crops. After this we continued to remain on where we have been ever since. We certainly ought to have gone to the Mkomazi when we had the chance.

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Evening, 1.2.1909. Mabonsa and Dawule present.

The amaNtungwas (are) the Kumalo people. The abaNguni are the lower tribes, e.g. Zulus, Qwabe, Mtetwa. The Hlubis are not amaNtungwa. We are not amaLala. We are called abeSutu by the lower races of Natal and Zululand.

The Zulus *pobola* in their speech, i.e. they *tefula*. We do not *pobola*, i.e. say 'po', 'na?' They *pobola* by saying often 'po', 'ke?', 'po', 'na?' etc.⁸⁹

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

Our language was substantially the same as that of Zululand.

We never *kept chickens*. A reason for this was because they would attract the enemy to our kraals at night-time, or very early, by crowing.

We are one with the Swazis as well as the Basutos.

52 We used to *dance the ingodwane* - our national custom. This was our *dance festival*, held when the *amabele* were two feet high.

We wore very long *loin-coverings* of black goatskin; the tails hung down to the middle of one's calves. We used to barter one black goat to Zulus for a cow in calf, for the goat had beautiful and plentiful hair.

In Bungane's day, and previously, there was no *putting on of head-rings*. I see this from the *old men* of that time who did not *put on the headring*. There was *putting on of headrings* in Mtimkulu's day.

We used to marry the amaZizi girls. Dweba ka Gwili was one of the amaZizi chiefs. Dweba lived where we are now living, i.e. round about Draycott railway station.

53 Mpangazita and Mtimkulu quarrelled and fought together. They *disputed* after Bungane's death. When Mtimkulu came from his Ludidini kraal, he found Mpangazita had made himself chief, whereas he was only of the *left-hand* side of the kraal. ODidini kraal was at the eZimbutu, close to the Incuba stream, north of the Buffalo. Mpangazita had assumed the chiefship at Magoloza. Mtimkulu contended that he was the heir to the kingship. They fought and threw assegais at one another. Mpangazita *left* and went to his own kraal where New-castle now stands.

.... <Mtimkulu's praises omitted - eds.>

54 We are not connected with the Tongas as far as I know.

Siyepu was never *buta'd*, but an attempt was made, the regiment being called amaNgwane.

I was not present at Langalibalele's trial.⁹⁰ I was at the eGwa [Caledon] river.⁹¹ I went to the amaHlubi of Ngalonkulu ka Bungane. Mabudhle went to the eGwa too, (as) an old man. He roamed about.

Langalibalele was born some time after Dingiswayo had left our tribe.

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Tudhlazana ka Ndhlovu is still living. He is not as old as Langanlibalele.

There are no people now living who were born in Bungane's day. All the old men were killed off in 1873 (Langanlibalele rebellion).

55 Mtimkulu's *izinkawu*,⁹² i.e. white people. They were dressed like Scotch troops. The sun however scorched them. I do not know what became of them. There were three of them. No-one knows where they came from. They must have come from the Cape. They are said to have disappeared, going off to meet their own people. I heard of these *izinkawu of the chief* from members of the Mzimana regiment. They are not said to have had horses.

When horses eventually appeared their faeces were used to *treat children*, to prevent *fevers*, for horses were new to us. We captured three horses, with saddles on, after the Ncome fight with the Boers.⁹³

I know nothing about the *izinkawu* having had guns or horses. These men were not *amawu*,⁹⁴ for they would not have been burnt by the sun. They wore short leathern skirts like the Scotch. There is nothing about kraals being built by them, nor are there any of their descendants.

56 Rev. Mr Allison came and built a reed hut in our district. He built a similar structure in Putini's district, then *among the Kubeka* (our tribe), then at Mahamba. He used to preach to the effect that all our ancestors would certainly rise from the dead. This caused commotion and *contention* in Swaziland. Later on he went to Sigonyela's. His name was uMneli.⁹⁵ [See pp. 58, 59.]

[Note. Owing to the fact that Bungane and Mtimkulu had practically no regimental system, one cannot calculate dates even approximately. Still, Langanlibalele was born before Mtimkulu's death, and as he could walk when it occurred, and was born in 1818 or thereabouts, Mtimkulu's death must have taken place in or about 1820. See p. 24 for the approximate date of Langanlibalele's birth.]

2.2.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 56-60.

Also present: Dawule

There used to be buffalo at Hlatikulu, and *eland* in days gone by; hence the name Umzinyati.⁹⁶

Isigodhlo. We had no such thing at the royal kraals. We only *paid tribute with the rib meat of cattle*. There were three or four rows of huts at the top ends of our royal kraals, and no *isigodhlo*. Langanlibalele had no *isigodhlo*, nor had Mtimkulu, or Bungane, or Mpangazita, or Maranqa.

There are two Dhlomos amongst our kings, and two Mtimkulus. Siyepu will, when he *fathers children*, have one called Nsele. Siyepu's real name is Matshiyi - *the name of Matshiyi is raised again*.

