

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE BHACAS FROM
EARLIEST TIMES TO 1910

THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of the thesis is "A Political History of the Bhacas from the earliest times to 1910."

Even though the Bhacas are a prominent and a numerous nation of the Transkei, numbering about 50,000 in Mount Frere district, their history has never been written up in a coherent fashion, only a bit here and a bit there. There is nothing known by the residents in Makaula's Chiefdom of their being driven across the Tugela river by the Zulus. There is a great demand for their history from Zululand to the present Mount Frere district and as an educated man and a member of the royal line, I felt I am more qualified than most to undertake the task.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was fortunate to find Dr. J. Peires, of Rhodes University as my promoter who has been more than prepared to tolerate and to positively encouraging me to write our history of the Bhacas. Dr. J. Peires bears the responsibility for suggesting that I must go to the Cape Archives to get more scope about the topic. He provided invaluable assistance in his critical reading of the work and helping in the presentation of the thesis.

My sincere acknowledgements are due to the staff of the Cape Archives in Cape Town who assisted me by providing all the relevant documents I needed. I am also indebted to Cory Library staff under the supervision of Mr Michael Berning, Messrs Sandra C. Fold, Anne Torlesse, S. Poole and Mr Jackson Vena, who contributed willingly and patiently to supply me with countless details of reading material.

My final word of gratitude goes to the oral sources who agreed to be interviewed, and supplied me with the most important information I needed for my task. The History of the Bhacas is very scanty and very few people have attempted to write it. Finally my sincere thanks to my wife, who assisted in my endeavours and tried to inspire

me throughout. I am not forgetting all the friends and associates who through my problems were sources of stimulation and involvement. Without them I would not have completed this thesis in so short a time.

ABSTRACT

The Bhacas are people whose history has not yet been clearly written. Unlike the Mpondo, Xhosa and Thembu chiefdoms, the Bhacas are comparatively recent immigrants into the Cape area. The first chapter deals with origins of the Bhacas and introduces the reader to Bhaca affairs.

The chiefdom is said to have been a victim of the disruptive Tshakan wars of the early 19th century, and Madzikane, who later on assumed the reputation of being the architect of the Bhaca nation, left Natal seeking a place where to establish his independence. He collected a large number of fugitives scattered in the southern part of Natal and migrated to the Embondzeni Great Place in Mount Frere.

The second chapter concentrates on the habits and customs of the Bhacas. The Bhacas of Mount Frere district are divided into two autonomous chiefdoms according to the descendants of Sonyangwe and Ncapayi, sons of the renowned Great Bhaca chief, Madzikane. Bhaca customs are characterised by their First Fruit Festival (ingubhe) and their distinctive Thsefula dialect.

Then comes the era of Ncapayi who had been renowned for his warlike propensities, and the controversial Voortrekker attack of 1840. It was however, during his reign that mission work started amongst the Bhacas. This left an indelible impression among the Bhacas because Osborn Mission Station was established in 1858 during Mamjucu's reign, the widow of Ncapayi, many years after his death.

The influence of missionaries coupled with the problems encountered by Makaula, Ncapayi's son from the surrounding chiefdoms, led to the acceptance of colonial rule. This leads us to chapters 6, 7 and 8 where the colonial government interferes in the Bhaca traditional administrative system especially in matters relating to the allocation of land, appointment of headmen, relations between Makaula and Nomsheketshe and relations between the Bhacas and the Mpondo.

It was during Makaula's regime that many denominations were established in the Mount Frere district. A great measure of credit should be given to these churches for placing systematically before the Bhacas the higher standards of belief and conduct. The history of Bhacas from the 1860's was characterised by change and modification due to the increasing contact with the white man's culture.

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CHAPTER 1THE ORIGINS OF THE BHACA

The political history of the Bhacas can be divided into three stages:-

- (a) An early migrant period under Madzikane when the nation was independent politically but had no permanent territorial home, 1814 - 1824.
- (b) Ncapayi's period during which missionary work of Wesleyan Methodists started and spread Christianity among the Bhacas, 1824 - 1869.
- (c) Makaula's period about 1869 to 1906 under the overriding authority of the white men's political machine. This was a period of cultural and political interaction with the white administration.

The Bhacas are a group of culturally related people, who had not been politically united before the Mfecane, but were brought together by the inspiring leadership of Madzikane, just like Sotho chiefdom under King Moshoesh-

oe. The core of the Bhaca were the Zelemu and the Wushe clans. These were related and the latter were genealogically senior to the former. They left their home in Natal during the disturbances created by Tshaka Zulu. In the process the Wushe disintegrated and were incorporated by the Zelemu thus becoming subordinate to their genealogical juniors.¹

A. T. Bryant divides the people inhabiting Natal, south of the Tugela during the period before 1820 into the Embo Nguni group and Tonga Nguni group.² The Embo and the Tonga alike belonged to the tekeza-speaking branch of the Nguni family, that is to say, their speech assumed many phonetic and structural changes where a letter "z" is changed to a close "t" for example Umzi = Umti, and this consequently gave rise to the term tekeza. The Tonga Nguni were sub-divided into (a) Mtetwa, (b) Lala and (c) Debe-Ngunis. The small clans of the Debe group of Tonga Ngunis were the Dunges, Nyavus, Nqolos, Nqondos, Njilos, Mdlulis, Ntsheles and Ntambos. The Bhacas branched off from the Debe group of Tonga Ngunis and they occupied the southern borders of Natal.

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1. Jackson, A.O., *The Ethnic Composition of Ciskei and Transkei*. (Pretoria, 1975), p.43.
 2. Bryant, A.T., *The Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*. (London, 1929), p.232.

The Debe group differed from the Lalas in pronunciation, for instance, the Lalas had umuNu (person) the Debes had umuNtshu, and the Zulus umuNtu. This must probably have been due to the fact that the Debes and Lalas had come under the influence of Tonga peoples speaking different dialects or languages.³

Another characteristic of the Debe Nguni, which is also a well-known characteristic of the Bhacas, is the custom of making cuts on the face. Other Debe - Ngunis who observe this custom include the Nyuswa, Ngcobo, Qadi, Embo, Ntlangwini and Swazi.⁴ Common belief among all the Bhacas, according to my personal knowledge, is that, by cutting the face, bad blood was being let out.

Bryant records an oral tradition that places the first origins of the Bhacas "on the Pongola River, below the Lembombo hills"⁵. If this was the case, it would explain their affinity with the Ngwane (Swazi), who originated in the same neighbourhood and who share the tekeza speech form and the feast of the First Fruits

3. Ibid. p.233

4. Interview with Mmemi of Nguluzane C. de Webb and J. Wright (eds) the James Stuart Archives, 3 vols. (Pietermaritzburg. 1976 - 1982), Vol.3 p.264

5. Bryant, Olden Times pp.369 - 70.

Custom, Incwala for the Swazis and Ingcubhe for Bhacas.⁶

The next tradition recorded by Bryant relates to a sojourn in the Nkandla forests, also north of the Tugela river. An assumption is that the groups of Zelemu and Wushe were driven into these forests by unknown enemies. The name Bhaca (to be hidden) is sometimes ascribed to this period. They became so afraid that they even feared to light a fire to cook the game they caught and they, therefore, found themselves eating meat raw. That is probably how and when the Bhacas contracted the habit of eating raw meat, peculiar to them, ukufukuthsa.⁷ It is also possible that this habit of raw-meat eating might have developed later during the time of Madzikane because it was difficult for his followers to make fire for roasting and cooking for fear of their pursuers, the Zulus, initially under Tshaka and later under Dingane.

Bryant further related that the Zelemus were the descendants of Lufulwenja (Dogs Stomach). The royal clan of the Bhacas, is even today called the Zulu and proudly claim to be related to the Zulu royal family of

6. Ibid. p.370

7. Ibid. p.370. See also Hammond-Tooke, W.D. The Tribes of Mount Frere District, pp.34 - 37.

L.R. Dabula, an oral source, who maintains that the Bhaca chiefs originated from the Right-Hand-House of the Zulu chiefdom in Natal.⁸ Jean Coulter agrees with Dabula's argument when she stated that "the Bhaca nation was said to be an offshoot of the Zulus and were living in close proximity to Tshaka at the time of his great reign".⁹

The Bhaca are very insistent of their 'Zulu' origin, although this is hardly the scientifically correct term to use as the name 'Zulu' according to Hammond-Tooke, should correctly be applied only to the descendants of the small Zulu clan which established itself over the whole of Natal from 1816 onwards.¹⁰ The Zulus were the descendants of Lufenulwenja "Dogs Penis". It is perhaps the similarity of the names to the people of Natal that might have suggested their error. According to Bryant's system of dating, the Zelemu Lufulwenja died sometime in 1734, whilst Lufenulwenja died a century earlier.¹¹ The Zelemu recognized the Wushe and the

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8. An interview with L.R. Dabula on 4/9/1986 at Sophia Township, Mount Frere.
 9. Jean Coulter traces the roots of the Bhaca people and their colourful contribution to the history of the country - from the Daily Dispatch, 27/11/1987.
 10. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society. (London, 1962), p.1
 11. Bryant, Olden Times, p.370

Latas as related clans and the fact that these were not related to the Zulus seems to prove the difference between the Bhaca and the Zulus of Natal. The Zelemu were the neighbours of the Ama-Cunu and they might more probably be related to them rather than the Zulus. Probably the Zelemu might have descended from a forebear of the name 'Zulu' and yet not the same 'Zulu' of the Malandela family. There could have been several 'Zulus' as there are chiefs like 'Jama' or 'Ndaba' all reigning in different clans at or about the same time, so too, there may have been several 'Zulus'.¹²

Oral informants interviewed by James Stuart in Natal about 1900 have, however, confirmed the link between the Bhacas and the Zulus. Dinya narrated that the Bhacas are part of the Zulu people.¹³ Stephen Mini, another of James Stuart's informants, stated that the Bhacas seemed to have come from the direction of Zululand and migrated southward. The Bhacas have the same ancestors with the Zulus and that there are blood relations between the Bhaca and the Zulus. Their cause of separation was probably the finding of new grazing and pasture lands for their cattle. This caused the

12. Ibid. p.371.

13. Interview with Dinya Kazokozwayo, James Stuart Archive, Vol. I. p. 95.

separation which took place amicably.¹⁴

It is not possible to date the sojourn of the Zelemu in the Nkadla forests, but there is a tradition that they crossed the Ntsuze river, passed through the Mkize and Bomvana lands, crossed the Tugela, and finally settled in Natal at Durban Bluff.¹⁵ The descendants of Zelemu, known as the Zulu clan, are today the royal clan of the Bhacas.

