

WHO ARE ABATHEMBU AND WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?

Written by E G Sihele
Councillor of the Thembu King of Roda

(Translated into English by)
()
(N C TISANI)

M I S S I N G P A G E S

6 7 - 9 9

1 5 3 - 1 7 8

Pages and Headings

	Page
Introduction	2
Acknowledgement	3
Information obtained through research	3
<u>Events and Biographies of certain men</u>	
Njanya 1307	5
Bomoyi 1517	5
The word, Zim	5-6
Dlomo, the son of Nxeko	10-12
Ndaba son of Zondwa	12
Ndaba at Karabe's place	12-13
Ngubencuka (Vusani) son of Ndaba	14
Ama-Bhaca of Madikane	15-16
AmaNgwane of Matiwane in Thembuland	17
The Battle between amaNgwane and amaQwathi	18-19
<u>Ishaka in Thembuland?</u>	19-20
The Battle between amaThembu (sic) and amaNgwane	20-21
The arrival of Missionaries in 1830	21-22
Mshweshwe and Ngubengcuka	23, 24A 24B, 25
Ngubengcuka and Hintsa	25-26
The end of Ngubengcuka	26-27
Fadana as regent for Mtirara	28-31
Mtirara's reign	31
An agreement between the Government and Mtirara	32-33
Sarili and Mtirara	33-34
Mtirara at Xonxa and his death	34-35
AmaMpondomise at Hala's place	35-36

The southward migration of Matiwane Myeki	36-37
Joyi's fight with Gqirana (Mditshwa)	38-41
Joyi's sickness	41-42
The reign of Ngangelizwe	42-43
Novili's wedding	43
Emma, Sandile's daughter is sent by the Government to Ngangelizwe	43-45
Ngangelizwe and Matanzima	45-47
Novili's Punishment	47-51
Ngangelizwe reaches an agreement with the Government	51
Nongxokozelo	51-54
Ngangelizwe submits to the Government	55-58
<u>Ngangelizwe becomes stable-minded</u>	58-61
The War of Ngcayechibi 1877	60-61
Ngangelizwe and Siqungathi	61-62
Ngangelizwe and Mnqanqeni	62
Ngangelizwe during the War of the Guns	63-66

WHO ARE ABATHEMBU, WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?

Written by E G Sihele

(Councillor of the Thembu King of Roda)

INTRODUCTION

The writing of this record first began in 1933, when Mr Mbombini, who was a councillor of Falo Mgudlwa wished to know which was my favourite newspaper.

My reply was; "I at times read Imvo ZabaNtsundu, though I have not done so of late."

In his surprise he asked; "Do you mean to tell me that you are living in darkness like me, an illiterate man, who relies on the kindness of those who are ready to share some news with me?" He continued;

"That is bad. Please go and get me a paper which you will read to me. I would like to hear more about the famine that has been talked about lately, as well as the problem facing Parliament."

I bought him a Bloemfontein paper called Friend. This is the paper that used to be read by the shop-keeper at Zithapile, at Herschel among amaHlubi, where I once stayed. Having come back with the paper, I read to the old man.

One day he enquired; "By the way who is Jumba's father?" I could not give an answer. He went on to say; "The fault with educated people is that they are not able to retain anything in memory unless it has been put down in writing." He then said; "Take

your pen and record whatever I shall be telling you."

When I picked up my pen I thought I was going to be told about Jumba's genealogy, and yet the old man was going to be narrating about the history and the life of abaThembu - Thembuism (ubuThembu). That kept us occupied until the day the old man returned home in Thembuland.

He exhorted me to keep a record of the stories so that they might be preserved, he further advised me to contact Chief Falo, on arriving at home, so that I could hear more about events which he had personally been involved in, and those which he had been told by Chief Mgudlwa and his father, Jumba. In addition, there were those councillors who were always at the Great Place (Komkhulu) where national affairs were discussed, analysed and planned.

During those days it was only a stupid man who could not give an account of the events of his manhood.

This fellow was amazing in that he could relate an event long after it had happened. Because of that special gift some would accuse him of having supernatural powers, stopping short of saying he was a witch (unomshologu). We cannot forget to mention the fact that the said gentleman was also a gifted poet, he was a recognised national poet (imbongi).

Since that day I have had a burning desire to fulfil my Father's wish although I was rather hesitant on the issue of writing a book because Chief Isaac Bobo Mgudlwa had already told me that Chief Jongilizwe, father of Jonguhlanga, had already asked him (Mgudlwa) together with Chief Silimela a mThembu that he should

write a book on the history of abaThembu.

When I arrived at home I went to see Chief Isaac Mgudlwa. We discussed this matter at length and the Chief ended by thanking me warmly for this noble (beautiful) idea, the idea of writing the history of our people. Even Chief Harold Guleni Mgudlwa was encouraging, and he advised me about history books that could be useful, so saying he let me have his.

It is through such efforts, my friends, that I present to you this history of abaThembu, at the same time realising that the history itself is much wider than what I have achieved because it needs more time and an active mind. Again I realise that a number of people have written on some aspects of the history of abaThembu. Reverend J H Soga's book on the nations from the east was particularly encouraging. We observed that in his narration there are certain aspects which differ from the history of abaThembu as you will notice when you read this record.

Writing a historical record is not an easy task because of the following:

- (1) The record is not for the writer
- (2) Nor is it for the reader, but for future generations.

Most people fail to realise this. The problem with history is that you have to tell all even though that may be galling to you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the following friends, in my research and enquiry on some of the historical events, many of which had already been lost:

1. Chief Falo Mgudlwa
2. Isaac Mgudlwa
3. Bungane Mgudlwa
4. Bhokleni Langa of amaQwathi
5. George Mnyande of amaQwathi at Mnyolo
6. Dickson Mbekeni of Mgwali of Ngubencuka
7. Harold Gubeni Mgudlwa
8. Doctor D D T Jabavu who encouraged and referred me to relevant books
9. Mbombimi M Sihele, who really is the backbone in the writing of this book, and who had a lot of information which made our research much easier.
10. Miss Tembeka Nontandazo Mxutu who served as a recording secretary.

Here are the books and newspapers that were helpful sources to me:

1. Imvo ZabaNtsundu of 2/2/1926 about the life of Gqwetha Poswayo.
2. Daily Dispatch of 1/12/47 No XI. Background of to-day by Una Long, field-worker in Historical Research, Rhodes University College.
3. Umthunywa Nos 7-8: Early Footsteps by the Umtata River, by Rev Basil Holt, MA FB.
4. Olden Times in Natal by A T Bryant.
5. History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern by D Fred Ellenberger V D M.
6. Ama-Mpondo: Ibali neNtlalo, by Victor Poto Ndamase
7. South African Native Policy, by E H Brookes

8. Amabali emfazwe zakwa Xhosa, by B J Ross
9. Ityala lamaWele, by S E K Mqhayi
10. Zemk'inkomo Magwala ndini by Dr W B Rubusana
11. The South Eastern Bantu, by J H Soga
12. The Ama Xhosa Life and Custom, by J H Soga
13. Intlalo Ka Xhosa, by T B Soga
14. The Autobiography of Major Hook, by Major Hook
15. Lovedale South Africa, by Rev H W Shepherd, D Litt
16. UMqhayi waseNtabozuko by S E K Mqhayi
17. uManyano lukaNtu lommandla waseKapa, by Mr M Pelem in 1919
18. All Saints Parish, by Rev Brownlee
19. The Study of South African Society by Godfrey Wilson and Monica Hunter
20. uTshaka, by J B Ross
21. Black and White in South East Africa, by Maurice Evans, MG
22. The Government Commission on Native Life and Customs in 1880-83
23. The South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05 Volumes 1-5
24. The Black Man's Burden, by John Burger
25. Education Commission in East Africa, by Thomas Gease Jones, PhD 1924
26. Kuphilwa Phi! by Benjamin A Bangeni
27. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs by Colonel Maclean CB
28. Amanqakwana ngeminombo yezizwe zaseMbo, by K K Ncwana
29. Ibali labaThembu, by W D Cingo
30. History of South Africa, by Dr G McCall Theal
 - (a) Vol I 1652-1795, (b) Vol II since 1795-1872
 - (c) Vol III before 1795 (d) Vol 10
31. Maynier and the First Boer Republic, by J S Marais
32. The Settlers and Methodism, 1820-1920

33. Christian Students and Modern South Africa
34. Settlers and Methodism - Eveleigh
35. The Story of Methodist Union in South Africa
36. Methodist Missionaries by Gordon Mears, D Litt
37. Methodist Missionary Society - 1836
38. The Spread of Christianity and Civilisation in the Transkei by Anglican Africans, Missionaries, Government Officials and Traders
39. Great Men and Great Deeds, by Mary W Waters
40. Three Hundred Years - A History of South Africa, by Mnguni
41. Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History, by the late Hon Charles Brownlee
42. Izibongo zeeNkosi zama-Xhosa Zabuy'iindlezan'entlazaneni, by Yali Manisi
43. Amavo - Jolobe
44. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa by A M Duggan
45. Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvanas, by P A W Cook, MA B Ed
46. The Transkeian Natives Territories Historical Records, by Frank Brownlee
47. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa, by N J van Warmelo and W G Bennie
48. Correspondence of Lieut-General the Hon Sir G Cathcart
49. uMshweshwe - by H M Ndawo
50. Imibengo - by W G Bennie BA
51. Clarkeburg Centenary, by Rev C Harris
52. The Magistrate D S Stofile who has been of great help in the research for genealogy
53. Dr Mbekeni was equally of help as well.

WHO ARE ABATHEMBU, WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?

Obtained through Research

Intensive research shows that abaThembu are one of the nations that come from central Africa. It is clear that they had been independent long before the White man came to this country. AbaThembu were the first to migrate prior to other black nations that come from the centre of this (sic) Africa. They lived for a long time in that area now occupied by amaBhaca. To confirm this point one will notice that a large number of their place names are similar to those of Thembuland. Even the place where they are settled today, they have occupied for ages as we shall notice as the story unfolds.

Isaac Mgudlwa tells us that Nkahla, his father's eloquent councillor, on being asked about the origin of abaThembu, would reply as follows: "They were created by God." It is true they were really created by God; but these days such a statement does not make sense. It is Zwide who is well known among all Black nations. Even Nkala would trace (the genealogy) as far as him (Zwide), where the ancestor-praises (unqulo) of all the Ntu-speaking nations come to an end.

No one has ever written a history that goes beyond Zwide, all that historical information was kept in the minds of the senior citizens who had a strong love for the history of the nation. During the days of yore they would gather at the great-place and exchange ideas. In those days there was no such thing as employment as is the case today. People lived on cattle-keeping

and hunting. That meant that a nation had to settle in one place so that it could defend itself against another nation which would attack while raiding for cattle.

The Reverend Rubusana in his book also ends with this Zwide of Nkahla. Read his book, which is about the history of abaThembu, ^{or} in page 282. Anyway he has not delved into the matter as Reverend J H Soga has done who makes mention of such figures like Sithole and Mvelase. Even Reverend Soga merely goes as far as Thembu. According to his version, abaThembu are the descendants of Thembu, and he does not go beyond that. Read for yourself in his book ^{or} in page 466.

I therefore wish that the reader should take note of the difference between my version and that of Reverend Soga. Our people are of the mind that the reverend gentleman's book is the best on the history of the nations of the East. Yet there are certain points in the reverend gentleman's history of abaThembu that are far from satisfactory, in addition it is clear that his knowledge of the nations was limited. I for one would like to correct those mistakes that pertain to abaThembu.

Chief Victor Foto in his book "The History of amaMpondo" ⁽¹¹⁾ has this to say: "(sic) The first chief of amaMpondo who can still be remembered as far back as possible is Sibiside father of Dlemini, who in turn begets Njanya, from whom amaMpondomise, amaXesibe and amaQwathi come."

Ours is to pay special attention to this Njanya, although the chief and the Reverend Rubusana differ greatly, but they do agree

with the Reverend J H Soga on Njanya. Under those circumstances, we shall take Chief Foto's version on amaMpondo as being the most forthright and outstanding. We too on our part shall try to find where we meet with the lineage of amaMpondo.

Mr W D Cingo in his book on the history abaThembu does mention Zwide, Mbulali and Njanya. We differ when he traces the lineage of aba-Thembu. But, old chap, half a loaf is better than no bread. We are greatly indebted to Nyawuza. Compare the lineage of abaThembu in this version, with the one in W D Cingo's book, you will then see the difference.

The well-known historian, Doctor Theal in Vol III, page 157, when writing about the Xhosa lineage ends up with Ngconde. He is of no help to us because he does not pass on to Njanya and then to Zwide in whom we are interested. Even the Doctor, just like Reverend J H Soga, merely goes as far as Thembu on the Thembu lineage, he goes no farther.

It is the Reverend B Warner whose version on the genealogy of aba-Thembu is almost similar to mine. He does mention Zwide, Mbulali, Malandela, Njanya etc. Somewhere we part, because he does not even have Dlomo. Read "Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs," in page 169. We shall make use of his ideas as we search for the Zwide we are after.

Magistrate Stanford, when trying to draw up the genealogy of abaThembu in the report of the Commission on Native Life and Customs in 1880-83, ^{on} ~~in~~ page 412, fails dismally. It will be a

waste of time to refer to Messrs Gladwin and Driver, who also draw up their genealogies that appear in page 412 in the same report of the Commission on Native Life and Customs. The reason why we bother to mention these people is because they also have put something on record, having obtained information at the time when there still were oral historians who were keen to share the information they had. There is only one reason why they did not hear the whole truth, it is that people were reluctant to take a European into confidence. To mislead a European was regarded as proper and amusing. Up to this point in time, all researchers relying on tradition, have failed to uncover who Zwide's father was. When we come up to him, we fall back on Nkahla, saying: "He was created by God." "He was created by God." We, on the other hand, are reconciled to the fact that Blacks can go back that far, not further, in remembering and knowing the names of his forebears.

It is clear therefore that we (abaThembu) broke off from the rest of the Black people with Zwide who left the people in central Africa, where they still are even today. Zwide's progeny split and divided as it moved southwards along the seaboard, with their herds of cattle, in search of livelihood. AbaThembu broke off from Zwide's descendants when they moved ahead.

At this point we'll notice that the majority of nations split during Njanya's time. For that reason, let us make Njanya to be our starting point (as the person from whom we originated). According to our version Njanya is the son of Mbulali. And yet

^H
 J F Soga contends it is Sibiside. Let's accept that one as well. It may so happen that Sibiside's other name was Mbulali, because both amaXhosa and abaThembu agree that formerly they were one (nation), they only split because of wars and hunting.

The saying that: "Experience is the best teacher," is applicable here, and for that reason, we accept what the sage Rubusana has to say: "Njanya begot Malandela, the first born, followed by Malangela." Again I wish to quote Vethe, the son of Mziziba, a sage, and an expert in the history of the Mpondomise wars, who says that they originated from Malangana or Malangela already mentioned of Njanya. I am further confused, when he says: "Malangela begot Njanya, instead of saying Njanya begot Malangela." That comes as no surprise to oral historians, because sometimes the people forget. It may so happen that that was the case with our forebears. For that reason, we present this genealogy after a painstaking research from people and books in order to obtain the true Thembu genealogy.

If we follow David's observation about the life span of man, a person is meant to live for seventy years, or because of good health he may make it to eighty years, with a lot of difficulty and pain. If then we give each person a life span of thirty-five years (35), we may roughly calculate that the Zwide we are talking about lived in this country roundabout 1237 after the death of our Lord Jesus Christ (sic). The reader should understand clearly that our Zwide has nothing to do with Zwide of Langa, a Ndwandwe, from Natal. That one belongs to a nation that was once mighty in Natal.

EVENTS AND BIOGRAPHIES OF CERTAIN MEN

NJANYA 1307

According to the Reverend Rubusana in his book "Zemk'imkomo Magwalandini", ⁱⁿ page 281, you'll notice that Malandela is the first born, then Malangela comes after him. At this juncture we wish to clarify the fact that ~~aba~~Thembu are senior to amaXhosa by birth ~~because~~ they (abaThembu) are the descendants of Malandela.

BOMOYI 1517

It is said that when Bomoyi died ~~he~~ left two sons, Zima who was already a man, and Ntande the one from the great house (wendlu enkulu) who was still a boy. When it was time for Ntande to take over as ruler, Zima refused to vacate the throne, to everybody's surprise. The chief councillors pointed out that there was no sense in thrusting aside someone known to them, for a stranger just because he happened to be the heir to the throne! They insisted that they were only interested in someone who was experienced in exercising power. In accordance with tradition, Ntande's uncles would not agree to such an arrangement, complaining that refusal to hand over power was contrary to custom and it was being encouraged by people who had lost their senses. A majority of people sided with Zima. That was a real crisis. There was no one who was prepared to stand publicly for the truth.

In the midst of all that confusion there came a stranger from Mbo, a gentleman with a smooth tongue though he could not master

the language of abaThembu well. This foreigner arrived, pretending to be a doctor (ixhwele) at Ntande's great place. He really had supernatural powers. He was heard saying: "This is just a trifling matter which I can settle if only you can give me some cattle in return". He was encouraged to get on with the business. Then he said: "People at Mbo do not play games anymore by fighting with sharpened sticks, instead iron weapons are used, a weapon made of iron is very effective. It penetrates into a man easily."

When the people wanted to know where they could get a smith who could forge such weapons, he replied: "That is why I'm asking you to give me cattle, my home, where there is an ironsmith is some distance away." He was encouraged to fetch the ironsmith, and he would then be given cattle on his return. The stranger duly left. Then one day he re-turned together with Khume and Nune of the Xesibe clan, with their councillors, besides the usual entourage which normally accompanies the traditional doctor. They introduced themselves as traditional doctors who went about healing the sick. They were then invited to Ntande's homestead, with Ntande playing sick. It is said that the most senior of the doctors requested to have a hut specially set aside for him alone, so that he could find time to talk with his medium spirits from time to time. Because it was the chief himself who was physically indisposed, he (the doctor) forbade anyone from entering the cattle kraal during the day except himself and his initiates. In addition, the kraal in which the doctor was going to be working, in a bid to cure the chief, had to be fenced in in

a most secure manner.

All these instructions were carried out at Ntande's homestead without anyone daring to oppose the doctor from Mbo. During those days traditional doctors from Mbo were held in awe because of their magic.

Soon, our friend was through with making the weapons. He began by teaching the young man how to throw a spear, to stab and how to break into the cattle kraal at night, the very kraal that had been declared to be out of bounds to people, rumour was further spread that anyone who did enter the kraal without proper medication (immuned), he would die instantly. The fencing had been constructed for a day when special ceremonies would be conducted right inside where beer would be served, a sacrifice be made to the ancestors accompanied by pleas that they should endow all with peace and quiet.

Then one day Khuma ordered that ceremonial beer be prepared and that all kinsmen should be in attendance. Zim, as head of the family, was called to come and lead the ceremonies. On his arrival everybody was invited into the kraal where beer and sacrificial meat was to be consumed in accordance with custom.

All along weapons were hidden among the bushes. As for Khuma, the respected doctor, he could not hold himself with excitement.

All of a sudden, someone heard Mayemane, a well-known cow, lowing. Some people started wondering why Mayemane was lowing. Others, in disbelief asked: "What would Mayemane want here? Let

us continue drinking, chaps, Mayemane is miles away? By the way, Mayemane was Zim's cow.

To everybody's surprise all the cattle arrived at the homestead. At the same time the young men surrounded the kraal ready to deal with anyone who attempted to escape. Inside the kraal Khuma went straight for Zim, stabbed and killed him instantly. All hell broke loose, with the poor defenceless people being killed mercilessly. By the way, in accordance with the doctor's orders, people had had to leave all kinds of weapons outside, before entering the kraal. The few who escaped were saved by their ancestral spirits (yiminyanya yakomawabo). All Zim's followers were thus expelled from the land of abaThembu. That is how Chief Zim met his end, and Ntande was then able to take his rightful place.

When it was time to divide the spoils Khuma was invited to choose any cow he fancied. Without much ado Khuma went for Mayemane. That meant the end of Zim's property.

THE WORD ZIM

It is not clear whether this word (zim) came into use since that historic day. During those days the world was a beautiful place. The huts were built in traditional architecture, with walls made up of intertwined sticks and then plastered with mortar, with thatched roofs. Because of the lowness of the huts, snakes could easily crawl in. For some reason snakes frequented a place where a nursing mother was. Fortunately no matter how vicious a snake was, it would never bite a nursing mother. It simply lay, as if dazed, in her presence, a snake would appear completely drugged if a nursing mother squirted her breasts in its direction.

Because of such a queer relationship between snakes and nursing mothers, women were accused of bewitching people by using snakes. When a woman was "smelt-out", she would then flee and join the refugees living in the forest, in that way saving herself from certain death. Children would be kidnapped for two reasons. The first one was to eat them, and the second one was to take them to their parents. For that reason neither a child nor a woman was allowed to wonder about at night. The men who lived in the forest would snatch him/her, thrust a piece of cabbage-wood* into his/her mouth, and then take him/her away. A child who misbehaved would be threatened that he would be thrown outside to be eaten by the giants or amazimhlahlazo (amaZim).

When peace was restored amaZima (Zim's followers) later returned and led a normal life. They were skilled and wealthy people among ama-Thembu. That is Bomoyi's family.

* Probably to gag the victim - Translator's note.

DLOMO, THE SON OF NXEKWA OR NXEKO

Nxekwa begets Hlanga by a Mpondo woman of the Mqiha clan, and begets Dlomo who is the eldest in another house (another wife) as well as Balisa and Ndungwana, twins, in the third house. All these women had not been classified into different ranks according to tradition. But it was clear that Hlanga, whose mother was a princess, was most likely to be the royal successor.

Nxekwa had a queer habit of sharing his bedroom with calves, which by the way was the room of Dlomo's mother. Nxekwa was told that it was high time the different houses were classified into ranks so that his sons would be able to know how to address and salute one another, also the future chief had to be known. Ntande's son replied: "How many times must this home be classified, didn't my father's cattle do that when they were sharing a bedroom with me?"

Clearly, competition was tough among the wives over looking after cattle and caring for calves. The issue remained unsolved, with the four sons all grown-up men. But real competition was between Hlanga and Dlomo, and there was a possibility of trouble because Dlomo was more popular with the people. AbaThembu continued to be unhappy about the state of affairs. They said: "Let the daughters then be given their positions according to their ranks." Nxekwa adamantly refused, and the people gave up.

In the past the huts of the homestead would be built close to each other because of the dense vegetation. Then Nxekwa began to divide the stock each house was allocated a kraal of its own.

Not a sentence?

Just at that time amaMfene came asking to be incorporated into the Thembu nation. They were duly received after their tribute had been accepted. Ndungwana was instructed to allocate sites to them.

Ndungwana never returned from his mission, instead he remained with the strangers, enjoying all the respect that was accorded him, and he installed himself as their chief. He completely forgot that when he left home the question of seniority had not been sorted out. Whenever Dlomo slaughtered a beast, he would send inxaxheba* to Ndungwane (sic), the junior twin, and then it would be inxaxheba of Hlanga's beast that would be sent to Balisa.

One day beasts were slaughtered in the homes of both Dlomo and Hlanga. Cooked meat was soon ready at Hlanga's home and people were served. Then people proceeded to Dlomo's home. Even there people were served. Then Dlomo decided to share his meat (waqomela) with Welangaye, a maiden who was resident at the Great Place, belonging to the Mpemvu clan. The maiden burst out in praises: "Dlomomdlanga! Sokhawulele! You who installed himself before such an honour was bestowed upon you. I very well knew that since you were having a feast in your homestead even nonentities like us, poor orphans, would be fully fed." So saying, she left, shedding tears of joy. As she resumed her seat, the rest of the womenfolk, filled with jealousy, grumbled in protest, asking who she was to be given so much meat. Some

*Inxaxheba is the right hindquarter of a slaughtered animal sent by a senior chief to a junior - Translator's note.

women started throwing insulting and belittling remarks at her, while others simply continued to enjoy the feast.

As the incident had caused unhappiness among the women, the situation was worse among the men in the kraal. The men started asking one another about the remarks of the maiden. Even there, some men started passing derogatory remarks, forgetting that some men will not tolerate a situation where someone speaks badly about their chief. Others could not take it any more, they simply attacked those who openly sang praises of Dlomo. The die was cast! Hlanga and Balisa's adherents easily drove back a handful of Dlomo's followers, who had to sleep out in the open.

Then Nxekwa sent for Ndungwana who duly arrived accompanied by amaMfene. On seeing corpses lying all over, Ndungwana wanted an explanation for that. Nxekwa replied: "Your elder brothers have been killing each other, they would not listen to me. They fell on Dlomo because of a joke passed by a woman, I could not pacify them. I blame Balisa in particular for stoking the fire, and I hope his fingers will be burnt in the process. Why would he continue fighting Dlomo even though I was urging him not to?"

The old man was obviously moved and he wept bitterly. Ndungwana, at a loss, tried to calm down his father. When the old man was composed he proceeded to ask: "And what are you going to do in all this?" The reply was: "Father, Hlanga and Balisa do not care for me. They never share any of their possessions with me. I have no option but to support Dlomo, I'll fall where he falls or flee to whatever place he shall seek refuge in should we be

defeated."

Nxekwa then replied: "You go and fetch him then, my son, may your ancestors guide you and protect you, for if you are successful today, you and Dlomo have a bright future."

Ndungwana and Dlomo met, the latter and his councillors were still stunned. When Dlomo had related all, he (Ndungwana) called out: "Arise!" Fortunately he was with his men of Suthu origin, amaMfene. They set out to attack. The skirmish did not last long. Hlanga's followers were forced to flee. Because the bone of contention was succession to the throne, it was generally said: "They must be expelled completely from this country!" Balisa on his part was dead. It was Hlanga and his followers who were pursued all the way to his mother's place, Mqihazana, that is the reason amaQihala of Hlanga are referred to as the Mqihazana's cattle.

Consequently, Dlomo remained the ruling force among abaThembu together with his younger brother Ndungwana up till today. Dlomo was reputed to be generous, quick-witted, and fearless, features that helped him obtain a position which at one time seemed unattainable. What really helped him was that he was the apple of his father's eye, his mother was equally fond of him. The Biblical teaching which goes, "Honour your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you", was without any doubt fulfilled that day.

NDABA, SON OF ZONDWA

leaving?
Zondwa was the first born of Tato. Unfortunately Zondwa was inflicted by a disease and he died while Tato was still alive, leaving sons whose mothers had not been classified into rank. Just at that time Rarabe, the son of Phalo came to condole them on their bereavement. Rarabe's mother was a Mthembu (sic), while Rarabe himself had married a Ndungwana girl, thus he was closely related to abathembu.

After comforting the family, Tato and Rarabe began to converse about other things. Rarabe then asked Tato: "Tell me, my lord, of these sons of the deceased, which one will become a chief?" Tato replied: "The family has not been classified into rank: but it should be the one with a M-Egebe mother were it not for the fact that he is very naughty." Rarabe: "O yes that one is the chief. He is still being childish, which also is a good sign of bravery, he shall soon outgrow all that. I offer to bring my daughter to him." Rarabe departed soon after that conversation.

Ndaba was truly installed as Tato's eldest son, with a M-Egebe mother. They say that the man was wild, athletic, mischievous and in no position to build a nation. That eventually was the reason for his expulsion from his country. Rarabe did send his daughter, Bede, when she was of age, and she became the accepted or recognised wife.

Even in former times there were unfortunate incidents which caused a lot of misunderstanding. One day Ndaba sent for the

Ndungwana girls: that was a popular custom in those days. But those nations that were under his rule, especially amaQwathi, detested it.

AmaNdungwana who were opposed to the abhorrent custom appealed to Rarabe for help against Ndaba because they did not have enough people to put up a fight against a powerful chief like Ndaba. Ndaba was subsequently defeated by the armies of amaNdungwana and Rarabe. Ndaba fled to Gcalekaland. At that time Gcaleka's headquarters were at Zeleni. Ndaba with Rarabe's daughter put himself under the protection of Gcaleka. At the time of his flight, the whole territory along the sea at Willowvale stretching to Centani was under the rule of abaThembu, amaQiya or AmaQiha. On his way to Gcaleka's place Ndaba traversed the area belonging to them (amaQiya). But he could not stay with that group of abaThembu because he had no cattle, besides he could not submit to his younger brothers. Ntlanzi took over as ruler during the absence of Ndaba who had had to flee because he lacked diplomacy.

