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KUMALO, JOHN

<Typescript copies of the evidence given below are to be found in Files 6 and 27 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

12.10.1900. Ladysmith. File 73, p. 111.

111 I had a conversation, lasting about 1½ hours, this afternoon with John Kumalo, an important headman at Roosboom (where a number of *koluas* etc. live) in Klip River Division. He, I should think, is about 62-64 years of age (about (the age of) the Ndhlondhlo regiment).[1] He formerly lived in Estcourt Division among the Mangweni (people) near Pasiwe, Little Tugela.

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

which, but for this, was within his reach and his rightful due.

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

13.10.1900, 2.25 p.m. - <evidence given 12.10.1900> File 73, p. 112.

112 *Kolwas* cannot understand natives who are not exempted from payment of hut tax from the mere fact that they have built a square hut or house.[2] A privilege not deserved seems to have been conferred here.

[No-one was present when I had this conversation which took place in my room, no. 12, at the Royal Hotel.]

12.10.1900 File 73, pp. 111-12.

111 Generally speaking there was no grievance against Sir T. Shepstone. He governed well, but there is however one point. A body of men - Ngoza's - including Mkungo (who could read and write), went to Shepstone. He saw them in public. *Kolwas* were, I think, present.
112 The subject was (the relations of) Ngoza's people, and Mkungo's, with the missionaries.[3] Shepstone said, 'The white people *bonga* their *amadhlozi*; you too should *bonga* your own.'[4] The *kolwas* saw from this that Shepstone favoured the raw native; that he did not wish the native to rise to the higher civilization; that in fact he was inimical to the highest interests of the native race. He advocated a separation between Europeans and natives instead of promoting unity.

Shepstone frequently discussed native affairs with important natives. He did this usually out in the open and at meetings. When he heard *a case involving dispute* as to the successor to the late Nodada, John Kumalo was present. The tribe was the abaTembu people. Mafongozi [or some such name] was one of the disputants. John Kumalo sought permission to speak. He asked, 'Did not Nodada tell you all what the laws of the land were; was it never his custom to educate you?' Upon this one of the raw natives replied, 'Get along, you *kolwa*; off you go from here and drive your waggons.' John Kumalo is of course a *kolwa*. The case was decided against Mafongozi.

When Shepstone said that about *bongaing* their own *amadhlozi* and advising natives to continue in their own way, the missionaries were made acquainted with Shepstone's remarks and a good deal of influence was brought to bear on him.

As for Colenso, he was so much the natives' friend, so much did he identify himself with them, that people (Europeans) disliked him on that account. He once wrote (prophesied) in a little book about Columbus's voyages that the whole world will yet bend the knee, saying 'Amen', and give their allegiance to Africa. John Kumalo says he has not, for long past, seen this book; i.e. it may be out of print. [6.50 p.m. - It is not in the *'Inhlanganisela'*.[5]] John Kumalo frequently visited Bishopstowe.

<At this point Stuart cross-refers to other notebooks for further details of this conversation and of a conversation with Solomon Kumalo. These notebooks appear to be lost - eds.>

28.10.1900, 1.54 p.m. Ladysmith. File 73, pp. 113-18.

Also present: Ndukwana

113 I had a conversation with John Kumalo of Roosboom on miscellaneous subjects from about 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. today. He said that what first created in him the desire to learn to read and write and to become a *kolwa* was when, years ago, before the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley (i.e. before the opening of the mines there), he was out at work in the Cape Colony and had occasion to go to an office to ask for a pass back to Natal, in company with others. Such pass was written out and given to him by a Fengu[6] - a black man. It astonished him to see a black man able to read and write. He then left with the pass, travelling via Basutoland with his friends. In Basutoland he was asked for his pass by a Basuto who had on no other clothing than a skin *covering* etc., purely native clothing. At first he was surprized at the Basuto calling for the pass and would not produce it, but when the boy, for boy it was, persisted, he gave him the pass. The boy at once read what was thereon, telling the very names of the party by reading them accurately from the paper. After this there was a very keen desire to learn.

John's father had four wives. Two had one child each. John's mother had five children of whom two died. John's eldest brother is still living, is not a *kolwa*, and refuses to become one; he has had more than one wife; all of them are dead (from dysentery?). One of his children is a *kolwa*. John told his father of his wish to go to Pietermaritzburg to work in order to learn, as well as to find out about Nkulunkulu.[7] His father was much opposed to this and, in striking him, scratched him with his hand. His mother was silent, afraid of course of her husband. John, however, was determined to go, and go he did, being accompanied part of the way by his mother, who gave him his little parcel of food and was so disconsolate that John had to shut his eyes and tear himself from her. John went to Pietermaritzburg, came to Mkungu ka Mpande whom he had heard of, and was
114 taken by Mkungu to Bishopstowe (Bishop Colenso). Bishop Colenso had John taught; he was taught by a Mr Bo (written as pronounced). He made rapid progress as he took a keen interest in his work. For instance, when he heard people talking he used to try and think how the words they used would be spelt if written. In this way he learned to read and write.

Bishop Colenso was a man endowed with prophetic vision. He (Colenso) once asked a Dr. -- if he could tell what the origin of the Zulu people was. The doctor said he thought they were descended from the Jews. Colenso expressed approval and proceeded to indicate a few things upon which such conclusion could be based. He referred to their strict laws, where people were killed for adultery and for a number of other offences; circumcision; the offering up of incense (*impepo* as the Zulus call it); and the *spirits* worshipped seem to find a kind of prototype in the serpent set up in the wilderness.[8] Colenso very eagerly took down native customs etc. from elderly

natives' lips. He would write whilst the man was talking and without looking on the paper, except to see where he was writing. He did a very great deal of writing. John cannot understand how it is there are so few followers of Sobantu[9] nowadays. They have dwindled to nothing, and yet on great subjects no-one dared to approach him. Any question a man might ask would at once be swallowed up by the great Know-all. Sobantu denied the existence of hell: he said Christ only spoke figuratively, comparing it to Gehenna, the place of rubbish outside Jerusalem, for, Colenso would ask, 'If your child does wrong do you kill it? The answer is, "No". Why then shall God, who is our father, send us to perdition for doing wrong?' Colenso was a fluent linguist, could hear everything a native had to say, and always wished him to speak in a manly and not in an effeminate way.

Langalibalele. Langalibalele did no wrong. What happened was this. W. Shepstone,[10] Nsokonsokwana, at the instigation of his father, came to the Amahlubi tribe and got labourers for the Kimberley diamond fields. When at Kimberley, these men were set out to work among Europeans. At that time it was possible for Europeans without any difficulty to buy guns in Kimberley. The natives took it into their own heads to buy guns through their European masters; they succeeded, and afterwards brought the guns back to their tribe. Langalibalele was not in any way the person who instructed them to buy guns. The whole of the misunderstanding that arose, and the consequent fighting, was due to Mahoyiza, the *induna* sent by Somsewu to see Langalibalele in regard to the registration of the guns.[11] Mahoyiza took some of his own messengers with him and conducted negotiations with Langalibalele by means of them instead of personally. No doubt the young men at Langalibalele's resented this
115 action on the part of Mahoyiza and, by influencing their father, caused things to come to a crisis which, if Somsewu had managed the whole affair personally, would never have occurred. The secret of all the trouble was Mahoyiza.

John, after the disturbances, had occasion to go and try to recover his relations from the Langalibalele tribe. Before going on, it should be noted that John went at night once to Bishop Colenso about this Langalibalele affair, taking the chief's side and carrying certain information. When, later on, he went to ask for his relations, he saw Mmango (A.J. Shepstone[12]) who accused him of carrying messages to Bishop Colenso at night time, and quarrelled with him about the matter. He said, 'You thought Langalibalele would not be imprisoned and made to cross the sea, did you? Where is he now?'

Land. In Klip River and Estcourt Divisions many years ago there were large native locations. These locations were afterwards surveyed and divided up into farms. Rents varying from £1 to £3 and £4 were then charged. In Klip River Division there is now very little location land compared to what used to be. This part of Natal used to be looked upon as belonging to the Zulu king, for all these heads, like Langalibalele, Nodada, Pakade, Nyamayenja, etc. used to *pay tribute* to Tshaka etc.[13]

Koluas. John says: We belong neither to the Europeans nor to the

natives. We are a people apart and without proper laws. He thinks the best thing for the natives is to have them taught trades, boot-making, building, waggon-making, as the Trappists do, for whilst they are learning they are selling the fruit of their labour. He considers that the Government should try and cause natives to become more industrious than they are, viz. by teaching trades. The natives do not care for the *amakolwa*, and the *amakolwa* do not care for the natives.

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

When, many years ago, a great Governor came on a visit to Natal [was it Sir Bartle Frere or Sir George Grey?], John and a number of other natives decided to send a petition to him, and did, setting forth the various grievances and disabilities from which they suffered. John was the foremost of the petitioners. The petition was presented by Rev. Mr. Markham of Polela. Amongst the various petitions (items) was the having to pay hut tax (7s), the having to pay £5 to the Government on account of each marriage, the being
116 called out to work to pay hut tax, seeing in Zululand they were used merely to military service and were never required to work. Sir T. Shepstone had to report on the matter. The first thing he did was to call up a large gathering of chiefs and headmen, like Mqundane, Ngoza, Teteleku etc.,[16] and put the petition before them and call for an expression of their opinion. The meeting called the petitioners a lot of 'cats' who had been borne by them but had gone off to live elsewhere on their own account. With the exception of the £5 marriage fee, the men were opposed to the petition, which consequently fell flat. The petitioners were told that in future they should lay any grievances they had before the Legislative Council.

John also went into the new 'Order of Ethiopia'.[17] He told Bishop Baynes a short time ago (several weeks) that there was no branch of the Ethiopian Church in Natal that he knew of. John very much disapproved of Bishop Turner's[18] notion of being apart from the European communion in order that, as in America, they could have their own manufactures, newspapers, etc. It is right the natives should be inside, not outside, the Christian communion.

6.55 p.m. Same conversation continued, and also further one this afternoon from 4.30 p.m. to 6.15 p.m. John knows Mr Winter[19] very well. Mr Winter once said to him, 'We white people are very few in number: there are about two of us, whereas you natives are very numerous. If we educate you in such a way as shall enable you to compete with us, you will rapidly obtain ascendancy over and ultimately oust us. We, therefore, will not pursue what is obviously a suicidal policy.'

I put a number of questions on the foregoing three pages, to which I got these answers: I, says John, worked at Buffol beyond

Vitoli [the two so pronounced][20] in the Cape in the early days. The Cape is called *Erini* by natives. The reason I went to work so far off was because I heard wages were good there. My father of course did not object to my going there.

A Fengu is so called because when the Amahlubi tribe was scattered and routed in 1873 many of them took refuge among the Amaxoza, who said these refugees had come to *fenguza*, i.e. to *konza* or seek refuge. [There were other refugees besides Amahlubi. Read about *fenguza* p. 70, Annals of Natal, where Fynn gives what seems a far truer explanation - 14.11.1900.]

On my return from Cape Colony I did not pass through Basutoland but through Griqualand, Adam Kok's country, and the educated Basuto who asked for my pass was aged about 30-34.

When I wanted to go to Pietermaritzburg I said to my father I wanted to go and learn reading and writing. I did not say I wanted to become a *kolwa*; the *kolwaing* came afterwards. I lived at a waggon-makers - Mr Glik and Mr Whitelaw (Whitelock?). I was about 36-37 at the time. Colenso caused me to be taught. I was not present when Colenso spoke to the doctor, but I was afterwards told of the conversation.

Besides the similarities between Zulus and Jews named, there are
117 the following: *isivivana*, i.e. a pile of stones often seen along a path on to which every passer-by throws a stone or a tuft of grass tied into a knot and spat on, for luck; also the habit for a Zulu to go miles and miles to make a trivial purchase, say with ls, or he may go a great distance to sell tobacco and what not - distance is no object.

The relations I had to recover were two daughters of my sister married to one of Langalibalele's tribe. She had been obliged to leave the girls with friends because compelled to flee with her husband. I afterwards restored the girls to my sister when she returned.

I was caught by one of Somsewu's spies, Adamu - Somsewu's snuff-box bearer - going at night to see Sobantu.

The occupants of the old locations in Klip River and Estcourt Divisions were Zikali ka Mantiwana [?], Putile ka Matshoba, Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu, Pakade ka Macingwane, Nodada ka Mkubukeli, and others.[21]

The labourers called for by Maqaqa from Johannes were required for Government duties just about the time of the Zulu War of 1879.

I, John says, do not know the name of the Governor who came. He arrived in Natal shortly after the Langalibalele disturbances.[22] Among the men consulted by Somsewu were Ngoza, Teteleku, Mahlanya, Mqundane etc., i.e. those in the neighbourhood of Pietermaritzburg. Sir T. Shepstone did not summon men who lived in the outlying parts. We were called 'cats' because we had practically deserted from our kraals to enter the service of white people.

My father's name was Mayikana ka Mzondo, and Mzondo's father etc. run thus: Mzondo ka Katide ka Mtshengu ka Ngununu. (This last name became the name of a hill in Zululand beyond Vryheid. This was on account of my ancestor.) The name given me by my father is Myeye.

A *royal messenger* who used to visit Sobantu from Zululand was Sintwangu.

Sir T. Shepstone was to all intents and purposes exactly like a native chieftain. He behaved like one; witness the having a snuff-

box bearer [see above].

The greater difference natives notice between Boer and British government is that the latter depends on the principle, 'love thy neighbour as thyself', as seen in this: a man gets drunk, falls down in the street; he is picked up and taken care of, even though lodged in gaol and subsequently punished. He is taken out of harm's way; his money is saved from the risk of being lost by being taken from him; also his pipe and what not are kept until he is himself again. Again, a man gets ill; he is removed to a hospital and there properly tended and looked after, and when he is well, reasonable fees are asked from him. Nothing of this kind of solicitude can be
118 seen in Boer rule. Kaffirs are *amakafula*; they are 'bobijanas' (monkeys). A Boer once said, 'The English are attempting to educate you. They may as well go into the bush, catch a monkey and educate that. The latter would be an easier feat than the former.' In the old days when the Boers went in for slavery, when one man used to sell slaves to another all over the country, it became impossible for natives to know the relationship they truly stood in towards the other slaves they saw about them, and thus a man might find himself having connection with his sister, cousin, etc., and from such might arise the aspersion cast by Boers on natives that they are a set of whoremongers. In Klip River Division there are many Boer farmers; none of these except Bester (and he only on half his farm) charge rent; they exact service instead. Natives are, some of them, already regretting that the Englishman is taking the Boer's country, saying, 'Where shall we get the money to pay rent, hut tax, etc.?'

John is averse to the abolition of the tribal system. He is loathe to destroy what gives comfort to so many people. If a chief is in need of anything he falls back on his people who willingly respond. Sibamu[23] is a case in point. This chief lives in Estcourt Division. He came a short time ago to ⟨visit⟩ his people in this division to ask them for contributions to an object he had in view. They all responded, here a 2s 6d, there 5s and 10s, until at last some £140 was collected. This amount was all sent in to the Government to be given to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the war. Sibamu says he is much impressed by the spectacle of his sovereign fighting and spilling his blood whilst he, Sibamu, so far from being called to assist, is with his people, engaged in the ordinary avocations, marriage, beer-drinking, sowing crops, and what not. John saw and spoke to Sibamu on this point. Sibamu spent a night at John's and had a goat killed for him.

John mentions *Amakoboka* as the name of a people who live towards the interior and who were made slaves of by the Boers.[24] The Boers state clearly what their policy towards natives is; English people beat about the bush, hum and ha, pretend to be doing everything for the good of the native, and yet the reverse is often the case. There are a few people who will so devote themselves to promoting the good of the native as to practically ruin themselves; many on the other hand are quite unmindful of the fact that anything requires doing. John does not place great reliance in the young Englishmen of today; they do not go as thoroughly into matters as Somsewu, Mr J. Bird,[25] etc., and yet they fancy they know more than their elders. A white man much appreciated by natives and who under-

stood them was Mtshwetshwe (deceased), who used to be in the firm Walton and Tatham (Ladysmith).

29.10.1900, 1.15 p.m. File 73, pp. 119-21.

119 This morning I had a further talk with John Kumalo, after which he returned to his home at Roosboom. I had asked him to come for two or three days. He said, chiefly in answer to direct questions: I think the best way to solve the native question is by referring the matter to parliament. Through discussion, ways will be found of dealing with the matter. Some single man even might be able to find out something of a solution. As for myself, I am unable to propose a solution. It seems to me that instead of endeavouring to deal with each grievance or difficulty, some definite policy should be discovered and announced.

There are several grave objections to the Indians and Arabs. The former become domestic servants in the principal places like hotels, refreshment places etc., thereby displacing natives. Moreover the money earned by them is not spent in the country; it is sent out of South Africa to India. This applies specially to the Arabs. An Indian once said, 'We have come here to South Africa to fight, not against the Europeans, but against you. We have come to compete and enter into rivalry with you.'

At Kimberley there was a protest made by Europeans against the employment of native labour in the mines. A white man got up and said such protest was monstrous, for these Europeans who were clamouring to be employed in the mines were the very ones who, as soon as they had filled their pockets, would carry their earnings out of the country, not spending them in it as every (native) does. I do not remember the name of this white man. We do not understand the Indians and Arabs; we cannot communicate with them, however much Europeans may manage to do so.

Many *amakolwa continue to hlobonga*, seduce girls, etc. Some of them, though Christian converts, revert to the former way of living and take more wives than one. In former times *kolwas* were more careful about infringing the canons and regulations of the church. I, for instance, would never have dared to behave thus.