The descendants of Zelemu are divided into three chiefdoms, only one of which survived. The first group moved and settled below iNanda hill between Mngeni and Mdloti rivers, under the leadership of Moyiya son of Mbeshu. During the advent of Tshaka, this group was on its way to Pondoland, led by Moyiya's son, Mangele. Many were killed on the way by unsympathetic chiefdoms.¹⁶ The second party of the Zelemus called abekwaHlungelo lived on the banks of the Ohlange river, under Mbanjwa, father of Mzingahlati. These were closely related to the Zelemu of Mbeshu, below the iNanda. These also met a similar fate to the first

14. Interview with Stephen Mini, James Stuart Archive, Vol.I p. 95.

15. Bryant, Olden Times. p. 314.

16. Ibid. p. 373.

closely related to the Zelemu of Mbeshu, below the iNanda. These also met a similar fate to the first group led by Mangele. It was the third group of the Zelemus, those led by chief Kalimeshe, son of Vebi, who came to lead the Zelemus since the first two groups were thoroughly dispersed.¹⁷ It would seem that about the year 1800 or so, the Zelemu of Kalimeshe were living in the vicinity of the Bluff (Esibubulungu) Durban, there where the enTwenka and eSaba rivers flowed. These rivers can no longer be distinguished today.

Vebi¹⁸, the father of Kalimeshe had no sons in his Great House, only a daughter named Hlatikazi. In his second house two sons Kalimeshe and Diya were born, and in his left hand house Mkambula. These were the only sons. Hlatikazi of the Great House had a girl attached to her house according to the custom. This was a daughter of Nqiza, by whom Kalimeshe was to raise up the seed for the Great House.¹⁹ The house of Hlatikazi was

17. Bird, I. Annals of Natal 1495 - 1845, Vol.I (Pietermaritzburg, 1888), p.130.

18. Bryant suggests that Kalimeshe's father was Vebi. Bryant A.T. Olden Times in Zululand and Natal p. 37. Leary suggests that Kalimeshe's father was Bhaca, but no other genealogy of the Bhaca chiefs includes this name. See N.A. 623 W.P. Leary "History".

19. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

named after her mother Mamtshibeni as eMtshibeni. If a son was born to this house he was to become chief of the clan. The first child born to the Great House was a daughter Nquntu. Kalimeshe had a number of sons in his own house and was not at all anxious that the wife of Hlatikazi's house should have sons. And, while Manqiza was pregnant with the second child, Kalimeshe ill-treated and even threatened her life and that of the child should it prove to be a male.²⁰

A son was born and great vigilance had to be exercised by the men of the Great House to save it from Kalimeshe. The child was hidden until it grew up and its name was Madzikane, who at a later stage led the Bhacas to the present Mount Frere district.²¹ After Madzikane, Manqiza gave birth to sons, Mqambeli, Pahlwa and Matomela and a daughter Notuli. After the death of Kalimeshe, Manqiza had two more sons, Nocusa and Ngejane by Diya, Kalimeshe's brother. Diya had from his house, four sons, Saka, Mshubi, Msina and Resha and one daughter Nobaluse.

When Madzikane had grown up, he wandered about dressed in a calf skin and came to the Great Place of Macingwa-

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

David Makaula narrates that Macingwane had a ferocious dog which attacked the strangers coming to the Great Place, but to his surprise, it fawned upon Madzikane. He at once concluded that Madzikane was a chief and he sent for his cattle and slaughtered a cow for him. He was then taken to Macingwane's medicine man to be initiated to the use of medicines.²²

Mpangisana, the medicine man, applied several tests all of which went to show that Madzikane was a chief. The final test was now applied, consisting of a pit being dug and fire being kindled in it. Madzikane was then placed in the pit and it was covered up. After sometime the pit was uncovered and he emerged unscathed by the fire.²³ Madzikane was then proclaimed to be a chief, and a beast was killed for him and he was initiated into mysteries and uses of medicines. He learnt the following from the Cunus; the Cunus used to take a heifer, smear a certain drug over the hands and then pat the beast. This would cause the heifer to give milk. After this it would be put to the bull to bear a calf. The milking of the heifer in this way, and doctoring of the milk, was to strengthen the chief to overpower his

22. Makaula, D.Z., UMadzikane. (Cape Town, 1977), p. 4.

23. N.A. 623 W.P. Leary "History".

enemies.²⁴

When the army went out, an ox born by the heifer medically treated, as above, used to come by itself from the herd, come to the kraal and low. It would precede the army as it went forth to fight. Any one striking the ox with a stick would go mad. This custom was followed only by Macingwane and Madzikane. When it was seen that the ox did not act in the customary manner, men would realise that it was magically treated and then they would fear it.²⁵

Madzikane returned to his own nation, who were still living at the Bluff, strengthened by Macingwane's charms. On nearing his home, he was met by one of his people whom he sent to inform the men. These came out to meet him. When Madzikane came back, his father, Kalimeshe, was already dead and he immediately assumed chieftainship.

Kalimeshe had many sons, and these were all driven away by Madzikane probably because they resisted Madzikane's assumption of power and in consequence of the treatment

24. Interview with Mahaya kaNongqabana, James Stuart Archive. Vol.2, p.117.

25. Ibid. p. 118

his mother had received at his birth and attempts on his own life.²⁶ The situation of Madzikane in returning home was quite similar to that of Tshaka and the sons of Senzangakhona, but he would not, however, allow any of his half-brothers to be put to death.²⁷

Madzikane started applying the knowledge he learnt from the Cunus. He sent his men to bring a black sheep "imvu" which he slaughtered and then threw the carcass on his medicines. To test the strength of his medicines, he launched an attack against the Ntambo people, residing at Ixopo. This chiefdom was defeated and Madzikane took the shields and assegais of the slain victims and threw them over the krantz commonly known as Noshwebede together with the sheep. From that day on any person or animal passing this Krantz was hurled over and dashed to pieces by some unseen forces, and Madzikane's warriors were from that time named the army of Noshwebede,²⁸ a praise that used to be used by the succeeding Bhaca chiefs when addressing the warriors at the annual testing of the first fruits, ingcubhe or when going out to the war.²⁹

26. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

Madzikane was attracted to the direction of Mngeni by his brother, Pahlwa. According to Bryant, Pahlwa might probably have moved to this area together with the Wushe, and had established himself on the right bank of the Mnguni, below the Howick Falls round about Otto's Bluff.³⁰ This shows that Bryant doubts that Pahlwa was a literal brother of Madzikane but this is confirmed by W.P. Leary that both Madzikane and Pahlwa were of Manqiza of eMtshibeni.³¹

Having dealt with the Zelemu, we must go back in time to look at the history of the amaWushe, between the time of their first separation from the Zelemu and their reunification under Madzikane. According to Bryant, the amaWushe had become separated from the Zelemu long before the birth of Madzikane during a clash with the Bomvana north of the Tugela river.³² They had eventually settled around the Mngeni river. The Wushe were a senior branch of Lufulwenja's family and they had so increased in numbers that they spread from the Karkloof range to South of Mngeni, about the Howick Falls. Wushe gave birth to Bekwa who in turn gave birth to Mjoli a

30. Bryant, Olden Times, p.374

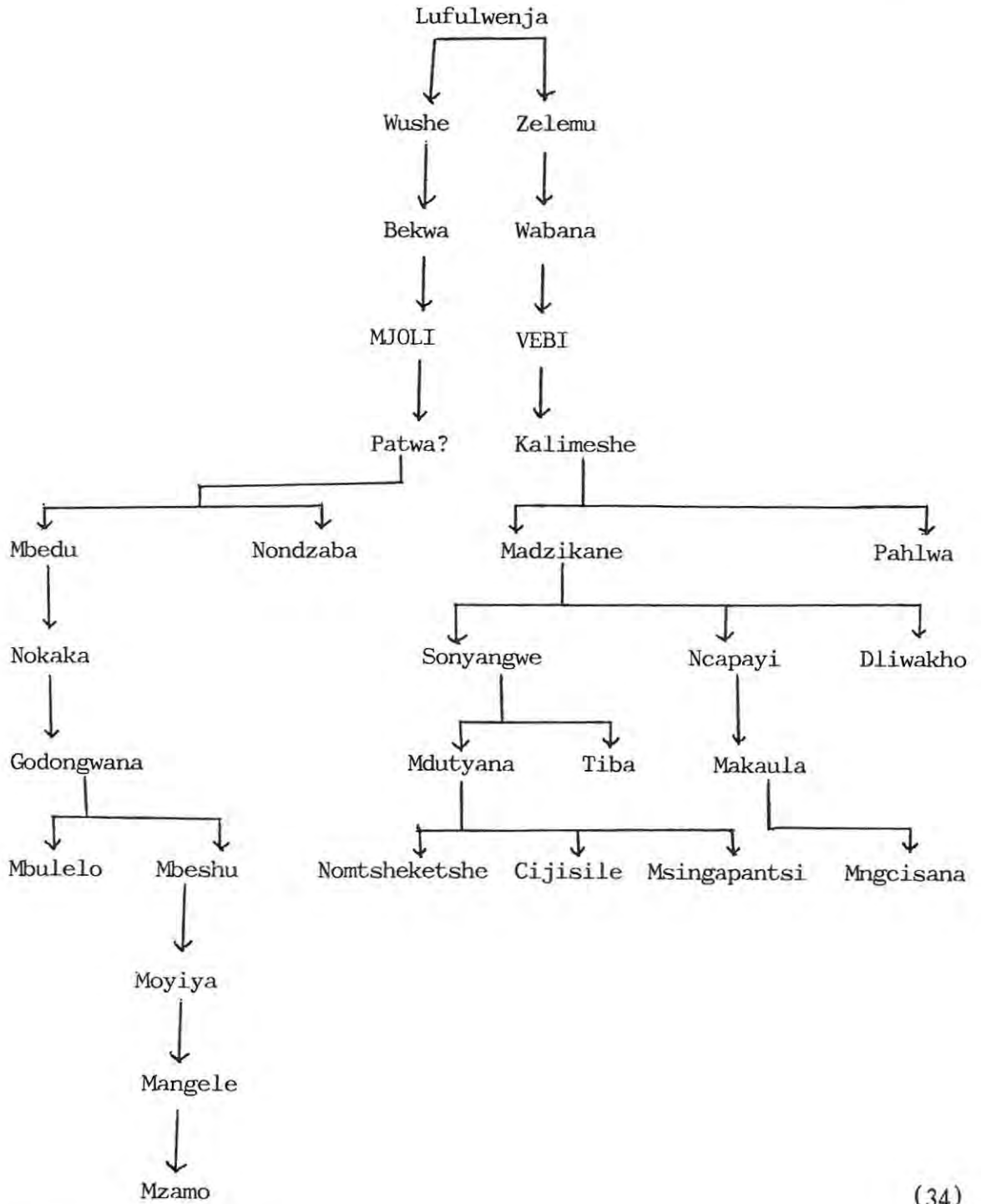
31. N.A. 623 W.P. Leary "History"

32. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 374.

range to South of Mngeni, about the Howick Falls. Wushe gave birth to Bekwa who in turn gave birth to Mjoli a father of Patwa. The two sons of Patwa were Mbedu and Nondzaba. Jackson maintains that Mbedu was the son of Mjoli of Bekwa of Wushe of Lufulwenja.³³ If it was the case, Mjoli and Patwa could have been the brothers and that Mjoli's son was Mbedu from the Great House and Patwa's son was Nondzaba of the Right Hand House. At this stage the Wushe were split up into several small chiefdoms. One group settled on the right bank of the Mngeni above the Falls and it was ruled by Nondzaba, son of Patwa. A smaller section settled further up the river under Dlepu, son of Ngcwanekazi. A third group settled under the Karkloof range, ruled by Ngqinambi, son of Mpumela. The paramount over all the Wushe chiefdoms was Mbedu son of Mjoli.

33. Jackson, *Ethnic Composition*. p. 44.

ZELEMU-WUSHE GENEALOGY



(34)

34. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 372.

Mbedu's Great Place was opposite that of Nondzaba, along the left bank of the Mngeni river above the Falls.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Tshaka started a programme of welding his armies. In his attacks, Tshaka took the defeated victims and he increased his army. This sudden increase on the Zulu army became a threat to the neighbouring chiefdoms. In the earliest stages of destruction, the greatest havoc was not directly brought about by Tshaka's newly formed army, but by the chiefdoms fleeing in terror after having experienced the invincibility of the Zulu army.³⁵

According to Omer-Cooper, the northern Tembu of Natal, not to be confused with the Transkeian Tembus, were attacked by the Zulus in their home on the Mzinganyati river. In a bitter battle the Zulu captured the cattle of the Tembus though they were not completely routed.³⁶

The Tembus under the leadership of Ngoza set out for the South crossed the Tugela and cut a path of destruction through the chiefdoms of Natal. The marauding Tembu army descended the Karkloof hills and fell upon the

35. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

36. Omer-Cooper, J.D. *The Zulu Aftermath*. (London, 1966), p. 156.

Wushe group under Ngqinambi of Mpumela. Ngoza, the Tembu chief, scattered the Wushe and included the remnants in his army and he proceeded southwards.³⁷

The Wushe on the left bank of Mngeni, under Mbedu, combined with a group of Nondzaba on the right bank to resist Ngoza's strength. In the conflict that ensued Mbedu was himself captured and a good number of the Wushe with him, were enlisted to Ngoza's fighting force. Mbedu died bravely in 1822 at Ngoza's side when they were unitedly demolished by Faku son of Ngqungqushe, the Mpondo chief.³⁸ Thus the Wushe lost their hereditary chief. Meanwhile, Nondzaba, who had once joined armies with Mbedu, against Ngoza, managed to escape through higher up and made his way across the country past what is now Kokstad, came and attacked the Mpondomise who lived at Mnceba, the Rode Valley and a portion of the present district of Mount Frere.³⁹ Nondzaba finally settled at Mkemane Valley, where he was to be joined by Madzikane in the years which followed.

37. Ibid p. 156

38. Ibid. p. 156.

39. Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records. (Lovedale, 1923), p. 113. Refer to Hammond-Tooke, The Tribes of Mount Frere District, p. 37. Also J.H. Soga, South Eastern Bantu, p. 447.

After Mbedu was driven southwards by the Tembus of Ngoza, the only powerful personage left among the Debe Ngunis, was Madzikane. Madzikane was protected by the presence of the Cunus of Macingwane, who acted as a buffer against Tshaka's army. The Cunus, like the Tembus before them, found the neighbourhood of the Zulus intolerable. In a war that took place between the Cunu and the Zulus, the former were defeated but not seriously weakened; they poured across the Tugela and took a course nearer the coast than Ngoza, and devastated the chiefdoms they came across.⁴⁰

Madzikane was to some extent subordinate to Macingwane, who had initiated him to be a strong and powerful chief. But, Macingwane's rule, was rather too exacting and Madzikane decided to break away from him.⁴¹ The ties between Macingwane and Madzikane were severed, the former decided to migrate southwards, exposing the latter directly to Tshaka.

At the same time the power of the Wushe was already destroyed by the Tembus and they ceased to exist as a separate chiefdom. These Wushe remnants were reunited

40. Stuart, J. and Malcolm, D. The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn.

41. Bird, John. The Annals of Natal 1495 to 1845 Vol. I, p.264.

with the Zelemus under the leadership of Madzikane. The next step for Madzikane was to look for a place where to establish his independence. The immediate cause of Madzikane's decision to leave Natal was that Tshaka's suspicion had been roused by his skills and his power of enchantment. Tshaka thought that Madzikane would through his cleverness, one day become a rival in Zululand and he, therefore, thought of getting rid of him by fair or foul means.⁴² Soon afterwards a sinister message was received by Madzikane from the Zulu King and thus, coupled with other incidents that befell the Wushe, Ntlangwini and the Cunus made him to leave immediately.⁴³

Just before Madzikane left Natal, a large army of fugitives, principally belonging to the Ntlangwini, under chief Nombewu, and the Bhele under chief Mdingi suddenly and unexpectedly attacked his followers, and inflicted such a heavy defeat upon them that it sent them into retreat.⁴⁴ At this time the southern portion of what is now Natal was full of fugitives - whose

42. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. The Tribes of Mount Frere district p. 37. See also Jean Coulter, Traces the roots of the Bhaca people and their colourful contribution to the history of the country. Daily Dispatch 27/11/1987.

43. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p. 12

44. Scully, W.D. The Kokstad Advertiser, 25/6/1909.

traditional life had been utterly broken up, their chiefs been slain, home life destroyed, social laws and restraints lost to the wind. Under these conditions, children lost or forsaken, grew up ignorant of their national origin.⁴⁵

So far as can be traced nineteen of those remnants placed themselves under Madzikane's leadership and merged their individuality in that of the Bhacas. Such remnants were the Zulu Wushe, Mpovane, Chiya, Nqolo, Nguse, Dzana, Gebashe, Luthuli, Mzizi, Gusha, Mbanjwa, Gamedze, Juta, Gasela, Bhovu, Zumbe, Ngubo and Jili clans that left Natal sometime about 1820 under Madzikane. They fled southwards along the route which had already been taken by such chiefdoms as the Dunges, the Nyavini, the Fuzes, the Ntlangwini under Nombewu and the Bhele under Mdingi. Most of the people under Mdingi and Nombewu continued on their way southward and poured across the Umzimkulu, closely followed by Madzikane.

The first halt by the fugitives under Madzikane was made near modern Richmond where the Kalalo chiefdom was attacked and the remnants collected and submerged under Madzikane's followers. He then proceeded to the valley of the Umkomanzi river, near the sea, but it became

45. Bryant. Olden Times, p. 381.

almost immediately apparent that this was no safe resting place, so a move was made to the Umzimkulu, not far from Ixopo. It was here that Madzikane renewed his relations with Cunu chief, Macingwane, somewhere at the Dronkvlei.⁴⁶ Their reunion was painfully interrupted by the sudden appearance of the Zulu army. Macingwane had been Tshaka's query, but Madzikane's presence led him to send his warriors against the Bhacas as well. Confronted by the prospect of a direct Zulu attack, the Bhacas once more fled. This time they determined to get quite beyond the reach of their implacable enemy, so they forced their way and settled temporarily between the Intsizwa and the Mganu Mountains on the banks of the Umzimvubu river.