When Rarabe heard that his son-in-law, who had married his beloved daughter, had sought refuge at Gcaleka's place, he was moved with pity. Rarabe was particularly hurt by the fact that Ndaba had fled to Gcaleka. He sent messengers inviting him (Ndaba) to join him (Rarabe) at his place because he had forgiven him. Ndaba was thrilled by the invitation because he believed that he would be happier with his in-laws. He then proceeded to submit himself to Rarabe who at that time resided on the other

*As a sentence
missing here?*

been confiscated from Ndaba were given back to him.

Now that I have come this far with my narration, I wish to move on to a controversial issue nowadays, the issue of the land of abaThembu. The crux of the matter is to determine where the boundary was at that time.

The Reverend Doctor George McCall Theal, in Vol III, relating about events that took place before 1795, ^{on} in page 146 says: "When amaXhosa crossed the Kei, and were on the eastern side (sic). AbaThembu cultivated the whole area west of the Kei during the time of Ndaba". Again the Reverend gentleman ^{on} ~~in~~ page 140 proceeds: "AbaThembu claim that they ^{pre}ceeded amaXhosa in coming to the country which they now occupy. That is hard to believe because there is nothing to confirm such a claim."

The Reverend Soga also confirms this observation. We again have differences of opinion on this issue. He claims that Sikhoma (sic) reigned roundabout 1660-1670 and he died at Ntabankulu. Reverend J H Soga makes this claim in his book "Intlalo yakwaXhosa" (sic) ^{on} in page 18. At that time, abaThembu had long been in Thembuland. He further admits this point in the book entitled "The South Eastern Bantu" ^{on} in page 469. In that book he has this to say, "Nxeko or Nxekwa resided there before 1600, and he died at Msana, a tributary of Mbashe River.

If the Reverend gentleman had compared his own writings, he would have realised that if Sikhomo was at Ntabankulu when Nxeko was at Msana, he was in a way confirming a claim made by abaThembu that amaXhosa only followed in their tracks in the southward

migration, and that they (abaThembu) gave them a passage along the sea until they crossed the Kei, thereupon abaThembu started cultivating their land once amaXhosa had passed by. That is exactly the reason why it was easy for Ndaba to flee to Gcaleka's place.

NDABA AT RARABE'S PLACE

One day Rarabe contracted a fever. During those days no one could just catch an illness without a particular reason. The people then set out to consult the doctors and specialists (those who know) as to the cause of the sickness. The doctor enquired: "Where have you ever seen Kings staying together? One must be adversely affected by the presence of the other." Then Rarabe's people started designing ways of disposing of Ndaba. In the meantime other members of the royal family were continually afflicted with sickness, and the doctors were generally all agreed on the cause. That was an insurmountable problem. The councillors, having met in camera decided to get rid of Ndaba secretly. The problem was how such a task could be carried out considering that he was always surrounded by councillors.

Then one day, to everybody's surprise, Ndaba's ox went straight to Bede, Ndaba's wife. It started licking her whole body while she stood dazed with shock. Even with that incident it was felt that only the doctors could unravel its meaning. It was the turn of abaThembu to set out to consult a highly skilled doctor interpreting the mystery that had brought them. By the time they were finally seated, the doctor had skillfully analysed and diagnosed their troubles. All were dumbfounded. They could only say: "what exactly is the cause of this mystery, doctor?"

* Some doctors were said to have supernatural spirits or spirit mediums that could help them diagnose sickness or interpret incidents - Translator's note.

The doctor answered: "Oh leave me alone you people, you do know. Have two horns ever existed side by side without sharing the same head? Exactly what are you trying to cure? Please go back to your country, otherwise your chief will die."

Thereafter Ndaba was disgracefully ill-treated by amaXhosa. Bede advised that they escape, having got wind of the fact that a plot was being hatched against Ndaba, her husband. Messengers were sent to Fubu asking him to please fetch the chief. Fubu in turn notified Ntlanzi about messengers from Ndaba and the latter's request to be fetched. Ntlanzi ^{needed?} conceded to the request, and he sent messengers to join Fubu's (messengers) in the mission to steal Ndaba. Among the messengers there were Gamagama, Mbangula, Mcubeni and Msindindi a mQwathi together with Fubu himself. When they got near the Hoho forest, Fubu sent the afore-mentioned messengers to go and acquaint Ndaba about the arrival of Fubu and other abaThembu for the purpose of fetching him, he (Ndaba) had to find his way to the forest secretly.

The next step was to try and help the rest of the family escape. Then one day people noticed that Madame Ndaba's hut was on fire, a sure sign that people had moved (left). When Ndaba joined Fubu, both men were thrilled. Young men were then sent out to fetch cattle from one of Rarabe's cattle-stations, so that the royal family could be fed well during their travels.

It was extremely cold, which condition was aggravated by winter rains; nevertheless they were not in want of food as they slaughtered cattle and they also had plenty of amasi. Eventually

they arrived at home. Fubu placed Ndaba at Zigubudwini where he (Fubu) built him a kraal. Then he asked each Qwathi man to donate cattle to the royal kraal. That made Ndaba to come to possess a large herd of cattle within a day.

Ntlanzi who had been regent during Ndaba's absence abdicated.

They say Rarabe was greatly disturbed by Ndaba's lack of gratitude; worse still that on his departure, he should snatch a large herd of cattle! Rarabe then ordered that his cattle must be fetched from Thembuland. He was also informed that the great place at Zigubudwini was teeming with cattle. Rarabe started in the territory occupied by amaQwathi to collect any cattle he came across. That resulted in the outbreak of hostilities between Fubu and Rarabe at Nxogi. On that day Rarabe himself was stamped on (killed), and he lies buried across Xuka river, up to this day. Then abaThembu fell on the rest of amaXhosa wanting to drive them out completely from their territory. When they were at Luhewini, Mlawu the eldest son of Rarabe, was fatally wounded.

A large number of Xhosa men remained (died) in Thembuland on that day. The rest returned home in disgrace, leaving their (dead) chiefs behind. That's how Rarabe lost his cattle to Ndaba.

According to the Reverend J H Soga, in his book, The South Eastern Bantu: "Rarabe died at Mabhele near Dohne, at Mgwali in Ngqikaland. No battle was ever fought there, that is blatantly an untruth. At the time of his death Ndaba was in his country having once again donned his mantle as King of abaThembu.

When does quite end?

NGUBENGCUKA (VUSANI) SON OF NDABA

We are told that Ngubengcuka went to the initiation school together with Jumba as well as Phala, the younger brother of Jumba, because he (Ngubengcuka) was younger even than Phala himself. The two had to wait for him (Ngubengcuka) until he was of age. Those people who maintain that Jumba is younger than Ngubengcuka should bear in mind this fact about initiation (of the boys) because that stage is significant to the Black people.

It was not long before the new chief revealed that he had taken after his father in athletic prowess and quick-wittedness; but it was soon clear that he was much braver than his father and was also better at moulding the nation. The times were hard when Ngubengcuka began his reign, because the people had got used to enjoying a lot of freedom and doing what they felt like. AbaThembu were well-known for being cowardly. AmaQwathi consequently looked down on them. So much that they began to think that they should take over the leadership of aba-Thembu because they were the brave ones. They pointed out that they were the ones who had defeated Rarabe, a mighty chief indeed, who had even defeated Gcaleka. It was clear to everybody that the fellows were being blatantly disrespectful and had no respect for the chief.

One day some Qwathi boys as they were standing at the boundary between the territory of amaQwathi and amaHAla, started chasing and playing with Thembu calves. Some boys even started slaughtering the calves, and others drove the calves some distance away playing, and at the same time watching to see if

they would be fetched. Thembu boys did fetch the calves, only to be given a thorough thrashing by the Qwathi boys. These boys were in the habit of saying: "Chithi, chithi, gxothisa buHala." Which meant that if one were chasing an opponent, one had to do it in such a way that the opponent fled like a mHala. That is how the misunderstanding started, until men felt they had to take sides. Even there, amaHala were forced to flee.

Then Ngubengcuka sent a word to Fubu, asking him to bring his (Fubu's) people under control otherwise they were a nuisance to his subjects. Ngubengcuka went on to complain that some calves belonging to amaHala had been killed while grazing in the commonage. Fubu did not pay enough attention to the matter, but the misunderstanding deepened, until the men could see no other solution other than by resorting to fight the matter out.

One day someone declared that there was no alternative but war. People were told to get their weapons ready. New assegais were made and different types of weapons were fashioned from available material and were ready for use.

Here is a list of some of the weapons that were made.*

- isinkempe - a short assegai for stabbing, also for cutting meat
- intshuntshe - a long spear for throwing
- isigixi - a kind of assegai with a longish blade and a short neck
- irwantsa - a spear whose head is angular with sharp corners used for cutting and scrapping
- izaka - a barbed assegai

* The translator is indebted to Kropf's Dictionary for meanings of most of these words

- ingcola - a spear with a short blade and long neck
- ingqanda - a small thin four-sided assegai used for boring holes when sewing a milk-sack
- ifozi -
- irwana -

The son of Ndaba could not but offer words of encouragement to all those who were under his rule. They say men were deeply moved and on that day they wept openly, when they left the great place they had made one resolution, and that was to defeat amaQwathi. When the two armies eventually met, amaQwathi gave in and they were pursued down the valleys of Qhaga. Herds of cattle belonging to amaQwathi were captured in large numbers. AmaQwathi then launched another attack. Noting the new threat Ngubengcuka then said to Jumba: "My brother, drive away the cattle and I'll remain behind with the army in order to attack these people once more. Please take note of the fact that should you run away and leave these cattle unattended, your fate will be sealed."

Jumba then left with a handful of men driving the cattle. He went on until he crossed the Xuka river. While still a short distance from the river, the sons of Ndaba and Mtshaba were once again locked in battle. Ndaba's army withdrew for a while, feeling the pressure while Dikela's army, pressed on. This time amaHala gave in and they were pursued down into the Xuka river. In their haste they missed the ford and they simply threw themselves into the deep. Only one thing saved abaThembu that day. Seemingly Ngubengcuka had realised the danger that faced his people and he was one of the first people who managed to

cross the river. In that way he was able to stand his ground and effectively stopped amaQwathi from crossing the river. Both sides suffered heavy losses. AmaQwathi stopped for a while to take breath, but once again had to continue with the pursuit of their cattle saying: "Have cattle ever been captured while there were men around, cattle belonging to Lutshaba son of Noni!"

At that moment the Thembu army was at the siThebe commonage. The grandson of Zondwa was once more uttering words of encouragement. It was clear that day that the fighting would be decisive, and whoever was defeated had to submit to the victor.

Once again the armies sprang at each other like two lions. On that day, at that particular moment, abaThembu, always regarded as cowards, attacked viciously! That was the day the brave Qwathi soldiers fled in panic. Although they had always given the impression of being undaunted, yet they could not withstand a concerted attack. Fubu submitted to Ngubengcuka. Through that victory Ngubengcuka amassed a lot of power. Fubu simply said: "I am pleased we have had a day like this, so that I had an opportunity to experience your manliness, because your cowardly father never gave me enough support against other nations."

On that day Marongo, a mQwathi took it upon himself to point out the following: "I would like my honourable lords to bear the following in mind. We need a hundred cattle to give to those who

are bereaved,* this has been the practice for years. Now, when there has been such a high loss of life, where are we going to get all these cattle from? There are our young men being devoured by the hyenas and vultures, the people who could fight and capture cattle with which we could pay our debt."

After a long discussion, Ndaba (sic) agreed that the paying of such a fee should desist from that day henceforth, among amaQwathi, he further added that he was abolishing it among all those who were under his rule. Ngubengcuka however pointed out that although the paying of the "bereavement" fee had been abolished, the nations under his rule had to remember that unity is strength, that meant that not a single nation in his dominion would stand aside and watch if he was engaged in war. That marked the end of the strife between amaHala and amaQwathi.

* Apparently this was the practice in the event of someone dying for a national cause. Translator's note.

AMABHACA OF MADIKANE

At one time there was strife among the people of Mbo. It was ama-Bhaca and amaMpondomise. Vethe the son of Mziziba who was a Mpondomise councillor during the wars against amaBhaca, gives us a clear account about the arrival of amaBhaca. Vethe gave this account to the Commission of 1880-1883.

According to Vethe amaBhaca found amaMpondomise resident at Bhencuthi.* After a skirmish, amaMpondomise were defeated by ama-Bhaca. But the former would just not submit to the latter, because amaBhaca were rather a backward sort of people, almost in everything. Most hateful was their gruesome custom of killing everything they came in sight of when fighting.

Faced with such a crisis amaMpondomise appealed for help from abaThembu, wanting to resist by all possible means the people who had such barbaric habits. There were also rumours that amaBhaca had no qualms about making a stew out of a human being, as for beef, it was said they could eat up a whole ox while still being slaughtered, its natural heat being sufficient to make it edible.

On receiving such a request, Ngubengcuka agreed to join hands with amaMpondomise against amaBhaca. The son of Ndaba crossed the Tsitsa river and joined amaMpondomise. AmaMpondomise were once again driven back by amaBhaca. AbaThembu however turned the tables by driving back amaBhaca. But it was not an easy victory as the army of amaBhaca had not been broken. Then they

* The present day Shawbury. Translator's note.

(amaBhaca) skirted round the edges of the Drakensberg mountains, until they arrived at Cala near amaGcina, on the Tsomo river. When they passed near amaQwathi, the latter did not even put up a fight, they simply went to inform Ngubengcuka. Then Ngubengcuka sent a word to Hintsa, inviting Hintsa to come and expel amaBhaca from the country.

As for amaGcina, when they saw the large herds of Bhaca cattle, they hoped for an easy find. They decided that they would slaughter one ox after another of the Bhaca cattle. They would steal herds and herds of cattle and slaughter them mercilessly. By such actions amaGcina had stirred up the hornet's nest! Poor amaGcina were pursued for the whole day by amaBhaca from Cala in the morning up to Ngqaba! AmaGcina almost flew down the Qaqane mountains with amaBhaca breathing down their backs. Some managed to escape from that deadly pursuit. When they returned from Ngqaba, they settled their families at Dungeni.

Once again, the menace of amaBhaca was brought to Ngubengcuka's attention. Yet again Ngubengcuka sent a word to Hintsa inviting him to join him in taking a close look at the threat of amaBhaca together. On this occasion Hintsa gave a specific date on which to expect him and on which to tackle amaBhaca.

At this juncture, Ngubengcuka informed all the communities and nationalities that were under his domain that the day given by Hintsa was the day to fight against amaBhaca. At this time amaBhaca had gone as far as Lahlangubo.

Just a day before the appointed (one), Bawana a Chief of amaTshatshu, wanted to test the strength of amaBhaca on his own. So saying, he charged with his men, in the belief that even an ant is capable of accomplishing great feats/ sometimes. The grandson of Xhoba* attacked bravely in search of spoils. He found amaBhaca a wild lot, who appeared to be jumping about playfully, and yet were delivering devastating blows on amaTshatshu. They had no alternative but to flee for their lives. Bawana was seriously injured in that battle and was saved by his Mfengu man, Bungane of the Miya clan, who continued fighting until he was the only one remaining. That is when amaTshatshu returned to rescue their chief. Ngubengcuka was informed of Bawana's injury. They found Ngubengcuka's army on the mountain ridge, south of the present day Engcobo, waiting there for Hintsu.

When the news about Bawana was delivered Ngubengcuka said: "I cannot wait any longer, my brother has been injured, it may so happen that amaBhaca launch another attack and deliver him a mortal blow." Then Wonceya, Hlaba lamaHlathi Goje-msila of Nqadu burst out singing praises of abaThembu. On the night that Ngubengcuka was to attack amaBhaca the following day, amaBhaca were not aware that Ngubengcuka was coming and that he was actually at Ngcobo. That morning Madikane seems to have sensed that something was amiss because he is [?] to have said: "Why do I think I can smell the presence of Ngubengcuka?" The reply was:

* By the way ixhoba is a victim. Translator's note.



"Nothing of the sort, my lord, Ngubengcuka is miles from here, far at Njwaxa!"

It was not long after that conversation when Ngubengcuka appeared with his army. It was such a big army that it appeared to be crawling all over the place. And yet, who were waiting for such numbers! AmaBhaca never gave in an inch. The two armies were soon locked in each other's arms. AbaThembu attacked in large numbers because all men had been called out to battle, with only the women and children remaining at home. That was the first and the last occasion when abaThembu set out in arms in that manner.

It was not long before amaBhaca, overcome by sheer numbers, were seen to be retreating. They fled to a nearby forest. Ngubengcuka gave orders "Flush them out! I don't want ever to see a trace of a Bhaca in this country!" AmaBhaca were relentlessly flushed out of the forest, and they scattered helplessly in all directions.

One Bhaca man held up his arms begging for pardon and asking that his life be spared, promising to divulge the place where his chief was. He then led the men to where the Bhaca chief was. When they reached the chief, Ndaba's men said: "Get up you bastard, Ndaba's son is here." The poor chief had simply hidden his head under a shrub.

A terrifying figure stood up. He was hefty with a heavy chest, the hair as long as a horse's mane, he obviously was well-fed with a presence! As they were still cross-questioning him, at

the same time the Chief of amaBhaca being admired by other chiefs, a young man, of the Gcina clan, went for his heart with his spear. Madikane fell down and died. While the men were still puzzled by the sordid act of the killing of the chief by the young man, the young Gcina man himself fell down dead. He simply died without anyone touching him. He only uttered a few words just before he stabbed the chief saying: "You people still find time to converse with a creature that has seen to the destruction of my home!" Those were the last words of the young man who assassinated Madikane.

Senior Bhaca chiefs were left lying at siGqutyini (sic.) Madikane; Matomela; Mqukumbeni; and Vatshile, Madikane's mother, who was killed because it was said that she had caused and encouraged the wars. Ncapayi, the eldest son of Madikane, survived and he was later to be a real nuisance to abaThembu.

After the events of that day a lot of mythical stories were spread. In Reverend Bryant's book on Zulu history there is this observation: The sun hid its face in broad daylight. A second observation that is made is that Madikane's spear that had been 'doctored' did not burn up when his house was destroyed by fire according to tradition. Such stories made amaBhaca to be greatly feared in future. They submitted to abaThembu, and they produced the cattle they were supposed to in the act of submission. They were told to go to Rode at Mbo and Bhencuthi. After dividing the booty Ngubengcuka returned home. When the herds of cattle belonging to amaNdungwane and amaTshatshu were at Mgwali, up to

Nkomo-yeyele, Hintsa with his subjects, amaGcaleka arrived, according to plan.

Ngubengcuka then sent a word to Hintsa informing him that the war was over, apologising that they had had to fight before his arrival. Having received the report, Hintsa then simply gathered all the cattle he could see, and he drove them home. AmaTshatshu and amaNdungwane hurriedly went to inform Ngubengcuka that Hintsa had driven away all their cattle. Ngubengcuka simply said in response: "Let him take them away, you have forestalled him in what you had invited him for." They were greatly disturbed by the fact that they had to let their cattle be taken away by the people of Ngubengcuka's mother. In their anger they had this to say to Ngubengcuka: "Let it be known by you, my lord, that we are leaving, should war break out once more in these parts, you shall have to face them on your own."

Not long thereafter amaTshatshu and amaNdungwane left Thembuland and moved eastwards. The rift was complete, and Ngubengcuka died without having made peace with AmaTshatshu and amaNdungwane.

It is not true that the war between Madikane and Ngubengcuka was fought in 1836, as recorded in reverend J.H. Soga's book "The South Eastern Bantu" in p.443. At that time, with Ngubengcuka long dead, it was Ncaphayi and Fadana who were fighting. The war with amaBhaca, was even before the war against amaNgwane which was fought by Ngubengcuka in 1828.

AMANGWANE OF MATIWANE IN THEMBULAND

In order to be able to pick up the trend of our story, about amaNgwane and abaThembu well, we shall have to begin at the time when amaNgwane were still in Lusuthu (sic.). We are told that amaNgwane resided in Lusuthu in a place called Senyotong, near Mrugari river. They were set at loggerheads with Tshaka by Moshide, famous for his diplomacy. After a major battle that was fought where Ladybrand and Modderpoort stand today, herds of cattle belonging to amaNgwane were captured as booty by Tshaka's followers.

It was then that Matiwane started looking around for people he could fight and defeat and then be able to get a fresh supply of cattle. His scouts informed him that abaThembu had large herds of cattle. Matiwane then decided to send his army to capture cattle from the said place. He elected Jozana to lead that regiment.

It is said that that army headed for Roda where Maposa of amaTshatshu and amaNdungwane resided. Thembu scouts were able to see amaNgwane from afar, so they managed to drive away their cattle, and also they were able to raise the alarm back at home. Young men hastily drove the cattle away down the Cacadu* and Nciba* valleys. AmaNgwane only took notice of the cattle just as they disappeared in the forest at the confluence of Tsomo and Kei Rivers, by that time it was too late. Dispirited, they sat down.

* Cacadu is the White Kei River and Nciba is the Kei River.
Translator's note.

After deliberating for some time, they decided to return home. AmaNgwane had failed dismally to capture cattle that had oxen that had been trained to be part of a fighting formation (ileqe).

On their way home, the men were tired. Some died of starvation. When a man realised that he was in difficulty he would give a message to others: "Don't give up, fellows, please give my regards to our Chief, and tell him that we lost our lives here because of our obedience to his orders." Some of the men died of dysentery. When they were in the middle of nowhere these men found about 30 cattle that had just been stolen by abaPuti of Magorosi (sic).

When the survivors reached home Matiwane instructed that they be kept in quarantine until they were cured of the disease they had brought back from Ngubengcuka. When their health improved they were released to join their families.

After that disaster, Matiwane convened a Council meeting, where he informed them that he was of the opinion that they should migrate towards Thembuland. He told them that he had been informed that there were large herds of cattle in that part of the world, and abaThembu were not renowned fighters except for the fact that their chief was said to have supernatural powers. Matiwane assured the Council that his scouts had brought back a favourable report, and further they knew the best way to get there. It is said that he delivered a memorable speech in that council meeting.

His younger brother, Phehle was however opposed to what Matiwane

was suggesting. He also very eloquently put his reasons for not supporting him. In conclusion Phehle said: "There is no reason for us to go, because our enemies know where we are. Tshaka was here, and he left us here. Mzilikani also came here, and he also left us here. We live here together with Mshweshwe; he knows he can't move us. How can we move to a new area where we shall acquire fresh enemies? How can we fight Ngubengcuka, the very man who wiped out a whole army with his magic? It would be better if we submit ourselves to Mzilikazi."

Phehle's line of reasoning was popular to a large number of people. Matiwane had to use his royal authority. Men then had to submit and Phehle had to keep silence. Even though the matter was referred to Matiwane's mother, who normally was able to change her son's mind, she failed to do so then. In the end she said: "Submit to his suggestion, do not oppose him, he knows that he is going to kill us all." In that way the decision to migrate to Thembuland was taken. The exodus began. Some time later Mshweshwe's army overtook them in a bid to capture some cattle. On that day he was beaten and chased by amaNgwane. Mogorosi, the great Chief, had an easier way of getting cattle. He sent young men, not an army. They approached stealthily and managed to escape with about thirty or so cattle.

The loss of these cattle was the second misfortune after the dysentery disaster. AmaNgwane, however, continued with their journey. When they crossed the Tele River, when some were approaching Landin's Nek, they came across a swarm of locusts. Because they were starving, they roasted the locusts and made

utshongo.* All of a sudden a gust of wind blew sparks into the long dry grass, setting it alight! The reader must remember that in those days the country was thinly populated and the grass was thick and long, a person of a short stature could hardly be seen in such long grass. The fire that broke out killed a number of people and cattle.

Phehle once more sent a word to Matiwane saying: "You can see for yourself, my lord, that our ancestors are not with us in our journey. Let us go back, we shall just meet with more misfortune in future".

Matiwane simply zipped his mouth and he moved on. He said that he knew no nation that did not experience disaster at some time or another. The people moved on until they reached the ridge of mountains facing the present day district of Elliot. Just at that point, it began to snow. There was no shelter for the people, nor was there grass for the cattle. The cattle began to die from cold and hunger. As for the men, they died like flies from the cold, with hardly any wood for fire, they simply froze in the caves. When it stopped snowing, Matiwane descended, and reached the territory of amaQwathi. This man began to slaughter cattle and make shields from the hides, and his army was once more in good shape.

* Utshongo - normally it is roasted maize that is then ground~~ed~~. Because it is dry, it keeps well and is suitable as provision for a long journey. Translator's note.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN AMANGWANE AND AMAQWATHI

One day after the son of Masupha had prepared his army for action, he directed them to charge amaQwathi. While they were still marching stealthily, they accidentally came to a homestead where women and girls were at iNtonjane.* For some unknown reason amaNgwane adopted the barbaric manner familiar to the nations that come from the north. They fell on those poor souls killing all of them mercilessly. They spared neither a child, woman nor a girl. They returned with the booty and for the first time they had reason to celebrate. AmaQwathi wanted to avenge themselves by putting up a fight, but they were easily defeated. Thereafter Fubu sent a word to Matiwane and amaNgwane telling them to be in no hurry he would meet them the following month.

Fubu also tried his luck with amaNgwane, after he had also appealed to his neighbours for help. That was in vain. Fubu was again defeated by amaNgwane. He gave up. The Reverend D Fred Ellenberger, whose book "The History of Basutho" we consulted extensively, says that one mNgwane, who was there in person on that day of the battle against Fubu, personally related to him the events of the day: "After we had defeated and killed people like locusts, then we realised that ours had been a good move because the people there were not as good fighters as people in the north were. We then decided to settle down and cultivate crops. We were so relaxed that we did not even bother to send out scouts and spies. We simply had a good time."

* Ntonjane - is a teenage girl's initiation school. Translator's note

While amaNgwane were relaxed and enjoying themselves, amaQwathi were far from doing so. They prepared for a counter-offensive. Ngubengcuka once again appealed for help from Hintsa. Hintsa in turn appealed for help from Whites who were resident in Grahamstown at that time.

TSHAKA IN THEMBULAND?

Out there in Zululand Tshaka, the son of Senzangakhona and his mother Nandi, was steadily growing in strength. Initially, his government had trouble in acquiring enough food. Tshaka's policy was to keep all his regiments at the Great Place so that he would have no difficulty in warding off an unexpected attack. That meant that there was forever a need for cattle in order to feed those regiments. He therefore had to send the regiments to different places in order to capture cattle for food. From him they left with this instruction: "You must fight, do not be defeated, never return without capturing cattle. That will always be the sign of victory."

In the meantime they were waiting for White soldiers to come and fight Matiwane in the territory of amaQwathi, Tshaka's regiments were criss-crossing the territory belonging to amaMpondo. They were experiencing a lot of difficulty in capturing Mpondo cattle because their territory being near the sea, tended to be steep and strangers found it difficult to traverse. Although amaMpondo were defeated several times in pitched battles, amaZulu were only able to capture a few cattle from some cattle posts. In that confusion Faku appealed to Ngubengcuka and Myeki, asking him (sic.) to send a word of appeal for help to Hintsa. Hintsa immediately got in touch with Grahamstown, saying that the Tshaka problem needed immediate attention, because if neglected it appeared as though he would take over the whole of South Africa (sic). He felt that the grave danger needed immediate action.

Some regiments of our friend are said to have penetrated as far as Ngcobo (sic.), the territory of amaQwathi, and in Bomvanaland where abaThembu had settled during those days, whilst amaBomvana themselves resided at Ngqeleni in the present day Mpondoland. Mr W.E. Cingo in his book "Ibali IabaThembu" says, "Tshaka was present in person, he actually went as far as Ngcobo, the territory of amaQwathi."

Unfortunately in my research I have not been able to obtain information that corroborates the argument that Tshaka was truly there in person. What I have found out is that Tshaka sent an army of more than 4,000 men to attack and destroy amaMpondo and then to capture all their cattle. That is the army that penetrated the territory of amaMpondo and even went beyond its boundaries, to the areas occupied by amaBomvana, amaGcaleka, abaThembu and amaQwathi; strutting boldly across these territories because the son of Senzangkhona had taught them a new and effective method of fighting, to stab the opponent at close range rather than throw an assegai from a distance. It is said that the army had just returned home with numerous herds of cattle when Tshaka briefly thanked them and once more sent them out to look for some more cattle at Sotshangana's place. The dissatisfaction of the army with that order was a cause of the assassination of Tshaka. The men were actually tired of running up and down in Mpondoland and the other places mentioned before. The plot to assassinate him was easily executed because the people who should have resisted all attempts to assassinate him were the very people who were dissatisfied with their treatment.

I have given the fore-going explanation to make it clear that Tshaka did not go in person with his army during their visits in Mpondoland and Thembuland.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN ABATHEMBU AND AMANGWANE

We have already made reference to the fact that Tshaka's army returned home. A regiment of Whites arrived soon after the departure of Tshaka's army. They were at once instructed to charge at amaNgwane. That regiment of Whites was under the charge of Dundas. The regiment was together with abaThembu amaGcaleka and other neighbouring nations. Major Dundas was in attendance on the 24 July 1828.