There appears to be a growing tendency amongst *kolwas* to become exempted from the operation of native law. This seems to be due to inheritance. Natives see that exemption carries with it the following positive advantage: every man's property is enjoyed by his own progeny rather than by his elder and younger brothers. If a man's daughter is married and *lobola* received by him, then, at his death, he is unable to assign any of his goods to his married daughter, for, being married under native law, her husband would appropriate anything so given. A man has a natural and great wish that the fruit of his labour should be enjoyed by his own children. For this reason - I have a wife and five [?] children, girls and boys - I have made a will (written) under which, at my death, my wife will have charge of the whole estate. At her death the property will be divided up in
120 equal portions to my children, in the same way as Europeans.

The divisions in the church are to me inexplicable and a very serious matter. I saw a good deal of the quarrel between Bishop

Colenso and Dean Green's party. I noted then that members of the opposing sides would pass one another by in the street without speaking. I observe many differences between Johannes Kumalo's people (Wesleyans) and our church.[26] Johannes's people are said to be converted when, having a presentiment that they have seen God, they burst into tears. I do not believe in that sort of thing; no-one has ever seen God. Their method of praying, their services etc., are different. We belong to the root church. So long as these various denominations are at one with the root church fundamentally, there does not appear to be much objection to their being apart.

7.20 p.m., same continued. There are no mission stations in Natal which can be called good. The Trappists are doing good work. They teach trades to young men and make girls labour in the fields.

Kolwas have many grievances of their own, the chief being (refusal of) education. *Kolwas* may not be educated above standard IV, and they are not allowed to enter the government service. Benjamin Kumalo, in spite of the fact that he had the highest testimonials from his magistrate, Mr Paterson, at Estcourt, yet was compelled to leave the service. Benjamin was much affected by the apparent injustice of this step. He, after this, resolved to enter the church and left Natal for the Cape, where he now is.[27]

Kolwas' wives do not cause much trouble, likewise their children [any more, possibly, than European children etc.]. There is a bad woman here and a disobedient child there - not more than that. My wife, John says, has never given me any trouble, nor my children.

There are large numbers of the Kumalo people in Natal in various places. Sibamu in Estcourt is a Kumalo chief.

Kolwa women do commit adultery with raw natives, and *kolwa* girls are often seduced by natives who are not Christians.

There are not very many *kolwas* who refuse to receive *lobola* for their children; many do refuse and many don't. The reason for refusal is the desire to settle the fruit of one's labour on one's own children, wife etc.

A *kolwa* man and wife sleep together as Europeans do. What is noticeable is that *kolwa* women, finding they have the husband to themselves, have engendered the desire always to be having sexual intercourse with him. The man may go away for a short time and the woman will crave for his return. But it seems now that many *kolwas* are taking to the old native custom of living apart from their wives. I, for instance, says John, have my own room (*ilawu*) and my wife her room. The children will be made to sleep with the woman and they, as men find, are a relief by causing women to devote their attention to them instead of expecting the husband perpetually to be having intercourse night after night.

Among the chief representatives of the *kolwas* in Natal are the following: Johannes Kumalo (Driefontein), Timothy Gule (near or at Dundee), Abram (Nkunzi, Waschbank), William Africa (a Basuto, near
121 Eland's Laagte), John Kumalo (Roosboom) - [my interlocutor] - Solomon Mbasa and Lasi (Driefontein), Stephen Mini (Edendale), Lutayi (Camperdown), Majozi (Richmond), Fluwayiti Mdhluli (Springvale), Isaac Mkize (Cedara), Mhlanimpofu and Nkomokayidhli Lutuli (Mvoti Mission Station). The latter man takes a considerable interest in native affairs. The next congress will be in January.[28]

22.11.1900. Ladysmith. File 73, p. 180.

Also present: Ndukwana

180 Per John Kumalo, about 5.15 p.m. - 6.15 p.m. I cannot give the conversation in order, as I write from memory. What struck me most was John's strong preference for the old *chiefs* of the Zulus or simply natives, so much so that if he had been younger he would have given his allegiance thereto instead of becoming a Christian convert. Now this is very remarkable. He approves (the system of Chief Ncwadi ka Sikali ka Matiwana [?],[29] under which he allows his boys and young men to become proficient in reading and writing. They may dress and become *amakolwa* if they like, but they are all managed according to ancient custom. He still holds the *umkosi*. Those who are in the habit of dressing will take off their clothes and put on *loin-covers* etc. He calls his *assembly of men* together and instructs them in the affairs of the white people, i.e. political questions etc. Ncwadi is one of the hereditary chiefs.

John is of opinion that the old Zulu system of government was very like that of the English people, especially if, after a man has been appointed to an office and if he be found unsuitable for it, he is let down as gently as possible. It was very difficult in Zululand, in the old days, to remove a man who was once established as an official.

Rev. Thompson, before going to Springvale, stayed a month with John in order to learn the Zulu language etc.[30] He was like an orphan, having no means. He subsequently was able to interpret well for the Bishop.

Some European clergymen, when they meet John in private, will shake hands effusively with John, but when they meet him in a public place, as in the street, they do not do so. Again, members of a church are, whilst in it, called brothers by their clergy; should they leave they are no longer brothers.

Great credit is due to Sir T. Shepstone for having managed to control a savage people as he did, and keep them in order for so many years. He made a number of his own chiefs, viz. Ngoza, Mqundane, etc. - men previously with no rank. The main defect of his system was not educating the natives; by this time many more would have been so far advanced as to send representatives to Parliament.

When John came to live in these parts, Nobamba was already the name of Weenen, named after the Zulu kraal, like Mgungundhlovu.

Years ago, the Governor of this colony, foreseeing natives had trouble in store, advised them strongly to buy land, as Europeans would soon arrive in large numbers and purchase all available land. The missionaries, however, did all they could to dissuade natives from buying.

C. Barter, magistrate of Pietermaritzburg,[31] once said that it would be very bad policy to cause native and European prostitutes to leave the town as, if there were none, the soldiers would break into peoples' houses and ravage ladies and their daughters.

24.11.1900 File 73, pp. 180-1.

Also present: Ndukwana

Further conversation with John Kumalo. He considers that some definite policy ought to be devised for dealing with the natives
181 in their relations with white people who have come to South Africa to stay. The Shepstone policy appeared to be the right one, but other measures must now be taken.

8.12.1900. Ladysmith. File 71, pp. 1-3.

Also present: John Africa, Ndukwana

1 The seduction of girls by their lovers. I this day had over two hours' conversation with John Kumalo, John Africa, and Ndukwana in my room, Royal Hotel. John Africa is a man aged about 60, for Ndukwana seems to think he is his own age. His father was a native of Zanzibar. He says he comes from near Zoutspanburg in Transvaal, was for years a slave of the Boers, and arrived in Ladysmith in 1860, or just 40 years ago. He has a brother called William Africa, well-known, who lives near Waschbank in this division. He appears to be of Basuto bringing-up, and although his knowledge of Zulu is very good, his accent is not pure. John Kumalo brought him and introduced him to me. He is a man with a clear head and of an inquiring nature.

The subject was broached by John. We dealt with it as far as the young man was concerned, and then in so far as the girl was concerned. John Kumalo, John Africa, and Ndukwana, whom I will style K., A. and N., were all agreed that the amount of seduction (*making pregnant*) of girls is altogether abnormal and a matter which calls out urgently for treatment. All assure me that nothing of this kind ever occurred under the Zulu kings. There were seductions, but a girl who became pregnant was looked upon as having disgraced herself and, though *vimba'd*,[32] was immediately married off to some other man, and the meat of the beast killed in her honour would not be partaken of by the other girls. Pregnancy arose through sheer accident. In these days, though young men often plead 'accident', women are always, after inspection, able to discover whether there was or was not a bona fide accident. (*'Kwehl' itonsi'*, as they say.)[33] Women are undoubtedly adepts in these matters.

When girls or women visit Ladysmith they may go to any houses they like, and the same remark applies when in native locations. Parents have practically lost control over their girls and women. They leave home; no time is fixed for their return and, if fixed, the time will probably be overstayed, leaving the father and husband to get on at home with the young children and food as best he can. Among Europeans, K. observes, when girls leave home, it is known exactly where they are going; in the evening they have chaperones, and it is known when they are due back, and they obey their parents' wishes. In former times girls and women (native) rarely left home, except on special occasions - a wedding, etc. - and when they went
2 they would return all together with their brothers and young men.

K. wanted to know how it is English people manage to control their children; how it is there is so little seduction amongst us. I pointed out that we sue for breach of promise, claiming £1000 or so. This acts as a deterrent. Then again, public opinion, as influenced by religion, acts as a great restraint. Every man has a natural desire to preserve his good name and reputation. It is among us a great disgrace to put a girl in the family way and not to marry her, and a girl's life is ruined. It is then public opinion, as far as I could see, which checks offences of this kind. It is, moreover, easier to sue for breach of promise because we are monogamists. There is a provision under the Native Code under which damages to the extent of £10 [? no limit] may be recovered by the father in the event of a young man failing to marry a girl who engaged herself to him, and he may be fined for seduction, £10 or six months with hard labour. All three agreed that if young men could be imprisoned for, say, a year, with 25 lashes, as well as be liable for damages to the extent of say £50, much of the present nuisance would be put an end to. Natives do not know that the father can claim damages; they claim merely the *vimba* beast, this being according to custom, the other notion being foreign to them.

K. points out that a daughter of his once went off to Estcourt without his leave, and when he sent for her and she was brought before Mr Paterson, she pleaded that, being exempted from Native Law, and over 21 ('I'm 22,' she said) her father had no longer any control over her. This fairly startled K; he did not know that exemption from Native Law carried with it emancipation of children from parental authority. In Zulu law, once a father, you always enjoy control over your children.

A. observes that all girls should be, whilst still young, 'bent' to the way they should go. Owing to present influences, there is no opportunity for exercising that influence of bending into the right way. A Mrs Blackman (or some name like that) has a house or 'home' in Pietermaritzburg just below Market Square in Longmarket Street, where many young native girls working in the town are housed for the night, being allowed out at 6 a.m. She, Mrs Blackman, goes about from place to place picking up girls. Such an institution would be a great boon, A. says, in Ladysmith. It seems impossible
3 to prevent girls coming to Ladysmith or to other towns where, as N. remarks, there are such great attractions in the way of food, etc. The only alternative seems to be to make arrangements in the town that girls shall not get into harm's way. The placing of restrictions on Europeans in regard to girls working for them should also be beneficial. K. thinks Europeans ought to enter into an undertaking to take as great care of their native girl servants as they do of their own children. I remarked that more drastic legislation in regard to girls wandering from their kraals into towns would be a means of checking them and, by increasing the authority of the father, improve the unsatisfactory state of affairs which prevails at home.

A. says he has married off several of his daughters. He makes it a condition that a man shall have a home, properly furnished, to take his daughter to and, instead of accepting *lobola*, causes the money that would go as *lobola* to be spent as indicated. I suggested that by his plan - the European - parents and their daughter tended to separate, whereas *lobola* implies perpetual obligation to her

father and mother in respect to their daughter's welfare which time could not extinguish.

9.12.1900, 2 p.m. File 71, pp. 3-8.

Also present: John Africa, Ndukwana

Further conversation with same three men on same subject from about 6.45 a.m. to 8.45 a.m. this morning. We were all agreed that mere punishment, however drastic, could not prevent men from having carnal knowledge of girls. It is, for instance, well known that in the days of the Zulu kings young men would enter the *isigodhlo* and have connection with the girls there, even though the punishment for such offence was invariably death. Under the British Government there are many laws devised to check the evil, but fine, (imprisonment), and even lashes, if for such offence they might be awarded, are all equally ineffective.

John Africa (he is known by Europeans by the name John A., whereas natives call him Josiah) pointed to *circumcision*, both of young men and girls, which used to go on in the old days under the Zulu kings, the latter being required to go to the hill for some three months, during which time they were *instructed and admonished in preparation for womanhood* by elderly women who stayed with them. A. seemed to think that the father's influence over his children ought in some way to be increased. K. once spoke to a man who appeared in great distress about his daughter; she was engaged to a young man who said
4 he had no cattle to *lobola* and yet wanted to marry the girl. K. advised him to demand *lobola* openly for his daughter and, if not paid, to break off all further dealings with her. The man took the advice, demanded the *lobola*; the young man gave his usual answer, but when the girl next met her lover, the father followed them up at once and found him *hlobongaing* with her. He then seized him and brought him before the magistrate, Roqoza (W.D. Wheelwright),[34] whereupon the magistrate, taking the father's side, fined the man £5 or so, and there was an end to the trouble.

I pointed out that the causes of the ignoring of parental authority by girls were fairly clear; there were many of them; the evil exists, and the main question is not how it has arisen but how it is to be cured. If a child, when directed by his father to do something, as for instance to bring home the cattle, were to say, *'Tula, msatanyoko!'*,[35] what would be thought of him? K., A., and N. all replied no such thing could or did ever happen. I asked what it was that restrained him from treating his father thus. Leaving aside fear of corporal punishment, K. said that he was afraid others would refuse to associate or have anything to do with him; in other words he was afraid of the opinion of all those who knew him. Public opinion it is which keeps a man straight. This public opinion is different in different countries; an Englishman will do things a Zulu would never do, and vice versa. Every man has a name or reputation which he wishes to preserve unspotted. Even a confirmed prostitute has the keen desire to live the true life; the only thing preventing her is the impossibility of being lifted by anything out of her present degradation. If only she saw a way she would undoubtedly seize it. Now public opinion, taste, sentiment, appears to be what

needs to be modified. Natives must be made to feel that it is wrong and ugly (disgraceful) to seduce girls. Public opinion seems to be affected primarily by religion and, in the case of natives, by their belief in *ancestral spirits*. K. and N. point out that if a woman is unable to be delivered of a child and recourse is had to an *isangoma*, it very often happens this *isangoma* will say the complication has arisen because the *spirits* disapproved of something the woman said to her husband sometime previous.

I pointed out to K. that he appeared to be greatly impressed by the integrity of Europeans in respect to their children, (and by the
5 fact that) there is little or no seduction observable among Europeans. I said he must not be deceived by appearances. We are not living in our own land; we are living well apart from one another, and there are only few of us. Everyone of us, moreover, knows the other's business and position etc. It is therefore unlikely but that out here we shall, for the most part, behave in an exemplary manner. And I said that it is a frequently heard cry among us colonists to live true and upright lives for the sake of the natives, who are children, young and impressionable. At home in England, where a vast struggle is going on between man and woman, things are very different. There the loss of control by fathers over their daughters is clearly manifest. There, and in all the towns and cities of Europe, prostitutes may be counted by the hundred thousand. To prove that English people are desirous of keeping the darker side of their life at home from the natives, look at the clandestine and quiet manner in which those natives were brought back from Earl's Court some months ago. Thus, then, the true side of our life cannot readily be seen by natives, into whose life however we can readily and fairly easily gaze. I have myself tried to understand the life of the Indians, but with indifferent success. The reason is clear. They are on their guard; they are keeping up a fictitious appearance. Natives therefore must not expect to read us accurately. Europeans can read natives, but the reverse process is extremely difficult. Deductions from our life, as seen in the colonies, are not sound, as the premiss is shown to be false.

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

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

The conversation also proceeded thus: A. said there is a tendency for natives to be entirely independent of one another, for all of
6 them to be *chiefs* living in their own houses apart.

K. says Mr Moor, Secretary for Native Affairs, once remarked that it would be a good thing to allow natives to have liquor, to be able to purchase it with their threepences and their sixpences, as they would then soon find themselves compelled to go out to work.

The true policy will be a combination of that of the Zulus and of the English people, for there are good elements in the Zulu way of living as in that of Englishmen. I expressed this opinion to Kumalo

several weeks ago; he repeats it today as his own, and yet it may have been his as well as mine.

A. appeared to be of opinion that chieftainship will in time die out, even though 100 years may be required to do that. K., N. and I were against him, and he explained that he meant only customs would die out, and people to all intents and purposes be like Europeans. K. and N. were decidedly opposed to the notion. I observed that at this very day natives say *'Bayete'* to their chiefs, and *diviners are active* in every direction. Moreover, look at the Celts in England, in existence to this day though defeated by foreigners 1000 years and more ago. Look again at the Jews, though I did not happen to mention them.

I observed A., like every man, speaks from experience. His own experience is slavery under the Boers, whereby he was removed from his home years and years ago and never returned. With the Boers vanquished, there will nevermore be slavery in South Africa, and therefore people will continue in their own homes, thereby preserving their traditions.

A. referred to there being many classes in Ladysmith: there was the *kolwa*, the *mumutsha* (himself), the *isigqoka*,[36] and the ordinary kraal native. Kumalo thinks Natal natives should be represented by more than four Europeans,[37] approving thereby what he says was my formerly expressed opinion. The next meeting of congress will be in Pietermaritzburg in January.

Further conversation today between J.K., N. and self; subjects, various. There are two young men K. recommends who live in Pietermaritzburg, viz. Francis Magwaza and another, well known to Francis Magwaza, who comes from Inanda. These two, especially Francis Magwaza, are intelligent and take a deep interest in native affairs. Francis Magwaza can speak English slightly; he is a teacher and employed by Rev. F. Green.[38] He is going to try and bring Mabaso, an elderly native living 18 miles from Roosboom, next Saturday. He and Mabaso frequently discuss native affairs, sometimes all night.

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

K. says Josiah (John) Africa has two daughters married to Euro-

peans, and both according to Christian rites, by Archdeacon Barker.[39] One of these is at present living in Ladysmith with her husband. Josiah's father, K. says, was a Zanzibari, whilst his mother was probably a Basuto woman, though there may be *nhlwenga*[40] blood in him.