57 We used to wear *ubedu (lubedu)* round the neck. In Zululand it was called *ummaka* and *ingxota*. The *old men* in my young days used to make an oath, '*Lubedu of Bungane!*' The *ubedu* was made of *itusi* (copper).⁹⁷

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We used to *work iron*. Diba and Lutshaba used to be smiths. There were many others. Diba lived at Utrecht. Utrecht is on his very kraal site. Three *hoes* (were the equivalent of) a beast; one (was the equivalent of) a goat.

We built our cattle kraals either of *sods* and stones alternately, or of *sods* alone where there were no stones.

Only the *kraal head and chief wife* were buried within the kraal. Men of the kraal, other wives, and children were buried outside.

Izivivane. I saw one *up the Loteni river*, which enters the Mkomazi.⁹⁸ Sitapuka lives there now, near where Stoffel lives. We had none in our country (Hlubi) for there were no stones.

We had no beacons. Hills were used as beacons.

58 We used to wear a soft skin over the privates, pulled under the leg and fixed at the back, just as the Basutos do. Mtinkulu discontinued this practice and followed that of the Zulus. He wore a *covering of leather tassles*.

Our women used to wear *leather skirts*, some made of goatskin, but they came a good deal lower down than (those worn by) Zulu women used to do.

After Allison preached of people rising again from the dead, we found that no one did so. We could not understand how that could be. He said a white cloud would appear. He said many things. He caused Swaziland to come to grief, for he said Sobuza would rise again. He could not tolerate anyone laughing at him, for he said he was speaking seriously. In consequence of his preaching a *conflict* arose in Swaziland, viz. (involving) Malambule, Sidubelo, whilst Mswazi was still a *youth*. This led to all Sobuza's sons *becoming scattered*.⁹⁹

59 Mswazi's people came and attacked Malambule ka Sobuza at Allison's mission station at Mahamba. They slashed about with their assegais in the school (or church). One Nogobo of the Madonsela tribe jumped through a window and was severely cut about the face and body by the glass. Allison clambered up the pole of the house and started praying to God whilst the stabbing was going on below. Orders had been given by Mswazi that he was not to be killed. Malambule had heard of the Swazis being after him, so he fled to the Pongolo and came to Zululand. He *konza'd* Mpande and built near the Bivana (i.e. Paulpietersburg) at Dumbe.

There were no elephants about the Umzinyati, only buffaloes and eland.

Evening, 2.2.1909.

60 Langalibalele. He was born at the Mzinyati at Didini, at the Zimbutu hills. His mother was Mtambose ka Matshoba. She died at Mhlwaneni, near the Drakensberg and above the railway line to Harri-smith. He, L., remained at Didini until his father was murdered. He then was taken off by his mother to Putini ka Matshoba, *clan-name Mazibuko*. He lived at Putini's principal kraal known as Kwa Nkomokazi. He stayed till he got to be a small boy. When Maranqa returned to the Hlubi territory he sent for and fetched both Langalibalele and his elder brother Dhlomo. Maranqa lived at Mtinkulu's Nobamba kraal (for he *followed Mtinkulu in age*). Langalibalele and Dhlomo went there. They stayed there some time, until talk arose. The amaHlubi

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then called on Maranqa to give the management of the tribe over to Dhlomo, who was the right heir. This Maranqa refused to do. They insisted, on the ground that Dhlomo had grown up, and that the tribe had belonged not to him but to his elder brother Mtimkulu, who had left issue. He refused. Sobuza, king of Swaziland, asked Maranqa when he was going to give over the management to Dhlomo. Then actual quarrelling arose between him and his 'father' Maranqa. They fought against one another. I had not ... <continued below - eds.>

2.2.1909

File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 1-13.

Also present: Dawule

- 1 ... been born at this time. Maranqa was put to death. Makata, *induna* of the Iziyendane, advised Dhlomo to come and report what he had done himself. [See further back for what he did and how Makata came to be killed by Dingana.] Langalibalele was now left. He was still a boy. Dhlomo was put to death prior to the arrival of the Boers. After the death of Maranqa and Dhlomo the country was very unsettled. L. went to live *in the mountains* at the Mpongo stream which enters the Ncuba, just above Utrecht. He stayed here some time with some people. He was living at (the place of) Matshwatshwa ka Sibekebula, *of the people of Mnculwana*. L. was now *captured by the cannibals of Mahlapahlapa's people*. He was a very short time there. The *cannibals* had been instigated by Duba ka Mtimkulu, whose mother came from the
- 2 *cannibals at Mahlapahlapa's place*. Duba was disputing the succession with L. Two girls now begged Gxiva ka Sango *of the place of Matshiyi* (chief of the Hlubi) to go and rescue the boy. The girls were daughters of Mtimkulu and lived with Duba. Duba lived *at the place of Nkonjwase* (name of his mother), at eZilanjeni (name of the kraal) on the Mzinyati. Gxiva lived near Mahlapahlapa. Duba also lived near Mahlapahlapa, for his mother came from there. Duba, wishing to dispute the succession, got together support from Mahlapahlapa, and proceeded to where L. was and caught him. Gxiva then went off stealthily to bring L. away. L. was at Mahlapahlapa's kraal. Gxiva then took L. off and conducted him to the Mzinyati. On getting to the river they found it full. L. was put into the water. Being a good swimmer, he got over all right, Gxiva remaining where he was.
- 3 In the meantime those at the eZimbutu were on the lookout for him, viz. Mhlakaza. The *cannibals rushed after him* but found the river full. They then lamented that their 'beast' had got away. '*We were going to eat it.*'
L. then passed Didini site and the Zimbutu, passed Utrecht site, and up the Ncuba stream, until he got to Matshwatshwa's kraal. There he stayed at Esixotsheni, a very stony hillside. L.'s mother found him here. They all stayed there some time. Presently stragglers arrived from the *cannibals* etc., whereupon L. *built* a kraal at the Mpongo, *where there was red soil*. Various *orphans* came and joined him. He then went off and *was circumcised*. He *was circumcised there at the Mpongo, in the country of the red soil, at the place of Matshwatshwa*. He then came back to his kraal and *took wives*. The name of this kraal was ePangweni. He then *ruled*. He married four
- 4 women, viz. the mother of Mbayimbayi, the mother of Mhaye, the

