

MCOTOYI KA MNINI

13.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 58, pp. 8-18.

Also present: Dinya, two others?

8 Questions to Mcotoyi, who should arrive today.¹

<In the list that follows we have placed in parentheses questions that were scored out in the original by Stuart - eds.>

Get meanings of one or two hundred Tuli words, showing the dialect (the Lala dialect). They *changed* (*pendula'd*) the Cele dialect.

The origin of the tribe. With what others is it related? The chiefs. Its boundaries. Mnini's relations with chiefs.

Who were the tribes ousted from Port Natal and where did they go?

The eating of fish.

The ancient habits and customs.

Metallurgy.

Relations with surrounding tribes, Cele etc.

Magaye's protest against losing Mtetwa dialect.

(Who was Dibandhlela's mother?)

(The earliest arrivals of Europeans in boats.)

(What traditions are there of their sojourn in Zululand?)

Had you *izivivane*?²

(Who is uMadubana? Matubana ka Jombela.)

(Tshaka striking Mnini.)

9 Mcotoyi arrives, 13.4.1905, with two followers (young men).

Mcotoyi ka Mnini ka Manti ka Mzoywane ka Dole ka Sivuba ka Mayiya ka Lutuli ka Nkomo ka Zuba ka Mqayana ka Ncamuzakancane.³ These are my ancestors. My son and heir is Sidiya.

Our tribe is the Tuli one, *abas' ematulini*. My father suggested to me that we *separated* from the Qwabe (Cwabe) tribe. We are said to have *separated* at the Mhlatuze, across the Tukela. We left the Matikulu when we came to Port Natal, before Tshaka's day.

10 Tuli chiefs: Ntaba ka Myebu ka Tshatwa ka Sivuba ka Mayiya ka Lutuli ka Nkomo ka Zuba ka Mqayana ka Ncamuza-ka-ncane (*hlafulana-ka-ncane*, 'he who chews a little').

Ntaba had no sons that became chiefs, for Tshaka broke up the tribe. Ntaba had sons. Myebu had very many sons. Fica ka Nkolongo ka Ncwane ka Myebu etc. Ndaba <sic> was killed in Tshaka's day. He had his district

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about Pinetown. He was the great chief.

We Tulis all crossed over together. There was a *disturbance (ucuku)* in Zululand. We crossed over from the Matikulu with the amaKomo and the amaMbili (under Nomabunga ka Nkowane).

We were formerly all called the *uTshaba of Ngodi* on account of our killing people off as we came south.⁴ This name did not arise from the name of a kraal but was a characteristic of our tribe. It indicated our strength. The word Tuli, however, was also our proper name.

- 11 We got to Port Natal before the Celes came from Zululand to Natal. We found the amaMpofana here. They 'fenced in' fishes in the Bay, i.e. *wove reeds* and made them into an *enclosure* to catch fish in when the tide went out. They lived about the Mhlatuzana and the Mlazi and on the Isibubulungu.⁵ (This name arose out of the fact of the hill projecting as a high promontory into the sea.) We fought the amaMpofana and took and lived on their lands. They went off south to live among the Pondos.

The amaKomo lived at eziNgomankulu and in the lower country. The amaZelemu lived on the north side of the Mgeni. The amaKanyawo also were north of the Mgeni. Mamtunzini, a woman, had a tribe near the amaKanyawo. I don't know the tribal name. [AbaLumbi - see Bird's
12 *Annals*, i, p. 129.] Masimula ka Nzala ka Mangqashi or Mangqwashi of the *amaNdhlovini people* was also north of the Mgeni.

People never went about through various tribes; they would go carefully along, hiding here and there, until reaching their destination.

The Tulis had a greater piece of territory than the Celes. The abaLumba (not abaLumbi) were near the Tongati. The Eminkulwini was another tribe near by. I do not know the Sivuku tribe.

Tshadile ka Dungeni, a man who recently died, knew much of the Tulis.

Even though my father suggested our being related to, or an offshoot of the Qwabe, the *praises* and genealogies do not connect in any way with those of the Qwabe.

I cannot say the cause of our leaving the Matikulu to live in Natal. The land subsequently occupied by the Celes must have been occupied by
13 various tribes and we must in some way have forced our way through, leaving them to be ousted by Celes.

We Tulis are sometimes called amaZuba; my section is so called. We were Myebu's *side of the house (hlangoti)*, under Dole. Dibandhlela's mother, MaSivuba, came from our *hlangoti*, not from the chief section of the Tulis.⁶

MaSivuba's (Dibandhlela's mother's) name was Matu.

I do not know if '*Tshaba of Ngodi*' refers to men's names. We are related to the amaMbili tribe and were, with them, called Tshaba. They are still called the *uTshaba of Ngodi*. We also still speak of ourselves as the *uTshaba of Ngodi*. Kofiyana was a famous chief of this tribe.⁷

- 14 When we left Zululand we came with only the amaKomo and the amaMbili. The amaKomo's chiefs are, however, unknown to me. They were called after the *whales (imikomo) of the sea*. This tribe is scattered about various tribes. They have no chief of their own. This tribe resembles the Mngoma tribe in not having a chief, and being scattered about other tribes.

Europeans visited the bay. Bovungana's mother was the daughter of a white man, Boko, by a native. Bovungana ka Mbozela ka Mzoywane ka Dole etc.⁸ I fancy Mzoywane is Mbozela's father.

All Europeans came only from the direction of the Cape. Those coming also returned the same way, including a vessel constructed in this bay.⁹

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Bovungana was not my father's age. (My father was of the Ingcobinga and then the Izinnyosi. It was followed in age by the Dhlambedhlu.)¹⁰

Dinya says: I know nothing of Boko.¹¹

Mcotoyi says: I was born just after Tshaka's death. I am equal to the Tlwana regiment (in age).¹²

- 15 Tshaka sent his forces to attack Hinsu.¹³ They took an up-country route. Failing to find him, they came on European houses. They turned back, seizing some Pondo cattle. Mdhlaka was in charge.¹⁴

Nandi then died.¹⁵ A further *impi* was then sent out, this time to the amaPondo, also in charge of Mdhlaka.¹⁶ On their return the *kukulela ngoko impi* went forth to the north, Tshaka returning home with the cattle seized.¹⁷ The forces were not allowed to go home.