K. says that the proposal that there should be four European representatives is not one which has originated or been initiated by the native mind. It is not unanimously and spontaneously approved. What natives do desire is an officer in this country who represents the Queen (Imperial Government), apart from the Governor, who is hampered with responsible government affairs. I suggested that there be an *induna* (secretary) to the Governor with an office of his own, clerks etc., resident in Pietermaritzburg, whose business shall be all matters of a political nature touching native interests. Natives could come with their grievances direct to this officer, whose duty it will be to keep the Governor and Imperial Government correctly
8 and truly informed on native affairs, grievances and aspirations, very many of which, K. assures me, are purposely withheld because there is no one to express them to. Samuelson[41] was practically nominated by natives, but natives find now he is simply an officer under responsible government. I added that the man holding the appointment referred to must be a good and reliable Zulu scholar, be entirely independent of the Natal Government, hold office for five years at a time and be allowed to be re-elected, or let him go on indefinitely during pleasure, and be in direct touch with natives in every part of Zululand and Natal. Let all native cases, civil and criminal, all executive work, be dealt with by the present Secretary for Native Affairs etc., and let the officer's duties be purely diplomatic. K. and N. thought such proposal would give great satisfaction. I think such an appointment, of a man who has native interests at heart, would safeguard and promote native interests better than having representatives in the House; moreover, though I did not say so to K., it would to a great extent satisfy the Aborigines Protection Society.

At public meetings of natives some of the young men get up and speak in English. The older men strongly object and (say) if a secretary were given them they (would be) quite ready to leave and hold their meetings apart. This speaking in English, when there is no necessity for so doing, is due to a species of pride and sense of importance.

Dean Green once said that all men desire to be *chiefs* and that *chieftainship* is derived from *ukulunga* (righteousness); it is an upright and honest heart that transforms a man into a king. K. says: I asked myself what the meaning of this saying was, for I could not understand it.

It is apparent that in some directions there is among girls, a disinclination to be one of the women of a *household with many wives*, for if, in Natal, a young man has been *chosen* by say three girls and he proceeds to the father of one of the three to ask his consent, the other two will immediately break off their engagements because they feel the chosen one will be the *main wife*, and so above them in rank, whereas they hold they are in every way her equal. And these two girls will be laughed at by others for having been passed by.

10.12.1900 File 71, pp. 9-10.

Present: Ndukwana alone

9 Conversation with Ndukwana on what was said by Josiah Africa and J. Kumalo on 8th and 9th as above recorded. N. gives the following version of some of A.'s opinions: The cause of boys *making girls pregnant* is because boys and especially girls *have defied their parents*; formerly, when *admonished about their behaviour*, they were obedient. All natives therefore ought to surrender or hand over their children to Europeans, as the correction to be given by them would probably be more effective than that of parents who, to a very great extent, as is evident from this universal seduction, have lost their influence. N. and K. replied, as N. observes, that it is not possible to do this. As it is, their girls come to the very doors and houses of the white people; they get into mischief whilst there; they *misbehave* before white people's very eyes, whereupon, having done wrong, Europeans *become exasperated with* them and *get rid of* them. How then can it be said that the only hope for our children is in the Europeans?

It would be a wise measure to totally abolish the system of chieftainship and institute one law in place of two as at present. [A. stoutly maintained this opinion until shaken by me, J.S., by reminding him that he was once a slave and like every man, speaks from experience.]

N. and K. *denied* that any *instructing* of girls used ever to be done by Zulus *in the hills* or elsewhere. There was no *circumcising* of girls. One hears of something of this sort among Basutos.

A. advised retreats for girls in Ladysmith as in Pietermaritzburg where at night they could go and stay; they should be under elderly women's supervision.

N. observes, now, that it is not right chiefs should not *amukela*[42] when they come to magistrates' offices on duty; they do
10 not *amukela* at Ladysmith for instance.

K. thinks natives ought to be allowed to go into magistrates' offices as clerks, just as Indians do. I pointed out to N. that to a large extent we cannot help ourselves as very few Europeans can speak the Indian dialects.

I said yesterday to K., in N.'s presence, that I had warned his son Solomon that those in the van would not reap the fruits they expect to reap, and which appeared within measurable distance, until the whole of the natives, the vast mass behind, which they were deserting, had been raised to their own level.

15.12.1900 File 71, pp. 12-15.

Also present: Mabaso, Ndukwana

12 Conversation with John Kumalo, Mabaso and Ndukwana this 15th December 1900, from about 3.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. There were two main topics, viz. the seduction of native girls and the meaning of *ukukanya*[43] (i.e. Christianity), but the conversation became more or less general towards the end.

Mabaso is a man I suppose of about 53-54, for when Ndondakusuka[44]

was fought he was about 12-14 and had not arrived at the age of puberty. N. fixed his age at about (that of the) Mxapo regiment.[45] He is intelligent, a quick speaker, not verbose, keeps to the point and is suggestive, somewhat impulsive, and businesslike. His daughter, aet. 32, married John Kumalo's son Solomon. He thinks no remedy can be devised whereby the present laxity can be put an end to. I reminded him that before applying remedies a doctor first diagnoses. So we proceeded to examine the causes. We found that in the old days there was nothing of the kind going on. John Kumalo says the first indications he remembers of girls leaving their
13 parents to come to white people was in Pietermaritzburg when he was still quite a young man, say 30-40 years ago [vide p. 16 (below)]. Mabaso says he has passed nearly all his life in Ncwadi's location *among the Ngwane* in this division and did not have opportunities of observing early effects of European influence [see also pp. 16 and 17]. Still, many years ago at the German mission station near where or at which he lived, he remembers weddings taking place, and after they had been concluded the guests remained on, congregated as before, for two or three days; such a practice led to trouble. Another cause was young men coming with concertinas; the playing of these drew audiences, and here again the sexes coming together brought trouble, for they went home, when they dispersed, two and two etc. in the dark. In such ways did parents begin to lose control over their children.

I referred to Zulus running to white people at Durban for protection in Tshaka's day and Dingana's, and laid stress on the fact that it was this protecting which appeared to cause the mischief. We protect missionaries, being bound to do so because they preach our faith, and they, in their turn, protect children from their fathers. The cause of the trouble seems to arise, we found, out of the missionaries.

Mabaso said the truth of the matter was that *ukukanya* (Christianity) was the cause of the mischief.

Now followed an inquiry into the meaning of *ukukanya*, for N. strenuously maintained that the Zulu life and civilization was *ukukanya*, for that life was far more clearly apprehended by the natives than the ins and outs of European life, which had Christianity for its basis.

I suggested that both civilizations were, or possessed, *ukukanya*, and that it seemed merely a question of degree, and Europeans had no right to call Christianity 'The Light', though it was 'A Light', and possibly a far more powerful one in some respects than *Dhloziism*.[46]

Mabaso said that enlightenment (knowledge) may be compared to a garden with growing crops. Into such crops cattle will break in. So it was with *isigodhlo* in Zululand; though men were distinctly forbidden on pain of death, they nevertheless entered and suffered death, (but) the same course might be followed by others shortly afterwards. Thus the tendency seems to be a perpetual struggle between Light and Darkness, and it seems as if Light is always on the weaker side and in constant danger of being overcome.

I observed that there was a fallacy here; viz. if men were without testicles they would not have been killed for entering the
14 *isigodhlo*, for then there would have been no prohibition necessary.

I went on to remark that dress virtually turns every girl into an *isigodhlo girl* for she hides her person and creates a desire in men which would not otherwise have been so strong.

N. and Mabaso discussed the meaning of *ukukanya*, when the principle of loving one's neighbour as oneself was brought in by the latter with various illustrations. Mabaso said that during the Zulu War wounded Zulus were brought, I think he said to Msinga, where they were attended by a European doctor specially appointed to that work. Mabaso himself had a bad knee at the time and went to be attended by the same doctor. The doctor gave his full attention to the wounded Zulus who, after they got well, were allowed to go home, and some of them, no doubt, are living to this day. Now Zulus would never have allowed their enemies to escape thus; every people, it was well known, was given no quarter. Here then, Mabaso observed, was the *ukukanya* he meant. N. admitted at once the force of the illustration. J.K. added that a perfect stranger drunk in the street is taken off for fear of his being run over or meeting with injury, carried off to a cell, locked up, and brought to the magistrate the next morning, who fines him money, like a father chastising a child, and this money goes to paying the expenses of the person who picked the man up. Another case is a person with an illness. He is taken to a hospital, cared for, cured and sent away; the Government bears the whole or most of the expense. Here is more *ukukanya*, illustrations of what was unknown in Zululand. And yet, as I remarked, there was a great fuss made if any person got ill in Zululand.

I now went on to observe: True, the cases just given are illustrations of enlightenment and Christianity, but what was the nature of such enlightenment when cases of this kind occurred? Europeans receive a child, say a girl, who leaves her home, 'protect' her against her father, practically adopt her, treat her as one of their children up to a certain age, and then, fearing to allow the child to associate too much with them, cause a break by giving it its meals in the kitchen, thereby letting it understand there is an impassable barrier between the two. What kind of enlightenment is that which allows its clergy to shake hands with their native parishioners at the mission station, and when they meet them in the street in towns will pass them by practically as strangers?

Mabaso gave a further illustration of this. The old missionary at Ncwadi's location (missionary now dead) when celebrating the Holy Communion to his native converts was in the habit of wiping the chalice with a cloth after he had finished passing it round his parishioners and it was his turn to drink; natives saw him do this. Let it be, however, added that this man, who, on the approach of old age, retired to the farms of his sons, leaving the mission work in other hands, when he go ill and felt his end was near, directed that natives only were to be pallbearers, and this did, in fact, take place, much against the wishes of the local Europeans, a large number of whom attended the funeral. If, I urged, these are the fruits of light, can this be light? Where did loving one another vanish to here?

Johannes Kumalo, J.K. says, is always the same; he never behaves one way at one time and another way at another.

Mabaso referred to prostitutes, saying they sell themselves; they are practically articles of purchase. I remarked: Europeans speak

of *lobola* being purchase, but how can that be; is not the truest purchase here in a practice taught the natives by the Europeans themselves?

We spoke about a secretary or native representative being appointed for the purpose of advising Her Majesty's Government as to native affairs, i.e. stating grievances and pointing out ways in which there could be relief and improvement. Both Mabaso and I think it impossible to create such office, as no single man could be got to fill it as it ought to be filled.

Mabaso thinks magistrates ought to be more in touch with natives than they are, to call natives up to their offices and discuss native affairs in public.

Samuelson's appointment as Under-Secretary for Native Affairs does not give satisfaction, for the reason that natives feel he is not theirs but the Government's servant. They do not derive that benefit from his appointment which they expected to be able to reap.

I mentioned the occasion on which I met a girl when riding to Mbikiza's[47] who was frank and open and not in any way afraid, a very picture of innocence, thereby causing me to realize the greatness of the Zulu *stock*.

Mabaso says that when his son is of age he dare not appropriate his earnings without his permission. The son would at once bring an action against him in a court of law. [See attached cutting from Mercury, 15.12.1900.][48]

16.12.1900 File 71, pp. 15-20.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Josiah Africa, Ndukwana

I had a conversation from about 6.30 a.m. to 8.45 a.m. today with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Josiah Africa in the presence of Ndukwana at the usual place, viz. my room, No. 12, at the Royal Hotel, Ladysmith. Josiah was introduced by John Kumalo though, of course, I have before had talks with him, as these notes show. I
16 began by calling on each for their first experiences of the unsatisfactory conduct of girls, on which subject we have already said so much recently. I want to get at origins. John Kumalo said: The first case I know of whereby a native girl left her home to go and work for Europeans occurred about the coming of the Prince [Prince Alfred?] to Pietermaritzburg[49] and some years after the Ndondakusuka battle, when I was about 30-32 years of age. I was then in Pietermaritzburg in the employ of Mr Gilikis (Grix). The girl in question was the daughter of Sipida *of the Hlubi people* (a tribe somewhere near Pietermaritzburg).[50] She was a grown-up girl, beyond 15 years of age. She arrived with ox waggons which had come to Maritzburg from the country, and these waggons outspanned at the usual outspan at Pietermaritzburg. The girl came to work at the house next to that at which I was working [or staying - K. lived in one house and worked at another, I believe]. Presently her father came to Pietermaritzburg in search of her and, coming across him looking about, I told him where he would find his child. He went to the white man, who had a wife. I was present when he went and saw him. The first thing he did was to take hold of his daughter and attempt to drag her off with him. Such conduct led to the father being struck by

the European (with his fist). The native then went to the court to complain; the clerk of the court [was it my father, for it was *at the place of Nyoniyentaba*?][51] dealt with the matter, saying nothing could be done as the girl had engaged her services to the white man, and such agreements could not be ridden over roughshod by the father. Repulsed both by the European and the court, what more could the father do than go home? The upshot was that in time this girl left her employer, joined others in the town like herself who had no home to go to, and, after apprenticing herself to them, became herself a prostitute, after which what necessity to tell her story further?

Solomon Mabaso said: The first occasion on which I observed unsatisfactory conduct on the part of girls was in the year 1872 at the German mission station at first established by Rev. Posselt [?] who was followed by Rev. Zunckel, the person who, as I said yesterday, wiped the chalice and directed that his pallbearers were to be natives.[52] I remember a young man, living at the 'school' [*'sikole'* = mission station] having been *chosen as a lover* by three girls. He was questioned by the older men, who called him before them, as to what he, a Christian, meant by engaging himself to three girls instead of to one, for to be so engaged meant that he must *hlobonga* with each of them in accordance with native custom. He replied that the girls merely liked him and that he did not *hlobonga* with them. The older men carried the matter to the missionary in charge, who
17 said he could do nothing; he saw no cause for interference until actual and visible wrong and injury had been done. Up to the present, he urged, no wrong had been done. 'I myself,' said the missionary, 'when young was liked by six girls, and yet I in the end married one. Why then may not this young man be liked by three?' The men remonstrated, saying harm had been done by the mere fact of engagement, for the young man would succeed in meeting each of his girls secretly, and with ease evade detection by their respective fathers. The missionary had, however, stated his view of the matter; the evil was not nipped in the bud, the result being things proceeded from bad to worse.

I know also this which occurred in respect to myself. At the said mission station I was in my young days liked by four girls; three of these were Xoza girls (when Mr Posselt came to found the station [school] he brought with him a number of Xoza people who formed the nucleus) and the other a Basuto. Now what at once struck me in being liked by these girls was the fact that they, without my courting them, liked me and proceeded to attach themselves to me. I could not understand how a girl can select without first being selected. Did mere looking at a girl constitute courtship? I did not, in consequence of this state of affairs, care really for any of these girls who had thrown themselves at me. My father about this time exercised his authority over me. He said he knew of a girl at Edendale who, he thought, was an excellent girl and would probably be a person after my own heart's desire; in short, he wished me to marry her. I at once saddled my horse and proceeded to where my intended bride lived. I met the girl and her father. He lit a candle, showed me his daughter, and I courted and won her hand, and shortly afterwards married her. She was and is still my only wife. In 1877 I removed from the mission station to somewhere near Bester's railway station and Driefontein (where Johannes

Kumalo lives). I bought land there and settled there, and there I still am. There are a number of other *kolwa* farmers about me. In the old days drivers (waggon) would come by with their concertinas and attract our daughters. In 1872 I had young children, so the incident re Xoza girls occurred prior to 1872. My father is still living. Before coming to this part of the country, I lived at the foot of Table Mountain beyond Maritzburg.

Josiah Africa said: I arrived at Ladysmith in 1860 and have lived in and about Ladysmith ever since. I have property at Bluebank to which I shall return as soon as hostilities between Boers
18 and British cease. The first knowledge I have of loose morals among girls was at the time of the Zulu War of 1879 when hundreds of waggons, which were drawn both by mules and oxen, arrived and stationed themselves round about Ladysmith on the hills etc. I cannot say how many hundred waggons came; there might have been six hundred. Ladysmith was the base of supplies for troops which had gone in to Zululand, and all the waggons referred to had brought food etc. The commissariat was of stupendous proportions. Now all these waggons were driven by Xozas, Cape Boys, Hottentots etc., whilst a considerable number of Hottentots went on to the front, being enrolled as Light Horse. No sooner did this concourse of men arrive than the *kolwa* and other native women began to go wrong. The women ran after the foreigners who had arrived. At that day did that blight begin which ever since has remained over Ladysmith, for large numbers of Xozas, Cape Boys etc. who arrived are here to this day with all their progeny.

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

I observed that this question of the loose morality of native girls seems to resolve itself into a conflict between the Government and parental authority. In the old days in Zululand there was never any conflict between the state and the parent; all heads of kraals were treated with the very highest respect, were in fact the true kings of Zululand, not Tshaka, Dingana etc. In Natal there is a struggle; the Government stands in direct opposition to the householder. And this opposition arises out of the will to protect whatever appears to be oppressed. The essence of the position, the ultima ratio, is this principle of the strong protecting the weak from an exercise of the authority of the original owner. I observed further that in Zululand it frequently happened that members of one tribe would flee for protection to another chief, and such refugees would not be given up. Here then, it seems to me, is an illustration of that principle which, as regards the loose morality which pre-
19 vails, we regard or tend to regard as the true source of all the mischief, the causa causans of the many different manifestations of loose morality, be it the seduction of girls, disrespect shown by young men towards their fathers or others, disrespect to constituted authority, to morals generally, and religion. N. remarked that

though men in Zululand fled from one chief to another, yet they fled with their whole families, and this family system in its new environment was not in any way tampered with; if protection was shown in Zululand, it was only to a complete unit of the state, not to mere solitary individuals. I replied that nevertheless there was an exercise of protection, for such unit was part of the body politic of a tribe, and therefore to protect a whole unit of a particular tribe was wrong if once we allow that protection of what rightfully belongs to another is wrong. [I used the word *isihlangu* for 'protection'; Mabaso, who is a man possessed of an extensive Zulu vocabulary, suggested the verb *biyela*.][53] The protection of a family seems to me merely a particular illustration of the general principle. How then, I asked, are Europeans to attempt to remedy this evil of 'protection' of a man's children if such, under the ordinary existence of a Zulu, is one of the fundamental principles of his government or, rather, if such is one of the conditions of his own natural and undisturbed mode of life?