mother of the girl Sifukuqa; and the mother of Manaba. After this a number of girls from Mandhlangampisi ka Mate of the Tshabalala people then came to marry L. He expanded the kraal until it got big.

When the kraal was big, Siwela of Putini's place arrived. Siwela had come to conquer the country. He had been fighting with his father Putini who then lived at the Ngcaka, i.e. towards the sources of the Pongolo. Siwela claimed the territory. L. said the land belonged to Mtinkulu. He, (Siwela), said he had called on his father to make him chief of his father's tribe, but as Putini had refused to do so he had come to L. A fight occurred. He came to surround the kraal at night. They attempted to do so, but on being observed they ran away again. L. wished to attack Siwela but he was opposed by his mother on the ground that (Siwela) was her nephew.¹⁰⁰ Siwela's and L.'s kraals were close to and opposite one another. L.'s impi went and attacked the other at Siwela's kraal but was repulsed. L. then questioned his (mother) as to the meaning of this. Did she mean that Siwela should take over Mtinkulu's country? Mtambose agreed that he did wrongly. L. thereupon gathered more forces together. Only the Incuba was between them. A conflict occurred, resulting in defeat of Siwela's impi. It ran off to the Njonjonono, a forest on the Incuba, on the upper reaches. The sun set. It got dark. Rain came. Siwela got into a hole. Owing to the rain, L.'s men decided to leave the search until tomorrow. Notwithstanding the rain Siwela got out and ran off to Mate. He travelled at night, over the Ngcaka, and got to Mate. He there entered a hut.

This affair was reported by L. to the Zulus. Ten men were then sent by the Zulus. They went behind Siwela's back and got to Mandhlangampisi. They came to his assembly and left it one by one so as not to attract attention. As they did so they all went into the hut in which Siwela was living. Five of them or so got in and engaged Siwela in conversation. Presently one heard, 'Seize him!' They then beat him to pieces and killed him. These were Zulus who did this. Siwela's cattle were taken off and went to the Zulu country to Dingana.

After this we lived in peace. The next event was that Mini ka Maranqa then disputed with L. He claimed the heirship on the ground that his father Maranqa had taken the chieftainship for himself. Mini was defeated and then ran off to Sigonyela's people. Mini's affair occurred before the coming of the Boers. L. took captive the chief wife of Mini, Mangiwazi ka Sibenya of the Tshabalala people. The woman remained with L. some time, whereupon he had her sent after Mini in Sigonyela's (country). Mini now made a proposal to Sigonyela. S. had mounted men with him. They came as an impi to our district on horseback. They attacked the people living in the bush country, the Ngwekazi people of Langalibalele's tribe, on the north side of the Mzinyati. They had guns. They killed everyone in the bush country. They drove off the cattle. They were not pursued; we were afraid of the guns. The horses got very tired, so that they all might have been killed off had L. been prepared.

Things were quite quiet after this. We held dancing festivals and lived peaceably at the Incuba.

L. afterwards built close to where Utrecht now stands. He removed his kraal from Matshwatshwa's and called the new kraal by the same name, ePangweni. When the Blood river (eNcome) battle occurred, L.

was living at this new kraal site. I saw three horses on the north side of the Mzinyati which had evidently escaped from the Income. They all had saddles on. We could do nothing with them, and left them.

We were *broken up* by Mpande. He wanted cattle *kept* by L. We had a very large grey bull. Mpande began by attacking Putini, who was still at the Ngcaka. The order was that L.'s cattle were not to be seized, only those of Putini, the *little old man* as he was styled. 'He has been on top for a long time; it was he who killed the chiefs.' The Zulus failed to get Putini's cattle, for they were taken over the Drakensberg and went to Ntabazwe (Harrismith district). We kept watch over our *amabele*. A month passed, and when in the next month the *amabele* were red Mpande sent his *impi* against us.¹⁰¹ It came, and closed in. It came through Sihayo's district, Nqutu. It went up the south side of the Mzinyati. It was in the charge of Dangazela ka Tshunyayezwayo. This man was subsequently killed by Mpande for having *mishandled* this very *impi*.