- Dinya says that on the way from Pondoland, Tshaka, when he came to the Mkomazi - a lower drift (Mcotoyi points out that there were very few drifts in those days) - went and sat on a *flat rock* on the river bank. The *impi* had that day *arisen* south of the Mpambanyoni. Dingana, Mhlangana and others accompanied him. The *impi* crossed higher up. It seems that this occasion was one which the princes and Mbopa - also present - were going to utilize for assassinating Tshaka.¹⁸ It is said the princes knelt, leaning on the butt-ends of their assegais as if in a position of humiliation. A man called Lucunge, *induna* of Magaye's Mdhlazi kraal, came in sight just at this time.¹⁹ Finding that Tshaka was there, he tried at once to withdraw, together with Mlungisi, a son of Nomabeje (a woman of the Qwabe tribe), who was with him. Tshaka, seeing him, called. Lucunge returned and, being told to do so, knelt down before T. Tshaka now directed those present to sharpen their assegais on Lucunge's forehead, which, he said, was a grindstone, as a lesson to him to be more careful in future. This was done, and the man's forehead became covered with blood. Those *sharpening their assegais* were many but did not act roughly or carelessly. As they did so, Lucunge went on *declaiming the praises of the king*. This simple incident was a means of diverting attention and causing the princes to sacrifice the opportunity of killing T., as they afterwards did. They were afraid that the troops would have killed them had they killed Tshaka.

- It was in connection with the same *impi*, Mcotoyi observes, that Zihlandhlo's shield was taken and used by Tshaka to wash himself on.²⁰
- 17 Tshaka caused this shield to be stolen. He washed on it. It was searched for all over but could not be found. It was eventually discovered and handed to Zihlandhlo (son of Gcwabe), who suddenly became ill. He fell on receiving the shield. He was then carried off ill and afterwards died.²¹

Dinya says: Mepo ka Ngwane, chief of the amaNgcolosi tribe, alias the amaBengu, was at, I think, the Bulawayo kraal one day. It was in the afternoon. Tshaka rose and allowed his shadow to fall on Mepo. Mepo was afraid to move for fear lest Tshaka should ask what he was afraid of. He consequently remained, and allowed the shadow to rest on him, knowing full well that in consequence of this his days were numbered. T. however went on laughing and joking as if nothing were the matter.

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18 It is said that no sooner did T.'s shadow leave him than he was taken ill and died shortly after. I heard this story from Mazangane ka Mfaniswa ka Dibandhlela who was with Magaye *at the great place*.

Tshaka, hearing that Mepo was ill, expressed great regret and ordered that he was to be carried home to be attended there.

Dinya says Hlangabeza and his people were absent from Tshaka's Pondo *impi*. From this it is clear the man intended eloping. He did so. On the way back T. ordered the *kukulela ngoqo impi*, not knowing of Hlangabeza's flight. Hlangabeza was chief of the amaNtshali tribe. The *impi* did not specially go after him, but it was ordered to overtake him and not allow him to reach Sotshangana, in which direction he was making.

After this *impi* had gone, Dingana and the other princes said, 'When shall we *rule* and enjoy peace and contentment? This man Tshaka after all appointed himself. He is not the true or hereditary king.'

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File 61, nbk. 58, pp. 19-22.

Also present: Dinya

19 Mcotoyi states: Our tribe now has land at the Mgababa. This previously fell inside our great chief Ntaba's district.

Funwayo ka Mpopoma had a wife who was *taken to wife* by a *white man*. I don't know his name.

Dinya says: Xabashe ka Mande *took to wife* Ngqaleka, daughter of (a man of the) Kumalo tribe. This girl was the wife of Damuse (Thomas Halstead) who was killed at Mgungundhlovu.²²

Damuse's brother Charlie had Mpande and Charlie by Ngqaleka. Mpande is still living at Isipingo. He *ngena'd* Ngqaleka on behalf of Damuse.²³

Damuse's *induna* was Mabiya ka Vinjwa of the *Ntshangase section of the emaBeleni people*.

There are four sections of amaBeles - 1. *that of Mkonto*, called Ntuli ka Bele; 2. *Ntshangase ka Bele*; 3. *Lembe ka Bele*; 4. *Lunkoti ka Bele* - in the Qwabe tribe.

20 Mcotoyi. I think we began eating fish at the Bay, on clearing out the amaMpofana who formerly ate them. People living on the coast even nowadays eat *mussels*, but not in the presence of others. I have never been to the Mvoti, Tugela, or Matikulu. I hear we lived some distance from the sea when at the Matikulu. We therefore could not have known much about fish. There is nothing remarkable in our taking to fish-eating in a sudden manner. All tribes living right on the sea eat fish more or less in spite of whatever may be said. The Makanya, Cele, Mapumulo, amaMbili, *those of eZembeni* (Wohlo's and Tshaka's kraal), and emaLangeni (living north of the Ifafa and near the Mzinto, whose chief was the late Mangcengeza and is now Ncitshuyise) are some of the tribes etc. which eat fish.²⁴

We do not eat *whale meat*, the *imfingo shark*, *itansi* (skate), the *imbelu fish*, the *izaza fish* (if a person treads on it his *muscles contract* and he falls right down on it).

The Celes speak our dialect. We arrived in this part of the country

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21 (Natal) speaking this dialect. It was not a dialect which we adopted or learnt from others - neighbours. I do not know what dialect the amaMpo-fana spoke. The amaNgcolosi, amaTshangase, amaQadi (amaNyuswa), ama-Dhlala, amaPumulo, and amaHlongwa all speak the Lala dialect.²⁵ The womenkind keep up the old dialects.

The Cele dialect is a mixture of Lala dialect and Zulu. These Lala dialects all differ from one another slightly according to the tribe. Tulis say, '*Utside*,' the Cele say, '*Ku tide*,' the Zulu say, '*Ku tile*,' the Ngcolosi say, '*Ku tside*.' The Swazis are also real Lalas, also the Abambo.²⁶ The Bacas are really Zulus; they learnt a dialect of their own. They were affected by the Mpondos.

Those who *radula* frequently are the Nyuswas and Ngcolosi.²⁷

22 Nyuswa, Dinya says, was *fathered* by Mafunze-a-fulele, and the ancient head is with the late chief Hemuhemu.²⁸ Ngcobo was *fathered* by Mafunze too. There are at least three different tribes going under the name Ngcobo, the Ngcobo who sprang from Nyuswa. Ngcobo *fathered* the amaNgongoma. [All seem to be Ngcobos, says Mcotoyi.] Dinya looks on the Ngcobo tribe of Zululand as distinct from the Ngcobo tribe just referred to.