The Zulus could not get the followers of Madzikane and they, therefore, attacked and destroyed Macingwane's nation. Since they could not get hold of Madzikane's people, they referred to them as "AmaBhaca" "those who run away and hide."⁴⁷ This sounds more reasonable than the version that the people were named AmaBhaca after

46. Ibid. p. 383.

47. An interview with Mcotoyi kaMnini. James Stuart Archive Vol.3 p. 64-5.

Madzikane's grandfather, Bhaca.⁴⁸

The presence of the Ntlangwini of Nombewu, the Bhele of Mdingi and the Bhacas of Madzikane in a small strip of land between Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu rivers created a social and political pandemonium.⁴⁹ Madzikane was this time between the devil and the deep sea because he was faced with his former enemies Nombewu and Mdingi on the one hand and by Tshaka on his rear. He then sought peace negotiations between himself and Nombewu and Mdingi, but this proved futile.⁵⁰ This time Madzikane and his followers were forced to cross the Orange river and they camped for some time on its banks, not far from its source. There they attacked chief Hluwe, a Sotho, at a place known as Eqoboshaneni.⁵¹ Here at last the Bhacas enjoyed peace for a few months but it soon became clear that even in this remote region, they were in danger. Beyond the Drakensberg, were the Sotho under

48. Bryant suggests that the name Bhaca was given, while the Zelemu and Wushe lived in the Nkandla forest. Bryant, Olden Times p. 314 - Soga suggests that the name was given by the Zulus when they could not get hold of the followers of Madzikane. Soga, South Eastern Bantu, p.435. But W.P. Leary says that Bhaca was the name of the father of Kalimeshe, but no other genealogy of the Bhaca chiefs includes this name. See Leary N.A. 623.

49. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

Moshoeshoe. This nation found itself menaced on its western frontier, for the amaNgwane of Matiwane and the amaHlubi had occupied the valley of the Caledon river. These nations were locked in a deadly struggle with each other. Occassionally a Zulu army would appear and then the two would combine for the purpose of defence. But no sooner had the common enemy departed than the amaNgwane and the amaHlubi would be at each others throats again.⁵²

Moshoeshoe, the Sotho chief, objected to being hemmed in. Accordingly, he despatched an ultimatum to Madzikane, requiring the Bhacas to leave forthwith. So the Bhaca chief was forced to retrace his steps so far as the valley of the Umzimvubu river. He settled down finally in that stretch of the country which lies between the Rhode at the foot of the Intsizwa mountain and the Mganu range in the present district of Mount Frere.⁵³ This country was claimed by Faku, the Mpondo chief, but the Bhacas were now desperate, and not likely to be interferred with, so Faku did not go beyond making a protest. Madzikane established his great place and

52. Scully, W.C. The Kokstad Advertiser. 25/6/1909.

53. Soga, J.H. South Eastern Bantu. (Johannesburg, 1930), p. 440.

named it Embondzeni.⁵⁴

The Bhacas of Mount Frere are called by their fellow Bhacas of Umzinkulu, as the Bhacas of Embondzeni even today.

Nondzaba, the Wushe chief was then already occupying the Mkemane Valley, he sent to Madzikane to come and attack the Mpondomise whom he said had no arms. The combined forces of both Madzikane and Nondzaba attacked the Mpondomise at Bencuti. This attack took place at a time when the Mpondomise were weakened by a struggle between Valelo and Myeki and they were forced to cross the Tsitsa at many drifts.⁵⁵ One Bhaca division, under Motomela, Madzikane's brother, was, however, severely defeated.

The Bhaca expeditions were not raids as such but the movements of the whole chiefdom. They moved with all their families and stock and occupied whichever area attracted them, until compelled to move by hunger or forced to flee by a superior force.⁵⁶

54. N.A. 623 W.P. Leary "History"

55. Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Territories. Historical Records. p.112.

56. Hammond-Took, W.D. The Tribes of Mount Frere District, p.38.

Vete, a Mpondomise historian, relates that the Bhacas resumed their attack on the Mpondomise in the 1820's and captured a lot of cattle from them. Nondzaba, followed up the Mpondomise and battles were fought at Ncambele and Nqadu until he was defeated and forced to retreat. He was killed by Valelo's Mpondomise on a small hillock named after him, situated near the present village of Tsolo.⁵⁷ Madzikane wanted to revenge the death of Nondzaba but his armies were repulsed by the combined forces of the Mpondomise and the Transkeian Tembus at Nqadu. He lost his two brothers, Mqambeli and Mqezu, and his armies went back to eMbondzeni.

The Bhacas under Madzikane enjoyed several years of peace. They built villages and tilled the soil which was extremely fertile. Their cattle increased partly in the ordinary course of nature, but also through the freebooting practices of Ncapayi, Madzikane's most trusted and most capable son. Soon, however, Tshaka heard of the improvements of the Bhacas and their fortunes, so their trouble began once more.⁵⁸

57. Vete, "Historical Sketch of the Mpondomise" in Brownlee, *Transkeian Territories*. p. 113. See Soga, J.H. *South Eastern Bantu*. p. 447.

58. Scully, W.C. *The Kokstad Advertiser*, 25/6/1909.

It was Tshaka's custom to send spies to ascertain what cattle were possessed by the independent chiefdoms beyond his borders. These spies were always sent in pairs. They used to travel by night, resting by day on the hilltops, and taking note of everything visible on the plains below. One occasion two spies were sent to bring a report on the country surrounding what is now called Mount Currie, near Kokstad. On returning from the country of the Bhacas, the spies were interrogated by Tshaka personally. The first man gave a glowing account of the riches of the country so far as the eye could reach, he said "the plains were covered with cattle. The king could do no better than send an impi at once to raid them."⁵⁹ The second one was more cautious, "we looked for over the plains" he said, "and everywhere we saw animals which might have been cattle."⁶⁰

So a Zulu army was despatched forthwith round about 1821. The second spy was taken as a guide, the one who made an exaggerated report being ordered not to leave the Great Place. After a few weeks the expedition returned empty-handed. Its leader reported that he had carefully searched the locality indicated, but he found

59. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p. 11.

60. Ibid. p.11

no cattle whatever. But the plains were full of wildebeeste, quagga and other large game. Scully maintains that, these, when viewed from a distance, looked very like cattle.⁶¹ The optimistic spy was seized by the king's orders and his eyes, which had failed him, were burnt with a firebrand.⁶² But the cattle of the Bhacas did indeed exist, so another army was despatched in 1822 to "eat them up."⁶³ One day in early winter, it was reported to the Bhacas that this army was approaching. The war-cry was wailed forth from every hilltop, and the women with their children and the cattle, were hurried into the extremely broken country lying to the north-west of the Mandileni Basin, through which the Kinira river breaks from the foothills of the Drakensberg mountains.⁶⁴ The Zulus took their course along the highest ground, so as to be able to overlook as much as possible of the Bhaca country and to avoid the possibility of being ambushed. Their course led along the top of Intsizwa mountain.

The "Intsizwa" in the language of the Zulus or even the

61. Scully, W.C. The Kokstad Advertiser, 25/6/1909.

62. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p.12.

63. Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu, p.441.

64. Ibid.

Bhacas means "a young man".⁶⁵ This mountain had often been a refuge of the defeated during the constant local wars.

Madzikane, with Ncapayi at his right hand drew up his forces on that steep - sided tongue of land which cuts out close to where the Kinira joins the Umzimvubu river and on which Madzikane's grandson Makaula, afterwards built his Great Place. The locality is known today as Lutateni. The forested Mganu mountains stood in the Bhaca rear. The most Madzikane could do was to check the Zulu advance for sufficient time to enable the women to drive the cattle to a place of safety. He ordered his armies to retreat in another direction, and this misled the Zulus who thought that the Bhaca army had gone off in the same direction as their cattle. Dusk fell with the Zulus still on top of the mountain and they decided to camp for the night and attack at dawn.⁶⁶ The night was still and cloudless, but a wind arose from the sea, and moisture which it bore condensed around the topmost crags of the mountain which was soon covered from base to summit in a snow-storm of unprecedented severity. When the cloudless morning broke, the Great Intsizwa shone out dazzling white. After the sun

65. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society, p.5

66. Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu, p. 441.

arose, a number of "dark specks" could be seen moving down the snow. These were the survivors of the Zulu army, more than half of which had perished.⁶⁷ They staggered down the rocky cliffs with bent backs, stiffened limbs and chattering teeth. The Zulu warrior usually carried no clothing, except for his shield, and spear, and the army was not accompanied by any supplies.⁶⁸ There was little fuel obtainable on the bleak summit of the Intsizwa, so the naked men had been exposed to the full fury of the snow-storms. Hundreds of the Zulus lay dead among the crevices of the rocks, where they had crept for shelter, and those who had survived were frost-bitten and half paralysed with cold. Ncapayi recognised that his opportunity had come, and determined to use it profitably and to his advantage. Dashing across the Umzimvubu, he met the enemy in the broken ground to the left of the present site of the Rode Mission Station. The perishing Zulus were slaughtered like sheep. Those still on the mountain retreated along its eastern slope towards the north. Ncapayi pressed along over the eastern foothills of the Intsizwa, and cut-off their retreat. At about noon, the remnant of the Zulu army cut its way through the Bhacas

67. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p.12

68. Scully, W.C. The Kokstad Advertiser, 25/6/1909. See also Scully, W.C. Further reminiscences of a South African Pioneer (London, 1937), p 263.

and crossed the Umzintlava river.⁶⁹ This remnant was the only one to make its escape.

It was one of the greatest defeats ever suffered by the Zulu army. The Bhacas admit that the victory would have been impossible but for the snow-storm. It was, however, an article of faith with the Bhacas that by the exercise of Madzikane's magical arts, the snow was caused to fall.⁷⁰ Tradition is positive to the effect that on this occasion snow fell nowhere else in the vicinity. Such may well be the case, for the Intsizwa, according to Hammond-Tooke, towers high above its nearest neighbouring mountains.⁷¹ According to David Makaula, this miraculous victory has always been attributed to the magic of Madzikane. Being a keeper of the sacred medicines, and, in his own right, a herbalist of repute, he had called his people together and promised to counter the Zulu attack single-handed by means of his charms.⁷² It is said the thick smoke rising from Madzikane's ritual fire, turned into the

69. Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu, p.442. Refer to Scully, W.C. Further reminiscences, p.264.

70. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p.12.

71. Hammon-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society, p.6 .

72. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p. 12

lowering clouds that brought the snow and sleet.⁷³ Peace ensued after this incident though Madzikane was suspicious of another revenge attack.