Of all records of this event, we prefer the one by the Reverend D.F. Ellenberger because he got his version from a mNgwane who personally witnessed the happenings. This is how he put it. "We got wind of the fact that Whites were coming. At that time they were at Bhaziya, and they decided to climb higher on mountains. By dawn the foot of the mountain was full of people. It was our first day to see Whites and horses and another strange animal with a big mouth but with no horns being pulled by oxen. (That is a waggon with a canopy). All of a sudden there was a sound like thunder coming from it (waggon), there was something like a lightning, which seemed to fall among the cattle a distance from us. Then the cattle started bellowing and running towards us in confusion. Fighting had not started as yet. For a moment we forgot about the enemy and our attention was drawn to the cattle, in the meantime the enemy wasted no time in advancing towards us. On that day we fled without putting up a fight. As for our cattle, they were all captured. The Whites also left."*

* I am wondering if there is ^ano misprint here. It could be Bemka nazo abeLunqu which means - The Whites left with them (cattle). Translator's note.

"Since we had scattered all over the place, we re-assembled. We again attacked hoping to capture some of the cattle of abaThembu, because their country still had large herds of cattle. That was the reason why we had migrated to their territory. For a month we were happy and relaxed. On the morning of 26 August 1828 once again we noticed a large number of people advancing towards us. On closer observation we found that there were Whites as well. They shot directly at us this time, and we, on our part, were ready to put up a brave fight. But that never helped because we fell in heaps. In vain did our poor soldiers charge with their shields and spears. AmaNgwane died in large numbers on that day. When we tried to fight, we were shot dead, when we attempted to escape we were caught by those many people. They chased us relentlessly wanting to expel us from Thembuland. We became refugees hiding in the mountains."

"As for the cattle, on that day they swept the place clean, there was not even a calf remaining. They left us in peace, dumbfounded. Thereafter we also dispersed. Some of us submitted to abaThembu, others went to join amaMpondo and other chiefs." That is where the man ends his story.

The second army to attack was under Colonel Somerset. He was one of those who had been invited to give help against the Zulu and Ngwane armies. On the day when the war booty was to be divided something we cannot forget happened. Ngubengcuka took all the cattle even those that were supposed to be given to amaGcaleka.

When amaGcaleka complained that abaThembu were taking all the booty, Ngubengcuka answered, "Please go home. Let them enjoy the cattle, they, also, are my children. By the way you enjoyed a similar favour in the past."

AmaGcaleka left empty-handed, without a single cow. Ngubengcuka at last got the opportunity to hit back for the treatment he once received in the hands of amaGcaleka after he had fought against amaBhaca of Madikane. On that occasion amaGcaleka had taken all the booty including the cattle that belonged to amaTshatshu and amaNdungwane (sic.).

Ngubengcuka lived with his people abaThembu for a long time and he ruled with a firm hand and he was greatly loved and respected. He patiently waited for a response to an application he had made for missionaries and Whites to be sent to live among his people.

The arrival of Missionaries and the Introduction of Education in
Thembuland - 1830:

In a passing reference to Shaw and his subordinates we must make special mention of the Reverend Richard Hardy who was sent to open a school at Mgwali, in Ngubengcuka's territory in 1830. The school was named after Doctor Adel Clarke, a pioneer in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa. People who had to look after Haddy (sic.) were Councillor Ndlambe and Mhata, they had been with Jumba for some time, the latter had been a kindly man who would have got along well with the missionaries.

MSHWESHE AND NGUBENGCUKA

One day, while Mshweshwe was relaxing at home listening to traditional stories told by his councillors, he overheard his younger brother, Makhabane complaining to the people saying: "I am a very poor man, I do not even have a calf I can call my own." Mshweshwe then replied: "Then let us go and look for cattle in Thembuland." Soon, they were on their way to Thembuland. They went along with Moorosi, Mshweshwe's friend and chief of abaPhuthi. The army was directly under the control of Mshweshwe. He then instructed Makhabane to go and raid for cattle at Nywara, Ngubengcuka's great place. Others were dispatched all over the territory of amaQwanthi as far as Gqaga. As for the Big Two, Mshweshwe and Moorosi, they simply relaxed in a convenient place, on a mountain near Engcobo.

I refute a suggestion by Mr Henry Masila Ndawo, where he says, "Mshweshwe, Moorosi and Mokoayane descended with only a handful of selected men." That means that was not a full army. Nobody can believe that great chiefs like these would do such a foolish thing, putting their lives at such a risk.

Makhabane's grandson contends that the whole venture was a ruse to get Makhabane, with whom Mshweshwe had family differences, killed. Generally Mshweshwe never wanted to kill anybody with his hands. So he went along with his younger brother to Thembuland so that he would not have to rely on hearsay, but that he would witness his death himself. That is why he gave him the kind of instructions that he did. Regiments from different directions kept on returning with cattle they had managed to capture. Some

regiments were not so lucky though. Days passed by without a word from some of them and that included the regiment that had been sent to the great place at Nywara.

When Makhabane was still far, returning with some cattle, Vusani's regiments gave him a tough time, they kept on asking: "What is it that set you against us, gentlemen from Lusuthu, why do you take even those cows that have been put aside to feed the children? In any case, go on, but the cattle you have taken have never left these parts."

AbaThembu gradually built up their regiments as more and more soldiers, responding to the war-cry, kept on joining them. From time to time, when they felt strong enough they attacked, but were repeatedly repulsed by abeSuthu. Just as Makhabane was about to ascend the Luhewini Mountain with the cattle, a joint army of amaHala and amaQwathi of Fubu arrived. Makhabane soon realised the dangerous situation that faced him as he noticed that the army of abaThembu was becoming stronger and stronger. Then he said "Let us appeal for more men from Mshweshwe. We do have a fair supply of cattle, only we are just tired of fighting, and yet abaThembu are still reinforcing their army." Yes, it was true that they had collected a large number of cattle, but also it is true to say, "There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

To Makhabane's request Mshweshwe replied scornfully; "Tell him to leave those cattle behind if he does not want them. Otherwise he must fight. That is how one gets cattle."

And yet abeSuthu still had a long and difficult way to go. They still had to go through Mgwali, cross Goboti and travel along Manzana before reaching the place where the chiefs were relaxing. Situated at Manzana was the great place for amaQwathi of Fubu.

The son of Ndaba was there in person when his soldiers charged the enemy. The two Titans met at last. The regiments of Zondwa attacked in full force, wielding their spears in search of the enemy. AbeSuthu with their small axes played havoc with the limbs of the enemy. AbaThembu enjoyed a number of advantages over their opponents. AbeSuthu were thrown into confusion as abaThembu attacked from behind. After some time, abeSuthu gave in. They sought refuge in a forest on top of the hill. Ngubengcuka together with Fubu said "Drive these dangerous people from the north out! We must expel them from our territory otherwise we shall never have peace. Remember the trouble we had with Madikane and Matiwane?"

Someone replied, "My lord, we are without weapons now." Ngubengcuka then answered, "Get yourselves knobkerries and sticks from the forest."

At once the orders of the chief were carried out. AbeSuthu were driven out of the forest with sticks. That is when Makhabane was fatally wounded. The rest fled towards the mountain where Mshweshwe and Moorosi were waiting.

At this juncture I wish the reader to take note of the fact that we made mention of the death of Makabane, not Molapho, the son of Mshweshwe as one of our experts on Thembu history contends for

want of serious research. When the combatants reached Mshweshwe, he put up no resistance, he simply joined in the flight into a nearby forest. Ngubengcuka then ordered his men to surround the forest. On noticing the danger that faced him it is said that Mshweshwe then sent his councillor, Makoanyane, to abaThembu saying, "A chief who is not in combat is never killed. Please give me a free passage." It was clear to everybody that the chief was in trouble.

His councillor bravely fought his way through in an attempt to reach Thembu chiefs. When he had delivered his message they opened a passage for him to pass through. That is how the son of Mkhathshani and his army got away. Although abeSuthu had been given a safe and open passage there were some die-hards who could not check themselves who repeatedly attacked them (abeSuthu). But the order of their complete expulsion from the Thembu territory remained. Still faced with danger, some returned to the safety of the forest in the evening and because of darkness, abaThembu could not get in to drive them out. By the following morning there was not a single mSuthu in the forest, they had escaped. In that way Mshweshwe was vanquished by Ngubengcuka.

Naturally abaThembu were exhilarated by their victory. When they got home they made sacrifices of thanksgiving to the ancestors because, through them, they had attained victory. The forest in which Makhabane died was renamed Nduku.* This was because it was

* A nduku is a stick. Translator's note.

in that forest where sticks were picked which were used to drive out abeSuthu who very nearly perished in Thembuland. The brave Moorosi, the renowned thief, returned home with his tail between his legs.

NGUBENCUKA AND HINTSA

We are told that before Hintsa went to give help in the battle between Ndlambe and Ngqika over the Tutula debacle, he (Hintsa) took his cattle to Ngubencuka for safe-keeping, asking him to look after them until his return from war. But, it is against convention for a chief of one nation to send his cattle to a chief of another nation; and therefore such an action attributed to Hintsa is an untruth.

At the time Hintsa is said to have done that, relations were rather strained between himself and Ngubencuka. The tension had been caused by Gambushe who, because he wanted peace from all angles, had given cattle as tribute both to amaGcaleka and abaThembu. In the end Ngubencuka had to fight Gambushe. AmaBomvana were not defeated (sic). They however submitted to him once more.

Read Mr Cook's book on amaBomvana from page 4 to page 5.

We are further told that Hintsa, on his return from Ngqika's country, asked Ngubencuka to let him have his cattle back. Ngubencuka flatly refused with them. The messengers returned home empty handed. Thereafter Hintsa asked Gambushe to act as mediator as well as try to retrieve his cattle from Ngubencuka. Even that plan met with no success because the son of Ndaba was just in no mood to co-operate, what made matters worse was the fact that his (Ngubencuka's) councillors went so far as to beat up Gambushe's messengers. This ill-treatment of Gambushe's messengers aggravated the ill-feeling that had been caused by

Ngubengcuka's refusal to return Hintsa's cattle. Thus amaBomvana also became alienated from abaThembu.

Hintsa and Gambushe are then said to have launched an attack against abaThembu because of the issue of cattle and the ill-treatment of messengers. AbaThembu were taken by surprise by the attack so much that they hardly found time to mobilise. Just as they started calling out the soldiers, Hinsta was already driving the cattle away. All this resulted in a simmering tension between Hintsa and Ngubengcuka. Nevertheless they did help one another whenever they were faced by an enemy from afar. One thing they observed until death parted them was that if a need for the defence of their country arose, they forgot their petty differences.

THE END OF NGUBENGCUKA

It is a fact that a warrior dies by a sword and a swimmer, by drowning. That was the case even with the son of Ndaba. Any threat facing a brave man is more treacherous when it comes from within his own circle. In saying that we are reminded of the fact that even the brave Tshaka, son of Senzangakhona was assassinated by his brothers. Gandhi was killed by a fellow Indian (sic). There are many others who were killed by their own people because of bravery; this will always be the case. The brave are not necessarily popular with all. Man has long been inflicted by jealousy. Such a tragedy also befell the son of Ndaba. At the time everything was under control in his country. There was no nation that dared to touch him. He was happy, savouring power, and his sovereign power was accepted and recognised.

On a certain day, which will not easily be forgotten, a clash broke out between the regiment at the great place and that of amaMaya. The cause of the clash is not clear, but the fact is that no one is allowed to attack the people at the great place, because they are the centre of power. If they are defeated it means the centre of power will move to the victors. That is why the Poqo group is so much hated in the country. They say they want to eliminate all paramount chiefs or chiefs who are in fact their kings. That is seen as an unbelievable insult to those who are in attendance upon chiefs.

So when the clash broke out, the son of Ndaba joined the fray. By the way amaMaya also belonged to the great place. All in all the

regiment at the great place was divided into two hostile camps and were fighting each other. In that confusion, where no one knew who was fighting who, a young amaMaya man went for the chief and stabbed him with a spear, and he fell down. He managed to get up and bravely pushed amaMaya back. When the majority of abaThembu heard that the chief had been injured by amaMaya, they renewed their attack and they captured all the cattle that belonged to amaMaya. They were driven away and they sought refuge in Gcalekaland. They are still at Willowvale up to this day. In vain did Ngubengcuka try to argue saying, "AmaMaya must be allowed to remain because domestic fights are a reality no one can deny." AmaHala would not hear of such a thing, so strongly did they feel about the injury of their chief.

Ngubengcuka died of complications that developed from the wound. That marked the end of the great man, a brave man indeed. A dark cloud descended upon the whole Thembu nation. Gone was the leader who could not easily be replaced in Thembuland. It was during the reign of Ngubengcuka when amaNdungwane and amaTshatshu left Thembuland, not because they had been expelled, but because they had grown jealous of Ngubengcuka's political status. They also suspected that he might take the opportunity to avenge his father Ndaba, who had once been mercilessly expelled by them.

When the missionaries arrived he (Ngubengcuka) was still in power. He received them well and he set about laying the foundation of the new order. Only a little remained to complete the work that Ngubengcuka had begun. But the growth of any

nation is a gradual process. We do hope that abaThembu will some time get a leader who will have outstanding leadership qualities that will be similar to those of Ngubengcuka.

What is outstanding about Ngubengcuka are his achievements which were attained after the unfortunate period when his father and abaThembu had placed themselves under the wing of Rarabe. AmaQwathi gallantly stood in and defended the country from its enemies, in the mean time the head had wandered off aimlessly. Ngubengcuka's wisdom is on par with that of Mshweshwe in Lusuthu (sic). It was a tragedy that he died young when he could still have accomplished greater deeds. Ngubengcuka unceasingly cautioned people against provocative behaviour directed against whites, so much that Fadana, who was regent for Mtirara, was a successful ruler and beloved by the nation because he adopted Ngubengcuka's philosophy of not involving his people in unnecessary wars. A wise ruler is the one who protects his people and avoids needless killing of the people. Above all a chief must be where the people are perishing, and the people in turn will not desert him.

FADANA AS REGENT FOR MTIRARA

When Ngubengcuka, the eldest son of Ndaba, died, because his children were still minors, it was necessary to appoint a regent. The woman who is the support of the great wife (iqadi lendlu enkulu) had borne Ndaba, Coto and Phitsho. Coto, a daughter was born before Ngubengcuka's birth, for that reason Ndaba was nicknamed "Socoto" i.e. Coto's Daddy. Phitsho who came after Coto soon died. Ndaba again took another wife of the Mpinga clan to be yet another support to Ngubengcuka's mother, coming after Coto's mother who belonged to the Mncotsho clan. The Mpinga woman bore the same Fadana under discussion. In short Fadana belongs to the house of the second support wife to Ngubengcuka's mother.

Ngubengcuka had no issue in the great house of Nonesi, Faku's daughter, so then Mtirara was made an heir by being 'adopted' by Nonesi. Mtirara was really the son of the daughter of Vazi who (Vazi) was the eldest son of Mlawu, who also bore Joyi, Shweni and Ngxinto, the last born. Our main concern is to give enough information about Mtirara, for whom Fadana was regent. We do not want to branch off from Ngubengcuka's progeny. Mtirara was not yet a man* and therefore it was found necessary that his paternal uncle, Fadana, should be the regent. According to the law and custom of abaThembu Fadana had to rule in consultation with the councillors, his paternal uncles and his brothers. That accounts for his wise and democratic rule although he was far less brave and judicious than his elder brother.

* He had not been to the circumcision school - Translator's note

In the first place Fadana took special care of the missionaries at Mgwali School of the Methodist Church. The people themselves realised that for him to have a successful reign he must co-operate with them, and present a united front. Fortunately the son of Ndaba had actually experienced the power of whites on the day of the big fight at Mbolompo.

So Fadana actually began to encourage children to attend school. Mgudlwa, the son of Jumba was one of the first children who started schooling them. The children would dress up in school uniform only when they were at school, then after school they would undress and leave the clothes at school so that they could use them again the following day. Just at that time the clothes were burnt down during some of the disturbances of the time of iMfecane, the poor pupils were still ignorant.

Then one day Gqobhozithole, a traditional doctor of amaHala, visited amaBhaca on the business of his calling. He also informed them of the recent death of Ngubengcuka. Ncapai was shocked to hear that the country had lost a respected and outstanding leader. Thereafter he asked if the deceased chief had left an heir.

The other replied, "O yes, there is a young boy from the 'support' house as Nonesi has no issue whatsoever."

Ncapai asked, "What is his name?"

Gqobhozithole, "Mtirara."*

* Mtirara - literally, it means a bitter tree. Translator's note.

Ncapai then asked, "Who will not eat it, who will be frightened off by its bitterness?"*

Again before Gqobhozithole had time to respond he said "Just give me an answer, who will not eat it?"

Gqobhozithole replied, joking, "You, of course, Ncapai."

The fat was in the fire! The chief was aroused to great anger and he threatened to beat Gqobhozithole up. When he let him go he said, "Go and tell them at the great place that I am coming to fight, protesting against the name, again why are we being treated like children, and not officially told about the death of the chief, we also regard ourselves as abaThembu because we paid cattle, as tribute, in an act of submission."

After a few days amaBhaca crossed Umtata River under the leadership of the brave Ncapai, the son of Madikane. AmaBhaca were still the wild bunch we know. They began fighting with amaQwatni then they proceeded to amaHala at @webeqwebe where there was no clear outcome of the fight. Even today that place is called Bhacaland. It was where amaBhaca turned back and went home after the battle. We are told that they left with a large booty on that day. The son of Ndaba did not bother himself so long as they had left his country.

In March 1835, Sir Benjamin D'urban, commander of the army, entered Hintsa's territory under the pretext that he had come to

* In other words, who will be frightened off by the name?
Translator's note.

fetch stolen cattle whose tracks he had followed across the Kei River. When a word was sent to Fadana he said, "I and abaThembu made an alliance with Whites on the day Matiwane was expelled, it would be unfair of us to start giving excuses and refusing to give help when invited to render some help." Thus Fadana promised the Whites that he would not give any help to amaGcaleka, but he would look after the Whites, provide escorts when they wanted to travel, he further promised that he would always provide help and protection to Whites in his territory. He immediately took precautions to protect the Whites at Mgwali (Clarkebury Institution), amaLawu* and amaMfengu.

Fadana fulfilled his promise to protect the whites when he put all the white missionaries of the Methodist Church across the Kei River under his protection when they sought refuge in his place. Here is the list of missionaries that were protected by Fadana. W.Satchell from Buntingville, T.Palmer from Morley, W.J.Davis from Clarkebury and J.Ayliff from Butterworth together with their followers. When they realised that the war was raging, once again they left for Bede (Shiloh) a Moravian Mission Station, in Mapasa's territory among amaTshatshu.

A regiment under Captain Henry Douglas Warden was assigned the task of supervising and protecting the families of the missionaries as they journeyed to safety across the Kei. We are told that in all there were sixty-five whites; twenty-four were amaLawu;* four hundred and twenty-five were amaMfengu. All those

* People called Coloureds. Translator's note.

people had been protected by Fadana at Clarkebury Institution.

Read the Reverend George McCall Theal's book, History of South Africa from 1795 - 1872 on page III.

At the same time the army of Tshaka, to which we referred earlier, had left amaMpondo of Faku impoverished, they were at a loss and did not know how they could replenish their empty kraals. They could not possibly get them from amaXhosa because they were afraid of abaThembu and amaBhaca of Ncapai. Then one day Faku thought of a plan. He asked Ncapai to join him in a raiding party to capture cattle from Fadana. The plan was well executed because they were able to drive away a lot of cattle. Help from the whites was too late to prevent a high loss of life. One of those who died was Robert Rawlins who was a trader across Umtata River. After further skirmishes amaMpondo gave up and consoled themselves with the large booty that they had managed to get. AbaThembu were left starving. There was famine all over the country.

Then it was decided that an army which would launch a sudden attack should be sent to Ncapai. The attack was successful and they swept the territory of Ncapai clean. That incident is recorded in the Reverend A.T. Bryant's book. He says, "AbaThembu even captured Ncapai's wives. They did not only burn down his homestead but they took away his whole family." A painful incident related by the Reverend gentleman is when abaThembu could not take out bangles from the wrists of one of Ncapai's wives, they cut the hands off so that they could get the bangles.

They captured the wives and very many cattle as well.

When abaThembu were just beginning to take rest, Mtirara instructed them to move on to Roda, in order to be as far away from Faku's subordinates as possible. Immediately Nonesi's house was burnt down, and the great move to Mvane, where it was rebuilt, began. At this time Mtirara, the rightful ruler, was on the throne. He left Transkei territory, Sarili and his maBcaleka followed and they settled at Hohita. The way Fadana conducted his affairs resulted in a strong alliance between whites and abaThembu which still exists even today.

Before we close the chapter on Fadana, we must make mention of the fact that we have come across a lot of material written by historians on the events we have just narrated, but the truth is that they have merely presented a tasteless stew whose many flavours spoil the appetite.

What I wish to point out is that the Reverend Theal, a renowned historian in South Africa, and I repeatedly differ on a number of occasions. Sometimes it does come out that we have a common story, but he confuses and mixes up events.

The Reverend J.H. Soga is guilty of a similar crime. The reader must please consult their works and note that there are some sections we have omitted because they are not true. That is why there are such differences between us or at times we part and later we follow similar paths.

MTIRARA'S REIGN

When Mtorara (sic) reached Mvane he took full control of the reigns; from now he will be known as Mtirara, in any case it is the same name as the first one (Mtorara). Because the second name has been used extensively by white writers, we shall also be using it.

When abaThembu had left their original territory, amaGcaleka felt exposed to the dangers of imfecane and they also decided to migrate so that they could be nearer abaThembu. They established their great place at Hohita, then spread all over Qamata, Sidutyini, Ntlonze up to Mcambalala. When they reached Mcambalala amaGcina stopped them from expanding further, reminding them that that was their country. That ended in a skirmish in which amaGcaleka were defeated, they then fled to Sarili, who decided to send out his regiments. The poor regiment of amaGcina was surrounded, with Sarili's regiments approaching from all sides. A large number of amaGcina were killed on that day. Sarili went home driving cattle as booty like all victors. The place where amaGcina were slain is still called Mcambalala* even today.

* Ukucambalala is to lie stretched out - translator's note

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND MTIRARA

Just at the time of the dispute between amaBcina and amaBcaleka word came round to the effect that a government representative wished to meet all chiefs in Xhosaland, at Fort Beaufort, the place where there is a mental hospital today. The first attempt that was made in 1844 was not successful because the government became suspicious and the whole thing appeared a fake. The government representative was once again sent out in March 1845. On that day certain points were debated and then stipulations were drawn up. The gist of that agreement is as follows:

- i) The chiefs should take note of the fact that they would protect missionaries, traders and all those people who were subject to (colonial?) rule who had settled among them, including travellers from the colony.
- ii) They would protect postmen all over Xhosaland.
- iii) They would return to the colony all criminals who sought refuge in their territories, they would also be compelled to produce people who could give evidence that could lead to the conviction of such criminals.
- iv) They would return all the stolen cattle that were in their territories. If they failed to do so, they ran the risk of having to produce a payment that was of equal value to the cattle that they had got into their territories.
- v) Sarili as well as any other chief would prevent any people from overseas from carrying on trading activities.

- vi) Chiefs had to bear in mind that they would live in peace, and that there would be no wars among them.
- vii) All government representatives would be treated with respect and peace.
- viii) The government on its side was taking upon itself to give each chief ruling over some people, a salary of one hundred pounds a year, if the chiefs kept the stipulations mentioned above.

These are the stipulations that were given to our chiefs some time ago. The reader should take note of the fact that the fourth stipulation is about cattle. This stipulation could not easily be honoured because in those days it was a sign of manhood to go cattle raiding. That was not such a serious offence, because if one lost his cattle today, he in turn could capture some the following day. These stipulations were really burdensome to amaTshatshu because they were coming into contact with whites for the first time, unlike abaThembu from the south, where they had got used to working with whites.

Then a war broke out between amaNgqika and Mapasa threw in his lot with amaNgqika, forgetting the stipulations which he had agreed on, moreover, he was not quite experienced in dealing with whites. He returned home with a large booty. The son of Ngubengcuka, fully knowing white people, took three hundred oxen and went to make peace with whites at Seymour according to the version of abaThembu, but he went to Alice according to history books, and gave them to the general in charge of the government

forces, Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Mtirara went further to express a wish to be incorporated under the wing of Queen Victoria, under the British flag. While Maitland was still involved in the delicate negotiations he was transferred elsewhere as it usually happens to civil servants. He was replaced by Sir Henry Potgieter (sic).* In that way a new Pharaoh who did not know Joseph had come. The request came to nought on that day.

Mtirara's health broke down. He told abaThembu what he considered would be of help to them, and he also was aware of the root cause of the complaints of whites. Whites complained about the daily stealing of the cattle and the ultimate end of that would be a loss of land that abaThembu would suffer. He therefore suggested that abaThembu should once more migrate to the south so that they could keep a safe distance from whites who were quarrelsome people.

* Most probably Sir Henry Pottinger. Translator's note.

SARILI AND MTIRARA

Although there was a simmering tension between abaThembu and amaGcaleka they never came to blows. One day Sarili incited by his followers made a challenge to Mtirara. At that time the great place of abaThembu was at Mvane.

We are told that on the appointed day the equally powerful adversaries almost clashed on the plain at Mvane. On the day previous to the appointed one amaGcaleka had camped overnight across Cacadu (White Kei River), not far from the present day Bram Nek. Mtirara sent out scouts among whom there was Maguda of the Ndlane clan, whose descendants are resident at Goso* today. When they were at the Bram Nek pass they came across Sarili's scouts, who had alighted from their horses. Maguda without wasting a minute, attacked these men who were busy roasting meat. He took them unawares. The men ran for their lives. Maguda brought their horses to Mtirara saying that Sarili had camped on this side of Cacadu, and he was coming. The proof of his advancing march were the horses which he had managed to capture. On the following day, Mtirara sent Ncambaca, the son of Mkentane of the Cwera clan, to Sarili to ask him to delay his attack after crossing Bram Nek, for a whole day, in the meantime he (Mtirara) would go to fetch some fatted oxen from Nkonkobe+ to present him.

* St Albans Mission - A Kropf, Kafir-English Dictionary p.500

+ The Great Winterberg - Kropf

The son of Hintsa waited. On the following day amaTshatshu and amaNdungwane were seen approaching from the pass at Ndimangeni. The majority of the people were on horseback. There were multitudes of people stretching from the great place. The son of Hintsa simply decided to return home without putting up a fight. That showed abaThembu respected Mtirara as their father, more so that amaTshatshu had responded to his call.

MTIRARA AT XONXA AND HIS DEATH:

When Mtirara was at Xonxa below Gqebenya his state of health deteriorated, he then remembered what he had once said before, that abaThembu should return to the territory across Mbashe River, so as to keep a safe distance from the whites. Having expressed that death-wish he passed away. When Nonesi was told of the death of Mtirara, because, by the way, during those days a man was nursed by other men; she said:

"O! Happy are Shweni and others because they shall be getting chieftainship." And yet she knew that Shweni was very fond of Mtirara. Shweni, mourning his loss, wailed in grief, and was further hurt by Nonesi's words. When everybody thought the mourners had been comforted, a gun report was heard coming from behind the house. The person who went to investigate found Shweni stone dead. Everybody was stunned. And Joyi on the other hand was inconsolable. Although eventually he was comforted. On the other hand Nonesi was not bothered about them. She was simply grieving for her child Mtirara and did not even know who was next in in the chieftainship line. At that time Matanzima was already a man, while Ngangelizwe was still a boy. Nonesi was quite clear in her mind that she would not allow Matanzima to be regent.

The Thembu nation was cast under a dark cloud by the loss of two chiefs in one day. The nation mourned. No boys were circumcised that year.

After that tragedy it was decided that the chief's death-wish had to be honoured by returning to the territory across Mbashe River. Nonesi adamantly refused, saying that she would not take abaThembu away and leave her child's grave still fresh. Eventually abaThembu together with Mtirara's great house left, leaving Nonesi, Matanzima and some of abaThembu behind.

Joyi first went to settle at Nxankolo, later he moved on to Malepelepe, again he moved to Baziya where his descendants can still be found even today. Jumba, the chief who left with Joyi settled at Tsitsa stretching as far as Nxu. He later moved from there and settled at Mhlwazi. His son, Mgudlwa, settled at Qhumanco, another called Mdukiswa settled at Tabase. Mnqanqeni left with Joyi.