Dinya says Deliweyo was the great Nyuswa chief, the greatest of all, son of Dubuyana ka Sirayo ka Mapoloba ka Mbele ka Ngcobo ka Nyuswa ka Mafunze.²⁹

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File 61, nbk. 58, pp. 22-4.

Also present: Dinya, Nojomba?

23 The amaMpo-fana - they were ordinary people. *Izintango* (*tinango* - Tuli dialect), *i.e. fences for catching fish* - this is the practice we found these people engaged in. They left these fences etc. behind. We did as they did and caught fish. This is their regular name. They went off and settled across the Mtamvuna among the Pondos. The Ababomvana are different people to these. I do not know what other tribes were about these parts when we first got here.

Dinya remarks: Nondeni was a member of the amaZelemu. He *konza'd* Jana Cane as Esinyameni.³⁰ We spoke of him as a Tuli man. [Mcotoyi says he was a Zelemu.] Dinya says he was a short man.

When the Celes arrived in these parts the amaMpo-fana had long previously gone off. None of them remained behind with the Tulis. We know so little because we did not live with them. I do not know their chief.

Mcotoyi says: I am my father's first-born son. I was born probably just before Tshaka's death. I am about Cetshwayo's age. Dinya thinks M. *follows him in age*, *i.e.* that he is about two years younger, and so would be about 76.

Mbuyazi was Tshaka's *isicaka sempi*; Wohlo was *isicaka sasendhlini*.³¹ The name for a gun then was *isitunyisa*, not *isibamu*. [But see Isaacs who uses 'isibum' or something like it.]³²

24 Pambo (Ngungwini) ka Mngane of the Xolo tribe - the amaNhlumayo

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section. This man Pambo used to go about with Mbuyazi when going to join Tshaka's *impi* with guns. Pambo died about two years ago at an advanced age. He was then a member of the Tuli tribe.

There is a tradition that a considerable time before Farewell, King, Fynn, and Ogle arrived, other Europeans had lived in these parts and had native wives and children by them.³³ I don't know their names but those Europeans came from the direction of the Cape.

Nhlamba-wa-manzi was interpreter to Magaye as well as to Tshaka, for Europeans came through Magaye to Tshaka.³⁴ Nhlamba was an iXoza. He had sons, Pili and Jani (both dead).

I have never heard of the Dutch buying land here from Inyangesa. [See Bird's *Annals*, p. 73.] I do not know this name. He may have been chief of the amaMpopfana.

<15.4.1905>

File 61, nbk. 59, pp. 12-18.

Also present: Dinya, Nojomba, Kupela?

- 12 It is possible, Mcotoyi says, our name Tuli was derived from that of our old chief, Lutuli. We are now called amaZuba, i.e. our section is being considered as separate from the main Tuli tribe.

- Dinya says: Madunjini had a son, Ntaba, who had a son Nkomokayidhli (living - called Martin - an interpreter for missionaries).³⁵ This last is a member of the Lutuli tribe. This tribe says we are part of the Tuli tribe but we are the older section, for 'We are *offspring of Lutuli-wezi-nkomo*'.³⁶ They *fathered chiefs*, viz. Ntaba, Manti etc. They say, 'We separated from Lutuli-wezi-nkomo,' and are Lutuli's issue. Madunjini's fathers *konza'd* the Qwabe (under Kondhlo).

- 13 The tradition is that when the Qwabe came south to the Mhlatuze, the Lutuli section of the Tuli people decided to remain, whilst the Tuli came down the coast. The Tulis left with their property, cattle, etc., hence the expression, 'We are *offspring of Lutuli-wezinkomo*'. [Mcotoyi contradicts - see below.] The Tulis are thus spoken of as Lutuli.

- Mcotoyi remarks that the Lutulis under Sibukeyana (deceased) are of the same tribe as the Tulis. They might pay hut tax in Mapumulo Division. Their *praises* conjoin with ours. We *conjoin* on the expression, 'Kwa Lutuli kwa nkomo'. Those who speak the Zulu dialect, adds Dinya, say 'uLutuli lwe zi nkomo'. Mcotoyi says that Lutuli and Nkomo are persons - nothing to do with cattle. Hence the conflict with the interpretation placed on the words by Dinya. Dinya admits he may be mistaken in speaking of cattle instead of a man. Nkomokayidhli may also be in error.

.... <Praises of Manti and of Mhini, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 16 An excellent authority on Tuli affairs is Maziyana. [See genealogical tree next page.]³⁷

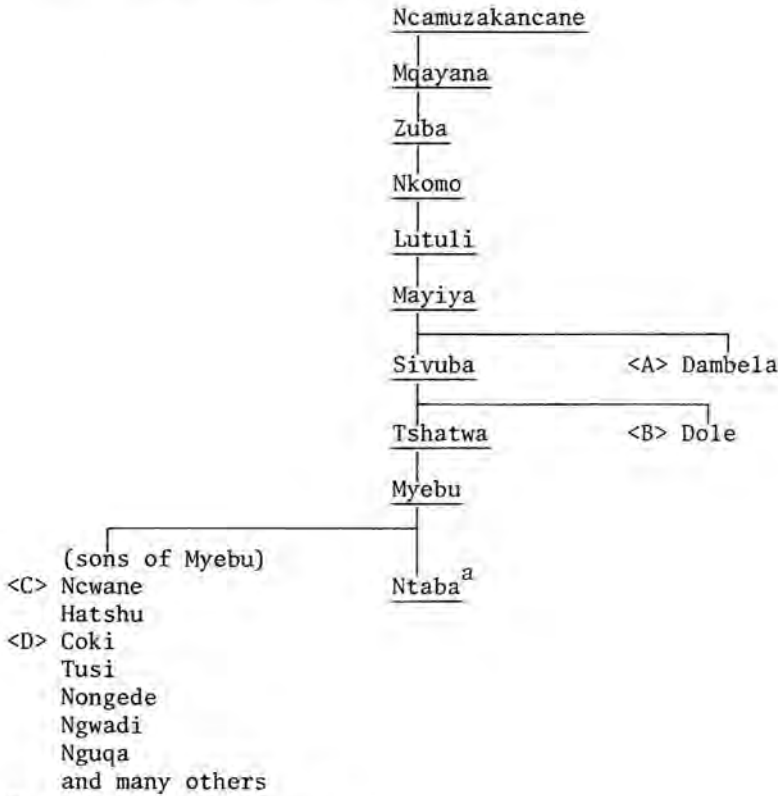
The names of the ancient chiefs of the Tuli tribe are mentioned frequently when men (or women) sneeze. The person sneezing uses an expression such as 'You of our people, the people of Zuba ka Mqayana, the people of Ncamuzakancane', or part of this phrase. Or such names may be used when hushing a baby crying.