It is clear, however, that the Bhaca had not yet adopted a fully settled way of life. Madzikane was once more on the move, probably with the intention of capturing some cattle. He crossed the Drakensberg mountains by way of the Ongesluk's Nek and attacked Kiba, a Sotho chief. After seizure of cattle from Mjamli, a Tolo chief, Madzikane proceeded to Maclear, where he came into contact with the Europeans for the first time. This was a mounted party, and this impressed him, he remarked that this party came from a "powerful and numerous race"⁷⁴ and he gave them cattle as a token of friendship and for food. Towards the end of 1823 Madzikane finally settled at Engcobo amongst the Qwatis.

The Qwatis under chief Fubu were the subordinates of the great Tembu king Ngubengcuka, and his neighbour, king Hintsa of the Gcaleka Xhosa, had already been disturbed by the unwelcome intrusion of destitute refugees from beyond the Umzimkulu and contemptuously

73. Ibid. p.12

74. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

referred to as amaMfengu (homeless wanderers).⁷⁵ In Madzikane and his followers they foresaw another invasion, in force, and determined to prevent it. By this time, 1824, the Bhacas had spread as far as the Cala Valley near the amaGcina, on the Tsomo river. The amaGcina were accused of stealing the cattle belonging to the Bhacas and the Tembu historian, E. Sihele, maintains that the accusation precipitated a war between the Bhacas and amaGcina in which the latter were defeated.⁷⁶

The Bhacas were now settling close to the Qwati. The attack on the amaGcina aroused the Tembus and Ngubengcuka further reported this to chief Hintsa of the Xhosas. The surrounding Xhosa-speaking chiefdoms collected and, made common cause against the enemy. Madzikane's army was attacked and defeated with great slaughter, and every animal they possessed was captured. Neither women nor children were spared.⁷⁷ It is said that women and children were murdered with great brutality, many being mutilated and other having hands cut off in order to remove the ornaments they wore.

75. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 384

76. Sihele, E. P.M. 3664 S - G folder 1 of 4

77. Milton, John. The Edges of War. A History of Frontier War of 1702-1878. (Cape Town, 1983), p.89

Gardiner, a Natal official, saw two of those victims at Mpoza, one deprived of both, the other of one hand when he visited Ncapayi late in 1835.⁷⁸ This encounter took place near the Mgwali river, a southern tributary of the Bashe river on 20th December 1824.⁷⁹ This date is proved by the fact that this day was also a day of the eclipse. Soga is wrong when he says Madzikane was killed in 1836.⁸⁰

Many Great Bhaca chiefs fell at Gqutyini in 1824 including Madzikane, Vatshile, his mother, killed for being influential, Matomela and Mqukumbeli.⁸¹ Sihele, E., maintains that Madzikane was missing, and when he was discovered, a young Gcina man did not hesitate but stabbed him to death and then he inturn mysteriously died on the spot.⁸² This Tembu version differs from the tradition of the Bhacas. According to David Makaula, Madzikane was reluctant to fight on the day in question. He foresaw the defeat of the Bhacas. He felt

78. Gardiner, A.F. Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolo Country in South Africa. (London, 1836), p. 286

79. Bryant, Olden Times. p.384. W.C. Scully Further Reminiscences, p. 265.

80. Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu, p. 442

81. Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records, p. 113

82. Sihele E.P.M. 3664 S-G. Folder 1 of 4.

that his time had come, and he called in his sons, Sonyangwe and Ncapayi to receive his last blessings. He instructed Ncapayi to go to Pondoland and be a tributary chief under Faku. During the battle, he was hidden by his induna Jekwa. He was, however, seen by some women who shouted to his enemies and pointed out to his hiding place. When the Qwati's arrived Madzikane told them to take his own spear and stab him with it, for he would not die from the wounds of their spears. This the Qwatis did and that is how the founder of the Bhaca nation died,⁸³ and this probably is the true version of the story.

During the very battle in which Madzikane died, the sun suddenly disappeared and a mournful show fell across the land. Bryant, A.T. and Hammond-Tooke W.D. naturally ascribe this solar eclipse to natural causes, having nothing to do with the death of Madzikane.⁸⁴ However, this must have been a coincidence of coincidences. Madzikane went through several tests of Mpangisana, a medicine man, at chief Macingwane's Great Place, before he became a chief. The emergence of the unknown forces crushing people and animals into pieces on the Nosh-

83. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p. 21.

84. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society, p.10 quoted from Bryant. Olden Times. p. 384

webede Krantz were as a result of Madzikane's knowledge of charms. The mysterious and sudden fall of snow on the Intsizwa mountains only, which is on the same height with Mganu range not very far, killing hundreds of Zulu impis, was claimed by Madzikane as the work of his hands. So the eclipse of 1824 probably coincided with Madzikane's mysteries and charms signifying his glorious death. Then died Great Madzikane, the pride of the Bhaca nation, a man exceptionally tall of stature, a giant covered with hair and with long nails like talons of an eagle.⁸⁵ As a chief Madzikane had a praise singer who gave him the following praise:-

MADZIKANE KALMESHE

"UHabu wakwa Zeleni
 UMhlotshazan'ungankomo
 Isitole sase-Mantanjeni
 Esabonwa ngokugwants'ukuba sehlisile
 UBantu bagijima baya kwaNxama babuya sebenxamile
 Umkonto owadla kabini
 Owadl'u Mbozisa noFokoxo
 UKwalukwalu akafikeli phezulu
 UKwakw'oluhle lwakwa Notuli
 Ipukul elapukul'inkomo
 UMali'akalinga mhla kungenje
 UGama likaNdaba liyabangwa
 Ngoba balizel'amanga nje ngomntana"⁸⁶

Madzikane of Kalmeshe

His mother is Manqiza of the Nqolo House

85. Milton, J. The Edges of War, p.88.

86. Ndawo, H.M. Izibongo Zeenkosi zamaBhaca namaHlubi. (Marianhill, 1928), p. 31.

"They call him Habu of the Zeleni lineage
He is Mhlotshazana where physical appearance was as
attractive
as that of a beast with a white mark on the face.
He was born of Mantanjani whose long-draw teats we
observed only very late that she was pregnant.
They call him Bantu like those who hurried to Nxama's
place and came back impatient.
He is like the imitation spear that cut twice like it
did to Mbozisa and Fokoxo.
He is the one who in his tallness never reached the
heights, the gracefully tall one born of Notuli
He is the strong powerful one like the beast which has
no horns
He is the one who cries but never cries on a day when
you expect him to cry.
He is like Ndaba's name that people by a disputable
claim on like they do when they give an innocent child a
meaningless claim."

Chapter TwoShort reign of Sonyangwe and the Bhaca habits and Customs

After Madzikane's disastrous death his great son, Sonyangwe became the chief of the Bhacas. Sonyangwe wanted to retire into the Drakensberg mountains with the remnant of the Bhacas, and from there to seek refuge under the amaBhele chief, Mdingi, who was at the time living at Mvenyane, and Nombewu the Ntlangwini chief, living at Mnceba.¹ Mpantsane and Jundu, the chief councillors, objected to moving further before looting cattle, and they retired to the mountains in the present Maclear district. From there, they sent spies who came across a party of the Tembus driving 40 head of cattle, which they seized and returned with. These were the first cattle owned by the Bhacas after the death of Madzikane. These cattle were distributed amongst the people. Sonyangwe then went out and raided the Tembus, looting many cattle. Having seized enough cattle, the Bhacas removed to Mdingi and paid him oxen as a sign of submission, as well as a payment for the land. Mdingi then located them between the Umzimvubu and the Kinira

1. N.A. 623, W.P. Leary "History"

rivers, the old Madzikane territory.²

These events following Madzikane's death, occurred in quick succession and the women who were with child and escaped from Gqutyini, gave birth on the Kinira and Umzimvubu. Their arrival at Mdingi's would, therefore, be within six to eight months after Madzikane's death and that would be about the middle of 1825.³

The fact that the Bhacas had asked land from their old enemy Mdingi, shows just how desperate their situation had become after their defeat by the Tembus. Nevertheless their relationship with Mdingi was an uneasy one as the following event revealed. Whilst the Bhacas were resting in peace, Nokaka, a grandson of Nondzaba, circumcised his boys and as circumcision had been forbidden by Madzikane, a fine was levied upon him and his followers. Sonyangwe demanded a certain red ox with white flanks, the property of a man called Sithethe. This was paid. Ncapayi, in turn, demanded for himself a red ox, the property of Nokaka, who refused to hand it over. Sonyangwe was infuriated by this refusal and he attacked Nokaka who ran to chief Mdingi for assistance. Mdingi sent a message to Sonyangwe

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

requesting him to come with his families and stock and he with Nokaka would come with theirs and meet on the plain above the present Lutateni Great Place.⁴ Sonyangwe agreed but Mdingi and Nokaka failed to bring their families and stock and they only came with their army. On the arrival of Ncapayi with his party, fighting began and Nokaka and Jundu were both killed and their people dispersed, and their cattle captured. Mdingi's men fled before fighting, their cattle, with the exception of Mdingi's were however, all captured.⁵

Mdingi, however received unexpected support from a new source. The great Hlubi chief Mehlomakulu, who had formerly lived on the high veld, crossed over the Drakensberg and settled in the Matatiele district below. There he came into contact with related Bhele chiefdom of Mdingi, his former neighbour in upper Natal.⁶ Mehlomakulu found himself obliged to reinforce Mdingi's in an attack on the Bhacas under Sonyangwe. The Bhacas were taken by surprise at this unexpected new enemy, and retreated in panic leaving their cattle behind.⁷

4. Cory Library. MS 14304, W.P. Leary Folder 5 of 6.

5. Ibid.

6. Omer-Cooper, J.D. The Zulu Aftermath. p. 90.

7. Bryant. Olden Times, p. 154.

But they soon recovered from their shock and returned the blow with such vigour that Mdingi fled and crossed the Tsitsa river and lived on the Ngcolora, while Mehloimakulu was forced back over the Drakensberg. Sonyangwe then removed and lived at the Rode and Ncapayi occupied the Cabazi, a location near Mount Frere village.