Both Solomon Mabaso and John Kumalo laid a great deal of stress on the independence of children, both girls and boys. The English system is apparently to allow everyone to do as he or she likes. A girl has a free choice of her husband. The Zulu plan is to exercise control over the marriages of their children and to get them to marry where, by long experience, the father has found out to be the most desirable direction, not only where he may acquire cattle (*lobola*), but where he feels his child's welfare will receive the greatest care and attention. In these days, Mabaso says, one's effort is often destroyed by the influence of others; e.g. a man may naturally desire to bring about a marriage of his daughter with a particular young man; this girl, if left alone, might have married the proposed person quite contentedly and lived happily afterwards, but she will associate with others of her own age and these girls will suggest to her that she may successfully withstand her father's wish and marry whomsoever her own heart most truly fancies. This then leads to disharmony between father and daughter, and the negotiations for a marriage, eminently desirable in every way from the parent's point of view, are brought to nought by the uncontrollable caprice of a girl. As soon as children reach the age of 21 they cry out that, having reached their majority, they are independent of father and mother and may do as they like. It is this allowing children to follow their own desires (*izinkanuka*) that tends to bring about the unsatisfactory state of affairs that exists. Another destructive tendency is observable in everyone being a little king on his own dunghill; all are *amakosi*.

I said I thought the whole thing resolved itself into a conflict between Christianity and what we may call the old patriarchal system. Which, I asked, is true? Mabaso thought Christendom would eventually swallow up (*gwinya*) the African nations by obliging all to come, nolens volens, into their fold, be it the true one or not. Being the rulers of the land (i.e. Europeans), what can the natives, who are without power, do? They must conform. Yesterday I said all these Zulu grievances must be uttered; all must come out, and it is (from) feeling that urgent necessity that K. seems so keen on the appointment of a Secretary for Native Affairs responsible to no one except the natives on the one hand and the Queen's representative on the other (the Governor).

I said (today) the world is very old; there have been many

civilizations which have come and gone, as for example the Roman Empire, and it seems, unwilling and afraid as we are to confess it, the British Empire, that great *dhlozi*,[54] I called it, which is in the act of swallowing the Zulus and other nations, is itself doomed one day to come to an end. If this is so, to what is thought to be anchored?

Further conversation this 16.12.1900, 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Ndukwana. The subject was changed from laxity of morals among girls to the land question and then, as bearing directly on that, the labour question. Natives do complain a great deal about the rents they have to pay to Europeans. They look upon the Government as having sold them to the Europeans for the purpose of being fleeced by the latter, who, it would seem are the rightful governors of the country, and the Government follow up behind and call upon natives to pay a hut tax.

17.12.1900 - <evidence given 16.12.1900> File 71, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Ndukwana

Mabaso thinks that the natives do not mind paying the rent; the only thing they do mind is not having the money to pay it with. Of the two things, labouring themselves and paying their money as rent, they prefer paying the money. Their love for money is not so great that, after procuring it, they would exert themselves to retain it.
21 Their natural desire is to have no worries, no sooner to pay their rent and hut tax than revert to an existence of inactivity until the necessity again to pay arises. A native, I think, has very little desire for wealth; what he wants is for his immediate requirements, his standard of living being such that there is no ambition for earning large sums of money, and hence no need to exert oneself beyond a certain point. J.K. pointed to a number of chiefs in this division who live partly on location and partly on private lands (*farms*). There are numbers of *kolwas* who live on land they have purchased for themselves. Natives were first advised to buy land by Mr Allison, Umneli, the one who was at Mahamba.[55] He said, 'Beware, the white people are coming'. His words have turned out truly and *kolwas* feel very grateful for the advice he gave.

N. then stated the conditions under which land was occupied under the Zulu kings, remarking that no tax was levied on account of it by the king. K. explains that the reason why no tax was claimed was, of course, because all the people were soldiers; the natives did no labour because their only labour was to fight and be always prepared to fight. N. says that outlying districts like Tongaland, Sambana's, Mbikiza's and Mtshelekwana's, all *paid tribute*, but this was not a tax paid by individuals but by whole tribes or nations.[56] K. remarks that these outlying peoples paid tribute in *blue monkey skins*, elephant tusks and what-not, with which the Zulu warriors proceeded to decorate themselves. What these foreigners paid as tribute the Zulus used to dress and ornament themselves with.

Mabaso and K. feel that the Government cannot, if it so desired, pass laws ameliorating the condition of natives living on private

lands. The Government is afraid of the vast body of private owners, and by taking the natives' side would at once bring a hornet's nest about their ears; hence it is that natives tend to look with pity on the position the Government finds itself in. Instead of blaming, J.K. really feels compassion for Government on account of its abject helplessness.

We also touched on the labour question on which I laid especial stress. I said natives called *abelungu* originally *abalumbi* from *lumba* to create;[57] this shows their leading characteristic. They are workers and inventors, a 'nation of shop-keepers'. Their whole soul is wrapped up in commerce; money in all directions is the great objective of every individual. On the other hand, I said, the natives feel really oppressed on account of the heavy rents they have to pay, which cause them a multitude of sorrows. The matter
22 seems to me to be one for compromise. There must be a wedding of the land and labour questions. The natives must endeavour to awaken to the fact that what Europeans do require of them is labour; so much do they need manual labour that they have been obliged, owing to stolid inactivity of the native races, to send to India, and in Rhodesia they talk of sending off to China and to Abyssinia. As an evidence of a union of rent and labour, see the conditions under which natives live on Boer lands in this very Division. The two questions must be dealt with as one. There is among Europeans a great want which can be filled or supplied by natives; among natives again is a great want which only the Europeans, rulers of the country, can supply. Various schemes may be proposed whereby the two can be treated together.

K. thinks a factor in any scheme that may be proposed, which would tend to defeat it, is the fact that the great bulk of labour required is for Johannesburg; boys have to leave their country to work in another. I proposed that the formation of a great syndicate or company in Natal of men of private means, with the object of buying up large tracts of land at present held by European individual farmers, might effect this union I refer to. The syndicate, after purchasing lands, could say to the natives that they were their tenants and call on them to name the conditions of occupation on the basis that what is required of them is labour. Such syndicate could arrange that all men proceeding from their lands for service at Johannesburg would be treated in the best possible manner, have their own *indunas*, work together, be kept from liquor and other mischief, be paid wages fairly etc. Legislation seems out of the question, as landholders will not consent to reducing their rents or relaxing the conditions of occupation. I referred to the Glen Grey Act as an attempt to deal with this very question of land occupation and the labour supply.[58]

Mabaso said he found the matter very, very difficult and could see no possibility of a solution in any direction. I said that difficult or not, we must address ourselves to the problem and meet it fairly; it was no good passing over to other matters because this was too difficult. Again I said one way by which attention can be drawn to the matter is by some body of natives rising against their landlords and resisting exaction of rent. This would cause enquiry to be made into the whole affair. I spoke academically, not suggesting of course that any such course should be tried.
23 Things may one day come to that.

Mabaso drew attention to the way in which *kolwas* are treated whenever they come to the magistrate's court, Ladysmith and elsewhere. Many years ago he went to a magistrate's office with a note; this he took direct to the clerk of the court, R.H. Addison.[59] Addison got very angry with M. for having the impudence to come straight to him instead of through the court *induna*. It ended in Addison ordering M., then a young man, to carry a bundle of potatoes off to some place indicated as a kind of punishment. M. thinks that when natives come to apply for a licence to be married according to Christian rites, which in itself is a matter of no mere third-rate importance but a high mark of enlightenment, they ought not to be made to stand at a window, as Roberts (the clerk)[60] makes them do, and give their names etc. as if they were ordinary natives. It would be better to treat such a matter as apart from Native Law and procedure, as in fact it is, and rather than make such natives stand at the window, to deal with their cases in even some roughly constructed shanty. Another grievance is that Christian natives are always obliged to go through the *induna*, even though exempted from the operation of Native Law, and this native *induna*, knowing the hold he has on Christian natives, will jeer at them, keep them waiting for a long time, and all the time these natives are wishing to get back to their work at home. In short, the court *induna* vents his spleen on Christian natives in every manner, and treats them as ordinary natives, which they are not, and despises them as well, seeing they belong to another class, having become turncoats. There is, M. thinks, room for improvement in these matters. *Kolwas* ought to be treated with some consideration to mark in some way the fact that they are apart from ordinary native procedure, having in some sense risen above it.

J.K. wanted to know very much what it was that caused the immense gulf between Europeans and the natives, especially the more enlightened. I said there seemed to me various causes, none of which, seeing the short time left for discussion, we could do more than touch on briefly. One great reason, I said, is that the Zulus or natives of South Africa have never done anything. Other nations of the world, Indians and Chinese, for instance, had produced evidences of originality, but the Zulus, for instance, can show nothing. Thus it is that Europeans despise natives as beings of inferior intellect, though I dare say there are good reasons why no works could have
24 been done. For instance, it would seem the South African races have been in a state of perpetual motion, always fighting and chasing one another about, giving no opportunity for that rest which meditative wisdom and creative art requires. This argument would tend to be supported by the case of the Tongas, who certainly appear to have advanced beyond the Zulus in manufactures, if not in other directions. K. said, 'But we do work; we assimilate the cunning of the white man; we can and do make chests of drawers, chairs, boots, boxes etc. etc.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'all monkeys can imitate; it requires more than that to create. You are like monkeys; you copy; anyone can copy; the great point is to create for yourselves. It is, however, too late; if you were to create now, such fact would not make so great an impression in your favour on Europeans as would have arisen had they come and found you with something, in the shape of art and science, already done.' Mabaso admitted that this argument was a vital thrust, and true.

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

29.12.1900 File 71, pp. 33-6.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwana

33 Had a conversation, by appointment, with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, and Lazarus Mxaba - Ndukwana also present. It took place this day, Saturday, 29.12.1900, at my room, No. 12, Royal Hotel, Ladysmith, 3.15 p.m. - 6.15 p.m.

I did not know quite how to begin, so, after consulting Ndukwana yesterday, I asked the three men to name a subject for discussion. This is the first occasion of my meeting the last of the three, i.e. Mxaba. He had a great deal to do with Sir T. Shepstone, whose messenger he afterwards became, in connection with various important matters relating to Cetshwayo and otherwise. He is aged 60, having been born, as he says, in 1839. He is older than Henrique, William (Nsokonsokwana) and Offy Shepstone, also their sister Ntombaze,[61] all of whom he remembers as children. He has been to England.

The subject was proposed by Mxaba and was this: What is the cause of Europeans not amalgamating with ⟨natives⟩? Why do not the two races merge into one another and become or tend to become one instead of the two living apart? I explained that this was a very great subject to which no answer could be given unless the whole
34 conditions of the problem had been gone into. As an introduction to the discussion I thereupon recited the list of matters of inquiry (hereto affixed) showing 30 more or less distinct heads.

<The list of topics that follows appears in the original on a loose sheet annexed to p. 34 - eds.>

1 What is *ukukanya*?
2 Seduction of girls and general disrespect of children and women to kraal head.
3 The results of mission work; its denominational character; the future of it.
4 The poor, a terror in England; are there any poor, or likely to be, in South Africa?
5 The liquor question; the difficulty of magistrates in dealing with those who are half-castes etc.
6 The Indians; causes of their coming; what are the effects produced by their permanently taking up their abode in our midst throughout S.A.?

6(a) Colenso and his teaching.
6(b) What is the meaning of *lobola*?
6(c) What are the most ancient Zulu things, made by Zulus, and where can they be obtained?
6(d) Old legends and traditions compared with the Adam and Eve legend.
7 What customs are common to the various native races in S.A., say Amampondo, Amabaca, Amanhlwenga, Swazis, Zulus, Amaxoza, Amalawu, Amafengu, taking into account such customs as *lobola*, *bula*, belief in *amadhlozi*, military organization, circumcision etc?
8 The origin of the Zulu people.
9 The earliest history of the coming into contact of European with native races.
10 The labour question.
11 Rent and the purchase of land by natives.
12 Education; to what extent to be carried?
13 Industrial education; is not this of more value to the native people than reading, writing and arithmetic?
14 The Shepstonian policy.
15 The *kolwa* class and exemption from Native Law.
16 The general policy of Her Majesty's Government as seen in successive administrations - Shepstone, Moor, Hulett; its characteristics.
17 The franchise; its results at the Cape; is it advisable?
18 Should chieftainship be abolished?
19 Should locations be maintained?
20 Is the policy to tend to do away with polygamy likely to bring about good or evil in the end?
21 Passes and registration.
22 Why do not Europeans amalgamate with natives?
23 Laws of Europeans; do natives understand them? What course should be adopted towards making and promulgating new laws?
24 Ought there not to be a tendency towards uniformity of laws and towards British ideals? Ought any positive effort therefore be made to preserve the various native systems, or should we merely negatively preserve by simple toleration? Tshaka made the tribes conform to his law; ought not England therefore, now she has South Africa, endeavour to make all races conform to hers?
25 The Boers and natives; what is their policy?
26 The Portuguese, their policy.
27 The Glen Grey Act and experiments; are they advisable?
28 Importation of Chinese in Rhodesia and more Indians in Natal.
29 The influences of Johannesburg and Kimberley.
30 The Order of Ethiopia.

All the men appeared to be impressed with this lengthy list of subjects, each of the very first importance, and on each of which Mxaba said he felt he could say something, all of which he hoped we would some time or another discuss. J.K. expressed a wish to have a copy of the list drawn up (I hurriedly drew it up in the half-hour preceeding our conversation and there is no method as to its arrangement) so that he might take it home with him. He would like to have it in the Zulu language. Mabaso was struck with the vast range of subjects, and all agreed it would require days and days to go through it.

Mabaso asked what the principle was upon which magistrates are appointed. Were they directed to protect European interests specially? Were they to devote their first attention to the natives, or were they simply to manage their respective districts without fear or favour to anyone? I replied that, as far as I can see, the policy is to rule both European and native in an equitable way, for our Government is broad-based upon the maxim 'Do as you would be done by'. But the natural desire is undoubtedly to make the natives subservient to our ideals which, because they are similar to those of the many kingdoms which comprise Christendom, we believe to be truer than those of the natives. Ages ago we cast aside ideals similar to those natives now possess for those of Christianity.*'Idhlozi li ya bekelwa'*,[62] I said, meaning and explaining that it is to the interest of our commonwealth to acquire as many followers as possible. A nation's power of protecting its inhabitants varies as the number of its members. I then gave briefly the history of the Portuguese coming to discover Natal, remarking that the King of Portugal had two special reasons: (a) he wanted to extend his kingdom; (b) he desired to Christianize barbarians and make them members of the Roman Catholic Church [vide p. 21, Annals of Natal].

Mxaba made use of an expression which struck me very forcibly: *ukugqabuk' (dabuka) igoda.*[63] This expression is used by Zulus and other natives in regard to Mpande's having come to the Boers in Natal and solicited their protection against his brother Dingana [15th October 1839 - vide p. 536, Annals of Natal, Bird]. By so doing, he put an end to native methods of living; he introduced the foreign European element into the country in a deliberate manner, thereby as it were severing that imaginary rope (of grass) that runs through Zulu national life from generation to generation. (*Igoda is a rope plaited from the fibres of the inkomfe plant.*)

35 Mxaba says that Europeans regard natives as they do flies which have fallen into their drink, as something to be taken out and thrown away. And yet the natives are attached to the English people; if they were not present in the country to protect them (natives) they would all die off. What then is the cause of this disinclination of Europeans to associate and become one with the natives, who are not only prepared but actually do place implicit confidence in the English? Mabaso, following up his former remark about magistrates, explained that he would like to see natives of the various districts, or say in particular places, be authorized to select their own magistrate, one to whom they could communicate their grievances and who would from time to time discuss native affairs in the various aspects indicated in the list read. My answer formerly given settled this point as well.

It was now agreed between us that, in order to find an answer to the question proposed by Mxaba at the outset, a discussion of the various subjects quoted on the paper affixed to the preceding page should take place, and as every subject was worthy of discussion so, Mxaba suggested, the others approving, that we should begin at the beginning and proceed steadily through the whole. We accordingly entered upon the first: What is *ukukanya*? Mxaba stated there were two kinds of *ukukanya*: there was light in its physical as well as in its mental sense. I pointed out that by rubbing two sticks together light was produced; similarly, by discussion and conflict of opinion, light arises. We proceeded to analyze closely the meaning of

enlightenment, the discussion, as it became more abstract, being carried on chiefly by Mxaba and myself. J.K. put in a word here and there, whilst Mabaso and Ndukwana remained almost silent.

Mxaba suggested that the meaning of enlightenment, in the mental sense, was synonymous with the acquisition of knowledge, and knowledge arises out of communications thereof to us by others, or our own personal observations. I remarked that the said communications were impressions on our minds, and this repeated beating on our mind created what we know as knowledge; hence there is an analogy here with the friction or perpetual contact which produces light in the physical sense. J.K. remarked that in his opinion *ukukanya* meant *ukulunga*,[64] and that Europeans were enlightened because they were altruistic in an eminent degree. I observed that *ukukanya* in its mental sense divided itself up into two parts, viz. science and religion, and I proceeded to explain the meaning of the three great fields of knowledge. I asked the three men if, having knowledge
36 which might disturb them, I should impart it to them. Mxaba and Kumalo wished to hear; Mabaso hesitated and afterwards wishing to know, I as far as I was able, gave them briefly the fundamentals of agnosticism and its effect on the world, and noticed the conflict that has until recently taken place between science and religion. I told them that the object of philosophy was to discover some all-reconciling theory, but hitherto no success had been met with.