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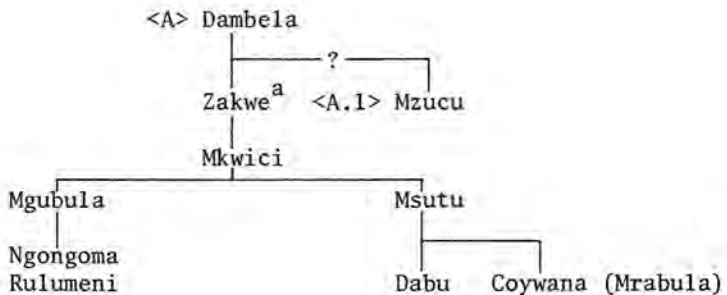
<In the genealogies that follow we have used the symbols, A, A.1, etc. to indicate relationships which in the original are indicated by conventional genealogical descent lines - eds.>

- 17 15.4.1905. Genealogical tree of the Tuli tribe, as far as Mcotoyi can give it, assisted by Nojomba - see below. (See Maziyana's tree, 24.4.1905, which supersedes this.)

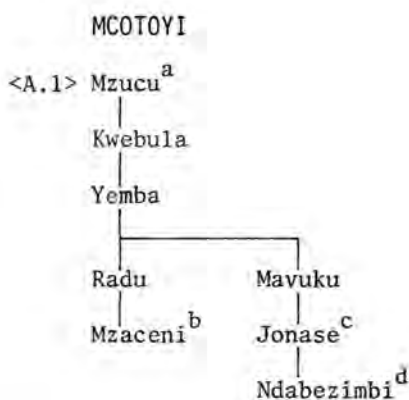
N.B. Chiefs of Tuli tribe underlined.



^aM. does not know issue.



^a*Amaqadi* section of the tribe - joined the section now under Mcotoyi.³⁸

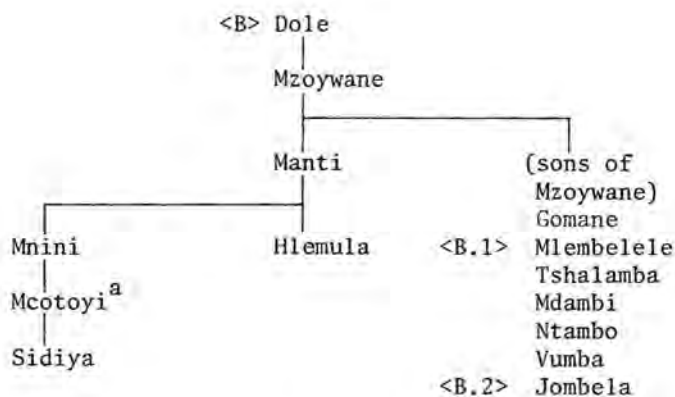


^aHis father probably Dambela.

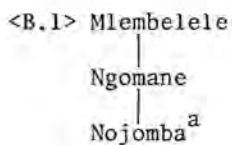
^bDied young.

^cDied c. -- <sic>.

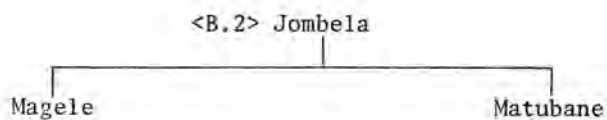
^dLiving.

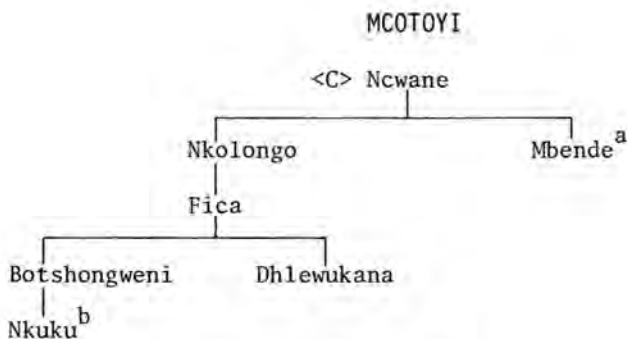


^aMy chief informant, aet. c.76, born c.1828.

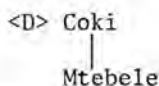


^aOne of my informants.

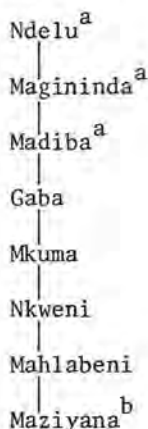




^a Killed by Tshaka - was the principal son.
^b Living.



<Genealogical tree of Maziyana>



^a Per Maziyana.

^b Authority on tribal matters - living, aet. c.80. *An adopted person (inkulelane) who is in charge of an umuzi.* His ancestors are of the amaNdelu tribe.

- 18 Zakwe is really our *isizinda*, says Mcotoyi.³⁹ We are now known as amaZuba, though part of the Tuli tribe. We spring from Zakwe.
 [Is the name Zuba from the ancestral chief Zuba?]

16.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 59, pp. 18-24.

Also present: Dinya, Nojomba, Kupela.

Women's leather skirts were formerly very long, of cattle or goats, reaching nearly to the ankles. *Men wore the ubendhle girdle* - only in front.⁴⁰ I think the caps must have been the head-rings which, Mcotoyi

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says, were high above the head.

Amakwinceli, like *bustards*, but bigger, were coast birds, but have gone off.