AMAMPONDONISE AT HALA'S PLACE

We first hear of an alliance between amaHala and amaMpondomise on the arrival of amaBhaca. We are told that on their arrival amaBhaca attacked amaMpondomise. At that time amaBhaca had settled at Bhencuthi, while amaMpondomise were resident along the Thina and Tsitsa Rivers. At that time amaMpondomise were often engaged in civil wars, and for that reason they became a very weak nation. When amaBhaca noted this, they felt that they had to press on with their attack. AmaMpondomise lost a lot of cattle, but that was after a very heavy fighting which left many dead. AmaBhaca had come with a new method of fighting which they had copied from Tshaka. A man would advance at great speed to his opponent, and when at close quarters, he then would stab and kill him. And yet down south the competition was on the skill of throwing the spear. A warrior had to carry a lot of weapons and would then throw a spear whenever he was within distance of the enemy, at the same time shielding himself with a small or big shield.

It is that style of fighting that broke the fighting power of amaMpondomise and they ended up appealing to Ngubengcuka. Vete, the son of Mzimba together with four men went to see Ngubengcuka. The son of Ndaba is said to have taken only three days to mobilise the army that was to relieve amaMpondomise. On a certain day the adversaries clashed. AmaMphondomise and amaQwathi were once more beaten in their division, while amaHala were able to drive off the enemy. But the victory was really a short respite. As amaHala were returning home amaBhaca were

right on their heels following them up to the Tsomo River stopping where the present day Cala village stands.

When amaGcina saw them (amaBhaca), they charged at them thinking that they were going to have an easy time saying, "Here is prey for us." By so doing they had stirred a nest of hornets. The wild Bhaca warriors charged and mauled their hapless Gcina counterparts. AmaGcina ran for their lives with amaBhaca, fit as fiddles, following closely behind. They ascended the Qaqane mountain within no time and under the cover of darkness they found safety in the Ngqaba forest which was very dense during those days. AmaBhaca then turned back, on their return they decided to build their new homes on the sour-grass pasture of Gqubu.

There were many other wars that were fought by amaMpondomise following that one with amaBhaca. One day Faku appealed for help to Myeki to come and help him against Tshaka's regiments. Tshaka had overrun the whole Mpondo territory. Myeki, knowing that Tshaka was famous for his bravery sent Sothuka and the son of Qwilikana to go and invite Ngubengcuka once more.

He made a further request to the effect that when he came, he had to bring Hintsas as well. Fortunately for Tshaka's regiments, they returned home before the arrival of Ngubengcuka, amaGcaleka and whites.

No real peace was restored among amaMpondomise because they started fighting among themselves. The situation encouraged further attacks from refugees from Tshaka's wars who badly needed

cattle. Truly, life during these days was a dangerous game. Because of the shortage of cattle, no cultivation was done, even those who possessed cattle, were always in danger of losing them. Only those who could defend themselves survived.

It was amaMpondo and amaBhaca who caused further suffering by their savage attacks with spears, and they were responsible for the flight of amaMpondomise to the territory of amaGcina at Cacadu in Thembuland. The relationship between abaThembu and amaMpondomise was a good one indeed. There was mutual respect for one another. They intermarried. There was close co-operation whenever there was an unexpected attack from cattle rustlers.

Then Myeki, who was advanced in years, sent messengers to Mtirara, telling him that his son, Matiwane had taken the unusual step of demanding chieftainship while he (Myeki) was still living, and further adding that he had tried to dissuade him for such a demand. This had met with no success. Myeki felt that his son was being incited by those who were keen on sowing discord. When abaThembu had heard both sides of the dispute, their verdict was that Matiwane should let Myeki exercise his chieftainship until his death. It is not the custom in Thembuland for a chief to vacate his seat in order that his son can take over. If then that is the custom as amaMpondomise maintain, it is the custom of the people from the East (eMbo) and we know of no such here in Thembuland. So amaMpondomise had to give up. But they were offended all the same, because some amaMpondomise returned to where they had come from, leaving Myeki with just a handful of followers.



THE MIGRATION OF MATIWANE MYEKI

There is a suggestion that there was a secret involvement of a white man who invited amaMpondomise to go and join him. That was a certain Mr Hulley who had settled next to the Thina River together with the Reverend Gladwin. On his journey Matiwane was tempted by the sight of the cattle belonging to amaQwathi. There was a belief that one of the factors that encouraged Matiwane in his action was a rumour that amaQwathi would soon be migrating to Lusuthu because they were tired of engaging in wars single-handed, while abaThembu, the actual owners of the territory, were absent. Matiwane and his adherents stopped over at Baziya. It was then that Matiwane was tempted to capture the cattle belonging to amaQwathi of Fubu.

Their attempt to drive away the cattle was resisted by amaQwathi. In the fighting that ensued amaMpondomise were easily defeated, they scattered all over the place, during which confusion Matiwane was captured. AmaQwathi then declared that according to their custom and tradition they could not kill a chief. Matiwane therefore had to be released. Among amaQwathi, there were amaMpondomise who belonged to the Velelo clan, they said: "You may go maQwathi, and leave him with us, we are going to kill him because we are used to killing chiefs".

AmaQwathi were just a few paces away when amaVelelo accomplished what they regarded as their task, that of killing chiefs. That is how Matiwane, the son of Myeki met his end. When the news was broken to Myeki, he blamed Mbali, who was later to be regent for

Mhlontlo, for his son's death. AmaMpondomise then proceeded to the Mpondomise territory after their return from Cacadu among abaThembu of Roda.

There is a suggestion that at this juncture it is the Reverend Gladwin who invited amaMpondomise to join him along the Thina River. Another suggestion is that when amaMpondomise returned to their original home because they wanted to live in peace they asked for Faku's protection. Faku advised them to return to their place of origin, because he did not want to bring up another chief's son.

It was during that time that abaThembu decided to migrate eastwards (to eMbo). The reader must remember that abaThembu had been driven away by the excesses of amaMpondo together with amaBhaca. But they never submitted to them. On their return therefore, they were free to settle where they felt like, without having to ask for permission. Proof of this is that Joyi settled at Nxankolo, and when he felt like moving he moved to Malepelepe, and later to Baziya. Jumba settled at Nxu while the other abaThembu belonging to his group proceeded as far as the Tsitsa River. In the history of abaThembu we are ignorant of the claim made that abaThembu at one time went to ask for protection from Ndamase, nor do we know of an instance when Ndamase ruled them as his subjects, as there is a theory to that effect. AbaThembu lived together with Mhlontlo, fighting many wars with amaMpondo. Mhlontlo at that time would strike at amaMpondo, by using his additional forces that were held in reserve, amaJumba.

It must be clear therefore that the territory that amaMpondo claim to be their own which stretches from Umtata up to the Zulu border, they got when they were drawing up stipulations at the time of their incorporation into the British Government, and were assisted by missionaries who wanted the whole eastern territories (eMbo) to belong to Faku. AbaThembu have a bigger claim than that of amaMpondo on the territory of amaMpondomise of Mditshwa because they are on the land belonging to Joyi and Jumba, to which they went through defeat.

JOYI'S FIGHT WITH GQIRANA

It was Joyi who was regent for Ngangelizwe. While still regent, he contracted a disease of the lungs. Although he remained in power, most of the work was done by Mnqanqeni. It was during this time that Mnqanqeni fined a Mpondomise man belonging to the Ngxabani clan. At that time amaMpondomise of Mditshwa also known as Gqirana, had settled at Tabase stretching up to Xhwili and reaching Zimbane.

AmaHala and amaMpondomise often exchanged social visits. They used to enjoy their feasts together. One day soon after the Ngxabani man had been fined, which thing appears to have offended amaMpondomise deeply, Gqirana's poet was heard saying:

The son of Diko with two teeth
 Were they to be three Mtiki would die,
 The strong one like a vulture in flight
 Who sent Ndamase cowering below the mountain
 Instructing them to leave the cattle of amaBobo alone.
 Ndamase loads Noqingatha with presents
 He sleeps at the back, while the great one sleeps in front.
 He is the long grass that refuses to burn
 Ndamase tried but it grew again
 When Qakaza farts, Ndlebe is astounded
 It is my first time to see princes disrespectful to one another
 He is the preserved food of Ndamase the son of Faku
 Which they enjoy and are later constipated.
 And yet Nongemane has had enough of Mngcamlo

And you Mngqanqeni, where have you ever fought?

How come you fine Ngxabani a cow

It is a cow that lows for a limping calf

That was carried on horseback to the homestead

Of abaThembu and told the news

It is Joyi who does not wipe himself on the Xhwili

He is scared of being hurt by the grass on the scab

I wonder how he was when still a child?

As the poet continued with his praise singing, Tembu councillors threatened to beat him up, saying he had insulted both their chiefs. Repeated attempts were made to cool the tempers in the ensuing chaos. AbaThembu dashed off in anger. On their arrival at home the matter was reported to Chief Joyi who responded by suggesting that messengers should be sent to Gqirana to enquire the reason why he let imbongi insult him the way he had done. Gqirana's reply was that he does not normally interfere with the affairs of imbongi because imbongi have a (poetic) licence to insult anybody. AbaThembu then made it clear that there should be no repetition of the incident.

Another circumcision ceremony was held. The imbongi repeated his previous performance. AbaThembu were thunderstruck. Then it was suggested that diviners should be consulted over the matter.

At that time Joyi's war diviner was Mbombo, who advised against the war because his divining powers revealed that amaMpondomise would defeat abaThembu. Mngqanqeni instructed him to strengthen or eliminate any signs of weakness so that they could go to war, he

should not infuse them with his cowardice. Mbombo then withdrew in order to work on his magic. He again told the chief that abaThembu would meet with no luck, and victory lay with amaMpondomise, he strongly advised against war. Nobody took him seriously. Warriors were mobilised and set out to war despite the fact that the doctor had warned them against such an undertaking.

AmaMpondomise on the other hand, for some unknown reason, were quite confident that victory would be theirs in the forthcoming conflict. Their war diviner went to enchant (cast a spell) the pool at Xhwili where the fighting was to take place. At daybreak the powerful armies were facing each other ominously. Imbongi of Gqirana was heard saying:

"Stop it! Stop it! Stop it! Young Thembu man.

The bulls are facing each other, the one of Majola and that of Tato;

The bull of Majola has never been gored by another".

It was not long before the adversaries met. Initially it appeared as though abaThembu were gaining the upper hand, but they were troubled by a persistent thirst, and they repeatedly went to the pool for a drink, and amaMpondomise would come and stab them whilst they were still drinking, in a kneeling position. O yes! charms do have an effect sometimes. By the way this was the pool that had been charmed by Gqirana's war doctor.

Suddenly the Thembu line broke, and the Thembu warriors fled. In those days a soldier in flight would be made to sprint faster than a cheetah. When the runners took a breath after that wild

chase, Mbanga, imbongi of Gqirana was heard saying:

"I warned you young man of Hala,
I said, "Make peace the chiefs are staring at each other",
So, there you are!
What have you have to say now?
The bull of Ngwanya son of Majola
Gored with the right (horn)."

AbaThembu were at a loss when they heard the words of imbongi. Then they remembered what Mbombo and their chiefs had said. They were too embarrassed to go home. The news of the death of many warriors was sent to chiefs like Dalasile and Jumba blaming Gqirana for that high loss of life. Jumba sent Mgudlwa to go and express sympathy for the loss and bereavement. With his mission accomplished Mgudlwa then wanted to know what was to be done. Joyi's reply was to the effect that his army had been decimated by amaMpondomise and he was ready to submit to them. Dalasile and Mgudlwa having talked aside announced their decision, "Fighting must resume, now that we are here, we shall surely kill a large number of amaMpondomise, to the extent that we may even surpass the losses that have already been suffered by both sides."

When Mgudlwa had a meeting aside with Dalasile, the problem raised was the fact that amaJumba resided among the enemy. How could they fight them? Dalasile then suggested that amaJumba must withdraw from the area that they shared with their enemy. He (Dalasile) would give them land. From that day mobilisation

began, and a day was set on which the army was to assemble. When Mgudlwa left the great place he went straight to the cattle-posts where he gathered all the cattle belonging to amaJumba and drove them to Dalasile's place. Dalasile suggested to Mgudlwa that he should stop over at Qunduvana, he further promised that a permanent site would be chosen after the war. Jumba and Mdukiswa also went over to amaQwathi thereafter.

All the regiments of the communities under the rule of abaThembu assembled at the great place on a certain day. The way cry was raised repeatedly so was the sound of the horn. At dawn, a day before the big fight, bonfires were seen all over the territory of amaMpondomise. By morning all that was remaining were ruins, amaMpondomise had left. They were chased and were overtaken just as they got to Mjika, having taken the route that passes through Khambi. They were heading for Tsolo and Xhokonxa. AbaThembu returned after having got some cattle as booty.

That is how Gqirana left Thembuland. He took the territory that had belonged to Jumba, and amaJumba were given theirs at Tabase. We shall return later to the story of the departure of another branch of amaJumba when we shall be focussing on them.

Chief Poto's argument that appears in his book which says, "Joyi who was resident at Xhwili became regent, this is the same Joyi who once resided at Tsitsa having been given the place by Faku on his arrival from Hewu", is not known in Thembuland. Read the history of amaMpondo written by Victor Poto Ndamase in pages 26 and 27, where he again says "Ndamase and Joyi reached an

agreement whereby they drove amaMpondomise up the Mtata River up to Sinxaku". Even this point is not known because there was never any alliance between abaThembu and amaMpondo during those days.

By the way it was Ndamase who assisted Ncapai's Mfecane which caused abaThembu to immigrate further north. Whatever the position was, Nonesi was at that time not on good terms with Joyi because of a claim on chieftainship and also because she wanted to bring Ngangelizwe up herself.

AbaThembu claim that Gqirana refused to submit to Mhlontlo, when the latter offered help instead he argued that he would rather submit to abaThembu because they would make him a chief again. So saying, he gave out an ox as tribute. Joyi, with the consent of abaThembu, accepted Gqirana's overtures for peace. But Gqirana had to keep all the territory that had belonged to Jumba, while Jumba would then take over what had been his (Gqirana's). The reason why so many abaThembu had died was because his people (Jumba's) were too far to get help, moreover Jumba had resided in their (amaMpondomise) midst.

JOYI'S SICKNESS

We have already made reference to the fact that Chief Joyi was a sickly person, then the councillors felt that they had to consult traditional doctors and diviners about the chief's state of health. That was normal procedure because the belief at that time was that anyone who was sick had been bewitched by someone else. AbaThembu, like other nations, held similar beliefs.

The elders and Chief MNqanqeni then secretly went to consult a renowned diviner who had spirit mediums. He was a resident in Gcalekaland. His name was Ziduli. He was an expert at reading people's minds. So when abaThembu consulted him his diagnosis hit the nail on the head. The listeners were just dumbfounded, at the same time each man was wondering if the doctor was not going to smell him out. After some time however they asked for the root cause of the whole problem saying, "Doctor, can you tell us what the cause of the problem is?"

The doctor replied, "The fault is with you, councillors. You compete for the chief's favour. Even now, there is a man who is the chief's favourite who is not here. Daily, at sunset he goes to the river for a bath, there he really bathes in a "strengthening" potion. It is the power of the potion that softens up the chief even if there is a cause for a quarrel with this man."

Someone said, "Doctor, we have come to you for help, do tell us who this person is, even if he is one of us. We cannot let our chief die through a deliberate act."

Ziduli's reply was "It is the man whose name is the same as the word that refers to a head without hair on the crown."

They all answered "O you mean a head with inkqayi (baldness)." The doctor said, "Yes, you have said it." One of them, "O! that is Nkqayi. We thank you and we accept your explanation. We shall get him (Nkqayi). We have long told him that he is a wizard."

It was true that there was a councillor named Nkqayi which Joyi was very fond of. It was equally true that he was in the habit of going to the river for a wash every afternoon, because he was rather particular about his appearance. The whole misfortune of being "smelt-out" was disgraceful, moreover his life was in danger. Joyi had never, as a person, participated in the killing of witches and wizards. Mnqanqeni, who was in power then, had previously persecuted those who had been accused of witchcraft.

When these men reached home one of them went to warn Nkqayi, saying, "You are gong to be killed by Mnqanqeni."

At once Nkqayi sought protection from Oeya at the palace. He told Oeya all what he had heard. Oeya sided with Nkqayi and therefore protected him. He ordered that Nkqayi's cattle should be brought to the great place so that they could be looked after together with his. That is how Nkqayi was saved by Ngangelizwe, who then was known as Oeya. In the end Joyi who had a chest disease died, and his sickness could not even be cured by burning sacrifices.

THE REIGN OF NGANGELIZWE (1863)

During the time of Joyi's sickness, Qeya, the son of Mtirara and Notasi in the great house, was quickly sent in for circumcision. When Joyi died, Qeya was already a man, and he therefore took over the throne and was given the new name of Ngangelizwe. At that time the government already had representatives who looked after its interest. On the day abaThembu presented him with tributes, the government also presented him with fifty pounds or one hundred rand. The government went on to add that in order to prove that he intended to live peacefully with abaThembu he would give their chief a sum of fifty-two pounds or one hundred and four rand a year for his own use. AbaThembu on their part encouraged the new chief to take over because in their tradition a person who reaches the stage of manhood is fully-grown, and is ready to attend to whatever his duties are. That is how Ngangelizwe got into power.

They say he was an outgoing, talkative person. He was equally witty. He could be as mischievous as a boy. He was a chief who believed in consulting his advisors on state affairs, so much that there were advisors he could not do without. Among those who deserve to be mentioned are Xhelo, the son of Gubanca of the Mvundle clan, Cuthalele and Nkqayi, the one who had been accused of bewitching Joyi, was also a trusted one.

NOVILI'S MARRIAGE

It was not long thereafter abaThembu got Ngangelizwe a wife, who was Sarili's daughter. Her in-laws called her Novili. Life continued peacefully. At that time there was a government representative among abaThembu, he was Joseph Cox Warner who had arrived with the Reverend Haddy in 1830. They were from overseas and they settled at Clarkebury institution. According to the language used those days he became the Commissioner-General. There had been an attempt to get Ngangelizwe to attend school, but the move was disrupted by the Mfecane wars, after he had attended for just a short while. Then one day abaThembu got to hear that the government intended giving Sandile's daughter, called Emma, to Ngangelizwe. This girl had been to school and she was also a Christian.

Warner (A! Jongilanga) was the chief mover in the whole scheme. Anyone involved in a scheme must not relax but should be on the look out for any eventualities. We are not sure if that was the case in Warner's case. We shall soon know as we proceed with the story.

Sandile's daughter arrived on an appointed day. She had her waggon with its team of oxen. She had also brought along lots of European finery. Word was sent to Ngangelizwe that the bride had arrived. Moreover he was expected to marry according to the western rites. When abaThembu arrived many were fascinated by the waggon and its span of oxen, as well with the caravan draped with

a white cover. In all the hustle and bustle, there was somebody who was very unhappy - that was Ngangelizwe. He could not find a way out of the maze in which he found himself.

It was suggested that the bride and the bridegroom should first meet before proceeding to church. All Ngangelizwe's councillors and advisors were there. Even Xhelo the cripple of Thembuland, having been put on horseback, was there, involved in the deliberations.

"Then the hairy puffadder of Mtirara which was sighted by the Mbanga women going to work" was shown in where the bride was. He was in there for rather a long time, and people were beginning to wonder as to what was actually happening. At last, out he came. Notasi's son came out shouting saying: "Saddle the horses, saddle them and let us go. I don't want that girl at all."

"What now! what is the meaning of all this? Someone asked.

A second one remarked, "I wonder what has Emma done to His Royal Highness?" Several people were sent to him to try and persuade him to change his mind. But met with no success! His Majesty was clearly upset and would listen to no one. Even his trusted adviser, Mgudlwa, who was really their last resort, failed. As for Warner, he wept bitterly. Then, abathembu in large numbers, went away. Only those from Roda remained.

Here is what was upsetting Warner most: According to tradition a princess offered for marriage could not be refused and driven

away even if she was not fully accepted. Instead lobola would still be produced and the princess would be given to one of the young men in the royal family; when a princess was sent back home that was a sign that her father was an enemy, and the girl was herself insulted. In that case the bride's people had enough reason to go to war with the bridegroom's people. Thus, it was highly likely that amaNgqika would follow that course if they were forced to return with their princes. The whole idea was painful to Warner because he was the person who had arranged the marriage. We are told that after weeping for a long time he then asked, "Didn't Mtirara have another son, so that she will not have anything to do with Ngangelizwe?"

A plan was then devised for the princess to marry one of the princes. Stokwe, the son of Ndlela of the Qwati clan was chosen as the most suitable prince. That is how Emma became the wife of Stokwe.

While we are on this topic, I wish to point out that actually Stokwe already had a wife who was Sarili's daughter; she is the mother of Mnyamakulu who is now at Nqhuqhu. Thereafter amaQwathi were then assembled in order to come and classify the wives according to rank. AmaQwathi wanted Sarili's daughter to be the chief wife. At that moment Stokwe came up with the idea that he would get Warner's views on the matter.

When they met, the son of Ndlela then briefly told Warner what his problem was. The white man's response was this:

"By the way Stokwe, according to your tradition, is the great house not supposed to be that of the chief's daughter?"

"Yes."

Warner: "And who gave Emma to you?"

Stokwe: "The Government."

Warner: "Tell me, who is senior between Sarili and the government?"

For a moment Stokwe was shocked into silence by the question, then he replied "It is the government."

Warner: "That's it! That is a wise reply. Now you go and make the government's daughter your great house," said the son of Warner.

That is how Emma became the great housewife although she was not the daughter of a senior Xhosa chief. It is possible that Ngangelizwe was given a similar answer in his first meeting with Emma. That explains his behaviour after the meeting, when he left the people in a lurch. Ngangelizwe himself had married Nonfakulo, Sarili's daughter, the one who was given the name Novili by his in-laws. Let us end the story about Emma and Ngangelizwe.

NGANGELIZWE AND MATANZIMA (1870)

When Mtirara died his son, Matanzima, of the right hand house (wasekunene) was already a man. He, with Nonesi, went across Mbashe River during the War of Mlanjeni. On the day Nonesi and Joyi were separated by Ngangelizwe, Matanzima decided to return to Roda, and not remain at the great place. Whites acted contrary to the tradition of Blacks. Nonesi was given a senior status to Matanzima. They were simply instigating conflict. Perhaps they were influenced by the fact that at that time Queen Victoria was in power - and to them that was conventional. We shall be returning to the story of Matanzima and Nonesi. For now let us take a look at Matanzima and Ngangelizwe.

Baas, the son of Falo when narrating the quarrel between Ngangelizwe and Matanzima over Mali Mbutu's cattle of the Ngxongo clan, says:

Gecela fined Mali some cattle as punishment for a bloody crime. Mali appealed to Matanzima to arbitrate. Matanzima then sent a messenger with authority to confiscate the cattle. But because of the crime Mali had committed, Matanzima did not give him back those cattle. Mali then crossed Mbashe River to Ngangelizwe where he lodged a complaint that the Roda chiefs Gecelo and Matanzima had confiscated his cattle. He further pointed out that as a councillor he expected to be fined by Ngangelizwe himself. Ngangelizwe was not satisfied with the situation. He sent his own messenger of court to go and fetch Mali's cattle from Matanzima's kraal. The latter refused with them, saying that the people of

Roda fell under his family's domain, he therefore could not allow somebody from the great place to come and enjoy favours within his family's sphere of influence. The messengers had to return bare-handed. They soon returned, with a special message for Matanzima: "You are being instructed to release the cattle. Should you refuse we have been asked to warn you that: This instrument kills a person." So saying, they lifted a spear.

The son of Mtirara gave no response to all what they said, but he continued to refuse to release the cattle. After the messengers had left Matanzima went to inform E J Warner at Lubisi that Ngangelizwe had come to confiscate cattle paid as fine in his territory. After hearing the report Warner resorted to a scheme that is recorded by Mr Brownlee in Historical Records pages 26 to 27 where Brownlee says: "In 1872, boundaries separating the chiefs were drawn up there and thereafter they observed and respected the boundaries."

We are told that on the day the discussion on boundaries was held, Ngangelizwe turned back at Tyelimhlophe across Qhumanco River and he sent Xelo to represent him. This happened when the emigrant Thembu of Rhoda had already settled where they are now, where they had been promised a long time before that they would become independent, and would not fall under anybody's jurisdiction. The idea that the great house of Mtirara could wield authority over the territory that belonged to the right hand house was defeated during Ngangelizwe's time, a time when tradition was still respected.

Xelo, speaking on behalf of Ngangelizwe is said to have said on that day, "O yes!!," he said clapping his hands. "This is surprising indeed! Now that the Roda chiefs are rich, they will not listen to anybody! We shall see who will lose their territory first." Xelo's speech in a way signified that the boundary had been accepted, and respected by abaThembu generally.

AbaThembu who refused to follow Joyi are the following: It was Mfanta the support house to the right hand house of Mtirara; Gungubele the head of amaTshatshu; Gecelo the head of amaGcina and Stokwe the head of amaQwathi of Roda and Matanzima.

The reader should also please note that in all those lineages, Matanzima is the most senior. besides the fact that the right hand house normally is a branch that is independent and different from the great place. It was impossible for Joyi and Nonesi to be regents for one person. If Nonesi was a regent, then Joyi should have just been an ordinary chief.

All in all, readers should take note of claims made by some people, that the house of Ngangelizwe has authority at Roda, this is because (these people) they lack the details fo the whole matter. When Ngangelizwe died he knew the real situation, and he did not bother himself about it, as we shall soon learn further.

NOVILI'S PUNISHMENT

Many narrators including some famous writers like the Reverend J H Soga and Mr W D Cingo have this to day in their narration:

AmaGscaleka went to war with abaThembu over Nongxokozelo who was Novili's maid. And yet that is not the case. The war between abaThembu and amaGscaleka broke out because Novili had been beaten up. On this point Bhokileni Langa says: "Yayiligxiza likaNovili." That means she was assaulted with sticks on her legs so much that she broke her shin.

A true account has been written by Mr Brownlee in his book "Historical Records from page 28 to page 31, where he says: Ngangelizwe had a misunderstanding with his wife Novili, and he beat her up and broke her shin, and she also had a wound on her head. Because the councillors feared that she would not pull through from her injuries unless she was properly attended to, they secretly sent her to Menziwa, who was requested to send her to her home at Sarili's place which at that time was at Qhora. Menziwa however sent her to Sigidi who resided at Ngxakaxha and it was Sigidi who brought her safely to Sarili. When Ngangelizwe realised that his actions might bring trouble, and his fears were further confirmed by rumours that all was not well, he applied to the government for his own resident, because Mr Warner who served abaThembu as a whole was at Roda and yet the country had been zoned already. He wanted his own resident who would have nothing to do with Roda. His application was approved by the government. He was given Mr E B Chalmers, whose office was set up at Mjanyana.

Before he had even established himself in his office he received a complaint from Feni (Fynn) Sarili's resident, complaining about the assault on his (Sarili's) daughter by Ngangelizwe, and was asking that he (Chalmers) should arrange a meeting where the matter would be discussed. It was then decided that each chief would send four representatives to deliberate on behalf of the chief in that meeting. By the way it is not proper for chiefs to exchange words.

As it happens even in other cases, this case was time and again remanded in order to consult the chief participants. That meant that people would meet for a session, and then break again. While the deliberations were going on amaGcaleka asked representatives of abaThembu whether they were aware of the fact that as the discussions were going on, amaGcaleka were at the same time, arming themselves. AbaThembu did not take that remark seriously, because they said that Sarili was an old and experienced chief, he couldn't possibly start arming while the case was still be deliberated. Then one day judgement was passed. Ngangelizwe lost the case. He was ordered to pay a fine of forty cattle. After judgment was passed Ngangelizwe's mbongi said:

'Just take a look at one who roasts fishes
That crackle and once exploded on to Hints'a's son.'

Imbongi of the great place went on with his praise songs. Imbongi is one person whose poetic licence gives him freedom of speech. The whole thing did not go well with amaGcaleka because they still nursed the grievance of their loss of their land, Roda which had been given to abaThembu. The majority of amaGcaleka

strongly felt that there was no alternative but to go to war with abaThembu. The reader should remember that there were already some traders in these parts, who read newspapers often, while our Fathers were still living in darkness. They relied on what the traders told them. Even if they (the traders) were simply stirring up conflict, they (fathers) were not really averse to that, so long as there would be a bit of a fight, and someone would have an opportunity to distinguish himself in the battle field and further prove how he had taken after his father.