I impressed on the men the necessity for making a diligent search for origins and causes, illustrating what I meant by examining a shoe, the various materials of which it was made, where each came from etc. Most of our discussion was of a very abstract character. Both Mxaba and Mabaso, also Kumalo, spoke up for the Bible, saying that nothing could wean people from it. Mxaba said that when in England he heard the doctrine that Galileo's discovery came into direct conflict with the Bible, and also the doctrine that monarchy should be abolished and only a president be appointed from time to time. We, at Mxaba's request, fixed next Tuesday, 1st January for our next discussion. J.K. and Mabaso will however return tomorrow to proceed with subsidiary branches of our great subject.

30.12.1900 File 71, pp. 36-43.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Ndukwana

Further conversation - present John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Ndukwana - this morning, 7.10 a.m. - 8.45 a.m. I began by making inquiries about Lazi (Lazarus) Mxaba who was with us yesterday. Mabaso informs me Mxaba and he live on land near Bester's railway station which is part of land purchased by them and other natives as a company. Mxaba has a wife and children; his father and mother are both living; the former is so old that no real advantage can be derived from conversing with him. Mxaba was very frequently employed by Sir T. Shepstone as his messenger; Elijah Kambule, who was killed in the Langalibalele disturbances, was another of Sir T. S.'s messengers, and used to be employed with Mxaba, though older than Mxaba. Mxaba went to Mzilikazi with Kuruman, the prince of that part;[65] he travelled in Swaziland with the Shepstones, and went to England with

Cetshwayo and Henrique Shepstone. He is a Zulu but is familiar with the English, Dutch and Basuto languages.

Mabaso says there is another man living near him; that he would like to be present at these discussions of ours, viz. Mjoji Dhlamini; he is, however, something of an invalid and could not be a regular attendant. I said I felt three men were as many as we could do with; if too many were to come attention would be attracted. Ndukwana agreed with me, but I was sorry to have to say this.

37 I now called on Mabaso to explain a little more fully the reason why, yesterday, he wanted to know what a magistrate's duties were, to rule Europeans or natives or both. He said one reason for his asking was because the clergy are appointed either to a European or a native diocese [?] and, seeing that natives are given their own pastors, wondered if a similar procedure was in any way followed in respect to magistrates. I explained briefly, adding to yesterday's remarks, that magistrates were formerly called, and are still actually, though not styled, Administrators of Native Law. The disuse of this is no doubt due to a desire of the British Government to bring the Zulu people etc. under one common law. In churches, magistrates are prayed for that they may be given 'grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth', this truth being of course the Christian religion. I might have referred to oaths of allegiance and office but inadvertently omitted to do so.

The subject of conversation turned to *ukukanya*, to missionaries etc., the drift or purport of it being as follows. I wanted still further to know what in its essence *ukukanya* was. Yesterday we got down to knowledge being due to repeated beating, so that in its simplest sense knowledge arises out of impact of observations (of others or our own) on our brain; it is due to our coming into the merest contact with notions dissimilar to our own, which however are based on fact and are verifiable.

Mabaso now turned to a practice in magistrates' courts to stifle truth. For instance, a person will, in connection with some matter, be asked a question; he will give perhaps a direct enough reply and proceed at once to qualify and explain the meaning of the reply, but he is instantly caught up and told not to evade the point. 'Is so-and-so so, yes or no?' The man cut short, not having been allowed time to state the truth, says 'yes' in despair, not knowing what to do. Inquiry proceeds, and when the man states, in the course of it, something at variance with the admission snatched from him, he is reprimanded and accused of going back on his word; his evidence too becomes unreliable, having lost the mark of truth. I admitted this was frequently done in magistrates' courts, but the motive for so doing was to prevent unnecessary digression. There are many cases that come daily before the magistrate, and in order not to bring about a block and cause the public to suffer, he is obliged to hurry and cut short where he feels he can do so without causing miscarriage of justice.

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

38 time seen him, and he felt convinced that the Bible was inspired by God because, as a young man, he became conscious of the error of

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

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

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

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

Ndukwana gave the grounds briefly for his belief in *amadhlozi* as he has given me before [recorded in my Native Customs etc. book]. And I concluded by giving an account of my testing *izangoma (bulaing)* at Richmond [also fully recorded in my general note book].[66] Mabaso remarked that he himself was once, or pretended to be, an *isangoma*, and succeeded by taking in credulous people. In his opinion it is the person who comes to *bula* who has already formed an opinion as to who is the guilty person etc., and all the *isangoma* really does is to wring this opinion or concept from those who *bula*;

he is only able to discover on information given him by those who *bula*.

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

12.35 p.m.: Yesterday Kumalo laughingly called my room, No. 12, *Kwa Sogekle, Kwa Tulwana*,[67] for it is there that elderly men meet.

Further conversation (2nd this day - Sunday) with John Kumalo and S. Mabaso, Ndukwana present, 3.15 p.m. - 5.45 p.m. Mabaso did not go off home as he expected to do. The subject chosen was the Boer native policy. Mabaso was anxious to institute a comparison between Boer government and Zulu government to ascertain which was the better form of government. I pointed out that the main cause of disagreement between English and Boers arose out of the native policy of Boers at the Cape in the early years of this century, under which was enforced a universal system of 'apprenticeship' called 'slavery' by the English. Mabaso is very much indeed opposed to the Boer method of governing native races; he says they (Boers) *busa nge nsilane* - govern sjambok in hand. There is no redeeming feature, not one, in their whole government. They turn natives out to work on farms at all times and in all weathers. Not the least interest is taken in the welfare of the natives; no opportunity of any kind is afforded for raising themselves from their degraded position. They (Boers) seem to take a pride in keeping the people back as much as possible, and in not causing them to be dressed but in torn and tattered garments. And, added J.K., they think nothing of shooting down a native, speaking of him as a *crow* and, on arriving home, boast of having succeeded in shooting a *crow*. I remarked that it was a principle of Boer government that no native could at any time hold office under the state or become a member of their church, such principle being contained in their constitution. Ndukwana agreed with Mabaso and hadn't a good word for the Boers.

I said I found two redeeming features in their government, which is strikingly analogous to that of early Judaism (Jews): (a) though their idea was narrow it yet enforced obedience; (b) there is no immorality to speak of among the Boers, nor do children show disrespect to their parents. Mabaso said that Zulus governed with a rod of iron, but as soon as they conquered people they invariably treated them with becoming dignity, recognizing them to be men and human beings, even though (taxes) tribute was exacted from them. I explained that the first Dutch who arrived in South Africa, as well as the French Huguenots who shortly followed and amalgamated with them, were far more advanced in civilization than the present Boers, who have obviously deteriorated through being cut off from their mother country for so many generations. I find an extraordinary analogy between the Boers, who in regard to the natives, are followers of the Old Testament, and the Jews of old, and there seems to be a similar solidarity in the Boers as there was and is still in the Jews; and I ventured to prophesy that the Boer people

would endure as a compact nation after England had fallen to pieces like the Roman Empire. Moreover, I added, I shall be very surprized if the present war concludes without our witnessing some significant and striking act on the part of the Boers, as for example another exodus en masse to adjoining lands.

Mabaso extolled the British policy in respect to natives, pointing out that though natives had many grievances still they were treated like men, and many opportunities were given of rising in the scale of civilization. The British Government *governs with righteousness*. I remarked that *ukulunga*, righteousness, was something to be ob-
41 tained only at a white heat. Order and righteousness is maintained by the greatest possible effort, not by mere dolce far niente. <Linguistic note omitted - eds.> Look for instance at Mpande, so slack and easy-going and kind as to be called a woman. What did this spirit lead to? Did it not lead to his tendering his and his people's allegiance to the Boers in 1839 and thereby *gqabulaing igoda*?[68] That is, instead of bracing himself up, accepting the responsibilities of the position, and doing himself with his own people what was required, he must needs flee to the alien Boers for protection and help (*tol' uhlonze lo ku kula*,[69] as N. says). Nothing of this kind can be urged against the Boer government. I admit that the Boer form of government is bristling with objectionable elements, but then if a man has a dog which protects his home and is a terror to the whole neighbourhood, will he not, even though many complaints be made about it, treat it in a very mild way, knowing his own safety is due to its ferocity? So with the Boers; their government, as far as their own people is concerned, is thoroughly satisfactory and adapted to their own national and individual welfare. I could not understand how the Boers, originally Protestants, have swerved round to the Old Testament point of view in regard to the natives, unless it was due to their coming upon low species of natives at the Cape, and through lapse of time falling from their former high ideals. Kumalo said something about the mode of marriage among the Boers, whereby a girl going off to marry is replaced by another who marries into the family her sister-in-law came from etc., mentioning this as a good custom or redeeming feature, but I could not quite understand.

We spent a few minutes on the subject of *zila-ing* i.e. penitential rites and ceremonies, mourning etc. During Holy Week, Europeans *zila*, and the following are instances of *zila-ing* among Zulus: when a woman is menstruating she will not for seven days sit on her husband's mat, nor will she take a pinch of snuff from a man's (male's) hand, but hold her hand open for the snuff to be poured into it, and when she has finished she will return the snuff (if any remains) by pouring it back to another [male?] with her open hand; when men have been called out to fight they do not cohabit with their wives, and the mats will, at such a time, be taken down, made to stand upright against the huts with, as N. says, some *nyaloti*[70] rolled up inside. Mabaso referred to the case in the Pentateuch where a
42 woman carries off the household gods and sits on them to hide them from her husband who might be angry. This too was *zila-ing*. We went into this subject incidentally to trace the analogy between the Zulus and the Jews.

I drew attention to the fact that in the Orange Free State if a

woman leaves her husband, the law courts will not interfere and cause her to return, on the ground that the state does not look on marriage among natives under their customs as binding. Nor can *lobola* be claimed in law courts.

We turned to the early history of the Zulu people. I began by giving in brief outline the history of Godongwana (Dingiswayo) and Tshaka as written down by H. Fynn and Sir T. Shepstone, as found in the Annals of Natal, showing as well as I could where the two accounts differ from one another. Ndukwana and J.K. said they believe Dingiswayo must have derived information from one or more Europeans which enabled him to transform the military organization of the Mtetwa tribe. It seems certain he returned on a horse and with a gun; as these must have come from Europeans, so it is highly probable he derived other ideas from them. Mabaso sided with me to the effect that it seems hardly probable that Dingiswayo could have learnt from Europeans the idea upon which he reorganized his army, his method of warfare etc., seeing that the Cape, the only place where there were European troops, could only be reached by traversing many different states, some of them hostile, and seeing that if Dingiswayo did not get to the Cape and merely for a few months met Dr Cowen,[71] he could hardly in that time have assimilated the ideas he afterwards put into practice. Dr Cowen for instance could hardly have known the Zulu language.

J.K. and M. were very pleased with all I told them. M. regretted that Europeans never conversed with natives on those great subjects upon which we are engaged, in order that the one could question the other, to their mutual benefit. Mr Moor,[72] Secretary for Native Affairs, knows practically nothing of the natives he governs. Natives keenly desire to discuss all these subjects.

J.K. remarks that it jars on him to hear Nukani and Ngini, *indunas*, expressing their opinions in cases in court when they have not been called upon to say anything, and believes Sergeant Burdett disapproves. I said I did not interfere, as such appeared to be the practice of the court.

Mabaso, in regard to pure Zulu affairs, especially back history, called himself *ilidhliwa* or *ibimbi*, both of which I think mean
43 'ignoramus'.

Among the Boers there are many *amakoboka*,[73] that is, people (natives) *taken captive* by them from neighbouring states and made slaves of. I compared the Jews going down into Egypt in famine time to the Natal natives going to Pondoland etc. in Tshaka's day where, because of their destitute condition, they were called Amafengu.

After hearing me give the early history of the Zulu people, Mabaso wanted to know how it had come about that I should take so deep an interest in native affairs; not even the very oldest men could recount much of the history I had given. What was the cause of my taking this interest? I said I was like Godongwana as I too had wandered from country to country. M. replied, 'But you are not, like him, a fugitive.' I said that perpetual travelling about, even though I was always in the government service, tended to quicken one's faculties and powers of observation.

There are rumours to the effect that Boers are causing eyes to be taken out of natives' heads; they *castrate* them, cut off a hand and so on, in connection with the present war. It is not however as yet known what truth there is in such rumours.

31.12.1900 File 71, pp. 43-4.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

Conversation with John Kumalo, Mabaso and Mxaba in the presence of Ndukwana, 31.12.1900, 4.15 p.m. - 6.30 p.m.

J.K. says the name of that daughter of his who ran away to Estcourt [vide p.2] is Elizabeth, after her mother. She is married and living at Livdale [?] mission station, some four or five miles out of Estcourt. She is married to an ordinary non-Christian; she is exempt from native law. Kumalo himself came to live at Livdale [?] mission station about the year 1879 (Zulu War), and moved to Roosboom somewhat over four years ago.

The date of Congress as far as J.K. and Mabaso know is not yet fixed.

It was at one of the first *Funamalungelo*[74] meetings some years ago that a number of young men wanted to carry on the discussions in English.

These remarks were made before Mxaba's and Ndukwana's arrival. As soon as they came (in five or so minutes) we went on to the subject of 'The poor: are there observable in Natal any tendencies towards poverty?' Mxaba was the first to speak. He said there were tendencies. Under the old Zulu regime a poor man would have cattle given him to look after by his chief; the cattle would be *sisa'd*;[75] he would look after them and, collecting the butter which he had *made*, would cook it, skimming off the dross [?] etc., or allow it to bubble over and then pour the melted or cooked butter, in a highly purified (clarified) condition, into little *gourds*. These *gourds* he would then dispose of, bartering them for goats, and when
44 he had got together ten goats he would purchase a cow, and this cow would be his own personal property. In time his small beginnings would increase; he would ultimately get sufficient cattle to *lobola* a wife with, and then he would have children, girls and boys; the girls would be married off, and his property increase proportionally on account of *lobola* paid for them. He would then found kraals (*amanxuluma*, corresponding to *amakanda enkosi*)[76] in various directions, becoming still more prosperous and affluent. The fat referred to is the kind held in highest esteem among the Zulus; it is held to be better than meat fat. Ndukwana and the others quite agreed with this method of the Zulus for dealing with poverty - keeping it in the background. N. adds that a man's chief would *lobola* a wife for him. It was the chiefs who looked after their people, giving assistance where they felt it was required, and on that account there was in Zululand no class known as the poor.

Poverty, Mxaba says, arises out of having no fixed abode. It resolves itself purely into a matter of land. He who has no land is like one laden with a heavy burden; hence it is there can be no increase of wealth whilst we are in debt. Look at the natives of Natal; they are squatters on farms; they have to pay rent and taxes If they cannot pay rent they are ordered to quit, and do quit. This practice is universal and unceasing, therefore there is a tendency to pauperism. The first requisite, if we would keep pauperism out of sight, is to give every man a piece of land to live on, or, simply, every man needs land. J.K. says that poverty in Zululand was gently covered as with a cloak by the chief. He described the

difficulties natives living on farms have to contend against. They are ordered off farms for not paying rent, have difficulty in finding another home, and when they have got there, no consideration is shown by the Government, but they must needs pay hut tax as before. They cannot understand the dual control, i.e. landlord and Government - two *chiefs*. Mxaba observes that possibly a man has his holes full of corn or mealies; all this produce he is obliged to dispose of for next to nothing, and yet when he, after a lot of trouble, finds a new home, he is obliged to buy at the highest market price.

[Could not finish account of this conversation because obliged to keep an engagement - dance at Mrs Bennett's - 1.1.1901.]

<2.1.1901> - evidence given 31.12.1900 File 71, pp. 56-60.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

56 Conversation of afternoon 31.12.1900 resumed. A man in affluent or easy circumstances is said to be *ncwaba* (*said of one who needs nothing*), a word which is connected with the *fat* which is used for making a *skin skirt* or skin (soft and pliable, or *ncwaba*). Mabaso says natives are reduced to poverty by their own tastes. A man is taught to take to clothing; this creates for him a certain standard
57 of living up to which he, from fear of being ridiculed by others, strives to live. Thus it is due to the advent of Europeans that there is this tendency to spend one's means merely for the sake of being like others; they bring all manner of goods which increase the desire to spend. J.K. speaks of clothing and other things made by Europeans as *ngwaqubulungu*.[77] He disagrees with Mabaso when he says the articles brought into the country by Europeans are a cause of poverty, on the ground that of *kolwas* and raw natives, i.e. those who are in the habit of purchasing European clothing and what-not and those who rarely buy, the poorer are undoubtedly the raw natives, those who have not yet learnt to need the articles referred to. How, he asked me, is it that more poverty is found among raw natives than among those more enlightened? I replied that the Europeans brought with them into this country not the things only but the spirit of continuing to create or manufacture them; they brought with them the spirit of competition, and it is this rivalry which the raw native does not understand, but which to some extent has been assimilated by the more enlightened among them, viz. the *kolwas*. That at any rate appeared to me partially to answer J.K.'s question. Raw natives have not the means because they have not risen to a consciousness of the reality - that spirit which is practically the soul of Englishmen. And yet there are but few natives in Natal, even the rawest, who do not purchase, and what is more, are (not) in the habit of purchasing European goods; every man, for instance, is required to have a coat and a pair of trousers when he enters a town. Natives must come to see that Europeans are *abalumbi*, i.e. inventors and manufacturers; that the end of each is to acquire wealth; that they are a commercial people. As there is a spirit of perpetual competition, so, it seems, poverty among natives will increase in the future.

J.K. asked me to give some account of pauperism in England. This

I did by drawing attention to the effect of the introduction of machinery etc. on cotton-spinning and coaches. Many were ruined on the coming into use of steam etc. Mabaso observed that here in Natal many natives who had purchased waggons and to some extent depended on transport were deprived of that means of earning a livelihood owing to the coming of the railway. I emphasized the gravity of the problem of the poor in England, as well as in other countries, and said the state was obliged to deal in a special manner with it (poor laws, commissions, workhouses etc.), and that it formed one of the most expensive undertakings and heaviest moral burdens.