What happened was this. The *impi* came and *bivouacked* on the south side of the Mzinyati. A certain two men of our tribe, Mangobe and Mganukiso, were driving goats, having come from chief Jobe of the *Sitole* people at Ienge. They got to a precipice, and some way below heard the Zulus calling to one another in the dark. They grasped the position at once, and made straight off to our kraals, giving the alarm everywhere. Fires were lit in every direction; the whole country was ablaze. I was ordered to drive the cattle, together with some old men. We got away before dawn, and rushed the cattle up northwards. The Zulus were too late. There was a certain amount of fighting. I remember this affair well, for I was a boy who had reached the age of *puberty*. The Zulus got quite tired out, and many of them were killed by our people. Only two of our people were wounded, and none killed. A few of our cattle were seized, including L.'s oxen that had no horns (*izitulu*), 100 of them.

After this L. and his people went off. We (for I was present) went to Harrismith where we met the Boers who had been recently turned out of Natal. They advised us as already related in the preceding pages. On our way I saw a lion get hold of a fine white beast of ours. We could do nothing but let him have it.

We came down and built *homesteads* up the *Mnambiti* river. The Boers told us that they wanted to go and 'do a little more' in Zululand. We ploughed and built. Sir. T. Shepstone then came. He gave us the Mkomazi country (as already described). We started to go, but L.'s mother got ill, and we decided to halt where we (Siyepu's people) at present are to give her a chance of getting well. We were then ordered to *prevent* the Bushmen from seizing cattle. J.W. Shepstone went on expeditions against the Bushmen and brought about peace.¹⁰²

Putini came into Natal at the same time as L. He was allowed to live at the Injisuti river.¹⁰³ L. was advised of this for Putini was his maternal uncle. They also looked after the Bushmen. The Bushmen came down principally where we were guarding.

Bushmen. I was present when Captain Allison (Gwebu) went after these in consequence of Mr Papa's cattle having been seized. This expedition was subsequent to what J.W. Shepstone did. We went a very

long way. We nearly missed finding the Bushmen. Lots were drawn as to who should go after the *Bushmen* in the valley below. Tickets were put into a hat. I drew a ticket which said I was to remain on top. I remained with Gwebu and many others. On the following day we again attacked. A number of women and children were killed. One woman was shot through the lower part of the leg by Mbombo. This woman was brought back by Gwebu, but she deserted from him. A girl, Nozinyoni, however, stayed years at Gwebu's. During this attack one woman pulled up her clothing and exposed herself to show she was a woman. The native slapped her and brought her out. He refrained from stabbing her. Some male *Bushmen* were killed. They used their bows and arrows on Mbombo, who took up a position close to them behind a stone. He managed to shoot a number before they escaped. The Bushmen never gave further trouble after this.¹⁰⁴

3.2.1909, morning.

File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 13-16.

Mabonsa continues.

An *old man of the Hlubi*, the father of Mhlangana, Songodo by name, gave Langalibalele this name, not his father. This may have been due to the sun shining (drought). Paul Ngwenya said it was a drought that gave rise to (the name) Langalibalele.¹⁰⁵

I visited L. at the Cape. Bishop Colenso wrote for me, Mkinindane, Mko, and Swayimana - four of us - to go to L. We did so. We found him at Cape Town, having come back from Robben Island. We heard he was *troubled* by Malambule, his chief son. Malambule used to cook the meat in such a way that it was too hard for him, and used to poke his father in the face with his finger. Malambule came back to Natal with Sopolu, the English interpreter. Sopolu belonged to the Cape, a tall man. When Malambule returned he had killed for him a beast by Ntambama, son of Mtinkulu, at Bishopstowe. I was surprised at this because Malambule was unworthy of this on account of fighting with his father. Malambule went and lived at the source of the Mzinyati, at the Ingogo. He afterwards *quietened down* and went to Frankfort in the Transvaal and lived on the Wilge (Nyamakazi) river.¹⁰⁶ He went off on his own account. He told his father he would not live with him under any circumstances. He is dead now.

.... <Praises of Langalibalele omitted - eds.>

15 Bushmen. J.W. Shepstone went after them. He went with his police, Mahlanya ka Maboyi, and some others. They went up the Kahlamba at the sources of the Mtshezi river.¹⁰⁷ Shepstone went out because the Bushmen killed a wife of Qinelana who had *built with Mavukasapela of the Radebe people*. Qinelana was of the *Tshabalala people*. The woman was *pregnant*. The *Bushmen* were an *impi*.¹⁰⁸

16 The Bushmen used to eat horses as well as cattle. Dumisa ka Mvenya, father of Ramcana, was *cared for* by Bushmen until he became a *chief*. The Bushmen used to kill elephants, eat them, and leave the horns. These horns Dumisa used to pick up and collect, and barter to the Boers. Dumisa was in league with the Bushmen who, when they had killed an elephant, would remain there and eat it till they finished it. Then they would go off and kill another big wild beast (buffalo

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or *eland*) and there halt till that beast was finished.¹⁰⁹

Cannibals. I never heard of the cannibal Ndava.