Sonyangwe's strength was further increased by the support of many refugees from the army of Matiwane, which had been dispersed by the English at the battle of Mbolompo in Umtata district. He now seemed fully established as the major chief of his region, but he foolishly antagonised his Wushe subjects by committing adultery with a woman of their clan. This so enraged the Wushe that they entered into a plot with Mdingi and attacked Sonyangwe at night and killed him by burning him in his hut.⁸

Nombewu, the Ntlangwini chief who lived at Mnceba, had his daughter married to Sonyangwe, she was his great wife. The day before Sonyangwe was killed, Nombewu had sent for his daughter to pay him a visit, and during her

8. Holden, W.C. The Past and Future of Kaffir Races. (London, 1887.) p. 144. Also Bryant, Olden Times, p. 385.

absence, the first night, her husband was attacked and killed, clearly showing that her father was aware of the plot against Sonyangwe.⁹ To avenge Sonyangwe's death, Ncapayi attacked and killed Nombewu, and his people fled and were scattered on the Natal borders. Mdingi was chased from place to place. Though none of the other chiefs in the region actually assisted the Bhacas to catch Mdingi, they regarded him as a criminal, and none would allow him to remain in their districts.¹⁰ His killing of Sonyangwe was regarded by all the surrounding nationalities as a most terrible offence, and he was eventually put to death in a barbarous fashion by the people in Umzinkulu. Ncapayi was then left with the responsibility of controlling the Bhaca nation since Sonyangwe's son, Mdutyana, was still a minor.

Attire and food

It is interesting to know the type of residential places used by the Wushe-Zelemu. Since they had no fixed place of abode, they lived in rough structures made of wood and grass which resembled huts which were sometimes

9. Cory Library. M.S. 14304. W.P. Leary Folder 5 of 6.

10. Ibid.

termed ipempe.¹¹ Because of threats from their enemies, there was no time to build permanent huts. Construction of these huts was left to the wives whilst men went out on hunting.

The dress of the Bhaca men, like that of the Zulu, consisted of two loin cloths front and back tied together by the corners. This is called ibheshu in Zulu, and isishuba in Xhosa. Whereas the Zulu ibheshu was made of animal skins, that of the Bhacas was made of patches of supple mat-work, woven of fine grass, just like a Zulu eating mat, isi-thebe. A high ringed coiffure termed an umpantsho was also worn.¹²

The Bhaca women wore a kilt similar to that of the Zulu women but made of sheep-skin in place of cow-hide. Their hair was smeared with ochre mixed with grease and then twisted into numberless strings, falling like an inverted mop, down as far as the eyes, and over the ears and neck, the whole being termed umyeko. Young unmarried men also wore a similar umyeko but without the red ochre. With a woman a black umyeko denoted mourning for a dead chief or husband. Cylindrical neck-

11. An interview with B. Tshiki on 17/10/1986, Sihlahleni Location, Mount Frere.

12. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 375.

rings called izimbedu of copper or brass were for decoration by both sexes. In later years men stopped using neck-rings and left them for the pride of women. Instead men used similar rings termed amasongo worn around the wrist and arm.¹³

Coming to the type of food eaten by the Bhacas, the main crop was upoko Eleusine coracana. Maize was not yet known in those days. The pumpkins and gourds consisted the only type of vegetables cultivated. It was probably the time of Dingiswayo or Tshaka that a short variety of sorghum Cafrorium amabele and variety of yellow maize was introduced.¹⁴

The food of the Bhacas consisted of milk, vegetables and milk in the later years. Milk formed the chief article of food for all classes. Before it was considered ready for use it was poured into the calabashes amaselwa to undergo a process of fermentation. When the milk had fermented, it became sour and was called amasi. Corn was ground on the stone specially prepared for that purpose. This corn was first boiled and then reduced into a required state and it was poured into dishes made of mud and thick milk was added over it and then served to

13. Ibid. p. 375.

14. Ibid.

people.¹⁵

The next type of food was maize umbona, which was sometimes used when green, by roasting it in the embers or cooked and it was called ibanqa. In addition, pumpkins, beans and sweet-cane imfe were also food that was enjoyed by Bhacas. Meat could be obtained by slaughtering an ox or a goat or by hunting the game. A goat was often killed when the host wanted to show a degree of respect to a visitor. An ox was slaughtered at a wedding feast or when a wife needed a new dress or when hunger compelled the people to kill a beast to avert it.

The Bhacas were fond of sorghum beer. Before the beer was made, as it is the practice even today, sorghum or mielies are steeped in water, in baskets or bags. When soft, this was taken out and kept closed up and heated until the grain germinated and turned into what is termed inkoduso. It was then spread out in the sun to dry. Dry mielies or corn was then mixed with the malt in the proportion of 3 to 5, wetted and ground into a dough, intlama. Boiling water was then poured onto the

15. Maclean, C.B. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. (Grahamstown, 1906.) p. 157.

dough which was well stirred, called igwele.¹⁶ This was then set aside to cool and the following day it was boiled again into a gruel, isidudu, and placed in some cool spot. Further malt was then ground and the meal, umgubo was stirred into the gruel. The whole was then covered up and left to ferment. When fermentation had set in, it was strained through strainers, intluzo, made of rush and it was then ready for use.

Sorghum beer was made for food and for all festivities. It was used at wedding parties, circumcision feasts, intonjane and Ingcubhe festival, in the entertainment of visitors and friends, for ploughing, hoeing, reaping and thrashing out the crops. In fact there was no party or festivity complete without a pot or two of beer.¹⁷

Bhaca habits and customs

The customs of the Bhacas can be divided into three categories:-

- (1) those which they share with their former neighbours in Natal, for example, Thsefula speech dialect, ukuchaza facial incisions, ingcubhe, First Fruits Festival, ukukhafula, doctoring of the army, ileqe

16. CMK 3/131 W. Power Leary - Chief Magistrate on 2/11/1903.

17. Ibid.

cattle race

- (2) those which developed as a result of historical circumstances for example, ukufukuthsa raw-meat eating, ukwaluka circumcision
- (3) those common to most of the Nguni speaking people for example, intonjane betrothal, umtshato marriage, ukwahlukana divorce, ukuthwala elopement and abduction, ubugqwira witchcraft, imbeleko thanks giving for a child, ukungena levirate and lobola bridewealth.

Thsefula dialect. The Bhacas are proud of their unique identity, their distinctive thsefula dialect, which is reminiscent of Swazi and poses interesting problems of ultimate origin.¹⁸ The Bhaca like the other Debe Ngunis were once settled in the source waters of the Pongola river and all the people there had a speech characterized by the tekeza dialect. The Bhacas and the Swazis probably settled in one geographical area hence their languages are characterized by similarities. Professor A.C. Jordan maintains that there are similarities in Bhaca, Phuthi and Swazi in the use of the relative connective. The tekeza dialects employ the demonstrative in its full form as a relative connective

18. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society, p. 1.

whereas Xhosa is characterised by the absence of L.¹⁹

e.g.

Bhaca

"Mamba le tisonq'emthini Ndlovu le khafule ngomboko"
(The Mamba that coils itself in a tree, the elephant
that squirted through its trunk).

Phuthi (Mzamane pp 177-9)

Mutali lo lugiye - a good parent

Murudi lo thsandzwako - a beloved teacher

Swazi (Ziervogel pp. 523 - 59)

Lijara le lidze (a tall young man

Luthsi lo lwephukile (stick which is broken)

The Xhosa forms are as follows:

"Mamba ezisonq'emthini
Ndlovu ekhafule'ngomboko."

"Ijarha elide
Uluthi olwaphukileyo"

"Umzali olungileyo
Umfundisi othandwayo."

The first two lines were taken from the praises of chief

19. Jordan, A.C. "A phonological and grammatical study
of literary Xhosa." (Ph.D. UCT., 1956) Vol.I p.320.

Nomtsheketshe as recorded by the late A.C. Jordan.²⁰

Bhaca is not recognised as an independent language hence it is not used at schools, probably nobody took interest in writing a grammar book of the language to be studied by the growing generations. The language is fast falling into disuse and ~~and~~ its place is being taken by standard Xhosa.

Ukuchaza facial incisions

The Bhacas originated from the Debe - Nguni group which was characterized by a habit of cutting the face e.g. Ntlangwini, Swazi and Bhacas.²¹ A child of one to five years was cut on the face, on the legs, on the arms and even on the buttocks with a special knife called the inkcakuba. This cutting was performed by an elderly woman of the family. Tradition maintains that if a child is not cut, and he wants to go to stool, he would carelessly relieve himself in the hut, leaving the faeces to be thrown out by the mother. The second symptom according to oral sources was the swollenness of eyes that remain closed and thus necessitated facial

20. Ibid.

21. Interview with Madulini of Mkando. James Stuart Archive Vol.3 p. 166.

incisions.²² If a child has had the face cut and the blood let out, it was believed that he had complied with the custom and it will no longer be necessary to relieve nature in the hut, and eye problems would be cured. After an operation, the incisions are treated with red ochre until they heal. The Bhacas objected to plain face which they compared to a mere stone. They wanted something to catch the eye. But with the advent of European civilization, many people are now doing away with this custom.

Ingcubhe First Fruit Festival.

Ingcubhe used to take place at the end of the summer when maize, sorghum, pumpkins and beans were ripening, usually in February or March. Before the ceremony was performed no one could eat of the green stuffs from the fields as this could make the army weak and easily overcome by the enemy.²³ The feast was accompanied to a great extent by superstition. The place of the first celebration was the senior chief's Great Place, and the subordinate chiefs would hold the feast next according to rank.