On this occasion we are told that Sarili's councillor Maki together with Kwaza stood up and delivered a very good speech, which should have cooled down the tempers of amaGcaleka, and made them reason a little. Maki is said to have warned:

"Let there be no fight over a trivial matter like this one. Please remember that Ngangelizwe is Sarili's son, and he also is the son of a chief. It is almost conventional behaviour for all chiefs to be mischievous. Moreover Ngangelizwe has taken after his father who was mischievous. Through his action he has shown that he is nothing. It must be borne in mind that childishness is a common feature. Even a chief's child is just like other children. Therefore the son of Mtirara himself is in no way different from other children. Let him be forgiven. The punishment that has been meted out to him suffices."

It was as though Maki had just been blowing bubbles, amaGcaleka did not heed all what he had said at all. All they wanted was war, hoping that they would be able to regain some territory.

That was their only aim. There is reason to believe that even some senior officials were aware of the real situation, but made no attempt to stop it. The point is that they exercised no real authority over the territory of abaThembu. That is why they experienced a lot of difficulties when the case was being deliberated, and the chiefs, the main participants, were absent.

Moreover they could do nothing to them (the chiefs). Another difficulty was that abaThembu had always been in alliance with the government. It was thus difficult for the government to fight against them. But a way of getting them into the ambit of the government had to be found. The problem was who would break the regulations first. The issue of amaGcaleka provided an excuse for their interference under the pretext of making peace.

Information was spread among amaGcaleka that Ngangelizwe had a ready army of amaNgolothi* at his great place, which wore pairs of trousers just as white soldiers did. AmaGcaleka in turn bought all pairs of trousers they could lay their hands on for themselves, so that they also could have some of their people dressed up in pants. On the 30th September amaGcaleka crossed Mbashe River with the sole intention of punishing Ngangelizwe. They were led by Sarili himself together with his son Sigcawu, who was the same age as Ngangelizwe.

It was only then that abaThembu believed the information they had been given by representatives of amaGcaleka on the day of the

* Ingoloti - this word was used of a member of chief Ngangelizwe's regiment of uncircumcised young men - Kropf p 263

trial of the chiefs' case. AbaThembu without wasting time, appealed to the neighbouring nations. Many were however despondent, and saw no way of succeeding in a war they had not prepared for. They were further surprised by the fact that there were strong ties that existed between amaGcaleka and abaThembu because of inter-marriages. Sigcawu, the eldest son of Sarili had married Dalasile's daughter. Dalasile himself had married Gcaleka girls. Mgudlwa had married Sarili's daughter, so had Mdukiswa. It was an intertwined relationship. Daughters of amaGcaleka were in Thembuland, and those of abaThembu were in Gcalekaland. It was worse with chiefs of amaQiya, amaNqabe, amaTshomane and amaTshezi. When war was declared, many announced that they would remain neutral. Some sent messages to Sarili declaring that they disapproved of Ngangelizwe's behaviour. Thus they would maintain their neutrality. Ngangelizwe realised that there was no time to spare, amaGcaleka were almost upon them. Moreover he did not have time to inform Roda. He just managed to collect a few chieftains that he could reach easily. All those at Mqanduli remained neutral. As for Mankunzi, he went out and out to side with amaGcaleka. Imbongi had this to say about him later on.

"He is one, when engaged in war
 May lead some to believe that Mankunzi is on their side
 And yet he has long defected to Xhosaland."

After several days in Thembuland the son of Hintsu on a particular day ordered that the great place, which was Novili's

homestead, be burnt down. The diehards were excited. Already Sarili's regiments had been posted to various quarters, some went about attacking, others simply just captured booty, without any opposition. AbaThembu fled to all directions. The great place was thus captured. In all that confusion shots from Menziwa were heard. AmaGcaleka responded quickly and put out any resistance from that end.

Ngangelizwe then convened a meeting of all the chiefs that were under him. He noted that three of the chiefs that he had relied on had not taken part in the war. These were amaJumba and amaQwathi. He rallied them on to war because amaGcaleka were invading the country. We are told that his councillors took advantage of the situation and they answered back. Then Ngangelizwe said, "I am not referring to the councillors, I am talking to the chiefs."

Off the councillors went, saying, "Well stay with your beloved chiefs. We cannot accept a situation where we are in danger of losing our lives and yet we are told to keep quiet." They waited at a distance for their chiefs. So Ngangelizwe gave up. He fled to Hagile at Clarkeburg for safety. In order to realise the situation on that day fully, not a single mQwathi or mJumba died. Both chiefs of amaJumba and amaQwathi did not engage in any fighting. It was just a small band of scouts of Sarili that attacked Mdukiswa and shot his horse. He was given a councillor's horse. And the regiment of amaGcaleka returned to give the report that there was still an army of abaThembu in

tact. They found Sarili assembling his regiments in accordance with Hagile's request.

The bearded puffadder of Mtirara noted that amaGcaleka were over-running his country while he was engaged in endless discussion. He went to Hagile as we have already stated. When asked what his business was, he immediately outlined his problem. Then Hagile coolly remarked, "Oh no, that is easy. I'll persuade Sarili to desist from giving you anymore trouble. But my advice to you is that you hand over your country to the Government for protection against an invasion by amaGcaleka.

Ngangelizwe agreed. The following morning Hagile went to dissuade Sarili from launching further attacks on Ngangelizwe. He came to that crowd of people who were after Ngangelizwe's blood and who were also excited in anticipation of victory. The white man remained calm. Speaking to Sarili in a low voice he said, "AbaThembu are the government's children, the government will not fold its arms and see them impoverished. And further, they had reached an agreement with them of mutual co-operation. And you, Sarili, you cannot take a foot more of the land and stock except what you have already captured. Those cattle on the mountain top were already mixed with the stock belonging to whites and thus amaGcaleka could not easily distinguish those that belonged to abaThembu from those of whites. All in all, son of Hintsu my chief, I say go home. You have punished your child."

This caused a general dissatisfaction among Gcaleka men, that they should be ordered to return home without capturing cattle

and land. And Maki kept on saying, "There you are! I told you that we should go back. Now you stand a chance of losing the place on which you are if you continue to press forward." After a beast had been slaughtered for Hagile, Sarili gave an order that people should return home. So, the war of Novili ended.

NGANGELIZWE MAKES AN AGREEMENT

On his return to Clarkebury Institution Hagile prevailed on Ngangelizwe to make a decision. He wanted to proceed to Chalmers at Mjanyana to tell him that on that day he was bringing a hostage which was Ngangelizwe, and that he had won all his territory for the government without any stipulations. Then Hagile, Chalmers and Ngangelizwe met and drew up their own stipulations which would later be ratified by abaThembu. After they had finished all those preliminary talks, a day was set for a national meeting where the whole matter would be reported.

In the meantime they were waiting for the national meeting of Chalmers and Hagile, abaThembu met aside. When Ngangelizwe had briefed them on the latest developments, abaThembu said, "Never! we are not submitting ourselves to the government. We have not even fought against amaGcaleka. Sarili had come to punish you as his child. On that day you must leave the matter to us, we will give the whites our views.

The awaited day came, the 30th of November in 1872. Dalasile intentionally did not come. The discussion went on in the meeting. AbaThembu adamantly refused. It was a tough meeting, more so that both sides were shrewd people, abaThembu and the British. Then,

"The bitter aloe that weans children,
because it weaned Mbanga and Gqirana"

intervened, hoping that the whites would withdraw from their proposal, he said, "You have heard what abaThembu are saying. As

for me, I am merely their child, I cannot press on against their proposal. All in all I am telling you that my statement with you is not valid any more. Let it be no more."

The whites, disappointed, blushed red. What was to be done? AbaThembu had reached their decision and were not to be moved. Hagile tried to sound a warning saying, "I have seen who is bearing the brunt of war, it is the sons of Jumba." AbaThembu were steadfast to their decision and would not allow themselves to be intimidated. But they did not fully understand the depth of the shrewdness of the white man. Negotiations on submission after the war of Novili came to an end.

NONGXOKOZELO - 1875

I must, right from the start, ask the reader to pay special attention to this article about Nongxokozelo. Nongxokozelo was Novili's cousin, in that Nongxokozelo was the daughter of Novili's aunt. It seems she was a fully grown maiden. In an inexplicable way she became one of the mistresses at the great place. When Novili departed, on the day she was beaten up, this lady stayed on 'to look after her sister's house', and also she had to see to it that the 'vessel' at the great place did not dry up.

No one knows the cause of the misunderstanding between her and the bearded puffadder, but one day things seem to have come to a head. We are told that the assault of the lady was so severe that there were fears for her life. His Highness, at a loss as to what to do, asked Ndevu, who was one of the councillors, to finish her up. That marked the end of the name Nongxokozelo.

Immediately Ngangelizwe sent a message to Wright, the magistrate, because Chalmers had left already, reporting that Nongxokozelo was suffering from a severe head-ache. Again after four days, he sent another message reporting that she had passed away. Having heard some rumours about Nongxokozelo's well-being Sarili sent messengers to ask that Nongxokozelo be released to come home for a sacrificial ceremony.

The messengers were told that the person for whom they had come was no more. She had suffered from a headache for four days. The magistrate had been told about her sickness when still alive. In

the end, however, she had died - AmaGcaleka asked to be allowed to see the remains of the deceased, although she had been buried for some time. AbaThembu would just not concede to that request. The messengers then went home. Sarili then went to lodge a complaint with his magistrate, J Ayliff.

People were generally disgruntled with the chief's brutal action, though they could do nothing about it. Once more representatives of the two chiefs were assembled in order to deliberate the new case. This time amaGcaleka were in a very ugly mood. It was soon clear that the representatives themselves were not going to be soft peddling. The case was deliberated for several days, except for short recesses. Mbande the son of Menziwa was overheard saying that if another war broke out between amaGcaleka abaThembu, he would side with amaGcaleka. Ngangelizwe then gave orders that if that was the case, then he should be attacked then. AmaZizi fled, and went to seek help from the whites at Idutywa.

The verdict of the councillors on the case was that Ngangelizwe was again found guilty. It was decided that because of the seriousness of the crime Ngangelizwe had to pay his fine on his own, without getting help from abaThembu as it usually was the case. He was ordered to pay two hundred cattle plus a hundred pounds as compensation to Sarili. Ngangelizwe had no problems meeting the sentence because he was fairly comfortable. Even the government those days had something to fall back on to.

The next problem was Sarili, he refused to accept that money. He said, "Ngangelizwe has committed a disgrace to his in-laws, to

whom he was son-in-law, and also being the head of a nation. In addition, he is said, as head of the nation, to have passed derogatory remarks about me, Sarili. Now my people are suggesting that we go to war so that they can acquire more land, just as they had previously been robbed of their land in episodes like that of Nongqawuse. Even this incident was as tragic as that one already referred to."

The whites refused saying, "The sentence had been passed. He had to accept the compensation offered or he had to know that if he refused to take it, nothing else would be offered to him." The whole thing was somewhat delayed. The whites constantly enquired from abaThembu as to what the position of amaGcaleka was. Then (the whites) would remind them (abaThembu) that they had long advised them to hand over their country to the government because Sarili was coming. While abaThembu were still confused, not knowing which way to go, the government quickly posted its regiments all over Thembuland, under the pretext that the regiments were for their protection, and at the same time telling abaThembu that they should submit on their own terms. They also brought Menziwa back to the territory of Ngangelizwe at Tyalara.

It was at that time, and under those circumstances of white regiments that abaThembu gave in and started drawing up stipulations of an agreement of submission to the government. The prime mover in the whole agreement was Hagile, who repeatedly said, "Just remember this, we are at your service. You must say that it is you who are asking to be put under the wing of the

government. Sarili will confiscate your land. All this army you see has come to your aid."

O what a pity about abaThembu who read no newspapers and who were also ignorant of the trickery of the whites, (they) saw the advice given by the servant of God as being a sound one. They then asked the man of God to draw up the stipulations for them. Thereafter they asked to have a meeting with the government representatives, magistrate and the commander of the army, Bokolo at Clarkeburg Institution. That meeting was held on 28th October 1875.

The outcome of the meeting was the acceptance by the government representative of a request by abaThembu that they be put under the wing of Queen Victoria in accordance with the stipulations drawn up by Hagile. The government representatives promised to present the request to the government on their behalf, abaThembu would then hear from them.

On this particular day Dalasile did not turn up for the meeting. He was strongly opposed to the whole move. The reader must again take note of the fact that in the stipulations which can be found in page 425 in the book on the Commission on Native Law and Customs of 1881, Matanzima and all other chiefs at Roda were not present. It was proper that he was absent because the request by abaThembu of Ngangelizwe for submission under the government was made long after the separation. Ngangelizwe too, knowing that Roda was not under his jurisdiction, (he) never bothered himself about them on that day.

The regiments of the government were then withdrawn having obtained what had been so strongly desired - the incorporation of abaThembu under the wing of the government without shedding blood, since they were allies of the government.

Again, the commander of the army Bokolo, arrived at Mjanyana. He convened a meeting of abaThembu on 10th December 1875. On that day he gave a report saying the government had accepted the request of abaThembu that they be incorporated under his wing for protection. He went on to say a certain Mr S A Probert would be sent later, to come and finalise the agreement, except for just one issue that Ngangelizwe would be suspended from his position for a period of more than six months, after which time, if his conduct was satisfactory, he would again be restored to his seat of authority.

AbaThembu agreed, but not really meaning to, to the suggestion about their chief, because they did not know that an outsider could come and tell them that their chief was no longer one.

In that same meeting at Mjanyana there came the Reverend Gordon who was called Sidubi by Dalasile. He came along with amaQwathi although Dalasile in person was not there. They had come to present their application for incorporation under the wing of Queen Victoria. We are told that one mQwathi wished to question such a step, but to no avail because the whole assembly requested that, since abaThembu had come under the sway of the government, amaQwathi should do likewise because in reality they were under Thembu rule, and they would be exposed to all kinds of danger if

they were independent. Gordon, who had come along with amaQwathi, was then told that their application would also be referred to the government. They would be contacted the day they received a word from the government.

It was not long thereafter, still in December, that the son of Probert arrived reporting that the government had re-affirmed the stipulations drawn up by abaThembu. But the suspension of Ngangelizwe would remain for about six months or more. On the 24 December 1875 abaThembu were annexed by the government, and to confirm the reality of the new English regime, the "Union Jack", the British flag was hoisted in Thembuland. As for Ngangelizwe, he was stripped of his kingship.

In due course the application by amaQwathi to be annexed by the government was granted.



NGANGELIZWE BECOMES SUBJECT TO THE GOVERNMENT 1875

As we said earlier, Chief Ngangelizwe approached Hagile requesting to be incorporated into the Government.

Except for some problems encountered earlier on during the magistracy of Chalmers when the Chief, Ngangelizwe, and a few of his councillors, soon after the Novili debacle, asked to be incorporated under the wing of the government unconditionally; this move we think, was instigated by the presence of that regiment that had brought Menziwe back from Dutywa (sic) and placed him at Tyhalara in Mthatha. At Dutywa it is where he had fled to because of threats levelled against him for having helped Novili to escape. In short the majority of amaHala were opposed to the move arguing that there had been no fighting, and therefore there was no reason for them to submit to anybody; when this thing happened (annexation) it had long been deliberated and desired by whites who felt the strain of trying to govern people who were otherwise independent and paid no taxes. Even those whites who paid taxes did so to Ngangelizwe. This in all was a way of annexing abaThembu without any bloodshed as they were allies. Sarili was used to facilitate the plan, the very Sarili who had as good as committed suicide by the Nongqawuse tragedy.

On the 28th October 1875 there was a meeting at Clarkebury Institution which was Hagile's home. Bowker (Bokolo) and Wright were representatives of the government, there was Hagile as well as all the Thembu chiefs from the south, except Dalasile. The terms of the incorporation of abaThembu into the government are

as follows:-

1. Ngangelizwe was to be regarded as the king of all abaThembu in general and would be given a sum of two hundred pounds (200) per annum.
2. When his son reached the age of twenty (20) he would be given a hundred pounds (100) per annum.
3. That Mgudlwa be given fifty pounds (50) per annum.
4. That Mdukiswa would receive the same allowance as Mgudlwa (50).
5. That Bacela and Mhloba would each get thirty pounds (30) The same amount would be given to Sandile of Mzolisa as well.
6. The following would each get twenty pounds (20) per annum:- Sidike, Tsompa, Dubul'ekhwele, Mthiyedwa, Ndwanyaza, Stokhwe, Tyali, Ngonyama and Maramncwa.
7. That all the abovenamed chiefs were heads of their sub-nations and should be recognised by the government as chiefs and should be paid the salaries mentioned above.
8. That tax paying would only begin three years since then, that is, it would be started in 1878.
9. That the boundaries of Thembuland should remain as they were before and be final.
10. That chiefs would exercise no authority over the land

belonging to educational institutions.

12. That amaMfengu of Menziwa be removed and placed where the chief would allocate land for them.

13. That the sale of liquor be prohibited among blacks.

So Mr Probart (sic) was sent on the twenty-fourth (24th) December 1875 to announce in a meeting of abaThembu that the government had agreed to the move except that Ngangelizwe, because of misconduct, was being suspended from chieftainship. But his money which was two hundred pounds (200) he would continue to get from the government.

The people expressed their thanks to the government and even the other matter that the government had referred to, no one was prepared to take it seriously because people could just not understand how the government would make the people to be disloyal and disrespectful to their chief.

From there they followed Ngangelizwe and not one made a claim that he was not subject to him. The government was at a loss as to how best he could make the suspension effective. Soon the government informed abaThembu that Ngangelizwe's conduct was satisfactory and therefore the punishment had been withdrawn, he could exercise his authority once more. Even then the individual mThembu took no notice of the withdrawal of suspension so much that there are many people in Thembuland who dispute that there was any such occurrence. They actually became hot under the

collar when we make any reference to the suspension although we tell them that we got it from historical records which we cannot overlook because the written record cannot be wished away.

NGANGELIZWE BECOMES STABLE

Ngangelizwe then began to be stable and mature and he became very popular with the people because he generously gave people cattle. We are told that all those who went to serve him loyally became rich within no time.

I shall never forget a story Mr Mbombini used to narrate whenever he felt like telling stories about his chiefs. He would relate that once Ngangelizwe was walking alone, it was just late morning, when he met a stranger. The stranger then asked him where Ngangelizwe's great place was. The other then answered, "As soon as you go beyond that hill you'll see a homestead with a lot of people about, you will not miss it."

The stranger asked for tobacco and Ngangelizwe, laughing, apologised having none to offer.

When the stranger was some distance away from His Majesty, he said,

"Tell me! What is one to do considering the reports about the cruelty of this chief?"

The other laughed and asked the stranger why he bothered to visit

him when he had heard about his cruelty. The stranger then said, "No, but I've also heard that he is a very generous chief to those who serve him".

The chief then said, "Hey fellow, are you telling me about rumour!" As he was saying this he advanced towards him tying up his kaross, and getting ready for a fight. The stranger was puzzled by the behaviour of such a tall and big man.

Then the big clash began! Oh! the poor stranger lashed out furiously. Then the chief jumped aside because it all had been a joke. Then he wished the stranger well, assuring him that he would be able to cope with life at the great place, because, there, a man survived by being able to defend himself.

The stranger then proceeded to the great place where he waited for a long time without seeing Ngangelizwe for whom the meeting was waiting. Representatives of the sub-nations kept on arriving. After a long time, he heard the people saluting, "A! Ngangelizwe!" When he took a glance, you can imagine his surprise when he discovered that it was the same man he had encountered on the way.

In that instant he could only rely on his legs to help him escape. He started to run. The chief gave instructions that he must be caught. Then sprinters flew at him not even knowing what he had done to the chief. One of the athletes at the great place managed to catch him and bring him back. He was brought before

the chief and he was assured that no harm would befall him, it was just that the chief was worried that he would leave for good, when he saw him running. So saying, he instructed one of his men to give the stranger a heifer to take away adding an explanation that he was certain that the stranger would be a very loyal citizen, from the very fact that he (the stranger) had had a liking for him not knowing who he was.

There are many other humorous stories that he says he heard from his father and Falo, people who frequented Ngangelizwe's great place together with his father Mgudlwa.

Ngangelizwe also tended to draw closer those councillors who had been converted. Especially Xhelo, who is said to have been born deformed, with limp legs, and had to be carried on to a horse and when in a national assembly he would surprise everybody with his eloquence. That is why imbongi of Gqirana said:

"It is a cow that lows for a cripple of Thembuland
Who is put on horseback and when he gets to the meeting he leads
the deliberations."

Because it is said he was a convert, I take it that he had a little education that sharpened his mind which was naturally bright. We have already made mention of him when we talked about the day boundaries were drawn at Rode (sic).

THE WAR OF NGCAYECHIBI 1877

Just at the time when Ngangelizwe was becoming a wise and stable ruler, the war of Ngcayechibi between amaMfengu and amaGcaleka broke out. The white man came to the assistance of amaMfengu. Then the white man reminded Ngangelizwe of a promise he had made that they would help each other in the event of war. The day had come and the white man appealed to Ngangelizwe for help. The son of Mthirara then convened a meeting of amaHala and informed them about the white man's request.

At this juncture I must mention the fact that when abaThembu were incorporated into the government, Dalasile was also incorporated, but on his own, clearly breaking away from the main body of abaThembu.

On the day approval to the application (for help) was brought, Dalasile looked dissatisfied. He claimed that he had never agreed to some of the stipulations. He had wanted to be incorporated into the government on his own. His subjects were his, he argued. And all the cases of his subjects were his. The government therefore had nothing to do with his people. The Magistrate was simply there to assist him in his administration of justice. The son of Probert (sic) would not agree, he said: "The first application is the one that has been approved by the government. They can't reverse it."

After a long discussion the son of Fubu gave in. He submitted to

an act of folly such as tying a rock around one's neck. In that way his authority over his people was no more as it was said that he would be given a salary of one hundred pounds (100) a year. The son of Fubu died without having ever fetched that money - not once. That marked the end of the problem that was caused by Nongxokozelo's death.

THE WAR OF NGCAYECHIBI 1877

Because of personal tragedies which in a way also affected the nation, Ngangelizwe decided to turn over a new leaf. He resolved to consult his councillors in all matters of importance. At that point the War of Ngcayechibi broke out, where amaXhosa were fighting against amaMfengu. The whites sided with amaMfengu. The government then reminded abaThembu about their promise, that whenever the government was fighting an enemy, they would join in. The government then on that day was inviting them to join the war against amaGcaleka. He would have protested but quickly changed his mind and agreed but asked that he be granted some time to convene a meeting of abaThembu in order to inform them about the request. AbaThembu reluctantly agreed to fight with the government against amaXhosa. But they were forced by circumstances. Ngangelizwe sent for all those chiefs who were under his sway. They all turned up on the day of the departure. It is only Dalasile who was not there. He stated quite categorically that he would never fight amaGcaleka without any provocation. He was fined a hundred cattle for refusing to carry out an order of a Senior Magistrate and his king, Ngangelizwe.

The son of Fubu paid out the fine.

AbaThembu did not have much to say about their fight with amaGcaleka because they came when amaGcaleka were already in flight. They rushed to help their families who were suffering from starvation and exposure. It was the time Ngangelizwe was able to take Novili again and return her to her homestead. All the Thembu maidens who had married amaGcaleka returned to their homes.

The whole episode provided Ngangelizwe with an opportunity to prove to the government that he was in full control of abaThembu especially since he had mended his childish ways.

NGANGELIZWE AND SIQUNGATHI

Ngangelizwe had a younger brother called Siqungathi. When he grew up he was given the name Mengami.* It appears as if when Mengami reached the stage of manhood he became more popular than his elder brother. Then envy set in. The question asked was whether there ever were two bulls in one kraal.

One day as Siqungathi was approaching, Ngangelizwe gave orders that Siqungathi should not be saluted. Then one councillor, fearing that he would be punished for being discourteous, jumped

*The name Mengami is derived from the verb 'ongama' which means to rule over - Translator's note.

on his feet and saluted saying, "Ah Mengami." Ngangelizwe, taking offence, asked, "You say Ah Mengami; over whom does he have power?" he asked advancing on the poor man. Mengami became confused. And His Majesty did not only question his councillors on the love and respect they accorded Mengami, he asked Mengami himself saying, "If they say you are Mengami do you have power over me?"

By the way the two were siblings, moreover they came from one sire. They were both ready to spring at one another. There were other grievances that had caused tension between the brothers. They had had differences over cattle, for instance. But the events of that day had caused a wide rift that could not be mended. Siqungathi, aware that his life was in danger, sought refuge at his sister's place at Dutywa (sic). From there Matanzima fetched him and allocated him his own piece of land. That is why one never finds the name of Mengami among the names that are mentioned with that of Ngangelizwe.

NGANGELIZWE AND MNQANQENI

Mnqanqeni whose other name is Mpendukana is of the right hand house of Ngubengcuka. He lived at Quluqu. It is he who triggered off the second incident between abaThembu and amaGcaleka when he confiscated horses, belonging to Sarili, from a thief who had stolen them. They were unexpectedly caught by amaGcaleka who had gone to fetch the horses. They then captured Joyi and kept him prisoner. It is that incident that caused Mbanga, when singing

praises of Gqirana, to say "Where has Mngqanqeni ever fought? Then why does he confiscate the Ngxabani ox?"

One day it so happened that Mngqanqeni confiscated cattle belonging to a Mfengu, Makala. He was punishing him for isizi.* Ngangelizwe gave orders that the cattle should be sent back to Makala because he was a Mfengu, and amaMfengu were his own people. Mngqanqeni refused to carry out the orders. Ngangelizwe then sent out his regiments and Mngqanqeni fled to Dutywa. Matanzima had compassion for Mngqanqeni in exile. He invited Mngqanqeni to come to his country where Ngangelizwe had no authority. He returned and was settled at Qhitsi. His grave lies at the Main Mission station at Qwebeqwebe.

Ngangelizwe's mbongi shouted saying, "It is Makala who caused all the destruction at Tato's* place."

This is where we end our story of Ngangelizwe and Mngqanqeni who had to leave his birthplace and went to settle at Rode.

NGANGELIZWE DURING THE WAR OF THE GUNS 1882

There was peace and quiet when the whites caused a provocation that could lead to war. A law passed in Parliament stipulated that any black person in possession of a gun, had to hand it in.

*isizi - A fine paid to a chief by man convicted of a criminal offence, especially murder - Translator's note

*amaTato - amaHala

This instruction did not differentiate between friend or foe. The real pity lay in the fact that even those people who had loyally served and defended the government, by the new law, they were made to be in no way different from the enemy, since the government then felt secure enough.

At that time, wise Mshweshwe of abeSuthu was still alive. His immediate response to the order was, "That will never happen." He wasted no time. He immediately sent out messengers to all the natives he knew, instigating them to resist the order, to refuse to hand the arms over.

Here in Thembuland Ngangelizwe was mature and stable. By the way on the day amaGcaleka were dispersed in the War of Ngcayeclibi, Ngangelizwe acted in a very honourable manner in his followers' eyes. He secretly sent messages to Sarili advising him to disband his regiments and to go into hiding with a few bodyguards because he (Ngangelizwe) was not keen to capture him. That made it possible for Sarili to travel through Tembuland during all the time they were after him, visiting the homesteads of his daughters, and even reaching Dalasile's. That act revived his popularity even among those followers who had begun to have doubts about him.

On the occasion of the War of the Guns, there were once again, problems from all angles. The people were informed that blacks up to Lusuthu (sic) had rebelled against the government, and abeSuthu could be seen in action. Wild stories spread all over to

the effect that, "If only abeSuthu, amaMpondo and amaXhosa could form an alliance, O no, the white man would never cope."

People started misinforming one another. Some said, "We shall never hand in our guns when they demand them." While others said, "Well, we shall hand in ours." There were those who were far from speaking the truth. They simply were taking others for a ride. Then the white man began to apply the law. Regiments were sent out to collect guns from those who refused to hand them in. This operation was also launched even in Lusuthu. It was at that time that Mhlontlo, Chief of amaMpondomise and the son of Matiwane said,

"He floats with a whip on the converts
Ears of Ludidi and the likes are hollow
Mandondo growls like his dog
Bolokodlela survives by doing it on his own
The horse of Matiwane refuses to be brushed
Hope once tried to brush it
And it threw him to the ground till today
Nobody knows where it went to."

Hope had asked the Magistrate that amaMpondomise should go and assist the government forces in a war that had been started by Moorosi, a great friend of Mshweshwe's. Mhlontlo replied, "I am still mourning the loss of my great wife, Ma-Sarili, but the war is like death. Give us the guns in order to arm and go."

It is said Hope agreed, but his people refused, and he ignored them. This is what happens to someone in the grip of death. On a certain day Hope and Mhlontlo agreed to meet at a certain place, which was at the foot of a mountain, where he would give them guns to fight abeSuthu. They arrived at the camp where they had

agreed to meet. Hope was with three young men, and he was the fourth one.