Zibi ka Sidinane ka Mpangazita lives at Matatiela.¹¹⁰ He is older than I am.

[Mabonsa leaves by the 8.40 this morning for Draycott station (Winterton branch). I asked him to request Siyepu to get me further men familiar with the old history of the tribe, if possible two men from Zibi ka Sidinane ka Mpangazita ka Bungane now living at Matatiela. Maybe Zibi himself would come. I said I did not want written accounts, unless the person speaking could not possibly come to me. There are, Mabonsa says, young men with Zibi who can read and write well; they are clerks in public offices.]

Notes

¹Formed in early 1850s; age-group born in early 1830s.

²Langalibalele was chief of a section of the Hlubi people. For biographical information see Dictionary of S.A. Biography, vol. 2; Guest, Langalibalele; Herd, The Bent Pine.

³The names given are those of the chiefly line of the Hlubi main house. Cf. the genealogies given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 157, and Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, opp. p. 402.

⁴*Isiyephu* is the Zulu for long, waving hair, or a hairy person or beast. *Isinikina* or *isinikiniki* is the word for a man or animal with a hairy face.

⁵Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century.

⁶The Lubombo mountains extend from the north of present-day Zululand northwards along the Swaziland-Mozambique border and beyond.

⁷The Mngomezulu people lived in the Ngwavuma region of northern Zululand. Lubelo and Mbikiza were chiefs of the Mngomezulu main house; they died c.1860 and 1918 respectively. (See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 338, 344.) The Maseko people lived in the valley of the uSuthu river (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 311).

⁸*Umhlanga* means reed, or a reedy place.

⁹*Lubololwenja* literally means dog's penis. Cf. the name of similar meaning, Lufenulwenja, as originally applied to the Zulu: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 104, 174, 202; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 13, 221, 369-70.

¹⁰For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

¹¹Mzakaza was chief of the Mabaso people in the Estcourt area.

¹²On the Lala peoples see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 232-5, and History, passim; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index. On the Dlamini see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 313 ff, 363 ff, and History, pp. 38-47; Marks, op. cit. On the Madlala see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 523, and History, p. 60.

¹³Senzangakhona kaJama was chief of the Zulu in the early nineteenth

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century and father of Shaka. For other accounts of Dingiswayo's visit to the Hlubi see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 87; Fynn, 'History of Godongwana', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 61-2; and Matshwili kaMngoye's evidence as reproduced by Stuart in Baxoxele, pp. 17-18. We have been unable to trace Stuart's original notes of his interviews with Matshwili.

- ¹⁴The word *inyamazane* normally means buck, but can also mean animal in a general sense. Stuart seems initially to have understood the word as used by Mabhonsa to mean buck, but Mabhonsa subsequently makes clear that he is talking about a lioness.
- ¹⁵Mehlokazulu kaSihayo of the Qungebe people played a prominent part in the politics of Zululand in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was killed in the disturbances of 1906. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 219-24.
- ¹⁶Ibutho formed c.1819; age-group born in late 1790s.
- ¹⁷The Mzinyathi river is marked on maps as the Buffalo. Nkabane was chief of the Hlubi living in the Newcastle and Dundee areas.
- ¹⁸Another name of Dingiswayo.
- ¹⁹OYengweni was one of Dingiswayo's principal *imizi*.
- ²⁰Sobhuza, or Somhlolo, died c.1839. Bishopstowe, just outside Pietermaritzburg, was the site of Bishop J.W. Colenso's Ekukhanyeni mission.
- ²¹Alcockspruit is the name of a stream in the Newcastle area of northern Natal. A railway station of the same name is situated on the line between Newcastle and Glencoe.
- ²²Literally, 'at the place of the kings'.
- ²³Ntabamhlophe is the name of a prominent mountain in the Natal midlands west of Estcourt. Langalibalele's grave is on the farm Eland's Park in the upper Bushman's river valley (Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 69).
- ²⁴Mabhonsa subsequently gives 'Nzimende' as the formal address-term, or *isithakazelo*, of the Hadebe section of the Hlubi.
- ²⁵In the original, Stuart has made a series of brief marginal jottings against the ensuing paragraph. These we have omitted as they are more fully developed in the passages that follow.
- ²⁶For Mehlomakhulu's career see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 153-5. Madadiyela is present-day Matatiele village in East Griqualand.
- ²⁷Matiwane was chief of the amaNgwane people who, in the early nineteenth century, lived in what is now north-west Natal. For accounts of his career see Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane; Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 16.
- ²⁸The reference is to the capture of Langalibalele by colonial forces after his flight from Natal during the disturbances of late 1873. Parts of Natal experienced an eclipse of the sun in April 1874 (Guest, Langalibalele, p. 29).
- ²⁹Mabhonsa later identifies the Mpongo as a stream near present-day Utrecht in northern Natal, and the Ncuba or Ngcuba as a stream at the sources of the Phongolo.
- ³⁰The main section of the Ngwe people crossed into Natal from the Zulu country with Langalibalele and his section of the Hlubi in 1848, and were settled by the colonial government in the foothills of the Drakensberg in the present-day Estcourt district. (See Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 82, 93-4, 99-100.) Chief Sibhamu died in 1923 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 182).