22. Ibid.

23. Cory Library M.S. 14304 W.P. Leary Folder 5 of 6.

Before the ceremony the chief's itola doctor went to the forest to collect medicines for the occasion. Cattle and sheep were slaughtered to provide skirts for women. Men practised cattle racing which formed part of the ceremony. Men also made a special cattle kraal for the ceremony.²⁴ The ceremony extended over a period of three days from Wednesday to Friday. Previous to this men were instructed to go out secretly and gather maize, sweet-cane, pumpkins and calabashes from the fields outside the Bhaca borders, and this was termed ukud-waba.²⁵ These green-stuffs were cooked by women. On the first day, Wednesday, the chief slept in the special cattle kraal with his men. Special herbs were burnt to protect them from the harmful influences. All men carried sticks, spears and shields and sing the war songs. During the morning session groups of women arrived clad in their beadwork, skin skirts and dyed ostrich plumes with large leather rattles filled with pebbles tied to their ankles. They performed a slow shuffling dance ukutshekisa, H.....krwepe! Krwepe!Krwepe!Krwepe! and slapping their shields against their skirts to give rhythm.

The warriors formed a semi-circle and advanced to the

24. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p. 40.

25. Scully, W.C. Further reminiscences, p. 269.

chief. This resembled the counter-marching at an English army review. Every now and then warriors darted out from the formations wildly stabbing the ground and beating their sticks and spears.

After the killing of the bull, and spitting out some medicines, the meat was eaten by men only. The cooked green stuffs were mixed together by the war-doctor in the skull of some man who had been celebrated in his lifetime for prowess in the field or wisdom in the council.²⁶ The mixture was then tested first by the chief, then the members of the royal family one by one. The pots were then emptied out to the ground before the cattle-kraal and the warriors gathered round and tested.

The deep importance of this ceremony for the nation was emphasized by the total prohibition of sexual intercourse during the week of ceremonies. The belief being that sexual connexion negated the power of medicines and the abstention from intercourse during times of national danger.²⁷

Ukukhafula doctoring of the army.

26. Ibid. p. 269.

27. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society. p. 191.

This was a national sacrifice performed during the ingcubhe festival. This was intended to make an army invulnerable.²⁸ A sacrificial beast preferably, a charmed bull which was brought out of the kraal, held by the horns, no thongs or riems being used, however vicious or wild the brute might be, and felled to the ground by warriors. Now the Itola war-doctor, with a razor sharp spear, skins off the shoulder of the bull and carved it out while the poor animal was still alive.²⁹ The bull was identified with the enemy and the severing of the leg implied the defeat and crippling of the foe. All men assembled in the kraal and were given a collop or strip umbengo of meat black with medicines, each bit a piece off and threw a strip to the next man, who did the same. If a piece fell down, it was said an enemy had fallen, and to pick it up would be to revive him.³⁰ The doctor then made a number of incisions in the different parts of their bodies, into which a powdered charcoal was inserted. The whole carcass was then cooked but no woman would partake of this meat. The army was said to be fit to meet an enemy.

28. Maclean, C.B. ^NCompendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. p. 86.

29. Cory Library M.S. 14304 W.P. Leary Folder 5 of 6.

30. Ibid.

Ilege Cattle-racing

This was part of the Ingcubhe festival too. This used to take place on the first day of the festivity. Drove of trained oxen were driven from kraal to kraal of all the royal families by fully armed men as if ready for war. The oxen were then taken off to some remote place where they were kept together. A swift-footed boy would shout a cry to the oxen which they would recognise and then start galloping after him.³¹ When the boy got tired, a man on horseback would take over and lead the oxen to the place where the onlookers were congregated. The first ox to arrive was the winner and its owner would be rewarded with a beaker of home-made beer. It was usually the same owners whose beasts won these ox-races. This superiority was ascribed to a certain species of cunning practised by such an owner.³²

Fukuthsa - raw-meat eating

The Bhacas are said to have once hid in the Nkandla forests, north of mid-Tugela, whence they had been

31. Interview with Machaya James Stuart Archive Vol.2. p. 123.

32. Ibid.

driven by the unknown enemy. They were afraid of being discovered and they, therefore, were reluctant to make fire to cook food, lest this attracted the enemies.³³ The only form of food available at the time was meat of their stock or game. They decided to eat this meat raw. It is worth noting that the Bhacas under Madzikane were forced to move from one place to another because of Tshaka's worriers at their rear. The Bhacas could not, under this pressure, have a chance to cook their food and this might have increased the fukuthsa habit that was once inculcated in the Nkandla forests. Meat is eaten raw, this includes the tripe, liver and some steaks that are chosen for this purpose. Gall is added to the tripe to give it flavour.³⁴ Because of the influence of the Mfengu, many of whom immigrated into Bhacaland, the habit of raw meat-eating is also falling into disuse.

UKwaluka Circumcision

To pass successfully from one stage of manhood to the next, circumcision ceremonies had to be held to enable the initiate, to break with the faults and weaknesses of the previous stage. The initiate is instructed in the

33. Bryant Olden Times. p. 370.

34. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society. p.25.

duties and privileges he is about to assume.³⁵ Circumcision is widespread in South Africa and it was regarded as an essential step in the life of every men. The uncircumcised is considered a boy all his life and may not take part in councils and deliberations.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost all the chiefdoms in Natal, including the Bhacas, engaged in a series of wars. As we have seen, Madzikane had to leave Natal because of the pressure exerted by other chiefs. He had to assemble his army on frequent occasions, and this made it difficult to set aside the time for ritual and healing required by circumcision ceremonies, because he was moving from place to place. The Zulus under Tshaka and the Mpondo under Faku stopped this custom and probably the Bhacas were induced by this to do away with it.

Intonjane Female initiation

This custom is analogous to circumcision among men. It was performed at puberty. The girls in question were placed in a separate hut and only females were allowed to see the initiates, with an elderly woman as an

35. Schapera, I. The Bantu Speaking tribes of South Africa. (London), 1937. p. 92.

instructor.³⁶ The belief was that one who does not undergo an intojane custom might become thin and sickly. The girl would begin to menstruate, ukuthomba, that is to bud. The girls at this stage were placed in seclusion. A goat was presented to each girl to be slaughtered as her umhlonyane.³⁷ The girl was given an imbetju a part of the meat behind the shoulders and she received it with crossed arms. She would nibble it and spit it out. Gall was smeared on the body of the initiate. After 7 or 8 days a big feast was organised and the girls were given the statuses of being iintombi and considered marriageable.³⁸

Umtshato Marriage

Marriage is contracted by the payment of cattle to the parents or guardians of the female. The amount handed for lobola varies according to the times and the wealth of the groom's father. Generally after the first child is born, an additional demand is sometimes required. The woman is induced to return to her parents, where she remains until her husband sends the cattle demanded. If

36. Maclean, C.B. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. p. 104.

37. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p.13.

38. Maclean, C.B. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. p. 104.

the parents refuse to allow the daughter to return until the demand is complied with, and the husband obstinately refusing to comply with the demand, cancelling of the marriage may be the result.³⁹ A man could then claim the children of a woman through the lobola. Lobola can probably be interpreted as the compensation to the group that has lost a member.⁴⁰ Marriage without lobola tends to be inconceivable. A special beast is paid to the girl's mother in recognition for the girl's virginity.

Ukwahlukana Divorce

There is no legal process for obtaining divorce among the Bhaca. Divorce was very rare among the Bhaca. A man could just chase off his wife probably for barrenness, or for adultery or just because he disliked her. Under these circumstances, the man could not claim the cattle he had paid for lobola.⁴¹ Sometimes a wife could leave her husband on the grounds of ill-usage, dislike or jealousy, and if reconciliation could not be effected, the husband had a right to claim his cattle

39. Ibid. 104.

40. Schepera, I. The Bantu Speaking tribes of South Africa. p. 113.

41. Maclean, C.B. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. p. 119.

and the children could stay with him.⁴²

Ukuthwala Elopement

This usually occurred in cases where the girl was agreeable to marrying her suiter, but her parents were against it. When the wife has been taken in this manner, lobola followed. In most cases, ukuthwala obliged the girl's parents to accept the position. There is another kind of the ukuthwala known as abduction where the girl was not willing but forced by the groom and his friends. The girl was taken without any sexual relations prior to abduction. Sometimes a girl was beaten and tied around the neck with a muffler and dragged forcefully.

Ukungena Levirate

This occurred when a chief died without having a male issue who could be an heir to the chiefdom. A brother of the deceased would be encouraged to ngena (enter) the widow to raise the heir. Since the Bhacas seemed to be against the idea that a woman should have children born of men of different clans, they also adopted this system and it became a Bhaca custom.

42. Ibid. p. 119.

Imbeleko Thanksgiving to ancestors for a new born child

It had been customary for the Bhacas to perform imbeleko for the newly born baby as a special thants-giving ceremony to the ancestors.⁴³ A couple of days after the mother came from her seclusion efukwini, the father would slaughter a goat or a sheep for the baby. In most cases the imbeleko goat was provided by the child's father, but in the case of the first born, the goat was supposed to be provided by the child's maternal grandfather. After a goat has been slaughtered, the imbetju, a part behind the shoulder, which is of special ritual significance, was given to the child to suck, and it was then eaten by the mother. The skin of the imbeleko goat or sheep was used exclusively for carrying the baby on its mother's back, or for a mat for it to sleep on.⁴⁴

Most of the customs that were followed by the Bhacas were criticized by the missionaries and they gradually fell into disrepute. This does not necessarily mean that the missionary work was a success amongst the Bhacas because some of the customs are still in use even

43. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Bhaca Society. p. 75.

44. Ibid. p. 76.

today, and are even legalised, for example, Lobola.