AmaMpondomise then started dancing their war dance. Some became emotional. Mhlontlo, noticing this called Sundiza, the son of the Reverend Davis aside, he was the secretary of Hope. He sat down and crossed his legs and told him to come nearer. When he was between the legs, he grabbed him. That was the signal. AmaMpondomise in their war dance had been moving forward and backwards. In that instant they never moved backwards, instead they attacked with their spears. Hope, Henman and Warebe were killed, with Davis witnessing all that gruesome act. He was saved by the prayers of his forefathers.

When the task was accomplished Mhlontlo went on to capture over three hundred (300) guns and twenty-seven thousand (27000) bullets on that day. He proceeded to give help to abeSuthu. Then the focus was on abaThembu. Ngangelizwe was at a loss. But as we said earlier, he was already mature and stable. He decided to be neutral. That is when trouble started because even the wise one, Matanzima had also decided not to fight, but almost all the chieftains under their rule, decided to join the war. Dalasile of amaQwathi fought, so did Mpangele of amaGcina, Stokwe Ndlela also of amaQwathi, Mengami (Siqungathi) of amaHala, Mbambonduna also of amaHala, Langa Mgudlwa of amaJumba, Mdukiswa also of amaJumba all fought. Mgudlwa did not because Falo and his daughter Nomsengo, pleaded with him not to.

In short, all those chiefs were defeated and they surrendered. When it was time to distribute booty, Ngangelizwe distinguished himself as the protector of the interests of abaThembu. He refused the land of amaQwathi arguing that amaQwathi were his subjects. Moreover it was amaQwathi who had fought, but the land remained his. He asked for representation in a Commission that was to divide the land of all those chiefs that had fought against the government. The reason given was that the land was being confiscated in order to pay for the expenses of the war.

Among the representatives of Ngangelizwe in the Government Commission was one named Cuthalele. He was one of Ngangelizwe's councillors. In that Government Commission of 1882 Cuthalele delivered a brilliant speech. So brilliant and important was the speech that I have decided to present it as it is below:

"I have been sent by Chief Ngangelizwe to come and represent abaThembu in this Commission concerned with the confiscation of the land of the people who were in rebellion. There is a practice the government usually follows in such cases, where he divides up the land into farms and distributes those among strangers. The chief has categorically stated that he is opposed to such a practice. He asked that you should please adopt his plan which I am going to present to you, which plan if the government adopts, the alliance between abaThembu and the government will be

stronger and there shall be peaceful co-existence and mutual trust."

He continued, "The chief says that the land confiscated from the rebels must be given to him to be an inheritance of abaThembu, and must not be put up for sale because big business will make a clean sweep of it (land) should that be allowed. And even the land that belongs to amaQwathi it was annexed by the government, and binding decisions were taken that it would never be taken unless he had fought with the government. His Majesty expressed a hope that his request would be received favourably, and also hoped that it would be presented to the government in a similar mood. He made a special plea that the government should please respond. We are the children of the government. We are grateful to him for allowing us to talk to you, sirs, who are representatives of the government. We wish to remind you that the request we have presented to you is not a new one. We once referred it to the Senior Magistrate so that he could pass it on to the government. But up to this moment we have not had any response.

When he is talking about the depopulated land, His Highness, is referring to the land of amaQwathi, of Dalasile, and that of amaJumba of Mdukiswa and the land of Langa and other chiefs who have rebelled against the state, when he, the rightful owner of the land, was on the side of the government. Again, we would like

to point out that no chief met with any injury on this land. We would like to conclude by reminding the government that in all the wars that have been waged here, the government and Ngangelizwe have always fought together, each helping the other, until the end of the war."

After such a brilliant speech by Cuthalele, the government accepted Ngangelizwe's request, that all the chiefs who had rebelled should be returned to their places. But all the territory just along the Drakensberg Mountains, was confiscated and divided up into farms and sold in order to make good whatever expenses were incurred by the government during the war. Ntshacile Foswayo was given a farm because of the help he gave the government during that war, when he was a policeman at Ngcobo.

Please take note of the fact that at this time Ngangelizwe was advanced in years. He was the one who was ready to make peace with Dalasile who had refused to go to the War of Ngcayechibi with him, and who then applied to the government for incorporation as though he were an independent chief. Mnqanqeni the one who had rebelled some time ago and ended up at Roda was given a warm welcome, it was the same with Mbambonduna of Mnqanqeni. All in all Ngangelizwe became the beacon of hope to the sub-nations just as his fore-fathers had done before. He also managed to save the territory of abaThembu from being captured by enemies, especially whites.

Those who criticise chieftainship claim that chiefs are despotic. I wish someone can point out from the report presented above just an instance when Ngangelizwe acted on his own in an issue of the nation, without the councillors. Even the issue of Novili and Nongxokozelo which was an entirely private affair, when it became a national concern, the councillors took over. Their advice was followed.

The other point that is worthy of note is that Ngangelizwe handed over almost all important issues to councillors who in fact were not chiefs, because he respected and recognised their natural talent. On the day boundaries were drawn at Roda, he was represented by Xhelo. On the occasion of the border between himself and Sarili in Bomvanaland, he was again represented by Xhelo. And yet on the day the issue of the land of amaQuathi was discussed, Cuthalele represented him.

Ngangelizwe showed his diplomacy when the government sent its regiments into Thembuland during the Nongxokozelo debacle. During that mission, for no apparent reason they went to fetch Menziwa against his will. Menzima had fled to Tyalara. Even in that case, prudence as far as Ngangelizwe was concerned, prevailed. On the day the peace treaty was signed Ngangelizwe made his mind clear. Menziwa was sent back to where the ruler of the land wanted, at Mthentu, that is why imbongi had this to say.*

* Pages 67-99 in the original manuscript are lost. Translator's note.

AMATSHATSHU

We last mentioned amaTshatshu the day they left, disgruntled, after the war with amaBhaca. We again heard about them on many occasions when we were telling the story of Mthirara (sic) even so, we should make some few final points which have have been left out. When they moved westwards they went about fighting amaLawu and abaThwa, taking their land.

Briefly, the great historian G M Theal in his second book on page 132 writes:

"Colonel Smith met Mapasa at the Moravian Mission Station at Bede (Shiloh) in October 1835. They entered into their first agreement which was to be respected by both sides.

During that period territory belonging to Mapasa stretched from the Mathole Mountain range on the northern side, passed onto the Bhukazana* Mountains up to Nontongwana+ and then joined up a common boundary with Qhwesha of amaNdungwane who lived on the Nkonkobe++ mountains at the source of the Nciba River.

Again, in the following year in October, another government representative called Captain Stockenstroem came and he wanted to know what Chief Mapasa's wish was.

The other one replied saying:

* Intaba ze-Bukazana are two peaks between the heads of the Tyumie and the Keiskama - Knopf p498
 + Nontongwane - The Katberg especially the Waterkloof there - Knopf p504
 ++ Nkonkobe - the Great Winterberg - Knopf p503

"I have only one request to make to the government and that I be left in peace to rule my people as I wish. Also I would like to be protected by the government from my enemies."

In order to confirm their agreement the government sent a representative called Henry Francis Fynn (Feni) to Maphasa during the last month of 1836. Maphasa welcomed him (the representative).

It was not long before there was a need to go out and capture cattle as usual. AmaTshatshu then started, as they were wont, to fight amaLawu and capture their cattle. Moreover they were not aware of the fact that their actions had anything to do with the government. Mapasa chased them (amaLawu) as far as Somerset. Whilst still there the government started attacking amaTshatshu from behind, having sent an army general called Karel England. No fighting took place and amaTshatshu returned home. But the whole experience was a painful one to abaThembu because they said:

"How could the government break the agreement that we would not fight one another?"

There was no one to answer the question except that the government had laid claim to all the land belonging to amaLawu. AbaThembu then started to complain saying that "The whites planned to annex the land of the nations they defeated and did not bother about other nations who made a living out of the land as well."

The reader must note the fact that Maphasa was turned back in 1837 at Somerset adjacent to Cradock, he was on the verge of taking up all the land that belonged to amaRanuga.

Again in the following year another government representative Sir George Napier visited Maphasa at the Bede Mission Station. In that meeting Napier said "Agreements that have been made must be respected. Of late amaTshatshu are in the habit of stealing cattle belonging to the whites, who are their neighbours." He concluded by saying "Such cattle must be brought back."

It was agreed that a search for the cattle would be made and when found, they would be returned. That would not be difficult because whites branded their cattle on the hips. They were even called "Tshinyonga". *

The cattle were never found and the figure given was very high for the cattle not be noticeable when they were among those of abaThembu. Then one day Colonel Hare was sent by the government to fetch cattle belonging to whites from Mapasa. In the event of Mapasa's refusal to hand the cattle over Hare had to get them by force. Nevertheless, there were no cattle to be found, because it was a fact that there were no cattle belonging to whites there; even if there were, it was easy for those people who had them to hide them.

* Literally - branded hips - translator's note

While they were still relaxing the regiments of the government marched in and collected all the cattle they came across and drove to Bede where Feni was. We are told that the regiments were led by Armstrong and Greaves.

When the cattle arrived at Bede, whites were invited to come and lay their claims so that their losses could be refunded. Thereafter the cattle were distributed according to the claims made, no distinction was made whether the cattle were branded or not. Nor was there anyone who could be certain that the cattle had been stolen by amaTshatshu or they had been taken by some other people. It was after their claims had been fully refunded that there were just a few remaining cattle for amaTshatshu.

AbaThembu were dissatisfied with the way the terms of agreement were observed whereby even if no stolen cattle were found with them, they still were expected to repay any losses suffered by whites, or worse still, they would be attacked and accused of having broken the terms of agreement. A rift developed between erstwhile friends.

Again the government drew up another list of stipulations that would help promote good neighbourliness. This was drawn up in Rini (Grahamstown) in 1841. Even the new agreement was acceptable to the son of Bawana. He touched the pen (symbolising the act of signing his name). The reader must take note of the fact that the new agreement was the fourth one, three had already been broken. The reader is free to decide which of the two sides had

transgressed bearing in mind the circumstances we have already referred to.

Tension between the whites and abaThembu remained. Reports were received that these newcomers were engaged in fights almost daily with the other sub-nations in Ngqika's country. Anybody who wanted to know the reason simply said that they claim, "Their cattle are stolen daily." And they were in the habit of taking any cattle they came across, if they went out in search of cattle they had lost. They also regarded anybody different from them as a thief who had to inform them where the cattle had been hidden.

It was at that time when a new governor Peregrine Maitland arrived; he also asked for a meeting with Thembu chiefs at Bofolo (Fort Beaufort) in 1844. By this time Mtirara had arrived and together went with Mapasa to Bofolo; after a few speeches it was again suggested that a new agreement had to be drawn up, even though the fourth one which had been drawn up at Rini had hardly been taken note of. Once again another agreement was reached. What else could they have done in their fright? Moreover even the new agreement just made was the same as the first one. It was confirmed in the following year in 1845. We have written down fully all those stipulations in an article about Mtirara.

We must also bear in mind that Suthu, Sandile's mother and the wife of Ngqika, was Mapasa's sister. So amaNgqika did not like what whites were doing to Mapasa, conversely abaThembu equally did not like the unfair treatment meted out to amaNgqika, also

they were neighbours, as you may have noted when we gave out Mapasa's boundaries. The question of whites became widely talked about.

MAPASA DURING THE WAR OF THE AXE 1846-7

There was a fight between amaNgqika and whites because of an axe that had been stolen by Tsili, that ended in war. Mapasa could not do otherwise but join on the side of amaNgqika without even notifying Mtirara. It is said that he attacked the whites unexpectedly and had the opportunity to recover his cattle which had been confiscated from him at Bede.

When he arrived with the booty, he went to inform Mtirara in accordance with tradition. The latter was in a quandary because he did not want to be involved in a fight with whites; forced by circumstance, he consulted Mapasa on the matter and the result thereof was that Mtirara had to return three hundred cattle to Maitland, whom he found at Alice. He explained to him that he had obtained the cattle from Mapasa, and was returning them to him because he was keen on keeping the terms of the treaty. At this juncture Maitland wanted to protest saying, "Oh no! the cattle you have brought are far less than the cattle that were captured by Mapasa."

The son of Ngubengcuka, trying to avoid falling into a trap similar to the one Gehaz in the Scriptures fell into, answered calmly, "Those were the only cattle that he had obtained from

Mapasa. At the same time he was not only wanting to respect the agreement they had both signed, but he was also requesting to be put under the government."

Mtirara returned home having resolved the misunderstanding that was between Mapasa and the government for at least that day. In the meantime the whites were pressing on amaNgqika, capturing cattle, land and anything that was of value. The whites remained dissatisfied because many of their cattle were still in the hands of abaThembu but had no way of picking on Mapasa and avenging themselves.

MAPASA DURING THE WAR OF MLANJENI 1852-53

We are told that when Mtirara returned from Alice, having already been a sickly man, he became worse and he called some of the leading Thembu men to give his final message before death:-
 "People must return home across Mbashe River in order to get away from whites because they are forever complaining about loss of cattle, which inevitably results in a war that ends up with the annexation of the land, and the capturing of cattle, not to mention the high loss of life."

Thereafter he died. We have already narrated the circumstances of his death and that of Shweni on the same day. At about this time amaNgqika were once again engaged in another war with the whites, the war of Mlanjeni. Mapasa who would not be dissuaded, once more

got himself involved in the war arguing that, "AbaThembu were against involvement in the war because they were cowards."

Joyi and Jumba, who were Thembu senior chiefs then advised the people to migrate in respect of the last words of Mtirara. In short they did move and settled at Tsitsa and Nxankolo.

Nonesi remained behind establishing herself as a Queen, wielding a lot of power; which was obviously the reason why she refused to migrate with Joyi. At this juncture the government then requested Nonesi to follow the rest of the Thembu people, for just a short while, so that the government could have an opportunity to fight with Maphasa.

At last Nonesi agreed to cross Mbashe River with her people and she joined Joyi. At this point Mapasa was amongst amaNgqika, giving them help. Probably he was hoping he would meet with success as he had done in the past, and yet that would not necessarily be the case, moreover the cowardly have a happier and longer time than the brave who must inevitably die in war.

On this particular occasion the Government sent Cathcart and Tilidini (Tylden) to test the strength of the son of Bawana. It was not long thereafter when Mapasa besieged them at Hewu* for almost a week. They experienced a lot of difficulties and were in particular threatened by starvation. Mapasa on the other hand

*Hewu is the flat tract of country between Kamastone and St Marks. Knopf p.501

was keen to repeat his previous successes. It just needed one brave soldier to break through the siege riding with his horse at full speed.

What could they do with a horseman in full gallop? The Africans had no guns, and only shot the enemy by stabbing with their spears. Such a form of attack was then useless in the face of a galloping horse. Yes, there were these who tried to stop the horseman from escaping, but the horse had already bolted away.

The brave one managed to ride to Queenstown and raise the alarm. From there an army was despatched to attack Mapasa which after breaking into two columns attacked Mapasa from in front as well as from behind and he had no option but to flee. He was killed during the war of Mlanjeni and thus abaThembu lost a hero and a truly brave man, who dared situations that were normally avoided by others.

The loss of that man was a tragedy to them because his bravery would not allow him to adopt a neutral stance, and he was also an eloquent speaker that is why he could go on disregarding the terms of agreement yet the whites were not able to annex his land. At last they found a weak point, and they annexed all his territory as we have related in the story of Nonesi.

Finally Cathcart established a town which was named after him in the territory that Mapasa had lost. We did mention how far the

territory stretched, in the place called Daliwe*. Captain Tilidini was honoured by having a railway station named after him, that was to make a commemoration of the men who obtained the land of amaTshatshu for the Government.

Of all the nations that fought against the Government, amaTshatshu are one nation that was mercilessly crushed. Even today there is no chief who has been restored to Tshatshu chieftainship. We hope that it won't be long before Thembu senior chiefs together with the Government focus their attention on the matter and grant amaTshatshu chieftainship to which they are entitled especially to the descendants of Gcuwa who have settled at Chaba.

MNQANGENI WHOSE OTHER NAME IS MPENDUKANE

We are told that when Ngubengcuka died he left four boys who were: Mtirara, Joyi, Shweni, Ngxito as well as Mnganqeni from the right-hand house.

After he had been badly wounded by amaMaya of Magwa it was suggested that he should lie on a blanket of one of the boys. When Mtirara's blanket was brought to him, Ngubengcuka refused to take it because he said he could not lie on that blanket because that boy (Mtirara) would be his successor. Eventually, it was

* Daliwe - The Thorn river, a tributary of the Thomas near Windvogelberg - Kropf p 499.

Mpendukane's blanket that Ngubengcuka lay on until he met his end.

When the boys were fully grown-up, it was time to decide who the heir to the throne was to be. There were differences of opinion on this matter. Some preferred Mpendukane because he was handsome, otherwise they said they had had enough of ugly chiefs. Mpendukane is said to have been really handsome. It was felt that advice should be sought from Ngubengcuka's sister, Nomrinti, who was married to Sarili, she just reminded the men about Ngubengcuka's remark that he would not use Mtirara's blanket because he was the one to succeed him.

After further deliberations, they decided to take the princess' word. Mtirara was put on the throne and was 'given' Nonesi and Shweni. Joyi was made the senior in 'eqadini' - the support-house; and Mpendukana was the senior in exhibeni - i.e. the representative of the grandfather. Ngxito remained in the support-house of the daughter of Vazi of the Mntondo clan among amaQwathi. Nonesi, to whom Mtirara was given was Faku's daughter.

In the past, among abaThembu, the house that came after the great-house was called 'exhibeni'. Mnqanqeni became the senior of exhibeni as we have already said, his other name was Mpendukana.

Ngubengcuka's daughter, who was also Mpendukana's sister was sent to Rarabe's place. When the 'chaperons' were asked, "Tell us, to which house does this daughter belong?" The chaperons and the elders asked for some time to meet and confer.

They then secretly consulted another mThembu woman who had married into the Karabe household. Her reply ran like this

"Here they know nothing about ixhiba, nor do they care about it. The house that comes after the great-house is called the right-hand house."

The following day abaThembu were ready with an answer,

"They had been sent to bring a daughter from the right-hand house."

When they returned home and gave a report they told the terms they had used, Mpendukana was henceforth known as the senior in the right-hand house. We have already talked at length about Mngqanqeni including the occasion when he was expelled by Ngangelizwe. He settled at Qwebeqwebe where there is a mission station of the Presbyterians. The place is called Meyini. That is where Mngqanqeni's grave is, whose other name is Mphendukana.

MBAMBONDUNA OF MNGQANQENI

By the way "a puff-adder begets another puff-adder" so it was with Mngqanqeni who begot himself when he had a son who was as warlike as he had been. It is said he was always at loggerheads with Falo over a boundary, which was really due to lack of respect because he had found Falo already settled there and therefore he had no reason to be troubling him the way he was doing.

Eventually he was forced by Matanzima to return to the land which had been allocated to them. Subsequently he sought ways of

revenging himself by taking sides with whites, hoping if he met with success, he would be able to break any restrictions and become independent. He did fight, together with Siqungathi, during the war of amaDwathi. We are told that the gallant amaJumba joined in on their side, including Sihele and the likes. In short they took all Thembu soldiers and put them under their command. Even people such as Nomantshani from across Mbashe River came over to join them. Mdukiswa also took part in the war. Nomantshayi is one and the same person as Nomantshani. We are told that he was a first class marksman, the son of Joyi.

THE EVENTFUL DAY AT NCORA

We are told that a skirmish between abaThembu and Whites broke out in the vicinity of the shop that stands on the Ncora River which in the past used to belong to Diinkobe. Siqungathi together with amaDilatashe fought there and the shop was burnt down. Just on that day abaThembu killed the Commander of the army, Blackway and more than thirty amaMfengu.

It is the day Mene of the Mpemvu clan, who was Siqungathi's councillor, outshone everybody on the battle-field, fighting and saying

"AmaMfengu do not need to be stabbed by young men, it does not matter how strong he is, he just needs to be beaten up with a stick."

So saying he walloped them with a stick until he was killed and the shop itself was burnt down.

THE MEMORABLE DAY AT NGQWARU

AbaThembu re-organised themselves and went to camp between the mountains at Ngqwaru, in Gusha's territory. They were constantly on the alert and were planning to burn down Bolitye's place where another regiment was stationed. On the 14 of the same month, the commander by the name of Nondzinyana (Von Linsingen) left the shop with his scouts wanting to locate the whereabouts of abaThembu. At that time the army of amaMfengu had camped in Mabetha's territory in the valley of Xaba. It was under the renowned man, Nondo. Who, on seeing Nondzinyana setting out, also followed with his group, aiming at reconnoitring both mountains.

When these two groups were almost on the crest of the hill, someone shouted a warning, then abaThembu descended on them like ants. Confusion set in with each person running to save his own skin, because when the son of Nondzinyana noted the large number of abaThembu he shouted out, "Everybody for himself!"

When they were on the plain that leads to Xaba's place, they brought one White man down, his horse actually galloped towards the enemy, and he tried to run on foot, crying for help. Nondzinyana turned back and managed to put on his back. A Thembu marksman aimed and hit the horse and all three fell down. Nondzinyana broke a leg, his son turned back to pick up his father, but he couldn't because of a broken leg. AbaThembu then arrived and trampled on all three at the same spot.

At the same time the rest of abaThembu made their appearance near Dyarani's place. They arrived at a Mfengu camp that was in Xaba's area. Fighting ensued. It was in that battle where the son of Marongo distinguished himself. This, I was told by Mr Valem Mthwazi who said that he had actually taken part in that battle. Mounted, he cut down a number of people without difficulty because his grey horse had got used to such warfare in the wars that were fought at Tsitsa.

He would say about his horse

"The grey ones are giving each other a ride
The grey horse and the grey Marongo
The grey horse and the grey Marongo"

We are told that this man mercilessly wounded and killed people who were running on foot in confusion, while on horseback, he would approach from behind and slash at the enemy

When they were at Gqogqora they came across Makeleni's regiment which mortally wounded him by shooting the horse, just as it had happened to Nondzinyana. At this juncture, there are different versions of what actually happened that day. One version claims that someone invited Sihele to come along on his horse, and he is said to have replied,

"He could not leave his saddle behind which would then end up being used by amaMfengu."

We do not believe that explanation, we think that that was simply a way the people who were there tried to absolve themselves from being blamed by Mgudlwa, because the truth is what was confirmed even by Patsayo of the Mpinga clan who used to stay with us at

Matsolo's place and would tell us his war experiences including the events of that particular day. He would say,

"After the horse had been shot, he (Sihele) unfastened the saddle and put it on his shoulders, when the people drew near he put it down and resumed fighting. People were afraid of him so they ran away and shot him at a distance."

The narrator would go on to say what was amazing was that although he heard the shots, he did not fall. It was then that Ndondo hit him on the brow with a butt of the gun, he fell and that was the end.

The whites came to inspect his body wanting to find out why he would not fall when he had been shot at, they were not able to find an answer because he was found to have had seven bullet wounds and the Ndondo inflicted wound on his brow. They left Sihele lying there with others who had also died for their nation. We are told that when Mgudiwa heard that he had gone to battle he said,

"Be comforted, that one (Sihele) will not return especially as I shall not be there."

Nondzinyana and others were buried next to Mbulali's place, not far from the Bolititye's shop. I once went there to count the number of graves, I counted more than thirteen, all surrounded with marble stones. I understand abaThembu caused havoc because when they were being pursued, there were some who tried to ambush the pursuers like Nomantshani who, to everybody's surprise, stood up and fired, and got his mark, and then he (Nomantshani) fled.

While his people were trying to put him on a horse, the son of Joyi again fired and again hit his target. They then dropped everything and pursued him. They say just as they were closing on him, he shot at his pursuers while his horse was in full gallop. The soldiers came to a dead stop and they decided to turn back. That marked the end of the war, abaThembu surrendered, leaving a rich history for us insofar as they were always fortunate in succeeding to kill the generals. This is where we end about amaDilatashe and the group from Nobopha's place at Roda. They went to ask for pardon from Ngangelizwe, and he again received them with open arms.

NOMANTSHANI IN LUSUTHU

When Nomantshani was pursued, he fled to Lusuthu. Even before he got to Lusuthu he received reports that he was a wanted man because of his exploits at Ngqwara. It was also said that there were some people who had been locked up by Austin who had been in command of the army with him.

Therefore the son of Joyi could not waste any more time, he moved on. especially as he was aware of the fact that things were bad for him back at home. He finally got to Lusuthu; and it was just on the Gqili (Orange) where Austin had besieged Morosi. He was advised to station himself in a particular place which Austin would approach every time he wanted to reconnoitre the countryside and the army. Whenever it was him in person he would be preceded by a spotted dog that would come in view first,

sniffing the tracks of birds and animals.

When he appeared he saw him and he put his hat on a stone wanting to mislead him, and he hid under a shrub. It was not long thereafter Austin aimed with his gun, a shot went off, and the hat fell. Then, relaxed, he approached thinking he would find a corpse. When he was short a distance away, the son of Joyi took an aim and let go the trigger! Down he fell, out of his view.

He heard somebody uttering words of thanks from the top of the mountain at the same time descending to the place where Austin had fallen, he followed hesitantly, and when he appeared a mSuthu man was just leaving Austin's corpse, running away with the head. He took it to the chief.

At that time it was the sons of Moshweshwe who were in power. Just as they were busy congratulating him (the mSuthu man) for his brave deed, Nomantshani's men came to give the report. There was not much denial and it was soon clear that the man was telling a pack of lies. Nomantshani was given a place to live after he had been presented with cattle.

He lived there happily for some time, and was treated with great respect; but soon abaThembu fell back to their old habit of cattle raiding. They would not leave the cattle of abeSuthu themselves, moreover they were in the habit of using bad language, and were agitating for war. What increased tension

further was that every time there was idabi* a skirmish abeSuthu were defeated. The whole matter was reported to the Chief, and it was clear that they would be punished; moreover abaThembu were quite disrespectful even to him (Nomantshani). The fact is that he had met some of them for the first time during the flight having never met them before.

Then he realised the danger that would befall him and thought of home saying, "By the way I am a stranger and a sojourner in a foreign country; I must return home whilst things are still in order." That is how he went back home to Baziya. Let us leave the great hero there, an accomplished marksman indeed. It is he and Langa, among Thembu chiefs, whose high performance lifted the standard of abaThembu generally in that war of amaQwathi.

JUMBA THE RIGHT-HAND HOUSE OF NDABA

According to the story, Jumba's mother belonged to the Mncotshe clan, the daughter of Ngcayiya. Jumba was a kindhearted, wise but self-effacing man. Because of his humility he was well-liked by senior chiefs in power. For that reason he was a trusted advisor at the great place. One other thing that he is famous for, is the long life that the Almighty granted him. One will understand that when one realises that he was older than Ngubengcuka. The latter was actually of the same age as Jumba's younger brother, and because of that they all went to the circumcision school at the same time.

*idabi is normally a boys' skirmish - Translator's note.

Ngubengcuka grew up, ascended the throne and died in 1836. At that time Mtirara was not yet in a position to take over and therefore Fadana became regent. Fadana handed power over to Mtirara whose chief adviser was Jumba. Mtirara died in 1851 and Joyi became regent then he handed power over to Ngangelizwe in 1863. Jumba passed away long after Ngangelizwe had been in power. We are told that when Jumba died he was already a very old man who was troubled by a blocked gullet and experienced difficulty in swallowing. He also suffered from asthma.

He fought in all the wars that Ngubengcuka was engaged in when he was still a strong man. It is he who was selected from other chiefs to look after the missionaries on their arrival, at a time when the country was still in darkness. He never misused that privilege, which is the reason why his descendants are outstanding in the fields of education and theology.

Let us draw the attention of the reader to an important story about his marriage. It is said that he first married Nkulu, the daughter of Mlawu, and because of his kindness, he never cared to marry another although he was supposed to have done so, because at that time, the son of the great-house had to be borne either by a princess from Gcalekaland or Mpondoland, the two great neighbouring nations.

At that point his younger brothers forced him to marry. They were

not on good terms with this woman of the Qwathi clan.* She was accused of hen-pecking the chief. On occasions Jumba would appear to agree on an issue, but he would be found to have changed his mind the next day.

Jumba paid no attention to the suggestion that he should get another wife. His younger brothers, however, took the matter into their hands. They got the daughter of Botomani, and even assisted with lobola. As for Jumba, he used cattle from Coto's homestead which was the support-house (iqadi) of Ndaba for lobola, and when the Gcaleka maiden arrived, Jumba took her to the Cotho homestead which had its own cattle.