- ³¹According to Bryant, a cannibal named Mahlaphahlapha, who lived on the Sundays river, was chief of the Ntuli section of the Bhele people. See Olden Times, pp. 58, 347, and History, p. 37. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 299.
- ³²For discussion of the terms Ntungwa and Nguni see the references as for note 10 above.
- ³³For the ritual importance of the *insonyama* see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 267; Krige, Social System, p. 56; Berglund, Zulu Thought-Patterns, pp. 217-19, 238.
- ³⁴Presumably the Ncome or Blood river.
- ³⁵Mfangazitha kaBhungane led a section of the Hlubi in the wars of the Difaqane, and was killed in battle near the Caledon river c.1825. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 150-3.
- ³⁶The Swazi Didini or Ludzidzini *umuzi*, situated to the south-east of present-day Mbabane, was the residence of the Queen Mother in the reign of the king Mswati (Matsebula, History of Swaziland, p. 14). An *umuzi* of the same name seems to have existed during the reign of Mswati's father, Somhlolo; see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 364, list of 'kraals' given by John Gama.
- ³⁷In the original of the list that follows, the significance of the names in parentheses is not explained. Presumably they represent alternative regimental names. Literally *isiqamelo* (*isicamelo*, *umqamelo*, *unqamelo*) means headrest. At Dingane's Mgungundlovu *ikhanda*, the term was used to denote those sections of the men's quarters immediately adjacent to the *isigodlo*. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 309, 311, 340.
- ³⁸Literally, 'of the forests'.
- ³⁹See note 19 above.
- ⁴⁰If Langalibalele was of the same age as the iHlaba, he would have been born c.1817; see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645; and Stuart's estimate on p. 19 below. According to the accepted sources on the history of the Mthethwa, Dingiswayo's visit to the Hlubi had in fact taken place many years before this date. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 148; Fynn, 'History of Godongwana', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 61-2.
- ⁴¹Mabhonsa later identifies the Mhlongamvula as a mountain near the Mkondo river, i.e. in the present-day south-eastern Transvaal.
- ⁴²The iGwa is the Vaal river. Mabhonsa later identifies the Mpama as a hill in the country where, in Dingane's time, the Zulu made an attack on Mzilikazi's Ndebele people. This would place it somewhere in the southern or western Transvaal. Historians disagree as to the dates of the Zulu attacks on the Ndebele: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', pp. 26, 33, 38; Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom, pp. 85-91; 128-9.
- ⁴³Or Orange river.
- ⁴⁴Mabhonsa subsequently locates Mawuza hill as being near the Caledon river. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 141, 153, records that Mfangazitha was killed by Matiwane's followers in a battle near the Caledon c.1825. See also Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, pp. 154-5.
- ⁴⁵I.e. in mid-1828.
- ⁴⁶Theophilus Shepstone was first Diplomatic Agent and then Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. His father, a Wesleyan lay preacher-turned-missionary, was working among the

- Gcaleka at Butterworth at the time of Matiwane's defeat in 1828, among the Bomvana on the present-day Transkei coast in 1829, and among the Mpondo at Buntingville in 1830. See Dictionary of S.A. Biography, vol. 1, p. 714.
- ⁷ For other accounts of Zikhali's wanderings see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 145-6; Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane, chs. 7-13.
- ⁸ Izwekufa, literally 'country of death', refers to a state of desolation and ruin.
- ⁹ The Namakazi (Sotho: Namahadi; Afrikaans: Wilge) river flows through the north-eastern Orange Free State and enters the Vaal near present-day Frankfort. Mabhonsa later identifies the Ntabazwe hill as being in the present-day Harrismith district.
- ⁵⁰ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 712, gives *isiyendane* (pl. *iziyendane*) as 'hair dressed so as to hang in long twisted strings'. In Olden Times, p. 644, he writes of the Zulu kingdom, 'Besides military barracks, there were numerous royal cattle-kraals on every side, and entirely in charge of parties of iziYendane (i.e. aboriginal Natal Natives, who wore their hair in a mop of plaited strings)....'
- ⁵¹ For accounts of the death of Nandi in July or August 1827 see Fynn, Diary, pp. 132 ff; Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 108 ff; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Nandi.
- ⁵² Uqhulu (pl. *oqhulu*) means a line or rank; *ukuviva* means to group together in a small company or *iviyo* (pl. *amaviyo*).
- ⁵³ 'Eldest son, and daughter, of a man (whether heir or not)': Bryant, Dictionary, p. 595.
- ⁵⁴ The war fought between the followers of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi over the succession to the Zulu kingship took place in 1856.
- ⁵⁵ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 661, gives *intumbane* as 'boil, commonly growing on Natives about the knee'.
- ⁵⁶ Ukugula is the word normally used in Zulu to mean 'to be ill'; *ukuba nomzimba* is a euphemism meaning 'to have an affliction of the body'.
- ⁵⁷ Zulu kaMafu kaDwala kaNtini has previously been identified by Mabhonsa as the doctor who lured Mthimkhulu to his death at the hands of the Ngwane (see p. 13 above). Wasbank is a village on the railway line between Ladysmith and Glencoe, the Jonono a hill near Elandslaagte station.
- ⁵⁸ Baba means 'my father', Mnewethu 'my elder brother'.
- ⁵⁹ The lists of names that follow appear in the original on one of two loose sheets attached to the front cover of notebook 29 in File 59. As the lists reflect information gathered by Stuart from Mabhonsa on 29.1.1909 and 30.1.1909, this point is the most convenient for fitting them into the latter's sequence of statements. The second of the loose sheets contains a list of Hlubi chiefs sent to Stuart by Paul Ngwenya: we reproduce it in Appendix 1.
- ⁶⁰ Father of the informant Mabhonsa?
- ⁶¹ This note appears in the original against a bracket the placing of which seems to suggest that the note refers to Ngalonkulu, Mabona, and Makanda.
- ⁶² Inkosana encane means the junior prince or heir. It is difficult to understand Stuart's identification of Makhonza as 'own brother of Mtimkulu' when he goes on to refer to him as son of a co-wife (*inhlanzi*) of Mthimkulu's mother.