We dealt with the question: 'Liquor - should natives be absolutely prohibited from procuring it or should all restrictions be
58 done away as with Europeans themselves?' Mxaba said liquor is drunk by every nation on earth in one form or another. It is right that liquor (beer etc.) should be drunk by peoples in moderation, for 'wine maketh glad the heart of man'. Spirits taken in moderation add to man's sociability, therefore it would be wrong to proscribe them. On the other hand, drunkenness is something which no good Government can tolerate. In Zululand a man who got drunk was severely dealt with, beaten, not allowed to drink again etc.

Ndukwana supports this statement. There is no trial, but the chief, if present, might give an order to have him beaten etc. Mxaba says in effect that beer is a 'good familiar creature' if well used, but 'every inordinate cup is unblessed and the ingredient a devil'.

On the ground that all restriction gives rise to a desire to know and to have, so Mxaba is of opinion that no restrictions should be placed on the sale of liquor to natives. Let every man have what he wants, for he will have, even though the prohibited article is hedged round by the heaviest penalties, as witness the *isigodhlo* in Zululand into which men broke from time to time as thick as flies.

Mabaso spoke next. His view was somewhat as follows: I am neither for total prohibition nor for abolition of all restrictions; what I should rather like to see is an educative influence at work. Let people have an opportunity of satisfying their wants, but let them always feel that they are accountable to their parents as well as to the state for their conduct; let both the parent and the state punish. None of us could follow quite clearly what Mabaso meant, but what I have stated appeared to be the general drift of his words.

J.K. favoured total prohibition, and at the same time blamed Europeans for putting up large signboards informing the general public that choice spirits etc. could be obtained within. But for this notice, which has caught the eye of the traveller, he would have passed by contentedly enough. That is true, I remarked, but when you people cook your beers, do no smokes rise? This remark tickled Mxaba and Mabaso. J.K. replied: No doubt the smoke and smell do attract people, but it must be remembered a portion of this beer may not be drunk; not all the beer cooked is drunk, for some is carried off to the chief. Yes, I said, but the remainder is drunk nevertheless. I might have added that European Governments tax spirits heavily, being one of the chief sources of revenue.

Mxaba, in his former speech, informed me that in Zululand beer used to be drunk universally. There used to be *imitayi*, i.e. the simultaneous making of beer in a particular part of the country, and

59 that on such occasions there would be widespread rejoicing and innocent conviviality. There would be no quarrels, wranglings and fightings, for the only causes of the fighting of regiments were when going out of the gate of the kraal, or else at the drifts when desiring to cross the same. Beer drinking did not give rise to fighting.

I drew attention both to Swaziland, where spirit traffic was controlled, and Tongaland, where it was not controlled. I said Europeans in England (English Government) were quick to take alarm when I reported the matter; that the Boers imposed very heavy penalties, which succeeded in checking the supply by traders. It was by holding the traders responsible that the supply was effectually put a stop to, not so much by punishing the individuals who got the liquor. In Tongaland, through liquor being freely introduced by the Portuguese etc., and anybody and everybody thereby being enabled to get what he wanted, the whole family system had been undermined, causing men to neglect their homes, women to commit adultery, children to roam about as they saw fit. It would therefore be criminal to allow natives to have liquor whenever they liked.

We turned to 'Indians: why have they come to Natal?' I said I wanted to know what were the circumstances under which the Indians came to South Africa; what is the motive which prompted their being introduced, and that which gave rise to such motive? I continued that as far as I could see the natives are themselves to blame for allowing Europeans to introduce Indians. Why did not natives perceive the spirit of commerce which animated the English, and endeavour to satisfy their wants simply by furnishing the labour they required? The Europeans gave the natives a long trial, and it was only when they had employed every means in their power to secure good and reliable labour and an unfailing, constant supply of it, that the notion occurred to them of importing Indians. I said this after J.K. had remarked, when I asked them to explain why the Indians had come (been allowed to come) to Natal, that they looked to me to give the reasons (being a white man). How could they, J.K. added, be expected to give the reason for an act done by the (alien) Europeans? Mxaba, hearing me give the reason, said: You Europeans are impatient and impulsive. You send off to India before you have made a real effort to educate the natives and teach them to work. As it is, by the introduction of the Indians, you have made the problem far more complicated, for are not Indians employed in your
60 hotels, your civil service? They are your cooks etc.; they take positions which are the nearest to, if not in actual touch with, yourselves. Natal is comparatively speaking quite a new colony, merely, as you tell us, 77 years old. How can you expect natives to compete with Indians with whom you have lived in India for a couple of hundred years, educating them all that time in your ways and methods? I replied that it is a mistake to suppose that Indians were educated by us; they, for by far the most part, educate themselves. The proportion of Europeans in India at this day is, I think, far less than in Natal.

[The Spectator of 1.12.1900 arrived today, 2.1.1901. I read, p. 797, 'The keenest observers in India doubt whether, if we withdrew, there would in fifty years be any trace left of our century of dominion either in the thoughts of the people or their ways of life.']

1.1.1901 File 71, pp. 44-56.

Also present: Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwana

44 This morning I had another talk for about 1¾ hours, i.e. from 6.35 a.m. to 8.20 a.m., with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso and Lazarus Mxaba, Ndukwana present.

The subject of conversation was, for a few minutes, liquor. Mxaba says that Europeans, not content with running a fence round their own liquor, are now endeavouring to exercise a control over their beer (*tshwala*); they *zulumba*[78] it. They are deriving profit from our liking for beer, viz. by taxing it.

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

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

46 other industrial pursuits; they were more inclined to labour. Our oldest men assure us of the truth of this remark. Johannes Kumalo testifies thereto. Moreover, testimony will be found in races that lie outside those territories which were so disturbed by Tshaka, as for instance Swaziland, where men still work in the fields, and doubtless other examples can be found. When, however, Tshaka turned his attention to war, he, terrible tyrant that he was, diverted the natural inclinations of men by establishing what was practically the whole people into a standing army. This spirit of agressiveness caused men, when they were not actually engaged in battle, to lead a more or less indolent existence, casting the duty of labour chiefly upon the women. We are not really without the power to create or invent. The whole matter resolves itself simply into this: owing to the circumstances presented by the characteristics of the land we live in, through which we have been kept constantly in an unavoidable state of restlessness and disquietude, always obliged to protect ourselves instead of devoting ourselves to labour and invention, we have never had a proper opportunity of demonstrating to the world that we are men like them, endowed with the power of doing great things.

Yes, I replied, that is all very well, this plea of yours of having been in a state of perpetual commotion, but how is it that you did not perceive that the way you lived in was wrong? Why did you not, in spite of this state of unceasing disquietude, rise above your circumstances and reduce your country to order as other nations have done? You should have surmounted this state of unrest which you say is the cause of your having failed to produce, as is only too true. India, a country very similar to Africa and nearly as big - at any rate it is of very vast extent - must have suffered from unrest, and yet she has been able to show good work done. Disabuse your mind of the fact that the English people have communicated to India their spirit of creativeness and progression; it is no such thing; there is great innate genius in them; those great works of theirs are natural products invented by themselves.

[Before going on, I may record here a thought that occurs to me, arising out of Mxaba's remarks on a subject I have myself often before written about and thought of. Africa can easily be traversed in all directions; it has no great natural features, no mountain ranges like the Himalayas or the Alps; countries are not cut off from one another by great seas; there are no peninsulas. The Aryans entered India from the north-west and there alone, we might add. Africa is like one great country, wherein there are many tribes, each, it may be said, exposed to the rest. To this homogeneity of
47 land, or accessibility by any and all, of any place, may be attributed the delay in any single tribe rising to the full consciousness of the dignity and necessity of labour, and thereby, as possibly was the case in India, one tribe becoming an example to the rest.]

Mxaba urged that there were many reasons for believing that the Zulus had at some far off time come into contact with the Jews; i.e. many of their observances etc. were strikingly analogous. There is therefore ground for supposing, if that be true, that they have fallen. It is no difficult thing for a race to deteriorate, much less for a man. [I may quote here the case mentioned by Bird in his Annals, p. 47, vol. 1, of a Portuguese found in the 'Mapontes'

country between 1686-1689. See also article 'Going Fantee', Spectator, 1.12.1900, on this point. I saw it today, 2.1.1901.] Take the Boers: they arrived several hundred years ago; have they not deteriorated even in that short time? But for the connection with Europe having been renewed, they must have continued to fall away from their former high ideals.

'But,' asked Mxaba, 'how was it with the English people in the beginning? Describe them to us.' I then told about the Kelts, saying they wore skins, had no head-dress, used bows and arrows and clubs; they lived in holes and caves in forests and elsewhere; they worshipped several gods whose names gave us the names of the days of our week; this worship had remarkable and revolting features. I told also of Stonehenge and laid emphasis that the Kelts (Druids) had sufficient knowledge of mechanics to be able to lift and place in position many great stones 18-20 feet in height. This in itself, for those far off days, was a great achievement. To this day, I added, the secret whereby the Egyptians lifted the great blocks with which they built the pyramids has not been discovered by the most enlightened peoples. I said that though the Kelts were much like the Zulus of today, yet they were able to progress steadily. Other races came to England and their fusion caused Englishmen. There is a striking difference in capacity between English and Zulus. The former may be slow, but they perpetually advance; Zulus in many cases are, as boys, very quick and intelligent; they may even surpass European boys in the rapidity of their progress, but experience has shown that they have not the staying power an European has.

Both Mxaba and Mabaso demurred. Mxaba said native boys do not progress simply because they are not allowed to; no inducement is held out to them. 'Take the case of St. Alban's College, Pietermaritzburg',[80] continues Mxaba. 'The first boy to go to this school was this very man John Kumalo's son. Mr (Rev.) Frank Green started with this boy. After he had achieved success, especially in industrial training, the Europeans cried out that the teaching of trades
48 to boys (native) robbed European artisans etc. and this led to the College being shut down.' I explained that that was not the point, but simply that the native mental capacity cannot cope with the European where every possible opportunity and inducement is held out. Such a remark is one, Mxaba says, with which Europeans *qund' umbombo* - smack on the nose. They object to the effort to progress and yet cry down native ability. Is not opportunity afforded at Lovedale, I said, and at the Cape University, and yet it is found natives do not greatly distinguish themselves?

Mxaba, however, did not think that these results are due to intrinsic and radical, fundamental incapacity, the absolute impossibility of progressing, but rather to other circumstances. He remarked that he once accompanied Sir Theophilus Shepstone to Lydenburg in the Transvaal, and it was there that he was shown a small vessel carved out of free-stone (made out of free-stone), very much in appearance like an European doctor's mortar. It was about the size of a breakfast cup, though not hollowed out to that extent, and on its edge could clearly be seen an *inkoto*, i.e. the small neck [?] by means of which the contents of the mortar would have been outpoured. This mortar had been unearthed by certain people mining there for gold at a depth of about four feet below the surface of the soil. Mxaba saw this vessel, which was handed to Sir T. Shepstone

to look at by the miners. What is the meaning of this discovery? At the same place the miners found large gold nuggets. (I here mentioned that I remember Sir T. Shepstone coming to Greytown, having just come from the Transvaal, this some 23-25 years ago. He then, as my mother afterwards told me, gave her a gold nugget which she has to this day; I stated size, etc.). To what ages does such discovery (of the mortar) carry us back, said Mxaba. Further, in Mashonaland there is a remarkable set of ruins of buildings (Zimbabye [?] ruins); they are those of a great building built of stones without mortar; they have terraces [?]. What is the meaning of these ruins?

I said there were deep mines of great age found in the same neighbourhood. Possibly this is where the land known as Ophir was and where the Queen of Sheba drew much of her great wealth. Mxaba does not say he saw the ruins referred to himself, nor does he lay claim to them as the work of South African nations; the whole matter is one for inquiry. Again at Masane in Swaziland near Steynsdorp there are stones on the face of the hillside which showed visible gold, so much so that it gave one the impression that a great block of gold had been sliding over the stones. At the top of the same hill, in close proximity of the stones showing gold, were dark iron stones. Natives knew that iron could be procured and was procured from these stones; how came they to fail to see that gold could not be got from the other stones close by? They did not fail. They did know about gold and here is evidence.

49 Mxaba says that Ngwane (Bunu), the king of Swaziland, whom he knew as a little boy, used to wear a heavy bangle with studs on the exterior surface of it. This bangle was not made of brass or copper; it was made of gold and is known by the name *inzila*. I here told Mxaba that the persons (Europeans) who came to Natal a couple of hundred years ago spoke of seeing a heavy bangle worn by a native *chief* which was made of gold [vide Bird's Annals, p.35, vol. 1]. There are, Mxaba says, two things which natives most highly prize: (a) the said *inzila*, and (b) *umese woku soka*, the knife used to circumcise with.

J.K. wanted to know where *izindondo* and *amasongo*, *izimbedu* and *ingxota*[81] came from. I suggested Europeans, and added *that the ingxota was made at the great place* out of *amasongo* etc.

The subject became more general again on our reverting to the Indians. Mxaba said that to say the natives had inferior intellects, could not compete with Europeans in ability and resourcefulness, and to ask them why they had not created, surmounted their obstacles and done something, to blame native intelligence because they had not succeeded where Europeans had succeeded so eminently, was due to a species of boastfulness and bravado (*ingqwele*) seen in boys when they domineer over those not as strong as themselves.

I replied: It is not sufficient, in order to bring about conviction in European minds that you are what you claim to be simply because you, owing to being in a state of constant motion, have had no opportunity of doing anything worthy the name. You will have to produce positive evidence, and it behoves you, if you desire to be reckoned to be the equals of Europeans, or better, not unworthy of one day being their equals, to do something to convince them. The task is all the greater in that hitherto you have produced

nothing, but if you want to take that place which you feel is rightly yours, you must show a sign.

This remark was at once felt and commented on. I explained that Indians learnt to labour of their own selves; every man in their communities is always doing something; they have learnt the dignity and the necessity of labour. But there is more also than this. The English and the Indians (not Arabs) are blood relations; we see it in their language (Sanskrit); we have therefore a natural affinity for them. In India Indians are treated by Englishmen in the most unrestrained, free and open manner; they may rise to any position etc. etc., and those Indians who come out here are protected in every way. Once the British Government refused to send any more Indians because they had been ill-treated. We magistrates treat them with far greater consideration than we do natives.

Mxaba said there are Europeans who have recommended the killing
50 off of natives by degrees (*ncipisa*) by allowing them to have liquor to their heart's content, encouraging fighting among themselves and so on; Mxaba came to hear of these sinister desires from the native newspaper.[82]

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

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

Further conversation with John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, Lazarus Mxaba; Ndukwana present, 1.1.1901, 2.15 p.m. to 4.45 p.m. - 2½ hours. I began by saying the subject re Indians discussed this morning has not yet been completed. We have still to trace the effects produced on the natives by their coming into contact with the Indian people, including Arabs and other Asiatics. J.K. desired me, as they are all about to leave this afternoon, to touch briefly on the remaining subjects contained on the list attached to p.34. I enumerated a number of the subjects but said I thought no good could come of hasty discussion. Mxaba agreed, so I was asked to name the next subject. I proposed, 'Colenso: his work and teaching'.

Before going on to this, I said to Mabaso: You yesterday condemned the Boer government, saying you disliked the Boers and their government and could find nothing good in the latter. English people hold themselves aloof from the Zulus among other things because they dislike them and their government. This being so, can you blame the English for not associating with you, if you yourself entertain hostile feelings towards the Boers? Should we not do to one another what we would they should do unto us? I said I meant to beat him with this. This remark was not quite understood; a little fruitless discussion ensued. Mxaba said the chief reason for complaint natives

have against the Boers is that they came into the country by stealth and stole Natal. They did not come openly as the English and have a
51 regular war. Natives are watching the coming settlement of South Africa in consequence. They expect to be given part of the land which the Boers stole from them; that is to say, natives in Natal etc. expect to be remembered in the Transvaal when the land is dealt with.

In taking up 'Colenso: his work and teaching', I called on J.K. to speak. He said: Colenso came to Natal with a large number of European girls, say twenty. These girls were teachers. He went straight to Bishopstowe to live. He said he had come to minister to the purely heathen population, not to be a clergyman of those who had already been converted. He accordingly set up a school for raw natives. At this school two things occurred which were disapproved by the Europeans in Natal: (a) the European women combed (*cwala*) the native children's hair; (b) Mkungo, Magema[83] and other boys were allowed to occupy an upstairs room; there they had their meals, served in European fashion, the knives, forks and spoons beautifully clean and shiny, whilst the rest of the boys in the school were treated with less consideration, though they thought it only right that those of high standing should be treated differently. These things displeased the Europeans and the school afterwards ceased to exist. Nothing which espouses our cause ever seems to prosper; Colenso himself did not prosper. Colenso said he proposed to devote his attention to the *chiefs of the country* and not merely to ordinary people. His *induna* was William Duzana [?] alias Ngide.[84] In speaking to Sobantu, (who was) called in his *praises* *'indhlondhlo yas' Ekukanyeni'*,[85] his *induna* and others said *'Nkosi!'* He was of course an *inkosi*, being a bishop.

He used to call natives together for the purpose of interrogating them and being questioned by them in return. One day his *induna* William (Velemu) said: 'Sir, you say God destroys the wicked; would you, if your son Mnyaiza (Dr Colenso)[86] did wrong, destroy him?' 'No,' replied Colenso. 'Then how can you say that an all-merciful and loving father, whose own children we all are, will destroy us if we do wrong? Can your love for your own be greater than his for all of us?' Colenso found this a hard question. He submitted it for Dean Green's consideration. The Dean recommended a reference to the Metropolitan, Archbishop Gray. The Archbishop replied, 'You should turn your mind to prayer. You have gone astray.' Colenso, the *'indhlondhlo yas' Ekukanyeni'*, got furious.