The amaMpfana must have been like us in our habits and customs. They were not distinct, like amaLawu for instance.⁴¹

19 Mcotoyi admits there have been various visits to Port Natal by Europeans prior to Farewell's coming. Bovungane of the Tuli tribe was a son of Mbozela, who may possibly be a son of our ancestor Mzoywane. Mbozela had as wife a girl whose father was a white man, and this wife was mother of Bovungane. Bovungane was somewhat younger than my father. He died prior to 1856 (when Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fought).⁴² He had *put on the headring*. He was of the uVitshana regiment of the Tuli tribe. I am of the Imijiba regiment and *followed him in age*.

This woman was *ngerwa'd* by Ngcokwa of the Tembu people after Mbozela's death. Ngcokwa died and the woman was *ngerwa'd* by Ngcuza. By Ngcuza she had a girl, Nokuba (dead). She, Nokuba, *married away* near Pinetown.

This woman was the mother of Bovungane - I forget her maiden name. By Mbozela she had Hlekiwe (girl) and Bovungane (boy). By Ngcokwa she had Majiya (boy, living, of the Totololo regiment), Sinukane (girl, living, married to Masese, a member of the Tuli tribe, but I do not know his tribal name), and Funani (girl, dead). By Ngcuza she had only Nokuba (dead). Hlekiwe was married to Zintsonge of the eLangeni people in Mnini's tribe. She had Nyanga (boy, living), Bala (boy, living), Mkalelwa (boy, living), Mbikose (girl, living, married - husband Nto-gana, dead), and Nomacala (girl, living?).

20 Bovungane was simply *light-coloured (mpofu)*, but did not otherwise have evidences of European descent.

Bovungane's mother was the daughter of Boko. Boko was, I fancy, the name of a white man, her father, though I cannot say for certain - it may be a native, throwing the European contact further back.

Tshadile ka Ndungeni of the Biya people, '*the Biya people who fenced in (biyela) the amaTuli with the muzzle of the old beast*', was a notable character. [This was probably Shooter's - Grout's - informant: see p. 262, Shooter's *Kafirs of Natal*.]⁴³ He was of an angry disposition; people were afraid of him. Assegais, sticks etc. used to be kept out of his way when there was to be an assembly, dance etc., for he would be sure to pick a quarrel and come to blows. He was dark in complexion. He used sometimes to sit with others with a stout stick at his feet, whereas others had left their sticks at a distance, and this stick of his had a name. He called it uBebeni, and when it got old a similar one was got to take its place. Tshadile was not his real name; this was Msunduza. This man was circumcised.

21 Mcotoyi knows of other cases of descendants from Europeans among the Tuli tribe. Jonase ka Mavuka is another case. Jonase's mother was married once to a white man. Jonase died many years before my father Mnini, who died about 1883, shortly after Cetshwayo's return from England. He died (i.e. J.) when a middle-aged man.

There are several old sites still to be seen near where Mcotoyi now lives and near the Imfume mission station on the north side of the Mko-mazi where white people - prior to Tshaka's day - had erected their homesteads. These homesteads were ordinary native kraals, for these people lived according to native fashion, taking wives and so on. These Europeans are said for some years to have lived among the Tuli people.

Nojomba observes that there is a good deal of digging about these sites.

The names of these Europeans are unknown. Nor can Mcotoyi associate these sites with the father of Bovungane's mother. [Were not these those who were in the Stavenisse, wrecked 16 February 1686?]⁴⁴

Mcotoyi remarks that in former days people of his tribe, and for the matter of that, those of other neighbouring tribes, used to smelt their own iron. They made their own charcoal, and found their own iron stone. This stone was hewn out and broken into small lumps suitable for smelting. These stones were then conveyed to the furnace near which were the bellows. Girls and young men were employed in this work, but only such as did not *hlobonga*. Nor were those who associated in huts during the night allowed to be present at these operations, for all forms of sexual intercourse were regarded as liable to bring about disastrous effects, causing the iron not to flow properly from the stones. This practice was always strictly observed.

In the early days natives used to work for Europeans for iron as wages. For a piece about nine inches long and big enough to make a hoe one must work, say, three months. The piece would be cut off, and the man or boy would carry it home in triumph to be welded and hammered into a hoe by professional smiths. Those were the days in which one still witnessed the making of rude hoes out of *unsimbiti* wood. This would be cut down with an axe and sharpened at either end into something roughly resembling a hoe, and then be used for digging purposes. As soon as one end got blunt it would be turned over and used on the other side.

Among the regiments of our tribe [this probably refers immediately to Mnini's section] are the uNzololo, uVitshana, Imijiba, uTotololo. I belong to the Imijiba. The man Bovungane, about whom I have been speaking, belonged to the uVitshana, whilst Majiya, the son of Bovungane's mother by Ngcokwa [see 4 pp. back], belonged to the uTotololo. The four regiments given are in their proper order, the oldest being the first given.

[Read in connection with these notes on Tuli tribe pp. 261, 262, Shooter's Kafirs of Natal; also Grout's Zululand, pp. 27-31, which almost corresponds with Bird's Annals of Natal, pp. 56, 59, vol. I, and Isaacs, I, pp. 54, 55.]⁴⁵

Mcotoyi and Dinya present.

Mnini began with the uNzololo regiment. After the Totololo regiment came the iNkuku, then the Imidwayimba, then the Imbila, then about six others, all called Imbila, one after the other. All these Imbilas were, by order of Jonase ka Mavuku [see genealogical tree], thrown together and called Mdhluka. He (Jonase) was the 'Prime Minister' and *induna* of the Mdhluka regiment. Manti had a regiment called the uMdhluka, so by calling all the Imbila regiments (six or seven of them) Mdhluka, they were taken to revive the ancient name under the chief Manti. The regiment uNzololo followed in age after the uMwowane, a regiment recruited by Matubane prior to my father becoming chief. (People, i.e. members of the uNzololo regiment, sometimes speak of themselves as Izinzololo.) I am still *butaing* Imbila regiments.

Mzoywane had no regiment; people were called after their kraals, although of different ages. Pondos collect their forces according to kraals, i.e. the old system.

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I know of only two sites (European) near the Mkomazi, one 40 to 50 yards from the other. We lived at the esiBubulungu, whereas these sites were in Sojuba ka Majoka's territory (Tshadile ka Ndungeni) near the Mkomazi.⁴⁶ Maziyana also lived with us at the esiBubulungu where he was born. I, Mcotoyi, was born at the esiBubulungu. The two sites are just above the waggon-road which is again above the railway.

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File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 1-13.