- ⁶³ It is not made completely clear in the original whether it was Dlomo who followed Langalibalele in age, or vice-versa, but Mabhonsa has previously referred to Dlomo as Langalibalele's elder brother. Bryant's genealogy of the Hlubj chiefly line also suggests that Dlomo was the elder (Olden Times, p. 157).
- ⁶⁴ The import of this note seems to be that Ncwane was a daughter of Mthimkhulu.
- ⁶⁵ I.e. the first-born.
- ⁶⁶ Ndlela achieved distinction as a warrior under Shaka, and subsequently rose to become one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 59; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *izinduna*.
- ⁶⁷ For further information on Qunta see Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 37.
- ⁶⁸ Ilenge is a prominent mountain in northern Natal west of present-day Pomeroy.
- ⁶⁹ The 'Berg' is the Drakensberg. Zungeni or Zungwini mountain is near present-day Vryheid. Sihayo kaXongo of the Qungebe people lived in the Nquthu area in the period before the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 130-1.
- ⁷⁰ The original has Mtimkulu.
- ⁷¹ *Ugwayi* in the original.
- ⁷² In the Newcastle district.
- ⁷³ Dweba is later identified by Mabhonsa as a Zizi chief. Draycott railway station is on the line between Estcourt and Bergville.
- ⁷⁴ The Bivana river rises north of present-day Utrecht and flows into the Phongolo north of Louwsburg. The Dumbe is a mountain near Paulpietersburg.
- ⁷⁵ The reference is to J.Y. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus, Pietermaritzburg, 1903.
- ⁷⁶ Literally, 'the place of the kings', i.e. the Swazi royal burial grounds, one of which is at Dlangeni near Mbabane, while another is at Mbilaneni in the south of the kingdom. See Marwick, The Swazi, pp. 3, 74, 221; Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 6, 27; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 141.
- ⁷⁷ Ntabankulu is a mountain at the sources of the Black Mfolozi south-east of Vryheid. Nhlazatshe is a mountain on the north bank of the White Mfolozi west of present-day Mahlabathini.
- ⁷⁸ The references are to one of the early editions of Theal's History of South Africa since 1795, vol. 1, and T. Shepstone, 'The early history of the Zulu-Kafir race of south-eastern Africa', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 155.
- ⁷⁹ Sigonyela (Sotho: Sekonyela) was chief of the Tlokwa people from the early 1820s to the early 1850s.
- ⁸⁰ For further information on this incident see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 150-1.
- ⁸¹ Mpangazitha died in battle c.1825, i.e. during the reign of Shaka, not of Dingane. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 141, 153; also note 44 above.
- ⁸² Mont aux Sources is a peak in the Drakensberg where the borders of present-day Lesotho, Natal, and the Orange Free State meet. The waterfall referred to is the fall of the Thukela over the Drakensberg escarpment near its source at Mont aux Sources. According to Bryant, it was Shaka, and not Dingane, who attacked the Ngwane when they were living in this area (Olden Times, p. 139).