Shortly after the Prince had been and gone, Colenso himself went to England.[87] When he returned, St. Peter's was shut to him. He knocked, saying he had come in the name of Queen Victoria. The
52 door was opened. He entered. Service was held. When he said, 'Let us pray,' the Dean and the other clergy would remain standing; when they knelt, he stood. Everything was at sixes and sevens. All this happened on one day. It was after this that St. Saviour's was built.

Colenso was in favour of baptising and admitting into the fold of the church not only the man living in polygamy, but all his wives with him, saying that as the marriages had taken place before the coming of Christianity to that household, how could the man be expected to cast aside the women and their children if he wished to become a convert to Christianity? Other of the clergy were opposed to this teaching, arguing that if a man wished to be baptized he

must turn away his wives after selecting from them the one he liked best.

Colenso once paid a visit to Mpande. On this occasion Mpande gave him the land at Kwamagwaza on which to found a mission station. Nzimela (Mr Robertson) is the missionary who was first placed in charge there, whilst Rev. Samuelson was stationed at another place in Zululand; his name being Momoyi.[88] Colenso was deeply attached to the Zulu people; he devoted himself to their cause.

Mxaba says: If any one knows Colenso it must be John Kumalo who has just spoken. There are two things for which we have to thank Colenso: (i) establishing a native school which drew men like Mkungo and a son of Mlambo [?], a prince of Basutoland (this school was established for the improvement of the natives, though I cannot understand how it afterwards ceased to exist); (ii) he defended (*buzela ku Rulumeni*)[89] men like Langalibalele and Cetshwayo, whilst after his death his daughter continued his work by defending Dinuzulu.[90]

J.K. says: The quarrel between Colenso and Somsewu arose out of the Langalibalele affair. He wanted to know of Somsewu why he carried on negotiations with Langalibalele through his *induna* Mahoyiza [?] instead of having an interview with the chief in person. Mxaba adds that Langalibalele had done wrong; it was a well-known thing at the time that guns could not be imported into Natal from anywhere, and yet Langalibalele allowed his young men to bring guns in without his reporting them.

J.K. says the persons who shut St. Peter's to Colenso were George Moodie (land surveyor), Williams, Dickenson and Clarence.

I then said: You say Colenso said he had come to teach the raw natives and not to minister to converts. He was deeply attached to and loved the natives. What message, then, has he left the world, in respect to the natives, which has tended to reconcile natives and Europeans? J.K. replied that Colenso left no message except the earnestness he threw into his work. He was only a missionary repre-
53 senting one body among many, and therefore it was not his place to assert his policy if he had one. I replied that he was Bishop of Natal, being head in that country of the State Church of England to which the Queen herself belongs; that Natal was and is still a British colony and then not even enjoying responsible government. How, therefore, can it be said that one who so fully identified himself with the natives would have been out of place in declaring his views as to the relations that should obtain between natives and Europeans?

Mxaba and J.K. answered that it must be remembered Colenso was not the first missionary who came to Natal. A number had preceded him, namely missions belonging to America, Germany and another; moreover, he arrived in Natal when already well-advanced in years, and grey. He had not the power to examine into the working of the various missionary bodies; no-one can do that. The original missionaries opposed Colenso, and used their influence against him. In these circumstances he gave no message but he left us an energetic example. If he failed to propound some kind of solution to the native problem, it cannot be said that because he was borne down by public opinion, his school came to grief and his efforts on behalf of Langalibalele and Cetshwayo were purely temporary. Therefore the name Ekukanyeni, by which Bishopstowe was known among the natives,

was a misnomer. His deeds on behalf of the natives, his questionings, discussions, the briefs he held, were themselves of the nature of light; they tended to produce light; they tended to glow. The circumstances in which he laboured may pass and vanish from view, but his example is a beacon of light. Thus, Mxaba remarks on behalf of me: If, should we at a later time tell our children of these discussions with you, these questionings of yours, answers and what-not, there will be no necessity to decry such as fruitless and without light because no tangible result arose, for out of the very effort of discussion and questioning some light is derived.

I said I did not, in saying what I had done, desire to be understood as blaming Colenso in any way. I know that although local public opinion was against Wilberforce, he yet appealed to the world in England, and succeeded in overriding such opinion and causing slavery to be abolished in all England's possessions. And Wilberforce was at a disadvantage; he did not live where slavery was going on, and depended on mere visits to the countries he referred to. Colenso, living in Natal, could have urged his arguments with greater force and directness, for facts were lying before him in every direction.

J.K. says Colenso was powerful. Two Bishops, Macrorie and Baynes,
54 have had to give up the work of reconciliation. Colenso and Shepstone were very intimate friends and only quarrelled in connection with the Langalibalele affair. There was a great tide of opposition against Colenso. This was the reason why he was bound to fall, why nothing he said on behalf of the natives would be tolerated. A person like Colenso, who liked natives and desired to associate with them, would be called *isigcwagcwa* or *isimnyu*[91] by those opposed to such conduct.

Mabaso now proposed to discuss 'Which of all the world's creeds, excepting those which have belief in God for their main doctrine, makes the nearest approach to belief in God?' He said Zulus believe in snakes; others worship trees, others images, of stone etc., the sun and other things. Mxaba said the Basutos believe in transmigration; when a man dies his soul enters another man. I said Romans had Jupiter, with gods of agriculture, water, wind etc.; Buddhism was annihilation; Egyptians believed in worshipping cattle [?]. Which of all these comes nearest to belief in God? This is a question which Mabaso had touched on this morning. To begin with, I said there is nothing terrible or revolting about the *dhlozi* snake.[92] It was not like an ordinary poisonous snake; it was, on the other hand, perfectly harmless; it never bites or in any way injures anybody. Mabaso's question, although laid before our little meeting, was really meant for me, and I proceeded to answer thus, after Ndukwana had stated the main reasons for his belief in *amadhlozi*, during the giving of which reasons I noticed J.K. couldn't keep from laughing. I said the nearest approach to God and Christ I knew of among heathen nations were Socrates and Plato. I mentioned Mohammedanism, but I found the question too difficult to reply to, simply because I did not know the various beliefs of the nations on earth.

J.K. then said: What Mabaso means is this. Is there any nation that rises nearer to the idea of God than the Zulus?

I was surprised at this. I said at once that I had not thought

of the Zulus as nearest believing in God without actually doing so, for the reason that Zulus do not believe in *Umvelingqangi*,[93] nor are *amadhlozi*, as far as I can see, in any way directly or indirectly connected with him (except of course that he created them, as everything else).

Mxaba checked me, saying that such opinion ought not to be allowed to carry great weight, especially in view of the fact that there were great snakes (*amadhlozi*) which in times of national distress were prayed to, as for instance in time of war and when rain was required, and these alone were then prayed to. They were national deities. The mere fact that *amadhlozi* stand apart from
55 *Mvelingqangi* should not be allowed to oust the suggestion made by the bare existence of national *dhlozis* that there was here some sort of an approach to believing in a single god. I admitted the force of the argument. Mabaso and Mxaba told me they had very often discussed this question of belief in *amadhlozi*. They found a striking analogy between the *dhlozi* and the serpent held up before the people in the wilderness, which again was symbolical of Jesus Christ suffering on the cross, bearing the sins of mankind. The three men urged that it was an awful thing to believe in a snake, one of which tribe had brought death into the world when tempting Eve in the Garden of Eden. Tame or harmless, the *dhlozi* is yet symbolical of what brought evil into the world. I again remarked that the *dhlozi* had no guile or cunning or poison; it was positively harmless. Natives regard the *ntulo*[94] as having brought sorrow and death into the world; it is that which they destroy.

Mxaba now mentioned a number of Zulu customs and observances for the sake, as I thought, of identifying themselves with the Jews. He referred to slitting the ear, and the driving a nail through a servant's ear who wished to live and die his master's servant; to the *impepo* ceremony; to not destroying or throwing away of bones of a beast slaughtered, but burning same; to casting *mswani* over the grave; to the manner of disposing of parts of a beast [giving to the priest - *the diviner* gets the largest share I believe]; sprinkling of blood.[95] One custom which is inexplicable is the headring. Then in the slits in ears are worn ornaments; at the time of the exodus jewels were borrowed of Egyptians and worn in ears, nose etc., like Indians. These and other facts tend to establish the fact that the Zulus once were in contact with the Jews. I remarked that two tribes were lost and are to this day missing. I said one reason why I could not think the Zulus were the missing tribes was because I did not think the belief in God could ever have been forgotten, seeing God had delivered the people out of a house of bondage. Can men forget their deliverer?

Mxaba, who is thoroughly well up in the whole subject, in native custom as well as biblical narrative etc., reminded me that one of the tribes, very soon after arriving in Palestine, took to worshipping the golden image of a calf. If they, in a few years, could forget their God, is it not easy to believe that, after the lapse of many centuries, the two lost tribes might have fallen away from their original belief? Although the men did not actually say so, I
56 could see that they do believe themselves to be descendants of the Jews, if not the very tribes themselves which were lost. I said there are people who say that England is the two lost tribes, and

bring all manner of proof to bear. Mxaba wants to know what English customs correspond with Jewish ones. I said I never went into the subject and so could not tell. Mxaba told the others that it was because of England's almightiness and righteousness that in her the prophecies seemed to be fulfilled.

Another noteworthy point, Mxaba says, are the Athenians who had erected an altar to the Unknown God, who bear some sort of analogy with the Zulus who have forgotten their God. There is a prophecy, Mxaba says, that the nation or tribes will wander about the world and forget even their mother tongue and where they had come from. There is no doubt that Mxaba has made a very close study of the subject; indeed it lies near each of the three men's hearts. I reminded Mabaso that he had a day or two ago besought me to make Ndukwana a Christian and yet here are all these men identifying themselves with the Jews and defending their *amadhlozi*; they are in reality more Jews than Christians.

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

2.1.1901 - <evidence given 1.1.1901> File 71, p. 56.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

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

<2.1.1901 - evidence given 31.12.1900, 1.1.1901> File 71, pp. 60-2.

Also present: Mabaso, Mxaba, Ndukwana

60 Mabaso referred to discussions in general and the fruits that fall from able men in the course of them.

I said during the discussion on Indians coming to Natal that Europeans had approached Sir T. Shepstone, who had represented that forcing natives to labour would create a danger of rebellion etc. among the natives. Europeans, finding the argument telling, were obliged to adopt other tactics.

Mxaba knew Mbuyazi (Mr H. Fynn); he would have been a very old man had he lived. He was a magistrate in Pietermaritzburg.[96]

In the conversation re striking resemblances of Zulus to the

Jews, we might have mentioned the fact that Zulus, like the Jews, don't eat pork.

As a partial answer to the question by Mxaba as to why Europeans refuse to associate with natives, I remarked to him yesterday that it was because natives do not wash, are not cleanly.

Mxaba told me about one Sikayi, a native (has other names), who was a smart fellow. He accumulated a good deal of wealth, associated with Europeans, was swindled, got into debt with Europeans and, because of his debts, left Natal for, I think M. said, Basutoland, where he died. I forget what opinion this fact was intended to support, but it occurred, I think, in connection with 'The Poor'.

Mxaba spoke of natives as *abentungwa* (*umntungwa*).[97] He, J.K. and Mabaso were all of different clans, yet they sprang from one source, the one named.

J.K. remarked that Indians are not naturally very clever, for, see, they come out here from their own country badly clad.

I attach a cutting from the Times, weekly edition, which must be
61 read in connection with Mxaba's remarks made on, I think, 31.12.1900, to this effect: 'The Boers came secretly by twos and threes and stole the country they now own, as they did Natal; the English did not steal, they fought openly. The Boers fought to maintain what they had taken by stealth.' I was at first inclined to disagree, saying that might is right, he who holds has the right to keep; but I felt the force of the accusation, and today I see in the Times the paragraph attached which supports Mxaba.[98]

I here conclude the conversations of 31.12.1900 and 1.1.1901 with J. Kumalo, Mabaso and Mxaba in the presence of Ndukwana. Ndukwana tells me this morning that J.K. and Mabaso did not see much good in the discussion that took place on the morning of 1.1.1901, chiefly between Mxaba and myself (pp. 44, 45 - 50), and told Mxaba so. I am surprized at this, because it was that very discussion (contact) with Mxaba which gave to my mind the conviction that natives are indeed men. That discussion became in itself the best evidence of the truth for which the man contended, viz. that natives were capable of great works and inventions, like other nations. It was his effort to portray the innate potentialities in the native mind in general which afforded my mind evidence that that single mind with which I conversed was fully equal to my own, and therefore the owner (and all his race) must be worthy of belonging to that communion to which I belong. This remark is suggested by his sage remark to my own question as to what enlightenment 'Ekukanyeni' had shed on men - p. 53. This in reality is very high praise, seeing the present circumstances, but if a single member of a despised race, despised simply because of its attainments (mental), can argue so clearly and tellingly on abstract subjects and understand all that I, a member of the socially higher species, look upon as the best, then I say there is hope for the race. It has, in the past, simply lacked opportunity, or it would have distinguished itself. In Mxaba I found not merely my match, but my identity. He throbs with what I call possibilism. He is able to grasp every thought that I can grasp, and therefore to transform himself to any ideal I can realise. In short, if I were called on to name the ablest and most comprehensive native mind I had conversed with, and the keenest philosopher on the native question,

I would set Lazarus Mxaba nearly if not quite first. Yamela, Socwatsha, S. Mini, M. Radebe, C. Kunene, Isaac Mkize, John Kumalo, Ndukwana, Zibebu, Mankulumana, Tikuba, John Gama, Johannes Kumalo, Teteleku are all good but, I think, not quite so good. Though the man is brimful of European notions, still his mind is his own. He has indeed travelled much, but all travellers are not wise. He, I think, erred somewhat with regard to liquor, but all else was solid, true, set in pure, forcible, fine language. The existence of such men as these I have quoted undoubtedly renders the work I have in hand less difficult. Mxaba is a full man, with large sympathies and fruitful observations. It will be seen I followed the European argument against the native, and perhaps I am so taken with his (M.'s) abilities because he defended his race in precisely the same terms I have myself defended them (as my writings will show).

John Kumalo is full of pithy sayings; his observations of facts have been carefully made; he is quick at grasping those telling
62 trivialities which often escape men's attention. He tires of an argument if long-sustained, even if not nearly exhausted, and wishes to pass on to other matters. He is, however, very careful to keep to the point, and frequently calls on us to return to the main issue. He is a good debater and an experimentalist. Mxaba is the philosopher, and I notice both J.K. and Mabaso always inclined to let him speak first. Mabaso thinks much, says little; whatever he says he says forcefully. He is an original and independent thinker, with a practical turn like J. Kumalo. Most of our conversations have been to a large extent beyond Ndukwana, but only because he is not sufficiently familiar with those facts which we find in print. There is no doubt Mxaba was greatly influenced by long contact with that able man and inquirer, Sir T. Shepstone - like Teteleku.

15.1.1901 - <evidence given 14.1.1901> File 71, pp. 62-3.

Also present: Ndukwana

Conversation with John Kumalo in presence of Ndukwana, 14.1.1901. He said Lasi, i.e. Lazarus Mxaba, had said to him, the same day, that in our discussions he would like four to be present, viz. John Kumalo, Solomon Mabaso, himself, another, with myself and Ndukwana. They wish to have further discussions. J.K. proposes 'Resemblance of colonists of Natal to Boers in their treatment of the natives' as the next subject to go into when we meet, say a month hence when I return from my leave [I put in for it today]. J.K. tells me of the case of Bob Kumalo who was at the courthouse not long ago. Some kind of a noise arose near where he was standing of which he was in no way the cause. A policeman (white) came up and beat him in spite of the fact that Bob said he had not been making a noise. He was beaten before a number of other natives, and the Indian constable said that the *kolwa* was to clear off. J.K. thinks that this was a case of great indignity, and no official ought to be allowed to lay hands on a native unless the magistrate had ordered corporal punishment, and such punishment, K. adds, is always administered within the precincts of the gaol away from the public gaze. J.K. says that he was himself struck in the ribs by one of the police,

a sergeant (European), when he came in to see the clerk, Roberts, (Mvemve) for having done no wrong that he could see.

I spoke of the grievances of the Jews, and referred to the origin of the words 'Africa' and 'Ethiopia', the contact of Arabs with Africa, the Zimbabwe ruins, the Phoenicians, archaeology etc., also to Spinoza, showing how difficult was the problem of reconciling peoples who had once come to be in a state of antagonism. I
63 emphasized the necessity of going to the origins of things, for thorough investigation of the native question in every way, and of delaying publishing anything until something had been attained. J.K. said he understood that I have no wish for office, and sees to some extent how it is. Mabaso is busy, or the three would like to have come in on Saturday next. J.K. is, I think, beginning to feel the greatness of the whole subject.

Notes

[1]Formed c.1857; age-group born c.1837.

[2]Though its meaning is obscure, this sentence clearly refers to the administration of the hut tax under Law 13 of 1875, of which clause 2 reads, '...there shall be levied upon every hut occupied by a Native...a tax of Fourteen Shillings sterling: Provided that all houses of European construction inhabited by Natives having only one wife and otherwise conforming to civilized usages shall be exempt from Hut Tax'.

[3]The original reads, 'The subject was Ngoza's people and Mkungo's relations with the missionaries.' The identity of Ngoza's people is difficult to establish. The best-known personage of that name in the period of Shepstone's administration was Ngoza ka Ludaba of the Jozi people, who was Shepstone's chief *induna*. However, Kumalo goes on to talk of the Thembu people of Nodada, whose father was also named Ngoza, and it may be this group to which Kumalo is referring, rather than to the Jozi. The Mkungo referred to is probably the son of Mpande by his favourite wife Monase. To protect him from the jealousy of Cetshwayo, he was, as a boy, placed by Mpande under the care of Bishop Colenso. (See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 244-58, 330, 680.) From Kumalo's subsequent evidence, under date 28.10.1900, it seems that this is the person to whom he is referring. Mkungo was another of Stuart's informants.