Also present: Dinya

1 Mcotoyi continues.

Tradition says that the chiefs in Natal near the Tukela refused to allow the Tulis to cross until we *paid tribute (tela'd) with izimbedu - neck-rings*. Our ancestor then directed that the *izilomo* were all to be *picked out (i.e. the warriors)*, and that he would *cross with them*.⁴⁷ He caused all the women and cattle to *come up* and be in readiness. He then crossed with his men and the *neck-rings*. He paid them over. As he was crossing, the cattle were put to the water to cross, also women and other forces. The plan was that the *neck-rings* were to be put down before those who demanded them and just as they were about to seize them the heroes were to rush at and stab them. The men proceeded to accept the *neck-rings* and to take them, whereupon our ancestor immediately set on them, taking them unawares. They fought, and those opposing fled in confusion. The crossing was completed. The *neck-rings* were picked up and taken on. This is the story of our crossing into Natal. In those days *neck-rings* were very much sought after, more than cattle.

2 The expedition continued through the territory, fighting here and there, but meeting with little real resistance. A settlement was effected after crossing the Mgeni and Mkomazi. The Tulis lived between the Mkomazi and Mgeni. The amaMbili, who came across from Zululand with us, settled south of the Mkomazi, whilst the amaKomo, who had also accompanied us, settled below the ezinNgomankulu, not far from Camperdown.⁴⁸ The amaMbilis were afterwards under Ngoyi ka Nomabunga ka Nkowane. Ngoyi was *overcome* by Tshaka. The tribe fled *to the Nguni country (ebuNguni)*.⁴⁹

When we got here we found the Mkomazi and Mgeni so named. The Mgeni was known by the amaBaca as the uMsonganyati; this arose from the fact of the river once rising and, by circling round, causing buffaloes to be drowned.⁵⁰

3 Dinya says: I remember as a child hearing the name Msonganyati. The Bacas lived about the Mgeni.

The Bacas are Zulus. Something occurred. They decided to leave. They did so all of a sudden. No one knew of their departure or where they had gone to. They settled in Natal and were called amaBaca. They actually belong to the Zulu tribe. Dinya says they must have left about Jama's day.⁵¹

M. says all people seem to have come from the direction of Zululand and gone south. We must all therefore have a common ancestor.

The name Baca is a name given by those people's own relations in the Zulu tribe, because of their sudden disappearance and keeping in

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hiding.⁵² M. does not think they came from the amaZelemu, as is suggested on p. 144 of Holden, *Kaffir Races*.⁵³ Dinya agrees with this. The Bacas spoke of themselves as amaWushe.⁵⁴

4 Mcotoyi does not think the Tulis fled from Zululand, for they left with all their belongings, and there is no tradition among other tribes to the effect that we were *driven out*.

Lutuli-laNkomo - we speak of ourselves as this. So do Sibukeyana's Lutuli tribe, therefore we conjoin. Sibukeyana is dead. I suggest probably Njubanjuba, existing chief.⁵⁵

I have not heard that we came from the Mtetwa tribe. We do not, like the Celes, say '*Nyambose*'.⁵⁶

Mcotoyi shows me the little finger of his left hand, cut off at the first joint. The amaBomvini also cut in this way, but we do not belong to them. This cutting is no longer done. Mnini had his little finger also cut. Nowadays the custom is falling into desuetude. The practice now is to cut slightly the finger of one who was cut, and also slightly cut or scratch the person who, by custom, should be cut, and then mix the blood of the two fingers by holding one against the other.

5 There are many tribes whose chiefs are unknown or non-existent, viz. the amaKomo, the abakwaMngoma, the abaseMandhlovini, the abakwaNdhlovu (had Chief Mpongo but none since then; they won't build up their own house).⁵⁷

Who is Enslopee? [Jacob married his daughter, p. 49, 41.]⁵⁸ I do not know who this Mhlope is, says Mcotoyi.

I fancy our name amaTuli springs from a person, namely Lutuli, our old chief.

We, our section, is now called the amaZuba. I do not know how the name originated - not after the old chief of that name; that seems to me unlikely. This name attached to us probably when Dole separated from the main branch under Tshatwa and established his own section under Dole <sic>.

6 The main tribe speak of us as 'Zuba'. We are not *the isizinda section* but *the junior section (abanawe) of the main house*. The *isizinda* is with the great house - main tribe. Tshatwa left the *isizinda* and built his own kraal, the name of which I cannot give.

I do not know who was the chief of the *isizinda* of the chief kraal of our tribe.

The constitution of the Tuli tribe was not similar to the Zulu regime. No *umkosi* was held there. Only *izinceku* went to *konsa*. We heads of sections lived almost independently of the principal chief, although we always knew of his existence. Our chief had no regiments. The reckoning was by *local assemblies (bandhlas)* - '*the ibandhla of such and such a place*', e.g. *the ibandhla of the place of the Zuba people*. There was no recruiting in accordance with age. Mnini started regiments even though his chief Ntaba had not done so. The Pondos had no regiments recruited according to age. We considered our chief was 'far off', although he lived only where Pinetown now stands.

7 Matubane *konza'd in the Zulu country*. Tshaka killed him. He was reported by Msekelo to Tshaka. He said, 'He eats cattle; he kills them.' These cattle were Tshaka's. They had been put out among all our kraals, and our people were herding them for the king. Matubane was killed at

Tshaka's great kraal, Dukuza or Bulawayo.⁵⁹ Msekelo said to T., 'There is a kraal of his maternal uncle's people.' T. then sent and killed Matubane's relatives. Amabikwane was the name of the kraal killed off - this was a Tembu kraal. (Kupela, my informant, belongs to this.) After this the people came out of the forests. The section then began to *konza* the white people, for these protected them. When Febana was killed Jana (Cane) looked after the tribe. Kamu Kengi (Captain King) then received the people and protected them.⁶⁰ Under him the people cut trees down and drew them to the Bluff on the bay side [see Isaacs, map, vol. 1] where a boat was constructed.⁶¹

- 8 Tshaka first sent an *impi* to Hinsa, as it was said he had an *ibuto* so large that it would take all day rising. This regiment was known as the *Inkonyane of Hinsa*. T.'s forces went, failed to find Hinsa, and came on European houses. Mdhaka turned back as there were no instructions to attack Europeans, and, in turning, discovered some of Faku's cattle, which the Zulus seized. When Nandi died, later on, a further *impi*, known as the *ihlambo one*, was sent to attack Faku - previously unknown.⁶²

Tshaka did not accompany the *impi* to Hinsa; Mdhaka was in charge of it. He did, however, accompany the *ihlambo one* sent to Faku.