Then one day someone suggested that it was high time the wives were classified into ranks so that the great wife could be known.

Ndaba's son coolly responded to the suggestion by saying, "My action on the occasion of the arrival of this woman explains itself. I have made her to be the support-house (iqadi) of Ndaba, Coto's mother and that is where she is now".

This man had shrewdly side-stepped the plans of his kinsmen. The placing of the woman in the homestead of the support-wife (iqadi) was a trick, they on other hand, failing to see the full implications of such an action, simply appreciated the fact that the woman had been given inheritance (by being placed in a

* Rather confusing considering that Nkulu was Tshawe, being Mlawu's daughter. Translator's note.

homestead with stock). Despite the puzzling situation, the men would not give in. They said, "Never! that is your wife, not Ndaba's. We want the women to be classified into ranks."

The other replied, "I for one, am through with the whole business, that is of course if you want my custom and that of abaThembu." So saying, he left that unfortunate meeting. The reader should remember that the classification of wives into different ranks is a family affair, it should only be taken to a public meeting when everything has been ironed out. Also the classification is usually done after the death of the head of the family. The people in this case then decided that they would attend to the matter after the death of Jumba. But Jumba just would not die.

Then the day came when Mgudlwa, the son of the Qwathi woman reached manhood. Jumba, without wasting any time, sent Mgudlwa to Joyi at the great place for the latter to present the former with gifts, celebrating his coming of age. It is only that young man who will later be a chief who is sent to the great place for such a presentation, then the ox that is presented to him is then given a name which (name) will also be used for the regiment (ibutho) of that particular young man. So when Mgudlwa was presented with an ox at the great place it was given the name Ngoji.

That is why a Thembu poet (imbongi) used to say, "It is Ngojini, people of Mgudlwa."

The Gcaleka woman also had her eldest son circumcised. Then someone suggested to Jumba that he should instruct the young man on his duties. The son of Ndaba simply zipped his mouth. And, being a refined gentleman, nobody dared to ride rough-shod over him. All were in a quandary about what to do next.

The tension was eased by Mgudlwa who stood up to counsel his brother saying, "I don't know why you trouble the son of my paternal aunt. I personally do not begrudge him for anything and I therefore present him with an ox."

Later he was then sent to Joyi for him to present him as it was custom. Joyi sent the young man back saying, "Please go to Jumba and ask him how many heirs does he have." When they got home a councillor could not but salute him because all along he had not yet been given his title by which he would be saluted. The councillor said "Aa! Mdukiswa!!" Which simply meant that his chieftainship had got lost or had disappeared. That is how Mdukiswa ended up belonging to iqadi (support-house) of Ndaba. Moreover many councillors were on Mgudlwa's side, those that were with Mdukiswa could just not resort to arms, something that is usually done whenever there is a problem of this nature.

From that day henceforth Mdukiswa's adherents were referred to as those of Mngcangathelweni, being named after the name of an ox that belonged to Coto's home.

We shall keep on going back to the topic about missionaries who

were put under his charge. It is said that when the Methodist Mission station at Ndlovukazi (Lesseyton), was officially opened, Nkulu, the beloved of Jumba, donated a dark brown ox called Dyumani. Again, there is something we can't forget about Mgudlwa although we have already talked about his circumcision at length. While Jumba's homestead was still at the Bolotwa, that is south, he sent this very Mgudlwa to school at Mgwali (Clarkebury). Schooling those days was not easy. Children would go to school covered with their blankets. It was only at school that they would begin to wash, comb their hair, and then be given pants to wear. After the school was over they would undress, tie their clothes up in a bundle, and then hang them on the rafters; the same process would again be followed on the following day.

We are told that when the destruction of "mfecane" came, the school house was burnt down together with the clothing belonging to the school boys. In that way the chances for schooling met an abrupt end for them. Thereafter, the people dispersed and moved westwards before he (Mgudlwa) had managed to learn anything.

THE DAY OF A DISPUTE OVER INXAXHEBA

On the day of the wedding festivities, when Ngangelizwe was marrying the daughter of Sarili, amaJumba quarrelled over

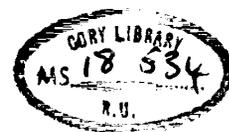
'inxaxbeba', that is the adherents of Jumba, and those of Mdukiswa. Then once again the question was asked, "Just tell us, which of you is the paramount chief?" Mdukiswa replied, "Of course I am because I am the son of a princess, the daughter of Botomani, a mGcaleka woman; according to an undiluted custom of abaThembu, it is the daughter of a senior chief who is given the (seat of authority). If my position is being contested, does that mean that the ancestral practice is being changed today?"

Then Mgudlwa stood up and asked for an opportunity to ask some questions. Permission was granted to Mgudlwa to proceed, "By the way is the ox after which you have been named not called Mngcangathela?" The reply, "Yes, that is so." "Is Mngcangathela not the name of the support-house (iqadi), of Ndaba?" The reply, "It is." "By the way, is (iqadi) a support-house of Ndaba not Coto's homestead?" The reply "It is so." "Do you still remember that when Mdukiswa's mother was married, Jumba obtained cattle from Coto's homestead for lobola?" The reply, "Yes, we do remember." "By the way, this mGcaleka woman you keep referring to, does she have a homestead of her own?" The reply, "Yes, she does have it." "I mean her own site which was made for her on which she built her own house as other women do; not that one she was taken into which is in reality Coto's home, and the homestead of the support-house (iqadi) of Ndaba?" The reply, "We are now here at Ngangelizwe's homestead and we are not discussing sites." "If that is your argument, who benefitted from the property of the Mngcangathela homestead the one that the Gcaleka woman was taken to on arrival?" The reply, "It was Mdukiswa." At that

point Mgudlwa addressed His Highness saying, "His Majesty has heard that the person who is contesting my right to seniority is in fact the son of Ndaba. His mother was 'brought in' by Jumba to replace the mother of Phitsha who had died, leaving a daughter called Coto which daughter was then given by Ndaba to Jumba's mother to bring up, together with her inheritance which then Ngubengcuka become entitled to it. Jumba, knowing that the stock belonging to Coto's homestead was likely to be contentious, did not include it to his. That is why he even brought in a woman, it was to see to it that the support-house (iqadi) of Ndaba should not die out. All in all, this one, who wishes to see me punished by your Majesty for claiming to be the right-hand house of Jumba, is in fact, my paternal aunt's son."

When he sat down, opinion was divided among the councillors of the great place, some were fuming with anger, and others were still keen to get more information from both sides. There was also the point that Mgudlwa had been the first to be given a present at the great place, and the great place had actually refused to present Mdukiswa when he reached manhood.

It was clear that the one on whom a favourable judgment would be passed, would get a treasured prize because a solution that had long been awaited would have been reached. The councillors went aside for a private consultation, the chiefs remained behind and were also ruminating over the matter, after Mgudlwa and Mdukiswa had been asked to leave them for a while.



When both points of view had been considered as well as the views of the sage, Xelo Gubanca of the Vundle clan, who was renowned for eloquence, the son of Mtirara stood up and said, "We have heard both view points and this council here sympathises with you in your dilemma, house of Jumba, because you have had this problem for a long time without finding a solution. Even today, it is still beyond us, there are questions that need to be answered by Jumba himself, who is not here now. So here is our judgment. Please bring Jumba here so that he can enlighten us about the problem of his house. We also echo Joyi's question which he once asked, "How many heirs does Jumba have?" For the time being, Mgudlwa may take 'inxaxheba' from the kraal and eat it as our judgement stands until Jumba comes. Mgudlwa then left having been tentatively given seniority until such time as Jumba came to solve the riddle formally.

When Mgudlwa returned from the great place he asked for permission from Jumba to settle among amaQwathi where he had seen a place he favoured. Jumba in turn indicated that he also wished to join him and not remain there.

Then one day Mgudlwa drove out all that belonged to Ngojini, at the same time Jumba was reluctant to go to the great place to help settle the question of seniority of his sons in accordance with the judgment passed at the great place. So they left, and when they had gone far, Jumba indicated that he was diverting and he went to settle at Mhlwazi. Mgudlwa went to settle at Qumanco, the place where Qaqawuli is today.

MGUDLWA MARRIES

On a certain day two maidens were brought to Jumba's place for his son. It was pointed out that the prince was still young to have 'isithembu' (more than one wife). In that case the maiden he would not choose would then be taken by his father Jumba.

That meant that Mgudlwa had to go and see the girls and take the one he preferred. This proved a difficult problem and he then asked his friends to come and help him choose. It was soon known that the Mpondo maiden was a beauty. There also was Nqhola's (sic) daughter, of the Nqhosini clan, a dark beauty, who was stable in mind. Then Mgudlwa was asked which of the two did he prefer. By the way, in the past, one would be given a girl even if one did not necessarily love her. Actually he could not say which was the one that he loved because he was just ready to take any that was given to him. The daughter of Nqhola was slow in speech and one could notice that she choose words with care, and she obviously had restraint and did not have a loose tongue.

When the family chose the Mpondo maiden because of her beauty, Sihele chose the maiden of the Nqhosini clan saying, "She is stable-minded, mature and you are in no doubt as to how she will turn out to be."

There was disagreement; some protesting, said, "Mgudlwa must not listen to Sihele, he is misleading him." As his final word the son of Marongo said "It is alright, Jumba you may take the Mpondo

maiden for Mgudlwa, but personally I shall always be associated with that maiden who will be your wife, no matter how junior you make her."

At this juncture it was necessary to have a private meeting of seniors, that is, Jumba and Sihele. Jumba then asked Sihele what exactly had he noted in the girl that he should speak the way he was doing. The other one explained this way, "This girl is brilliant indeed." The truth was that the old man had had an opportunity to question the girls and they had given differing responses. Jumba then said, "I am changing my opinion, now. Let Sihele's point of view prevail. If it so happens that Mgudlwa marries another girl later who may be senior to this one by birth, Mgudlwa will have to see to it that she retains a respectable status because she is favoured by a member of the family who otherwise cannot be associated with lowly positions." That is how Falo's mother was married. She is Mgudlwa's first wife and yet she was not a princess, she obtained her status because of Sihele who was given that honour by Jumba himself. To sum up, even today the Sihele family is inseparable from the Falo family because of that bond that was tied by our forefathers on that day."

Now we have come to the end of the story about Jumba who is said to be buried in that forest called Mbinini which is at the source of the Mhlwazi and Khowa (slang) Rivers.

Whenever amaJumba are determined to take a particular line of

action on an issue one will hear them saying "I swear by Jumba, lying at Mhlwazi I am not changing my mind."

MDUKISWA SON OF JUMBA

Mdukiswa, throughout his youth, was in the care of Mgudlwa until they parted at Tabasa (sic) in the vicinity of Mtata. He also took part in the battle the time amaJumba were at Tsitsa, and were helping Mhlontlo. He was there on the day of Novili. We are told that amaJumba got involved in the fighting on that day only after amaGcaleka had shot his horse and he fell. The Mngcangathelweni regiment sent a report to Mgudlwa and Dalasile to the effect that the chief's horse had been shot, at the same time amaGcaleka were approaching at full speed. Mgudlwa felt obliged to go and help his brother, Mdukiswa, who on seeing him burst out in praises saying, "Now that you have come, you fair son of my father, I am well-protected." Finally, amaGcaleka who had been fighting against amaJumba, had to turn back. AmaJumba fought very bravely to avoid the disgrace of fleeing and deserting their chief. That is how he (Mdukiswa) escaped.

When Ngangelizwe was drawing up the terms of his incorporation with the government, the name of Mdukiswa was the third on the list, following Mgudlwa who in turn came after Ngangelizwe and his son who was still a minor at that time.

Unfortunately Mdukiswa fought against the government in that war of amaQwathi. By the way there was a general rebellion all over stretching from Lusuthu (sic) among the sons of Moshweshwe;

general confusion reigned, with fighting scattered all over. That is why so many government offices were burnt down.

Again, there were rumours that Mgudlwa had rebelled as well, that made him to join the rebels and fight together with Langa who was with his father Jumba. In that way we appreciate the reasons of his involvement in the rebellion which action unfortunately led to his loss of chieftainship. All the chiefs who took part in that war were demoted and made headmen thereafter. That is why amaJumba at Tabasa were regarded as headmen until they regained chieftainship recently under King Jonguhlanga.

MGUDLWA, THE SON OF JUMBA

Mgudlwa was an outstanding and brave young man indeed. His short-temperedness is very much like that of Aleni's. That is why Aleni has been promoted to be a sergeant of police because he has got both characteristics in him, eloquence and bravery, because in reality one can expect nothing from a coward. Because of that his father gave him charge over the army while he was still alive as he had noted that his love for the people was much stronger than love for himself. We have already referred to several incidents in which he was of great help, now we shall briefly mention those events that have escaped our notice.

MGUDLWA AND ABATHWA (SAN)

The history of the abathwa is never mentioned by abathembu. It was only brought to my attention by Professor Brookes in his book. When I consulted abathembu on the subject wanting to

ascertain the facts, they had this to say.

One day abathwa stole a horse belong to Mpambani younger brother of Jumba. Mgudiwa, then in power, ordered abathwa to release the horse. Abathwa replied saying, "Please stop worrying about an old horse." That was provocative enough, and the war-cry was sounded! The challenge was picked up by the sons of Sandialanacha. Just before the two sides clashed, out jumped a gallant mThwa soldier saying

"Take care Mgudiwa, son of Jumba
 Today you have encountered the sons of Sandialanacha
 The arrow is here, and the spear is here
 We shall see."

So saying he ran off, then performing antics he started singing his praise-songs.

"Here stands Nongqonqotho,
 The one who puzzles tigers
 Come and we shall see"

Those were the last words he spoke and the two adversaries clashed. What a surprise! The fellow could not fight at close range, they were happier when shooting with arrows or guns or at times throwing the spears. Yet that style of fighting was ended by Tshaka regiments who believed in stabbing at close quarters.

Abathwa fled into the forest and abathembu followed in close pursuit. Now you must remember that a chief did not usually pursue the enemy and that was the case even on that day.

There was a noise coming from the centre the reason was that the

stupid abaThwa had run back to their families. AbaThembu would not stop and they killed all that they came across. When an order from Mgudlwa arrived to the effect that they should not kill the women, but must capture them, only a few had escaped the slaughter. That marked the end of abaThwa at Mbo that day. Among those who survived was a mThwa who was very close to Falo, who taught him how to prepare an antidote against a snake bite, even an antidote against a bite by a python. Qaqawuli still has the knowledge of that antidote.

MGUDLWA AND ABESUTHU

At Tsitsa Mgudlwa had settled next to amaMpondomise who at that time were under Mhlontlo. While there was peace and order there came to Mgudlwa messengers from abeSuthu who had settled at Mbo who had been sent by their chief to complain that Mhlontlo was refusing to release a race horse that had been stolen by his (Mhlontlo's) people; the horse was well known and was called Ramatsiliso. The Suthu chief was simply asking Mgudlwa to be neutral in the event of an attack on amaMpondomise. Mgudlwa promised that he would not take sides when they fought amaMpondomise.

On a particular day abeSuthu arrived at the place of the son of Matiwane coming to fetch their horse. The new style of fighting of soldiers on horseback was known to both groups especially the regiments that had come from Rhoda; abeSuthu however, were experts in that kind of fighting because they had many horses.

AbeSuthu would charge in full gallop into the ranks of opponents, and, passing next to the enemy, would slash with an axe and kill him. AmaMpondomise were thrown into confusion, then they gave in and fled. AbeSuthu mercilessly cut many down. Mgudlwa then said to his people, "Charge at them, what will you do if abeSuthu aftering fishing off amaMpondomise fall on you?"

AbaThembu then attacked from the rear and there was utter confusion. Yet, they had played with fire. When abeSuthu returned in full force, they were in real trouble. Remember that many were waddling on foot.

In the encounter that followed, it was soon clear that abeSuthu were stronger, Sihele, noticing that the people were cut down in large numbers, then said to Mgudlwa, "Let us withdraw, chief, today, the people are dying." As he was speaking, they were almost alone, the foot-soldiers were already a distance away running down hill to a stream. Mgudlwa then instructed them not to flee otherwise they would be eliminated but to retreat while at the same time resisting the attack. He then spurred his horse and went to stop those who were running and crossing the stream. We are told that when he turned back amaJumba of his father, they immediately fell into line like the brave soldiers they were. He then went on to advise them that they must not run away again, abeSuthu were dangerous to those in flight. He assured them saying, "In order that you can believe that I don't want you to run away, any coward is free to take my horse and escape. I will die with you here today." He then alighted from his horse and handed it over to one of his councillors.

In the meantime Sihele and others, who had been ordered to retreat while still fighting, kept on moving backwards and forwards, on the look-out for any who fell behind. But they could not prevent one or two horsemen from breaking through and attacking the defenceless who were on foot. When they delivered their blows they would be heard singing their praises saying,

"Take a look at Masokwenjica
A cap of a hide of an elephant
An elephant that bewitches"

Eventually his (Mgudlwa's) group arrived and the gentlemen from Lusuthu launched a fresh attack. Then Masokwenjica went straight for Mgudlwa, obviously he knew who he was. Just as he was about to strike with his axe, the other ducked on the other side of his horse which was in the care of someone else. When Masokwenjica was trying to bring his horse to a halt in order to deliver another blow, amaJumba all fell on him. It is said that he sustained so many wounds from spears that it is not possible to say who got him first! People just made claims at random that they had been the first to inflict a wound on him. In that manner the outstanding mSuthu, the Elephant that bewitches, died. One of his people was heard crying,

"Kgele banna, Tlou ea loya bambolaile"
(O people, they have killed the Elephant that bewitches.)

Just at that time the son of Matiwana had also launched another attack from the rear. Then pandemonium broke out, with the spear wreaking havoc among abeSuthu. They (abeSuthu) gave up and took to flight; they took off in a disorderly fashion with nobody to

direct them as their general lay dead. Just as they were ascending the mountain, many cowards acted foolishly. They alighted from their horses and preferred to run on foot. Such an act actually encouraged the enemy to pursue them further in the hope of getting more horses which they had left behind.

That is how the alliance of Mgudlwa and Mhiontlo brought success, but at a very high loss of life. Among the chief councillors who fell in that encounter on that day were Mbexxe the son of Limba, Sende of the Mpinga clan who resides among amaJumba of Tabase and Khafu Sizani another of the Mpinga clan. When they reached home and gave the report, Jumba wept bitterly, saddened by the death of so many people. When he lifted up his head after weeping for a long time, he asked Mgudlwa, "How many of you are dead?" Mgudlwa, "Fortunately, we are all safe." "Where did you hide yourselves when others were engaged in battle?" The response, "It was just by God's (Qamata) grace."

After talking with Chief Jumba who was enquiring about his people who had fallen in battle, there followed a very important speech which is usually delivered by a chief to his men before they disperse, returning to their homes. The chief usually pays tribute to the fallen, and consoles those whose loved ones have fallen in battle, and further asks them to go and break the sad news to those who remained at home. It is a day when the chief shows his leadership qualities. When he recounts how his councillors lost their lives for his cause and that of his country; and when he recalls events where the same men

distinguished themselves in earlier battles.

In fact he does not end there, he goes on to honour the valiant by bestowing the feathers of the blue crane on those men whose valour had been outstanding in that particular war. It usually was most embarrassing to those men who had been stopped running away for safety in a thicket. They would hide their faces in shame. Those fit for promotion would be given cloaks made of leopard skins which are in practice a preserve for royalty.

What was most admirable was that one should face death rather than flee and leave his chief behind. And yet people did not like a cowardly chief either. If it proved impossible to kill him, the people could desert him. Mgudlwa became even more popular to his councillors because of the brave deed of alighting from his horse and facing death together with those who were on foot and who were more vulnerable rather than be safe on horseback.

THEREAFTER MHLONTLO FOUGHT WITH NDAMASE

We are told that amaJumba in fear of Jumba (sic) went out in full force.

After some time Mhlontho's regiments were put to flight by those of Ndamase. Mhlontlo happened to know where amaJumba were, and with amaMpondo not fully aware of what was happening, they found themselves under attack by Matiwana's reserve army. In one day four of Mbuthu's sons, who was Ndamase's senior officer, of the

Xesibe clan, died.

Up to the departure of Mgudlwa from Tsitsa and Nxu where he had established himself, Mhlontlo was never defeated by any nation. Our history on Mgudlwa and the life of amaJumba at Mbo will end here. We will not mention anything about Mgudlwa when residing in Thembuland because everything about him appears fully in the articles on Ngangelizwe and Langa.

LANGA, THE SON OF MGUDLWA

Mgudlwa in his great-house (senior) begets Mabala, Adam and Gqorolo as well as Cesi. Langa grew up at his grandfather's place at Mhlwazi. His real name was Nkwenkwezi, and he was just as brave as his father.

When the war of amaQwathi broke out, Langa asked his father whether he would take up arms or not. The other agreed that he would fight. During that visit whose purpose had been to consult his father about the war, Langa noted that Falo was vehemently opposed to participation. He then went to Sopili, Falo's younger brother, who was the same age as he (Langa), and persuaded him to take up arms and not listen to what Falo was saying, that "Let us not fight" - that was cowardice. Then Sopili said, "Yes, brother, it is kind of you to tell me that Falo is a coward, in that case, he will always need somebody to defend and look after him."

In that way Sopili's argument was convincing. Falo on his part

had to bear the heavy responsibility of dissuading his councillors, among whom was Sihele, on one hand and dissuading Mgudlwa on the other. Mgudlwa himself had explicitly stated that he was taking up arms. Eventually, by the mercy of God something unexpected happened. That was the arrival of Nomyengo, Mgudlwa's sister, from Ngqikaland. When she was informed of Mgudlwa's military plans, she cried bitterly, dissuading him saying, "In order to convince me, dear brother, that you are brave and strong, stab this stone with a spear. If you are successful, you must know that you are a man, and you will defeat the White man, but if you are not, don't even worry about going to war; do not bother Falo anymore; you will be defeated by the White man, and you will get killed, moreover chieftainship for your children will also die, just as that of amaNgqika, I am talking about what I have witnessed and what I know."

The lion-like Mgudlwa calmed down, and he started crying bitterly. Falo, realising the danger of military involvement, earnestly tried to show him the folly and danger that would befall him.

The next problem was to find a suitable person who would be sent to dissuade Langa from fighting. Several names were suggested, but it was felt that they would meet with no success. Langa would not even look at them, let alone listen. At last it was decided that Gqorolo, with whom he was on good terms and he was likely to heed what he had to say, should be sent. We are told that Mgudlwa was grievously hurt by the fact that he had to break his promise, something he regarded as a sign of weakness.

Nevertheless, it is only a fool who, if he had a particular point of view, will not change even though new facts which were not considered before are brought to light. At this juncture, we give credit to Mgudliwa for that and we grant that he was a true leader.

Mgudliwa's son then left with these councillors who were to accompany him to the mission of trying to dissuade Langa, even in that case, they were just trying their luck, because they knew Langa well. When he got to Mhlwazi, Langa started singing his (Gqorolo) praises and his brother (Gqorolo) immediately broke down in tears, and handed over his weapons. By the time he asked what his mission was, Gqorolo had changed sides and was ready to fight. That marked an end of an attempt to dissuade Langa from joining the war.

When the army was fully mobilised and assembled at the great place, a war-doctor by the name of Sakathi, of the Nywabe clan, who had been consulted by Langa, started doctoring the army. A bull belonging to the great place was slaughtered according to custom *lokushwamisa**. To everybody's consternation, the bull would neither fall nor did it bellow. A sacrificial ox is supposed to lie on its left, and to utter a bellow when it is being slaughtered. The elders then asked the war-doctor, "What is the meaning of all this?" The war-doctor answered saying, "Today Langa will disperse the (white) soliders and their tiny bullets will be harmless."

*Such a bull would be killed with bare hands and certain practices had to be observed - Translator's note.

All that was possible to make the soldiers invulnerable and strong was done. Then the army left after being counselled by the chief. When they started driving out cattle that would feed the army, Langa's ox refused to leave home; at times it even threatened people when they tried to force it. The elders once more felt obliged to ask Sakathi, "But what does this mean now?" The war-doctor, rather flustered, re-assured everybody and promised nothing but all that was good for the army. At last, the ox gave in and moved. All the Boers were harassed and attacked, those who were below the mountain range, as well as those who had settled in the territory of Stokwe Tyhali of the Vundle clan. Later on they decided to spend the night in a Boer homestead that had a kraal made of stones. Stock was slaughtered and the regiments were fed well. The general discussion was about which regiment was going to strike first. The chief himself moved from one sub-division of his army to another giving words of encouragement.

In short, soldiers do not sleep because they must always be ready for action, all the time. They also kept busy by giving shooting lessons to those who could not use guns, those who simply carried guns in order to frighten others off and had bought one simply because he could afford to do so. Others, especially the young men were given lessons by one specialist on spear-throwing, and were also shown different weapons which could be used effectively when the enemy was at a certain distance. A complete weaponry for each man consisted of eleven spears each with tips shaped differently and with a special name of its own.

It was at dawn on the day following the harassment and attack of the Boers below the mountain range, and the army had also settled down comfortably, when someone heard a sound of hoofs made by galloping horses. When a question was asked as to what that was the reply was, "Those are Mpangele's sentries which by the way we saw at sunset below that slope, and they spent the night in a cave; even at night we did see their light," said the scouts. Even though this assurance was given, someone said, "Let's tie up our bundles, it is time to get up."

There was silence for some time, yet they were waiting for day-break. Then a sound of gun-fire broke the silence. The men ran for cover, hiding behind stone walls while bullets were falling like hail stones. AmaJumba immediately returned fire because there were some among them who were armed with guns as well. The soldiers soon realised that they were in mortal danger as their opponents were well protected by the stone walls, they then withdrew, luring amaJumba away from their fort.

When they were some distance away, out jumped the gallant son of Mgudlwa himself, and headed for the opposite direction. He had actually chosen the place for the night because he had foreseen how he would arrange his army for defence in the event of an attack, but that was not to be the case, the white man was better equipped; as he was heading for a ridge of stones protected by a high boulder, they (the whites) rushed in with their horses and successfully forestalled him, for amaJumba were running on foot because they had not had a chance to mount their horses. Just as they were halfway between the ridge and the stone walls, the

descendants of settlers fired a shot. The very cliffs resounded in an echo, and the great hero fell on his face, the bullet having found its target with ease as he was in the forefront. He quickly got up and, surveying his men, he called out, "Get on with it, I am alright." And the white man persisted with his order, "Fire - Fire - Fire!" They would fire and only stop to reload and fire again. AmaJumba realised that they were in danger of being totally eliminated and they decided to pick up their chief and retreat. That is what really made them easy targets because they were forced to group together. The chief was then carried on an ox hide held by four men. The white man repeatedly shot those who were carrying the chief. There was no alternative but to put him down and retreat. Just then someone approached at great speed wielding his sabre in the air, the gallant ones turned to face him. The whites remaining behind continued shooting, it was at the time when the men began to doubt the wisdom of continuing with the resistance. Some started running away. The son of Mgudlwa continued to call them by name as they passed by saying, "This is the day about which you have always talked, saying that you were ready to die for your chief, here am I, dying, you also must do the same."

Then the fellows shot down the general of the soldiers the very one who had been approaching wielding his sabre. Down he fell, not far from Langa and his men who were lying next to him.

That signalled the start of the actual battle because the soldiers then put up a concerted attack in a bid to retrieve the body of their general even if he was dead, because had they dared

to leave him behind, they would have never got much of his remains. By the way in the olden days whenever a man of position was killed, pieces of flesh would be cut from his body, as for his blood, it would be drunk to the last drop. The belief was that partaking of the remains of a person of power would embolden one and one would not fear death.

For amaJumba the situation was different, their chief had just been injured, but was alive, and there was no way he could be left behind. The two groups then started advancing on each other, leaving the cover of stone walls and the ridge of stones. Once again the White man opened fire, abaThembu broke in disarray again. Just as they were fleeing, Dolophile the son of Jezile ran past Langa who then said to him, "Who are you leaving behind? You coward! Take this gun and fight, but don't let whites capture it, give yours to me."

To everybody's surprise, Langa was still shooting! The Whites realised that it would be difficult to break the defence that had been formed round the chief. They also retreated and took cover beyond the cave. The conflict continued for the whole day without any side giving in.

Once again the whites launched another attack, and now they came in big numbers. They were met by amaJumba and were once more locked in battle, then the son of Mcwakumlana by the name of Ncwashu and Dyavu the son of Mdalana, both of the Mpemvu clan, both said, "Fellows, let's fall back on our traditional weapons, get on them with your short assegais". Then they rushed forward.