[4]A literal translation would read, 'The white people give praises to their ancestral spirits; you too should give praises to your own.'

[5]We have been unable to identify the work or collection of works referred to. Literally *inhlanganisela* means 'miscellaneous collection'.

[6]i.e. Mfengu, or 'Fingo'.

[7]i.e. the Supreme Being.

[8]It was a common Zulu belief that the ancestral spirits manifested themselves in the form of snakes.

[9]Zulu name for Bishop Colenso; literally, 'Father of the people'.

[10]William Edward Shepstone, son of Theophilus. After serving as clerk to the Attorney-General, he was in 1865 appointed clerk of the peace for the counties of Pietermaritzburg, Umvoti and Upper Umkomanzi. In 1872 he became clerk of the peace for the counties of Durban, Victoria and Alexandra.

[11]Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone. For Mahoyiza's account of his mission to Langalibalele in October 1873, see The Kaffir Revolt in Natal in the Year 1873 (Keith and Co., publishers), pp. 9-14.

[12]Arthur Jesse Shepstone, son of Theophilus, served in the Natal Carbineers during the disturbances of 1873, and escorted the chief Langalibalele to his exile on Robben Island. (Natal Who's Who, 1906.)

[13]Langalibalele was settled by the Natal Government near the upper Bushmans river in 1849. Nodada and Phakade were refugees from the Zulu kingdom who settled in Natal about the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers. (See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 258-9, 263, 272.) Nyamayenja we have been unable to identify.

[14]Presumably Stuart's informant Johannes Kumalo.

[15]Johannes Kumalo was the leader of a group of Christian Africans from the Wesleyan settlement at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg who in 1865 settled on two farms which they had bought in the Klip River district. Maqaqa was the Zulu name for W.J.D. Moodie, resident magistrate at Ladysmith, 1876-81. In 1879 Moodie had Kumalo arrested and held in jail, apparently for disobeying an order to supply labourers for government service. No charges were brought against him. Kumalo subsequently claimed damages from Moodie, but his claim was turned down by the Natal Supreme Court. Papers pertaining to the case are to be found in vols. 1/5/93 and 1/8/82 of the Supreme Court records in the Natal Archives. See also Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 139.

[16]Mqundane served as *induna* to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and was placed by him over the Thintandaba people (Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 757, 760). For Ngoza see note 3 above. Teteleku ka Nobanda was a chief who lived near Pietermaritzburg and was another of Stuart's informants. The Reverend Markham who presented the petition is mentioned by Burnett (Anglicans in Natal, p. 101) as having trained John Kumalo in Pietermaritzburg prior to the latter's going to the Estcourt district as a catechist.

[17]For the origins of the Ethiopian movement see Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, pp. 39, 56.

[18]Bishop Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in Philadelphia in 1816. Turner visited Natal in 1898. See Sundkler, Bantu Prophets, pp. 40-1, 65.

[19]Presumably H.D. Winter, Minister of Agriculture, 1899-1903. He became Minister of Native Affairs in 1905.

[20]Possibly Buffel (Buffalo) and Victoria East respectively.

[21]Zikhali, son of the Ngwane chief Mathiwane, settled in the upper Thukela region early in the reign of Mpande. Phuthili, chief of the Ngwe, was uncle of Langalibalele, and was settled with the latter in the foothills of the Drakensberg in 1849. For Langalibalele, Phakade, and Nodada, see notes 3 and 13 above.

[22]The 'Governor' referred to was probably Sir Garnet Wolseley, who was Officer Administering the Government from April to September, 1875.

[23]Sibhamu ka Manyezulu, Ngwe chief. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 182; Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, p. B10.

[24]Bryant, Dictionary, p. 308, gives *ikoboka* (pl. *amakoboka*) as meaning 'Dutch-Kaffir half-caste, Dutch slave'.

[25]John Bird, who held a variety of public offices in Natal from 1846 to 1879. He would probably have been remembered by the

African population chiefly as resident magistrate in Pietermaritzburg, 1859-76, and as judge of the Native High Court, 1878-9.

[26] John Kumalo was an Anglican. By the time of the disturbances of 1906, Johannes Kumalo and a number of his Wesleyan followers had converted to the Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. (See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 331-2.)

[27] In this passage Kumalo is probably referring to the regulations for African education framed by the Natal authorities in 1893. One of their effects was to curtail opportunities for secondary education. (See unpublished thesis by L.E. Switzer, 'The American Zulu Mission in South Africa, 1885-1910', pp. 253-6.) Peter Paterson was resident magistrate at Estcourt from 1875 to 1893 or 1894.

[28] Of the men listed, the following were Government chiefs: Johannes Kumalo (*kholwa*), Timothy Gule (Swazi), Stephen Mini (*kholwa*), Christian Lutayi (*kholwa*), James Milward Majozi (*kholwa*), Isaac Mkize (Mbuzane). (See Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, p. B6 ff.) 'Lasi' was Lazarus Xaba, another of Stuart's informants. Mhlanimpofu was also one of Stuart's informants. Nkunzi was an Anglican outstation started in the early 1890s by the Rev. H.T.A. Thompson with the assistance of John Kumalo and Francis Magwaza. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, pp. 101, 147.) The congress referred to is probably the Natal Native Congress, which was founded at a meeting of *kholwa* representatives held in Pietermaritzburg in June 1900. (Natal Mercury, 8.6.1900; Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 71.)

[29] Ncwadi ka Zikhali ka Mathiwane was chief of the Ngwane in the Upper Tugela division. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 146; Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, p. B21.

[30] H.T.A. Thompson, who succeeded Charles Johnson at Springvale mission in the middle Mkhomazi valley in southern Natal. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 99.)

[31] Charles Barter, author of The Dorp and the Veld, served as resident magistrate in the city division of Pietermaritzburg, 1880-90.

[32] *Imvimba* is the term for the beast given by a seducer to the parents of the girl he has injured. It goes with her to her husband when she marries. (Colenso, Dictionary, p. 643.) *Vimba'd* (from the verb *ukuvimba*) as used in the text means that the beast had been handed over by the seducer. For associated meanings of *ukuvimba* see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 680. Zulu marriage procedures in the case of an illegitimate pregnancy are described by Bryant in Zulu People, p. 572.

[33] Literally, 'a drop descended', an idiom used by women to describe an accidental impregnation.

[34] W.D. Wheelwright was posted as resident magistrate to the Ulundi division in 1875, to Umvoti county in 1878, and in 1887 to the Lower Tugela division, where he served until 1889.

[35] Literally, 'Shut up, you who have intercourse with your mother!'

[36] The precise connotations of these words as used in the early twentieth century are difficult to establish. *Ikholwa*, literally 'a believer', was generally used to refer to a Christian convert, but was also loosely applied to an African exempted from Native Law or who had adopted recognizable features of European culture. *Irumutsha* (*ihamusha*) seems to have been used to denote a town dweller who had to a greater or lesser extent broken his links with traditional authority. *Isigqokwa* (from the verb *ukugqoka*, 'to wear') was probably used to denote a person who wore European-type clothing.

[37]The Natal colonial parliament had no members specially representing African interests.

[38]Presumably the Reverend F.J. Green, son of Dean James Green. In the 1880s F.J. Green was appointed supervisor of Anglican church work among the Africans of Pietermaritzburg. With the assistance of African clergy and catechists, he developed a number of out-stations in the district. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 100.)

[39]Joseph Barker, who was appointed Anglican catechist and schoolmaster at Ladysmith in 1856, and ordained as a deacon in 1857. He served at Ladysmith until c.1860, and again c.1900. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, pp. 55, 88, 119.)

[40]A term with the derogatory connotation of 'worthless foreigner', commonly applied to people living north of the Zulu country such as the Tsonga.

[41]Presumably S.O. Samuelson who, as Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, 1893-1909, was the senior permanent official in the Native Affairs Department. He became known to many Africans as Vumazonke (he who agrees to all), and Ndabambili (Mr Facing-both-ways). See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 25.

[42]*Amukela* literally means to hold out both hands to receive. In traditional etiquette it is a gesture of supplication expected of children, women, and inferiors who are in the act of asking or receiving. Bryant (Dictionary, p. 6) writes, 'To receive in one hand only would imply superiority or familiar intercourse between equals.'

[43]Literally, 'light', 'illumination'.

[44]1856.

[45]Formed c.1861; age-group born c.1841.

[46]i.e. belief in ancestral spirits.

[47]This may be a reference to the Mbikiza who was chief of the Mngomezulu people. His territory abutted on the Swazi kingdom along the line of the Ubombo. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 344.)

[48]The reference is to a brief report, headed 'Ngazana v. Ncapai', of litigation between a son, who was a minor in law, and his father.

[49]Prince Alfred's visit to Natal took place in 1860.

[50]The main body of the Natal Hlubi lived in the northern districts of the colony. Kumalo may be referring to a small group who lived in the Ixopo district.

[51]Nyoniyentaba was the Zulu name for John Bird, resident magistrate in Pietermaritzburg, 1859-76. Stuart's father, Marthinus, was a clerk and interpreter in Bird's court, 1865-8.

[52]The Rev. C.W. Posselt founded the Berlin Mission station at Emmaus among the Ngwane of the upper Thukela region in 1847. The Rev. C. Zunckel was in charge of the station from 1852 until his death in 1899. (Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 66-7.)

[53]*Isihlangu* means a 'a large war shield', *ukubiyela* 'to defend'.

[54]i.e. spirit.

[55]The Rev. James Allison, Wesleyan missionary, worked among the Swazi in the period 1845-6. His station was at Mahamba in the south of present-day Swaziland. After being caught up in a dispute over the Swazi succession, Allison led a group of refugees into Natal, and in 1847 settled at Ndaleni near what later became the village of Richmond. A quarrel with the mission organization led to his secession from it, and in 1851 he settled with a number of followers on a farm near Pietermaritzburg, where he laid the

foundations of the Edendale mission. (Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. 1, p. 12; Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 54.)

[56]The three names mentioned are those of chiefs whose territories abutted upon the Swazi kingdom along the line of the Ubombo mountains. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 339-40.) See also note 47 above.

[57]*Abelungu* - white people.

[58]One of the provisions of the 'Glen Grey' Act, passed by the Cape parliament in 1894, imposed a levy of ten shillings on any African who had not worked outside his district during the previous twelve months.

[59]R.H. Addison was appointed clerk and interpreter to the resident magistrate at Umlazi in 1876. In 1882 he served as clerk and interpreter to the resident magistrate at Lion's River. From 1883 he was on the staff of the British Resident in Zululand, and later became a Native Affairs Commissioner in Natal. For further comments on his career, see Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 94, 147n, 344; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 127.

[60]R.G. Roberts served as clerk and interpreter to the resident magistrate at Ladysmith in the 1890s.

[61]Alice Shepstone. Ntombazi was also the name of the mother of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide.

[62]*Idlozi liyabekelwa* is a proverb whose literal translation is, 'the ancestral spirit has something set aside for it'. Stuart's orthography makes possible an alternative rendering, i.e. *idlozi liyabhekelwa*, which means 'the ancestral spirit is watched for'. See Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs, pp. 173, 195.

[63]Literally, *ukugqabuk' igoda* means 'to snap the rope'. The word *dabuka*, i.e. to tear or rend, was also used as the verb to describe the process of secession by which new chiefdoms and *imizi* were often established.

[64]i.e. righteousness.

[65]Kuruman (Nkulumane) was a son of Mzilikazi by a daughter of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, and was a potential successor to the Ndebele kingship. While still a young boy, he disappeared, and later, in the succession dispute that followed the death of Mzilikazi in 1868, his fate became a key issue. One faction of the Ndebele maintained that he had been put to death on the orders of his father; another that he had escaped and made his way south. In an attempt to resolve the dispute, a party of Ndebele dignitaries was sent to search for Nkulumane in Natal and Zululand. A man in the service of Theophilus Shepstone asserted his claim to be Nkulumane, and a bid was made to win recognition for him among the Ndebele. See Pagden and Summers, The Warriors, pp. 81-83; Becker, Path of Blood, pp. 245-6; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 444.

[66]It is not clear to which of his notebooks Stuart was referring in these and the previous parentheses.

[67]*Kwa Sogekle* literally means 'the place of the maze', i.e. the maze of spittle drawn on the hut floor by men engaged in communally smoking hemp. For a description of this practice see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 222. The Thulwana was one of Mpande's regiments, formed c.1854, age-group born c.1834.

[68]See note 63 above.

[69]Literally, 'to find a wrinkled hide under which to grow up'.

[70]A species of bulrush millet which, according to Bryant, was grown only occasionally and was used to make a strong beer (Dictionary,

p. 466, and Zulu People, pp. 280, 281). See also Fynn, Diary, p. 306.

[71]Presumably Dr Andrew Cowan, leader of an ill-fated expedition which aimed to travel from the Cape to Delagoa Bay through the interior of southern Africa. The party left in mid October, 1808; its last known position was in the Waterberg region of what later became the Transvaal, which it had reached by late December of that year. See Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. 2, pp. 146-7.

[72]F.R. Moor served as Secretary for Native Affairs, 1893-7 and 1899-1903. He was Prime Minister of Natal, 1906-1910.

[73]See note 24 above.

[74]*Funamalungelo* (literally, 'seekers of rights') was the name by which certain exempted Natal Africans identified themselves. Some of them were among the delegates who founded the Natal Native Congress in 1900. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 69; Welsh, The Roots of Segregation, pp. 244-6.

[75]To *sisa* domestic animals was to place them in the care of a dependent, who would have certain rights of usufruct.

[76]i.e. large homesteads, corresponding to the military establishments of the king.

[77]Literally, 'a striving to be like a white man'.

[78]*Zulumba* means 'to lie in wait, keep watch', as for a quarry.

[79]*Umhado* means 'people coming to a place with violence, taking things without leave'. (Colenso, Dictionary, p. 517.)

[80]St. Alban's was founded in Pietermaritzburg in 1882 as a school for Africans, but was forced to close in 1895 after the Natal Government had withdrawn its grant. It was reopened in 1898 as a college for the training of catechists and deacons. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 149.)

[81]*Izindondo* were solid brass balls about an inch in diameter which were threaded and worn round the neck. Their use was originally confined to royalty. *Amasongo* were brass rings worn on the upper arm. *Izimbedu* were bands or flat rings of brass worn round the neck as a decoration of the highest class. *Izingxotha* (sing. *ingxotha*) were heavy brass armlets worn by notable warriors. (Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 116, 597, 27, 218; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 167.)

[82]This may be a reference to *Ipepa lo Hlanga*, a non-missionary newspaper sponsored largely by the same group which formed the Natal Native Congress in June 1900. (See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 73.)

[83]For Mkungo see note 3 above. Magema Fuze, one of Colenso's early pupils, became the bishop's interpreter and printer. He was with Dinuzulu for a time in the 1890s during the chief's exile on St. Helena, and taught him to read and write. He was one of A.T. Bryant's chief informants, and in 1922 published Abantu Abamnyama, a traditional history, and the first book written by a Zulu in the Zulu language. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 114-15; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 498.

[84]William Ngidi, a convert of the American Zulu Mission, became a catechist and one of Colenso's assistants at the Ekukhanyeni press. (Burnett, Anglicans in Natal, p. 71; Rees, ed., Colenso Letters, p. 93n.)

[85]Literally, 'the viper of Ekukanyeni'. 'Ndlondlo' was a common Zulu praise-name for important and powerful figures. Ekukhanyeni,

i.e. the place of light, was the name of Bishop Colenso's mission station at Bishopstowe near Pietermaritzburg.

[86]Francis E. (Frank) Colenso, the bishop's only son.

[87]Presumably a reference to Prince Alfred's visit to Natal in 1860, and to Colenso's sojourn in England from 1862 to 1865.

[88]The KwaMagwaza mission near Eshowe was founded by the Rev. Robert Robertson in 1860, the year after Colenso's visit to Mpande. After working with Robertson at KwaMagwaza, 1861-5, the Rev. S.M. Samuelson established St. Paul's mission station, also in the Eshowe area. See Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 139-40; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, chs. 3 and 4.

[89]Literally, 'raised questions with the Government'.

[90]Two of Bishop Colenso's daughters, Frances and Harriette, were active protagonists of Dinuzulu's Usuthu cause from the 1880s onwards.

[91]Both words denote unpopularity, disagreeableness.

[92]i.e. the snake believed to embody an ancestral spirit.

[93]Literally, 'he who appeared first', i.e. the Creator.

[94]A species of lizard. Zulu fable relates how the chameleon, sent by *Nkulunkulu* (the Supreme Being) to instruct men to live, was overtaken by the lizard which had been instructed to tell men to die. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 660; Callaway, The Religious System of the Amazulu, pp. 3-4.

[95]*Impepho* is a species of small veld plant with a sweet smell used for burning as an offering to the spirits. *Umswani* is the chyme from the stomach of a beast, and possesses considerable ceremonial significance.

[96]H.F. Fynn travelled and traded in the area stretching from the Zulu kingdom in the north to the Mpondo territory in the south during the period 1824-34. He returned to Natal in 1852, and served as a magistrate in Pietermaritzburg, 1852-3.

[97]For a discussion of the term 'Ntungwa' see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies in Southern Africa, p. 130 ff.

[98]The paragraph referred to is from the Times weekly edition of 30.11.1900. It summarizes comments made by the dramatist Henrik Ibsen to a Norwegian newspaper on the rights and wrongs of the Anglo-Afrikaner war then being fought. His opinion was that the Afrikaners had unjustly taken occupation of the territories which they occupied, and that, 'The British are only taking from the Boers what they themselves have stolen.'