- 9 T. directed his forces to go off to Balule.⁶³ Faku followed him up to *pay tribute* to him, and was in the act of doing so when he was assassinated.⁶⁴

- T. left his cattle here and there on his way back from Pondoland. Tshaka had no regular kraal in our district, only a *cattle-post* called Ndabenkulu. The cattle were *herded* by our own people. The calves ate their mothers' tails and died. My father (Mnini) was then sent by those at the *cattle post* to go and report to Tshaka. Mnini met another going also to report. This man asked M. what he was going to T. for. He replied, 'To report about calves dying from eating their mothers' tails. A serious affair to have to see Tshaka about!' They got to T. who was seated in the *enclosure* with his *assembly*. Mnini then reported. T. asked those about what the lad said. They repeated. T. asked those nearby, 'Does that ever happen?' They said, 'Among those of the great one it does happen.' 'Strike the evil-doer (*itshinga*),' he shouted, whereupon a man stepped quickly forward and aimed a blow with a stick at my father's head. My father put his *shield* up just in time and started running. As he passed others, one took up a bone and flung it at him. His first assailant continued striking at him and, finding him guarding, struck him a heavy blow on the right side, which brought him down. He eventually made his way off but the injury to his side, probably to his kidney, lasted all his life - always felt it (*a permanent injury*). Tshaka did not himself strike Mnini [as Norman N. once told me].⁶⁵ No doubt T. recollected that Mnini was a relation of Matubane whom he had recently put to death.
- 10

Tshaka sometimes *declaimed his own praises*, Dinya says. Hearing him doing so, the Celes, whispering among themselves said, 'The madman is praising himself.' Of course this never came to his ears.

- 11 Once, Mcotoyi says, T. said to some of his boys belonging to a regiment, 'Do any people bring food to you here?' 'No,' they replied,

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no one brings us any.' 'Go and kill your mothers,' was the answer and order.

Seeing a person, says Dinya, putting a feather in his ear and gently turning it, (Tshaka) asked, 'To what is he trying to compare the sensation of tickling his ear with a feather?'⁶⁶

M. adds: When Nandi died Tshaka wailed, 'All such as behold me, I suppose, have mothers to go to,' showing his singularity and objection to being regarded as different to others - at a disadvantage.

T. was a *self-assured person (igagu)*, i.e. a man who could *make up* his own song - not afraid of singing out loudly in public - no nervousness.

- 12 The names of those who *escaped* when the doctors were killed off were Mqayana ka Mlongwe (?), Ntando ka Mbaba of the Dube people [added by Mcotoyi], and Jele of the *emangangeni* people [added by Dinya].⁶⁷

Those who used to accompany Fynn's *impi* that went to Tshaka were Ngungwini and Mrabula (Coywana) of the Tuli tribe.⁶⁸

Mnini was buried at the Emgababa.⁶⁹

I do not know the name of either Ntaba's or Myebu's kraals.

Ntaba met his death by Myebu's people killing him when he fled to them for protection against Zulu forces. Ill-feeling was very strong in the tribe at the time, and there were frequent family quarrels in which lives were lost. I do not know how he was killed or where - i.e. exactly.

- 13 There are no *izivivane* on the land I live on given us by the Government. (The Government are now wanting to give me other land in exchange. I want payment of £40 or so expended by me before I will enter upon negotiations.) This absence is due not to our not conforming to such custom but to the fact of there being no stones on these sandy plains. I remember seeing an *izivivane* at the Amanzimtoti. Dinya cannot call this *izivivane* to mind, but says there is one at the Mtwalume near the Hlokozi hill in the Ixopo Division. There are many others about but I forget where they are.

Mcotoyi's age is again referred to. He says he was *crawling* as an infant when Dingana came to the throne [September and October 1828], so he would have been born about April 1828, for a child, Dinya remarks, *crawls* in the fifth or sixth month. This makes him almost exactly 77 years old and not 76 as previously stated.

[17.4.1905. Mcotoyi and his two boys, Kupela and Nojomba, leave early today (17th).]

Notes

¹Mcotoyi was chief of the Thuli people in the Umlazi division.

²*Izivivane* (sing. *isivivane*) were piles of stones left by travellers as good-luck tokens at points along the wayside.

³Cf. the genealogies in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 506; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, pp. 264, 265, 283 ff.

- ⁴*Utshaba* literally means ferocious temper.
- ⁵I.e. Durban Bluff.
- ⁶Dibandlela kaMkhokheleli was chief of the Cele early in the nineteenth century.
- ⁷On Khofiyana see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 496, 554, 561; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 58, 59, vol. 2, pp. 116, 275, 297.
- ⁸Cf. Maziyana's statement in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 301.
- ⁹Boats were built at Port Natal by parties of shipwreck survivors on at least three occasions: in 1685, 1686-7, and 1825-8. See Mackeurtan, Cradle Days, pp. 56-9, 130, 140.
- ¹⁰Johannes Kumalo, another of Stuart's informants, gives iNgcobinga as another name for the iziNyosi *ibutho*, which was formed c.1828 of youths born c.1808. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 213.
- ¹¹Dinya's evidence appears in vol. 1 of the Stuart Archive.
- ¹²Formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.
- ¹³Chief of the Gcaleka Xhosa from the late 1790s to 1835.
- ¹⁴This is presumably a reference to Shaka's attack on the Mpondo in 1824. Mdlaka kaNcidi of the emGazini people was one of Shaka's chief *izinduna*.
- ¹⁵Nandi, Shaka's mother, died in August 1827.
- ¹⁶This expedition took place in 1828.
- ¹⁷The reference is to Shaka's campaign against Soshangane in what is now southern Mozambique in the latter part of 1828. *Ukhukhulelangoqo*, literally 'a sweeping up of the rubbish', in this context means a mobilization of all the men of the kingdom.
- ¹⁸Two of Shaka's brothers, Dingane and Mhlangana, together with the senior of his personal attendants, Mbopha kaSithayi, ultimately assassinated Shaka in September 1828, after the Zulu army had returned from the Mpondo country and while it was still absent on the campaign against Soshangane.
- ¹⁹Magaye kaDibandlela was chief of the Cele living near present-day Stanger.
- ²⁰Zihlandlo kaGcwabe was chief of the Mkhize or Mbo people.
- ²¹For variant accounts of Zihlandlo's death see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 413-14; Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 191.
- ²²Halstead was interpreter to the party of Voortrekkers under Piet Retief which was killed in February 1838.
- ²³*Ukungena*, literally to enter, here means to take to wife the widow of a deceased male relative in order to raise a house for him.
- ²⁴Wohlo was Henry Ogle. Ncishuyise was chief of the emLangeni people in the Alexandra division.
- ²⁵For discussion of the term Lala see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vols. 1 and 2, index.
- ²⁶Or Mkhize people.
- ²⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 220, gives *radula* (*hadula*) as 'to *tekela* very much in speech, i.e. use abundance of harsh sounds, as the *amalala*'.
- ²⁸Hemuhemu was chief of the Fuze people living in the Swartkop location to the south-west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ²⁹Cf. the genealogies in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 482; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 119.
- ³⁰John Cane hunted and traded from Port Natal from 1824 to 1838. EsiNya-