The encounter was just for a short while and the whites turned tail, then it was suggested that they should keep close to the whites to deny them any opportunity to reload and shoot at a distance. They followed them in close pursuit over the ridge of stones, down and across the river. By that time Langa was up and shouting words of encouragement to his people because the plan of the big man was to pretend to be dead whenever he noticed that amaJumba were taking to flight, and when it was the turn of the whites to flee, he would get up and sing praises of his men. This he did repeatedly. "Chase them up to Bakili"*, he kept saying. Someone who was there in person has this to say, "Whites are good marksmen, but they have problems with fighting amaXhosa at close range. Their sabres are more effective cutting down somebody in flight." That is how the whites were defeated that day. But a white man is the type of person that, if you defeat him today, he wants to continue the fight the next day. That is exactly what they did.

Almost all the officers of Langa fell on that battle field that day. Among them was Thulani, the son of Kopolo of the Dlomo clan; and Ganyethi the son of Sizani of the Mpinga clan, a great mThembu indeed, whose grandchildren still take after him. Langa was taken in a Boer cart and they took him to a Boer homestead where they spent the night. Then they looked for his injury, and they found a bullet wound in his thigh, with the bullet still lodged in. He was operated upon, the bullet was taken out and he was in great pain.

*Possibly Barkely - Translator's note.

You can imagine the discomfort of a person in that position, being far from home, without any proper bandages, and without any proper facilities to stop bleeding.

On the following day he was taken and hidden in a thick forest called Didwayo, just north of the Bashe River. He was left in the care of three councillors. He then gave instructions that Xhalanga should take charge of the men, in his place, and should be assisted by Mabubulo, his younger brother, the very one who had been sent to dissuade him from taking up arms, and had instead joined the army.

When he was recuperating, after the terrible pains that he had, he started walking about without help, until one day he felt strong enough to go out of the forest to get fresh air. His men heard him calling out, limping towards them saying, "Saddle them up, saddle them, let's go, I actually heard a sound of shots hitting some people." The councillors tried to convince him otherwise, he would not listen. Then after giving one another a sign, they met aside. One is said to have said; "You people are wasting time in trying to dissuade Nkwenkwezi, he will not change his mind, I know him well, he is my age mate. I've got marks all over my body because of the trouble he often gets me into. Even this wound I have today, it is because of him, I got it the other day. I cannot in my present state go out to fight, he is exposing us to danger because when we come out we shall not know whether we are delivering ourselves into the hands of the enemy or we are joining our people. The only thing remaining is to throttle him, and we shall then say he died of his wound."

Then the men got behind him, got hold of him and twisted his neck and the sun set for the son of Mgudlwa. Those men hoped that their secret would never be known, yet the true facts did become known because, three is a crowd, and therefore no secret can be kept successfully.

THE DAY AT ZADUNGENI

So Xhalanga and Gqorolo left with the army of amaJumba. When they were at Zadungeni, at the place where Tshezi of the Mngxongo clan has a farm, they came across a regiment of soldiers and their volunteers. No questions were asked, instead amaJumba set their horses on the people. Someone, who was on the side of the whites has this to say, "We thought it was part of a plan to get away because we never thought that they would rush in and attack us in their small numbers. The son of Mnyambu Mlenze went straight for the commander of the regiment, pierced him with his spear and he died instantly. The whites were again dispersed, and were scared to even hear the words, "We are amaJumba."

The Whites made a come back when they realised that there was no reason for panic. AmaJumba were this time dispersed, that was the day they gave up fighting and thereafter surrendered as they were informed that fighting in other places had also come to an end.

FALO THE SON OF MGUDLWA

Falo was the son of Mgudlwa of the right-hand house; his mother was the Nqhosini maiden we talked about on the occasion of her marriage to Mgudlwa.

He was rather dark in complexion, with a striking birthmark. The fact is any well-to-do person has good looks even if he actually is plain. He was extraordinarily strong with a well-developed chest. The force of his blow was also unusual. He would strike a person only once, and the victim would faint. In a way his unusual strength turned out for the better because that is what prompted his conversion. He felt that he would injure a lot of people whenever he was cross unless he succumbed to be 'tamed' by conversion.

We have already made reference to him at length when we were dealing with great men like Matanzima, Ngangelizwe as well as his father, Mgudlwa. He is well-known for his kindness and meekness. He is one person who took after Jumba, and, as if to confirm that he had really taken after him, he almost equalled Jumba in the number of years he lived. He died when he was ninety-five years old. And yet it is said he was still far from the years that Jumba lived.

He became the first chief to be converted and with the assistance of the Reverend P. Sihlali, he succeeded in educating several of his sons. The name of Mgudlwa was highly respected at Alice, those days more especially because of the good conduct of his children.

He was a great friend of Dalindyebo and was like a father to Ngangelizwe. He was man of great insight in the Transkei when the Bhunga was founded and also when the Fort Hare College was established at Alice, he was of tremendous help because he

appreciated and admired any step of progress taken and, if he happened to be convinced and associated himself with an idea, nobody and no excuse would be good enough to influence him to change his mind.

His sons - Matsolo, Guleni, Colenzo, Attwell, Isaac, Cecil, Stormont, Buller - all have been to Alice, and they also in turn educated their children at Alice.*

He was a man of good influence. Sabata was sent to him in order to put him under his guidance and he (Falo) gave him his daughter Khatshwa to 'feed' him. Daliwonga himself also came under his influence and so did many children of his councillors, including the writer. Just at that point I wish to make reference to an advice he once gave me, which I'll never forget. When I got a post at Herschel he asked me to pay him a visit before leaving. When the time came I went to bid him goodbye. He was alone and he said, "Listen Sihlali, a wise man once said, for a man to reach maturity, he must leave home and make a name for himself far from home, among different nations and tribes. You are fortunate because you now have this opportunity of learning hard. I am delighted although I know that you and your family are upset, because you wish you had got a post here at home. Again, you are a Christian and a communicant, but I want to instil this in you. You must be a truly converted person, and fear God. Your faith must not be childlike anymore, a child who is secure because people will not dare touch, out of respect for me. Now you are

* Which included both Lovedale and Fort Hare - Translator's note.

going to where I am not known, and it is God who will help you.

Lastly, listen carefully, my son, you must exercise your wisdom in humility. A person must realise the depth of your wisdom when in close contact with you, not through an advertising campaign where you go about boasting about your abilities, because people can easily use the very words that come from your mouth to do harm to you. You must remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ who says, "Do not cast your pearls in front of swines, in case they trample on them, and turn to devour you." You must not misuse your wisdom by getting involved with people who will use it against you."

The old fellow then prayed, and thereafter left me alone. This advice, I think, is an inheritance to be enjoyed by our children as well because it came from someone who was indeed great. He was one of those men who are greatly respected by the Government. There is the progeny of the maiden that Sihele chose.

MGUDLWA AND LIGWA, THE SONS OF LANGA

When Mgudlwa returned from Mjanyana he was presented with a vast farm which was about 3000 morgens on the Qhumanco River; he gave it to Langa's son, Ligwa who was the heir, and Thobigunya from the right-hand house.

Sihlali persistantly sent all the children to Alice even if the child was still in the lower classes, because he wanted them to be educated, and to hate backwardness. Ligwa was one of those who was sent to Alice by Sihlali in that manner. Was there anything

in short supply? As far as school fees were concerned, there was enough wealth. All the school fees that needed to be paid were in the hands of Sihlali; and he was the only one who knew all the fees that needed to be paid. Even Alex was one of the children who was educated by Mgudlwa and Sihlali in that way.

Then one day the daughter of Sigcawu Sarili arrived at Mgudlwa's place. Mgudlwa said to the bridal party; "I have no son because the one for whom you have brought this maiden is still at school, also he is a civilised Christian young man, who cannot marry an illiterate girl." In response amaGcaleka said "We have brought the daughter of the chief in accordance with the custom of royalty, all these points which, baThembu, you have raised, we can still iron them out in a harmonious way." It was decided that the prince and princess should be married as Sihlali advised. Material was bought and a trousseau and other accessories were sown and the couple was married according to Christian rites.

After some time, Sigcawu's daughter discarded the 'western' dresses and she put on her traditional attire. She applied red ochre (imbola) liberally on her shawls and used her cream for her facial make-up. The shirts and pairs of trousers of the prince soon lost colour.

When Ligwa's first child was born, he named him Tshabalele*, because as it was, the marriage had come to an end, and he

*Tshabalele literally means - has been destroyed -
Translator's note.

(Ligwa) was going to be like another mThembu young man, he was going to be a polygamist. We do not blame the Gcaleka lady for resorting to her traditional way of life so quickly because the three weeks during which the marriage banns were called were not long enough for someone who came from a backward place like Gcalekaland to have learnt the ways of the civilised to the extent that she could be a suitable marriage partner for someone who had been educated at Alice, especially the kind of place Alice was, during those days. She realised it would be better to be known as the illiterate she was at the great place, rather than learn a new and strange way of life at the great place.

Ligwa married another wife, who was a Ngqika maiden, and made her the right-hand house. He named his son (in that house) Sazingam, that is to say: We know through my experience that someone who married according to the western rite can still be a polygamist.

Ligwa, like all other maJumba, was a respectable and humble person. A rather wild one, who had taken after his father was Notshe Thobigunya, the one of the right-hand house, in any case he had respect for his older brother. Ngubeszwe who is now in power, in the place of Mgudlwa is the grand-child of Ligwa; He is the one who is regarded as the paramount chief of all amaJumba.*

* This is up to page 152 in the original manuscript.
Translator's note.

ADAM KOK AND STOKWE IN THEMBULAND **

We are told that at Roda there came a stranger Adam Kok, a Lawu.* It is not clear whether he paid the customary cattle tribute that was expected from a newcomer, but it is clear that the whole territory of Mhlanga along the Lundi was his residence. On the day Stokwe was driven back from Tyumbu, he (Adam Kok) had already settled there, and he (Stokwe) was promised the land in which he (Kok) lived.

It is said that initially he had settled in the Furismit area up to Filipoh's. When the Boers arrived, they bought their land and were consequently without an area of their own, by 1857 it was clear that they were landless hence they moved southwards.

Kok was expelled from Mhlanga as well as from that place of entry of the Tsomo River into Mbombo Mountains in 1859. After he was successfully driven away by Stokwe, he (Kok) was then fetched by his friend Smit Pommer who showed him the area at Mbo to which he later migrated where there is a town that was named after him up to this day.

We have already referred fully to the circumstances that led to his departure when we discussed Mathanzima. That is the time when

* The term 'Coloured' is a new one. Lawu was once an acceptable term referring to some Khoi. Translator's note.

** This begins on page 179 in the original manuscript.
he and Stokwe fought because he was tired of being asked for

cattle.

We wish to complete this picture because we have found that a number of nations, when they are dispersed, were obstructed in Thembuland in their search for land, because they could not withstand their (abaThembu) strength. That is why they gave up and opted for Mbo.

MBOMBINI OF SIHELE

We conclude our series by looking at the ideas of the brave one mentioned above. Firstly, when Mbombini's father, Sihele, decided to go war, he first spoke to Nowisile, Falo's wife and daughter of Sarili and said: "I am going to take up arms, even though Falo and Mgudlwa are opposed to it, so Falo should please educate his son Matsolo well, together with my son Pafulu, who is Matsolo's age-mate. When the light of civilization comes to this land of abaThembu, it will be brought by them from the West.

As for Mbombini, he must never be educated, because should that happen, he will leave; she (Nowisile) must keep very close to him (Mbombini). As for me, you must know very well that I shall not be coming back." Just at that point Nowisile could bear it no longer, she wept bitterly. Then the other said; "Oh no, now you have spoilt all that I have been telling you."

When Sihele passed away amaNtongo proceeded to Mbo at Matatiéle. They then asked Sihele's wife what was to be done since they had been defeated. The other said, "By the way my children were put in the service of Falo as long ago as the time of the marriage of Falo's mother. And even before the death of Sihele, he reminded me of that fact. So, I am going to submit to Mgudlwa." The councillors then said, "Yes, we understand very well, but there are, among us, people who cannot return to Mgudlwa because he will lay the blame for the death of Sihele on them, accusing them of having misled him (Sihele).

Some finally joined amaVundla, while others did return and were not at all welcomed, as we have already made reference to that when we mentioned Gwaqase. Both boys were there. When Falo was giving a hand to Gwaqase when the latter sent Mbombini for circumcision, imbongi, had these unsavoury remarks to say about him (Falo):

"It is the spirit of the bull of Ntongo
Which we brought back from Mbo
So that we could get service from amaTato."

Incidentally, when this very Mbombini grew up, he became Falo's best trusted man. During the Boer War Falo was asked to supply men who would help at the East London port to off-load horses and food from overseas and elsewhere.

Even on that occasion, he put his chief's name on the map, so much that he was given charge over a camp of blacks, and he had learned people over whom he exercised authority. He came after

the fall of a leader who had succumbed to liquor.

When Falo fell ill, he was advanced in years, Falo sent for him and said: "The day that Sihele mentioned has come. He ordered us to keep together. Now, why, do you keep away from me, when I am so ill? Who will close my eyes?"

And, surely, the other remained with him (Falo) until the last hour.

While he was still with Falo, the latter asked for Qaqawuli and No-Indiya. When they came, he asked to have a meeting with the three, then he said: "Qaqauli, I am leaving, please look after this councillor, do you understand?" The other responded: "Yes."

"Amongst councillors sometimes there is one who is hot-headed, who usually is a threat to the chief if he is not careful enough. You must be on the look-out for that. I must tell you that things are going to go wrong."

It is said he repeated several times the warning that, "things were going to go wrong." Then he turned to No-Indiya and said: "Do you hear that I say things will go wrong?" No-Indiya agreed. Then he said, "Here is the homestead, you and Qaqauli should look after it well." Then he turned to Molteno and said, "Do you understand me Molteno?" This is how he called Mbombini. Mbombini concurred. Falo again said, "You know, things will go wrong, but you and your descendants should be the last to desert Qaqauli."

Then the great man passed away. Truly, things did go wrong after his death. Mbombini, throughout, faithfully stood by Qaqauli according to the 'death-charge', until the day he was afflicted with pneumonia while still engaged in the business of helping Qaqauli.

When recalling the events he said that on that day there was to be a meeting with the magistrate in the shop of Manini; Mbombini left his home at Ngqwaru to attend the meeting. To be discussed, on that day, was the issue of the expulsion of Qaqauli. After that meeting the magistrate proceeded to Ncora where he was to study a claim on the site of Zenzile Falo. They went there on horseback to make sure that they would meet the magistrate. Thereafter he returned to Ngqwaru. The day was windy and cold. When he was near Magila's shop he realised that he was ill, and noted that the nearest and best place he could spend the night in was only at Guleni's place, the home of Xashimba's daughter, who was the pride of the family of Falo, and who also looked well after councillors. He spent the night there and proceeded home the following day, at the same time he was feeling somewhat better than he had been the previous day. That is how his illness started, and not long thereafter, he passed away.

When he realised that he was seriously ill, he did what he had promised to do, he sent me a telegram. When I got there he was in a critical condition, he could neither speak nor open his eyes. I just took a glance at him and I wept bitterly thinking that he was already gone.

After I had been calmed down, someone went to shout at his ear "Goduka has arrived!" The patient then opened his eyes and, as if shocked asked, "What?" He again told him of my arrival. He tossed about until he was able to take his hand out and I greeted him. He held my hand for a long time without speaking, then at last he let it go. Then he starting talking about his state, taking short rests here and there. All of a sudden he began to speak clearly. Just as we finished talking about family affairs he said: "Here is what I wanted you for. Please, do what you can to settle the differences between the chief's children before they hurt one another. Remember that I told you what Falo said. Now it appears as if that is going to be fulfilled. So I want you to interpose between the chief's children before they hurt one another. Go to Qaqauli and Daliwonga and tell them that I advised you to bring them together in order to thrash this matter out. You are the only person they can listen to, because they both love you dearly. That is the main reason why I called you. Now you may go".

What actually transpired after that 'death-wish' will be explained when we are writing about Daliwonga.

After he had passed away, his family was given counsel by friends and kinsmen who spoke highly of the deceased. We shall just quote only one of many speeches, this one was made by Basi, the son of Falo, he said:

"Mbombini was a brave, open-minded and respectable man who then,

because of his gifts could be called upon to mediate in situations where many had failed to bring about peace and order. Almost all the families that knew him preferred to refer their problems to him because his voice could calm down even those who tended to see violence as a means of settling differences, he would not refrain from soothing a raving man with his voice.

In addition to all this he also distinguished himself by his ability to mix with all classes of people. If he was sent to whites, because of his humility, he fared well. Among the chiefs he was also at home. Even among the illiterates he was at ease, just as it was the case among the westernised people as well as the councillors.

In conclusion, the son of Falo said, "The Words that were spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ, I think are applicable to him. 'Well done you good and faithful servant! You have been faithful in a few things, I shall put you in charge over many; Get in the joy of your Lord.'"

LUDIDI IN THEMBULAND

While abaThembu were still at Rhoda, there came at Nkosiyane's place Ludidi, who, on applying for a place for himself and his people, paid an ox as tribute according to custom. Nkosiyane then allocated him a place at Ngqungqu, along Mthatha river, in what is the district of Mqanduli today. When Joyi arrived, he was told that a certain chief by the name of Ludidi had been given

permission to reside within Thembu territory during the time they were at Rhoda. Ludidi was also informed about the arrival of Joyi and he requested that the chief should visit him so that he could have a chance to meet him.

Ludidi was duly informed about the date of a visit by His Highness. He then instructed his people to prepare (gifts) to welcome the chief.

When the son of Mthirara arrived, it was clear that a royal personage had come from the multitudes of people who turned out to welcome him. There was enough for everyone because the beer that had been brewed by women from Mbo was strong and intoxicating. Happy laughing voices filled the air, and the people were particularly intrigued by the Hlubi dialect.

Late in the afternoon Joyi was invited to go to Sothwili's homestead which was not far from the great place, and which had been asked earlier to keep its beer and not send it to the chief's residence.

That is where Joyi and his councillors spent the night and a fattened ox was slaughtered in his honour. The maidens from Mbo were also invited to join and entertain the royal party, something which they reluctantly did because that was a strange custom to them, but that didn't matter because in reality that is just light talk which nobody takes seriously.

On the following day Joyi informed his hosts of his intention to return home. That was received amicably and nobody could guess that theirs was the last meeting, because we are ignorant of the future, and this is without exception. Joyi went home. When they were far, someone noted that the dog of Chief Joyi had been left at Sothwili's place. Two young men were sent back to fetch it. Nobody knows as to when exactly did the misunderstanding begin, but the two young men received a thrashing instead of a dog. They returned home bloody. When they reached home they reported the ill-treatment they had received; soon a rumour spread through Thembuland that Ludidi had beaten Joyi. Ludidi on his part made no attempt to calm the troubled waters by punishing the people at Sothwili's place as well as returning the dog.

abaThembu then decided to arm themselves and to find out more about the matter by fighting. Nobody knows why Joyi allowed such steps to be taken before getting a word from Ludidi.

When they were ready some people were sent to amaHlubi to a beer-drinking party; they went along with women among whom was the wife of Nkosiyane, Nohute. By midday the hut was full of people and it was necessary to let some out. The head of the homestead then said; "MaHlubi, will the women please go outside and give room to the men." The women quietly went out except for Nohute and her councillor in attendance. The fellow again stood up and said, "MaHlubi! You must get used to the name "MaHlubi", this is my house and anyone who is at my place is a Hlubi, I say: Women out!"

Just at that moment the woman took out her long pipe fitted on its tip then stuffed it with tobacco and coolly asked for a live ember to light her pipe. In her anger she forgot to remove the live ember from her pipebowl and she started inhaling the smoke. Soon a thick smoke was coming out and the pipe itself was not different from a steam-engine.

The reader should remember that amaHlubi preferred using the snuff to smoking, they hated the habit of smoking especially indoors because it caused them a headache, more especially when smoking was done at a large beer-drinking session. This was known by abaThembu who did not like the idea that they were forbidden to smoke, even if they craved for one, whenever they were with amaMfengu in a beer-drinking sessions. While they were still puzzled, the woman came up with something else they did not like, she spit. That was the last straw, they fell into the trap.

The head of the homestead in his anger went for Madame Nkosiyane, grabbed her pipe broke it into two and threw it away. The watchdogs (men) from the great place fell on him. Already some men had gone outside as if to pass water, yet it was part of the plan that they would close the door as soon as a fight broke out inside the hut.

That resulted in very serious injuries because whoever tried to escape was immediately attacked by those who were outside, inside there were two tall fellow who simply felled their opponents with sticks. Believe me, those people were in trouble. There were

some who tried to bring an end to the fight, but they got beaten up too. At long last there was not a single Mfengu in the hut. AbaThembu then left, leaving the head of the homestead stone dead. In the meantime someone had raised the war-cry saying, "AmaMfengu were killing the people; they had even beaten up Madame Nkosiyanane."

It did not take long for Thembu regiments to mobilise and fall on amaHlubi; resistance on their part was of no use, they were easily dispersed because Joyi had an army that was far stronger and bigger than theirs. They were driven to a cliff that is at the confluence of Ngqungqu and Mtata Rivers; the writer went to see the cliff personally.

Ludidi left Thembuland since that day, and thereafter he got the land which he now occupies at Mbo.

AMA-BOMVANA

The history of amaBomvana has been written with great skill by Mr F A W Cook MA, B.Ed of Cape Town. We very much regret the fact that a book that has been meticulously written as this one is only available in English, because we believe it would be a treasure and of great benefit to amaBomvana if their children could get to know the history of their nation while still young scholars.

Concerning amaBomvana, therefore, we shall not delve into their history, we shall lay emphasis only on those sections where our views differ from his; whereupon we hope that the reader will apply his insight, because this issue on amaBomvana is one of the reasons that prompted us to put down our views in writing. When we are speaking about amaBomvana that does not refer to the nation at large, we are simply referring to the family tree of Moni which is in the district of Mqanduli.

That group of amaBomvana who were Gambushe's adherents was driven across Mbashe River to join their chief Hintsu, who then settled them at Nqabara and Shixini. Mr Cook expatiates on this point in his book in page 5: "In 1837 amaBomvana were driven across Mbashe River by abaThembu and they put themselves under the wing of amaGcaleka."

While they were still there the Nongqawuse tragedy took place, and amaBomvana then asked to be excused and were accepted once again by abaThembu because they did not want to involve themselves in the Nongqawuse issue.

At that time the most senior chief of amaBomvana was Ntshunqe. It is said because of that fact, as well as because of his request, he was again accepted and he was placed along the sea and shared the territory with another group of amaBomvana who were also along the seaboard in the Mqanduli district.

Is the argument then true that claims "AmaBomvana were never

under the rule of abaThembu?" How could it be then that when they wanted to flee from amaGcaleka they would run into a territory that still belonged to amaGcaleka, because the way things are put, it is as though it was land that belong to amaBomvana which they had been given by amaGcaleka, which meant that they were under the rule of amaGcaleka and could therefore not disobey the law. Which is where we differ. In the first place, read Mr Cook's book page 5, you will notice that Mbelu the chief of amaBomvana of Tshezi clan crossed Mthatha (River) after Gambushe, and submitted to Hala who was then chief of AbaThembu.

That event took place when Gambushe had already established a settlement along a tributary of Mbashe called Ntlonyane (sic) on the northern side of Mbashe. And yet Gambushe had been fetched by Hintsa during the reign of Ngubengcuka. We refute Mr Cook's observation mentioned above because:

1. He links Hala with Ngubengcuka yet the two are five generations apart. That means Hala's name cannot be given as being the person under whom amaBomvana of the Tshezi clan submitted.

2. According to J H Soga in his history book, page 370 the territory between Mthatha and Mbashe Rivers was occupied by no-one, that is to say it was no-man's land. Again he gives further explanations by adding that Ngubengcuka was still a minor, which then clearly means that it was Ndaba who was in power.

Please take note therefore that Mr Cook's argument differs from that of Reverend Soga on the point of the crossing (of Mtata) by amaBomvana. The Reverend gentleman misleads us further when he says that at that time Ngubencuka was still a minor and yet these people were helped to cross by Hintsa who was of the same age with Ngubencuka by birth and predeceased him (Hintsa). Hintsa was left to fight it out with Fadana who was the regent after the death of Ngubencuka.

3. This is what we are told about the past. AmaBomvana submitted to abaThembu after producing the customary tribute of cattle and they were then given land at Ngqeleni where the battle of amaBomvana was fought over the chieftainship of Ngezana. It appears as if their time of arrival co-incided with the period when Ndaba was in exile in the land of Rarabe, and they then submitted to Ntlanzi who was in the territory that is now occupied by amaBomvana. That is why the Reverend Soga is of the opinion that he was regent in place of Ngubencuka who was still a minor. During the reign of Ndaba nothing of importance took place between abaThembu and amaBomvana.

During the War of Ndlambe amaGcaleka sent their cattle to Ngubencuka for safekeeping. At that time amaBomvana resided at Ngqeleni. We are then told that on their return amaGcaleka then sent for the cattle they had requested him to look after. Ngubencuka refused with them, saying that he knew nothing about those cattle.

Hintsa then sent a message to Gambushe who was his father-in-law asking him (Gambushe) to try and persuade Ngubencuka to hand his cattle back. We must then take note of this. If Gambushe was independent, what made Hintsa to ask him to mediate between the two of them? Messengers were then sent to Ngubencuka by Gambushe including those two who had come from Gcalekaland.

They never got any cattle because abaThembu simply denied knowing anything about them; some historical events are difficult to unravel, in this case no-one knows whether the issue of the cattle was not merely a ruse to cause a misunderstanding between Ngubencuka and Gambushe.

In short, a war broke out over the matter. When Hintsa came to fetch his cattle, he also captured some that belonged to Ngaleka of amaNgcengane clan, and he did this jointly with amaBomvana. Thereafter Ngaleka went to fight against amaBomvana and he captured some cattle replacing those he had lost previously.

That is when Gambushe decided to ask to be protected by Hintsa and to help him cross the Thembu territory. All along abaThembu were not aware that Hintsa had given amaBomvana their (Thembu) land. Even when they settled along Mbashe River there was no-one in the south because Ntlanzi had moved northwards after some time, hence amaGcaleka regarded the area as belonging to nobody. Then they claimed it to be theirs. Thus they gave it to amaBomvana after they had requested to be submitted under their (Gcaleka) wing.

Things did not work out well for amaBomvana in that they submitted to amaGcaleka and yet occupied land that belong to abaThembu; furthermore, Mbelu of the Tshezi clan submitted himself alone to abaThembu after fleeing from the wrath of amaMpondo who wanted to avenge the death of Ngqungqushu. They were then settled along Mthatha River, stretching up to the sea, where they are still living even today.

AMA-NDUNGWANA

Idiomatic expression: "Nyeke amaNdungwane" (sic)

We last made reference to amaNdungwana when they left Ngubengcuka's domain, disgruntled, they left together with amaTshatshu. They wandered about for some time not far from amaTshatshu. AmaNdungwana are a peace-loving people. Even the occasion when they were engaged in a war, it had been through an invitation by Maqoma who had asked for their help in his fight against the White army which was keeping everybody on tenterhooks those days, nevertheless there was always a hope that it would eventually be defeated.

It is said that Qwasha then went along with a large crowd of people which was further joined by amaLawu. People who saw Maqoma's army which then included abaThembu and amaLawu never forget the bravery that was shown by that army. We are told that they made a fort on a mountain that is not far from Fort Beaufort, and fought all those who attempted to ascend the mountain. The white man then worked out a plan, when he realised

the strength of Maqoma and abaThembu, he simply descended and laid siege at the foot of the mountain, waiting for the day they would come down. Then, because of starvation people began to surrender, one by one. That is how Maqoma Qwesha and amaLawu lost the battle.

Qwesha then returned home and that is the reason why they also lost their land and were all dumped at Nonesi at Cacadu. According to Cathcart it was the son of Buller who led the army that dispersed amaNdungwana. Again, as we have mentioned this before, Ndarala was one of the people who agreed to settle on Sarili's land, and he even went to Hohita where Sarili's great place had been.

In all this, amaNdungwana were found to be people who ponder over an issue before taking any form of action, although we are not in a position to mention particular individuals for bravery and eloquence, but generally they are not impulsive people. Even today, they still are retaining and enjoying chieftainship which they founded together with Diomo, ages ago.

As we have already heard, Ndungwana, a twin with Balisa are the sons of Nxekwa, as for Ndungwana he gets Diya, who begets Langa who begets Khono who begets Bhejula who begets Nene, who begets Qwesha who begets Ndarala, who begets Tshaka who in turn begets Mvumbi. He is now settled with his descendants along the Nciba (Kei) River in Sarili Mzuzu's territory.