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- ⁸³The notes reproduced in this paragraph occur in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 46 of notebook 29 of File 59. Mangena was brother of the informant Mabhonsa's mother.
- ⁸⁴See Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G.4-'83, Report and Proceedings of Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, part 2, pp. 415 ff; Natal Colony sessional paper no. 13, 1863, 'Correspondence re Granting Natives Documentary Titles to Land', and sessional paper no. 13, 1864, 'Correspondence re Issue of Documentary Titles to Land to Natives'; T. Shepstone, as in note 7_o above.
- ⁸⁵The reference is to Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, vol. 1.
- ⁸⁶Bryant gives Phuthini as 'an adopted subject' of the Ngwe people who became their chief, and his father Mashoba as belonging to the Ngxanga people (Olden Times, pp. 181, 182). According to Bryant, there were close links between the Ngwe and Zwane peoples. On the Mazibuko people see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 184; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 291.
- ⁸⁷In this passage Mabhonsa is confusing two different events involving two different Smiths. Captain T.C. Smith commanded the detachment of British troops which, in May 1842, occupied Port Natal and clashed with the commandos of the Republic of Natalia. Sir Harry Smith, Cape Governor and High Commissioner, commanded the British force which, in August 1848 at Boomplaats, defeated a party of Afrikaners who were resisting the imposition of British authority over the Orange River Sovereignty. It is no doubt this latter event that Mabhonsa remembered, as the flight of the Hlubi from the Zulu country took place at the end of July or beginning of August 1848 (see Wright, Bushman Raiders, p. 82). Hanise was probably Hans de Lange.
- ⁸⁸It seems likely that Shepstone's visit to northern Natal as here referred to was one which he made in April 1849 to supervise the establishment of African reserves under the Drakensberg. John Bird (Nyoniyentaba: literally, 'bird of the mountain') was magistrate at Klip River at the time. The men in caps would have been members either of the Cape Mounted Rifles or of the recently formed Natal Native Police. (See Wright, Bushman Raiders, chs. 4 & 5; Bird, 'Natal: 1846-51', Natalia, vol. 1, pp. 16-19.) Ramcana is later identified by Mabhonsa as son of Dumisa kaMvenya (for whom see note 109 below).
- ⁸⁹'-ke' is an enclitic, 'na' an interrogative adverb, and 'pho' a conjunctive frequently used in Zulu speech.
- ⁹⁰The trial of Langalibalele, which was held in Pietermaritzburg early in 1874, followed from the resistance of the Hlubi to measures taken against them by the Natal government the previous year. For an account of this affair see Colenso, Langalibalele and the Amahlubi Tribe, and Defence of Langalibalele; Guest, Langalibalele; Herd, The Bent Pine.
- ⁹¹The iGwa is the Vaal river, not the Caledon.
- ⁹²*Inkwanu* (pl. *izinkwanu*) means monkey, or albino.
- ⁹³In December 1838 at the Ncome or Blood river.
- ⁹⁴*Ilwanu* (pl. *amalwanu*) means a light-skinned person, as a descendant of the Khoi ('Hottentot') peoples.
- ⁹⁵James Allison (Mneli) was a Wesleyan catechist and missionary who worked among Sekonyela's Tlokwa in the late 1830s and early 1840s,

and among Mswati's Swazi in 1845-6 (Dictionary of S.A. Biography, vol. 1, pp. 11-12).

⁹⁶*Inyathi* is the Zulu for buffalo.

⁹⁷*Ubhedu* is a brass or copper neckring; *umnaka* a metal neckring, or necklace of metal beads; *ingwotha* a brass armband. *Ithusi* is the Zulu for copper or brass.

⁹⁸An *isivivane* (pl. *izivivane*) was a pile of stones, grass and other objects which accumulated at particular points along the wayside where travellers deposited them as good-luck tokens to ensure safe and successful journeys. The Lotheni rises in the Drakensberg south of Giant's Castle and flows into the Mkhomazi west of present-day Impendle village.

⁹⁹Malambule and Sidubelo were sons of the Swazi king Sobhuza, and brothers of his successor Mswati. For the disturbances that followed Mswati's accession to the kingship c.1845 see Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 16-17; Bonner, 'The Rise, Consolidation, and Disintegration of Dlamini Power', pp. 86 ff.

¹⁰⁰Langalibalele's mother Mntambose was sister of the Ngwe chief Phuthini, and therefore aunt of Siwela.

¹⁰¹This attack probably took place in May 1848. See Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 78, 80, 82.

¹⁰²For the settlement of the Hlubi under the Drakensberg as a buffer against Bushman raids on white farmers see Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 82, 93-4, 99-101. For John Shepstone's expeditions against the Bushmen see chs. 4 & 5 of the same work.

¹⁰³The Njesuthi or Little Thukela rises in the Drakensberg north of Giant's Castle and flows into the Thukela west of present-day Colenso. Phuthini's Ngwe people were settled on its middle and upper reaches.

¹⁰⁴Captain Albert Allison was Border Agent at Oliviershoek in 1869 when the events referred to in this paragraph took place. 'Mr Papa' was William Popham, a farmer on the upper Mooi river. For an account of Allison's expedition see Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 170-6.

¹⁰⁵The literal meaning of Langalibalele is 'the sun is hot'.

¹⁰⁶The village of Frankfort is situated on the Wilge river in the north-eastern Orange Free State some distance south of the Transvaal border.

¹⁰⁷UKhahlamba is the Zulu name for the Drakensberg, and Mtshezi the name for the Bushman's river.

¹⁰⁸The incidents described in this paragraph took place in December 1850: see Wright, Bushman Raiders, p. 103.

¹⁰⁹For further information on Dumisa see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 531.

¹¹⁰Zibi was chief of the section of the Hlubi which had established itself near Matatiele village in present-day East Griqualand.