meni was the name of his *umuzi*.

- ³¹Mbuyazi was H.F. Fynn. *Isicaka* means a poor, destitute person, one without livestock. *Isicaka sempi* literally means 'the poor one of the army'; *isicaka sasendlini* literally means 'the poor one of the home'.
- ³²The reference is to Nathaniel Isaacs, Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 vols., London, 1836.
- ³³Francis Farewell, James Sanders King, Henry Fynn, Henry Ogle and other British hunter-traders arrived at Port Natal in 1824-5.
- ³⁴Nhlamba-wa-manzi, or Nhlambamanzi, alias Jakot or Jacob, was a man from the eastern Cape who achieved prominence as an English interpreter to Shaka and Dingane.
- ³⁵Presumably Martin Luthuli, who became a leading member of the American Zulu Mission community at Groutville, where he was elected chief in 1908. He had served as secretary to Dinuzulu in the 1880s, was one of the founders of the Natal Native Congress, and was active in politics in the early decades of the twentieth century. He died in 1921.
- ³⁶*Lutuli-wezinkomo* literally means 'Lutuli of the cattle'.
- ³⁷Maziyana was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in vol. 2 of the Stuart Archive.
- ³⁸The *iqadi* (pl. *amaqadi*), or *inqadi*, section of a homestead is the one of the wife who provides the heir if there is a failure of male issue from the chief wife's house.
- ³⁹The *isizinda* section of a homestead provides the son who remains as formal guardian of his father's homestead in the event of the latter's death or removal to a new homestead. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 418-19; Dictionary, 729-30.
- ⁴⁰Bryant, Dictionary, p. 131, gives the *ubendle* (*ubendhle*) as 'small veldt-plant...the white under-skin of whose leaves was formerly used ...for making the fringed loin-covering...'
- ⁴¹*Ilawu* (pl. *amalawu*) means a Khoi or similar light-skinned person.
- ⁴²The rivalry between Cetshwayo and his brother Mbuyazi for the succession to the Zulu kingship culminated in a battle between their adherents in December 1856 near the mouth of the Thukela. Cetshwayo's forces were victorious.
- ⁴³J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, London, 1857.
- ⁴⁴For accounts of the wreck of the *Stavenisse* see Bird, Annals, vol. 1, pp. 27 ff; Theal, History of S.A. before 1795, vol. 2, pp. 291 ff; Mackeurtan, Cradle Days, pp. 57 ff.
- ⁴⁵L. Grout, Zululand; or, Life among the Zulu-kafirs of Natal and Zululand, London, 1863; J. Bird, The Annals of Natal, 2 vols., Pietermaritzburg, 1888.
- ⁴⁶IsiBubulungu is the Zulu name for Durban Bluff.
- ⁴⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362, gives *isilomo* as a 'man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.
- ⁴⁸The iziNgomankulu hill lies ten kilometres south-west of present-day Camperdown.
- ⁴⁹I.e. to the Xhosa country.
- ⁵⁰The name umSonganyathi derives from the verb *ukusonga*, to fold, and *inyathi*, buffalo.
- ⁵¹Jama, grandfather of Shaka, was chief of the Zulu in the late eighteenth century.
- ⁵²The verb *ukubhaca* means to hide oneself. On the derivation of the

- name Bhaca cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 398.
- ⁵³W.C. Holden, The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, London, 1866.
- ⁵⁴Cf. Bryant's identification of the Bhaca in Olden Times, pp. 369-72.
- ⁵⁵Mcothoyi is here presumably naming a potential informant on Luthuli history. Njubanjuba was Luthuli chief in the Mapumulo division.
- ⁵⁶Nyambose is given by others of Stuart's informants as an ancestral figure in the Cele chiefly line; see for example Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 68, 309.
- ⁵⁷Mpongo kaZingelwayo was chief of the Ndlovu living in the Nkandla area in the early nineteenth century. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 264-5; Fuze, The Black People, p. 15.
- ⁵⁸The references are to Isaacs, Travels and Adventures.
- ⁵⁹Shaka's Bulawayo *umuzi* was situated between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni, his Dukuza *umuzi* near present-day Stanger.
- ⁶⁰Febana was Frances Farewell; Jana, John Cane; Kamu Kengi, Captain James King.
- ⁶¹The boat was presumably the Elizabeth and Susan, built 1825-8. See Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 16, 117.
- ⁶²The *ihlambo* or 'washing of the spears' was the final purification ceremony concluding a period of mourning, in this case for Nandi, the king's mother. See also notes 14-16 above.
- ⁶³Also known as the Olifants river. The reference is to Shaka's attack on Soshangane: see also note 17 above.
- ⁶⁴A common tradition records that a number of Mpondo envoys were present when Shaka was assassinated at his Dukuza *umuzi* in September 1828. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 95, vol. 2, p. 295.
- ⁶⁵Norman Nembula was another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁶⁶Cf. the anecdote recorded in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 19.
- ⁶⁷The reference is to the well-known story of Shaka's testing the powers of his diviners, and killing off those who failed.
- ⁶⁸On several occasions the white traders and hunters at Port Natal were ordered by Shaka to provide supporting contingents for his army.