CHAPTER 3THE REIGN OF NCAPEYI, 1826 - 1844

The pressure exerted on Madzikane by Tshaka's armies and the lack of a fixed place of abode, did not hinder him from living as a polygamist. From the great wife he had two sons, Sonyangwe and Ncapayi. The second wife's sons were Citha and Bekezulu. The third wife's son was Dliwakho, who quarrelled with Ncapayi and went to Pondoland. The fourth wife gave birth to Mafingila. The fifth wife's son was Sinyane, the sixth wife's son was Sontsi, the seventh wife's son was Maraule, the eighth wife's son was Matiwane. The ninth wife's son was Nkondile. The tenth wife's sons were Msongelwa and Ngamlana, and the eleventh wife's son was Guliva.¹ It is not possible to know the names of these wives. Sonyangwe, the great son of Madzikane, had two sons before his death in 1826, Mduyane and Tiba.

Neither of the two belonged to the Great House which was known as Mpoza.² Ncapayi was urged to take over his brother's wives and raise up the seed for him, to this he objected and pointed out that sons born by women of

1. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

2. Ibid.

the great house would claim to be chiefs, and his brother, having left two sons of his own, these should be placed at the Mpoza Great Place. This was agreed to and Sonyangwe's wives were sent away, Mduyana and Tiba being placed at the Great House.

One version by Sonyangwe's councillors was that Ncapayi refused to ingena (enter) his brother's wives to raise an heir to the Great House, because he was planning on having his own son appointed to the Bhaca chieftainship, on the pretext that Mduyana was an illegitimate son of Sonyangwe.³ But this version should be disregarded on the grounds of Gardiner's report of 1835 that Ncapayi was on good terms with Madzikane's widow, and with the rest of Madzikane's family. Initially, Gardiner, a Natal official had a very bad impression about Ncapayi and he showed a desire to see the heir, Mduyana before he left. He had a feeling of pity for him because he entertained fears that Ncapayi was fond of power and that it was doubtful whether he would permit the reins of government to pass into other hands during his life time.⁴ However, Mduyana looked a nice lad of about twelve years.

3. Interview with L. Dabula on 17/08/1986 at Mount Frere.

4. Gardiner, A.F. Narrative to a Journey to the Zooloe country in South Africa, p. 286.

Ncapayi was left in the sole control of the Bhaca chiefdom as the heir, Sonyangwe had been killed in 1826 and his son Mdutyana, was still a child.⁵ Scully relates that "Ncapayi came more and more into prominence. He was a born leader of men, and have been a soldier of genius."⁶ At an annual feast festival, which was held at Mpoza, Ncapayi quarrelled with his brother Dliwakho, of the minor house to the great house. At the annual feast fruits festival ingcubhe, it was the custom that the members of the nation could upbraid the chief with impunity. On this occasion Ncapayi took exception to Dliwakho's words and wounded him with a spear. That night Dliwakho, with a large section of the Bhacas, left for Pondoland.⁷ Ncapayi feared that Dliwakho would become a chief of the large section of the Bhacas which had followed him. Accompanied by his brother, Bekezulu, he went to Pondoland and he gave Faku one hundred oxen to be accepted as a tributary chief of Pondoland. Faku was still living at Mngazi and Ncapayi was allocated a place at Ntafufu sometime in 1828.⁸

5. de Kok, W.J. Dictionary of South African Bibliography, (Cape Town, 1972), p. 585.

6. Scully, W.C. Further reminiscences, p. 261.

7. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p.25.

8.N.A. 623, W.P. Leary "History"

Ncapayi wanted to demand the restoration of cattle from Dliwakho, but the chief men of the Mpondo, especially Coco, counselled him not to do so. Dliwakho became insecure on account of the presence of his brother, Ncapayi, in Pondoland and he decided to move further and he settled in Southern Natal. Faku accepted Ncapayi as an ally, and there was peace in the land.⁹ Ncapayi carried on the tradition of his father and he raided the chiefdoms between the Umzimvubu and the Bashe rivers. He was still experiencing some weaknesses in his army since many warriors left with his brother, Dliwakho. Faku asked him to move up a little as he was moving from Mngazi and wished to live at Ntafufu. Ncapayi did as requested and he occupied the Xura, Zalu and Mtsila.

After the death of Tshaka in 1828, Dingane attempted to destroy or to render powerless all who had been closely associated with his predecessor, and might resent his assassination.¹⁰ Nqeto, the Qwabe chief, feeling his life in danger, deserted Natal and established himself between the Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu rivers, a part of the Mpondo territory from which Faku had withdrawn his people.

9. Wesleyan Mission Records Rev Palmer to superintendent in 1837. p. 32.

10. Omer-Cooper, J.D. The Zulu Aftermath. p. 159.

The raids of the Qwabe excited the hostility of their new neighbours, the Mpondo, and culminated into a Qwabe-Mpondo war of 1829 in which the former were decisively defeated.¹¹ The few Qwabes that escaped became now fully convinced that the ruin had overtaken them solely because of having murdered an old friend, lieutenant Farewell seeing that previous to that fatal occurrence, they had prospered in every attack they had made.¹²

Nqeto, with a few survivors made his escape and gathering up cattle, fled inland towards the Bhacas. Faku prevented his victorious army from following in their tracks, and seizing the cattle as he knew that they were legally the property of Dingane, and to touch them would be to invite another Zulu invasion.¹³ Ncapayi, however, had no such scruples. He fell upon the retreating Qwabes, surrounded Nqeto's people, whilst the whole of their ill-gotten spoils, including their very numerous cattle were captured. Some of the Qwabes were killed and others were taken prisoners whilst other escaped. This ended in 1830, the once formidable

11. Ibid. p. 159.

12. Stuart, J. and Malcolm, D., The Diary of Henry Frances Fynn. p. 172.

13. Omer-Cooper, J.D. The Zulu Aftermath. p. 161.

chiefdom of the Qwabes.¹⁴

The history of the Bhacas from the death of Madzikane 1824 to the arrival of Nqeto in 1829 was marked by a period of continued weakness since the chiefdom had no cattle of its own. Gardiner relates that "from that period the Bhacas had been gradually recruiting their losses."¹⁵

When Dingane heard of this attack and defeat of the Qwabes, he sent two Zulu expeditions at different times to recover his cattle but Ncapayi succeeded in eluding them. The capture of Nqeto's cattle was a turning point in the history of the Bhacas. Ncapayi had gained some strength economically and militarily. This encouraged Ncapayi to organise expeditions against the Tembus in alliance with chief Faku. However, love between Faku and Ncapayi had so cooled down, as to be already several points below zero. The period 1830 to 1834 was characterized by continual warfare between the Mpondo and the Bhacas and battles were fought at Mkatha and Lusikisiki. After that the Bhacas retired across the Umzimvubu river into what is today known as Cweraland

14. Stuart, J. and Malcolm, D. The Diary of Henry Frances Fynn. p. 173.

15. Gardiner, A.F. A Narrative of a Journey to the Zooloe Country in South Africa. p. 277.

between the Tina river and the Tabankulu mountains.¹⁶

The Bhaca chiefdom proved to be the most powerful body of the refugees in the valley of the Umzimvubu. Its desire for plunder was no greater than that of others, but its strength enabled it to hold its ground when weaker people perished. Eventually the Bhaca waxed rich in cattle and they were able to intermarry with women of their neighbours.¹⁷ The fame of Ncapayi extended to the Cape Colony, he was spoken of as the foremost of all the Black plunderers east of the Kei river. It was probably the military strength and fame of Ncapayi that created misunderstanding between Faku and himself. In 1835, Ncapayi married one of chief Faku's daughters.¹⁸ This was probably intended to maintain friendly relations between the Mpondo and the Bhacas, but such relations were of short duration. Mafaku was taken to the Great House, Mpoza and she gave birth to Sikelem who died young.

It was about this time in 1835 when Captain Allan Gardiner, reached Buntingville, a Methodist Mission

16. N.A. 623 W.P. Leary "History"

17. Theal, G.M. History of South Africa Vol.6 (London, 1912), p. 406.

18. de Kock, W.J. Dictionary of South African Bibliography, p. 585.

planted between Umtata and Umzimvubu rivers. Gardiner was the first European to leave a detailed description of the Bhacas, and I will therefore quote extensively from his account. The previous year, 1834, a war had broken out between the Xhosa and the Cape Colony government.

Gardiner proposed to Faku that he should collect his army, and, in combination with that of Ncapayi, he should make

"a sudden and rapid march to the
Kei without turning to right hand
or to the left."¹⁹

By doing so Gardiner believed that Faku and Ncapayi would take the country by surprise and the chiefdoms through which they pass, would have no time to combine in order to oppose their advance. "On reaching the English troops they would meet with the most friendly reception and they would doubtless escort them on their way back as far as they pleased."²⁰

Faku wanted to attack Myeki first and the other neighbouring petty chiefs with whom he was at war and clear his way as far as the Bashe river. Gardiner was

19. Gardiner, A.F. A Narrative of a Journey to the Zooloe Country in South Africa. p 269.

20. Ibid. p. 269.

opposed to this attack as it was going to weaken the Mpondo forces, and, moreover, Faku's enemies were going to combine in greater numbers.

Chief Faku was willing to give assistance to the English but Gardiner realized that in any case the two chiefs, Faku and Ncapayi could not come to terms:-

"The real fact was that Ncapayi could not be induced to unite his forces with those of the AmaMpondo, for notwithstanding the pending family alliance between Faku and him, these people are naturally so jealous of each other, that only long continuance of cordiality is not to be relied upon, and even had they taken the field together, some dispute might probably have arisen whereby the two parties might have been arrayed against each other.²¹

If Faku were to head his army in person, they would be sufficient for any practicable enterprise, but this was not the case because the Mpondo armies were generally led by his sons and by inferior chiefs. This circumstance probably accounted for the ill-success which had almost invariably attended every expedition which they carried beyond the limits of their own country. That was the reason why Ncapayi's army was needed to accompany the Mpondo. On the other hand, Ncapayi declined to give aid "as should anything happen, the blame would probably be attributed to him."²²

21. Ibid. p. 270.

22. Stuart, J. and Malcolm, D. The Diary of Henry Frances Fynn. p. 302.

On the 27th of August 1835, Gardiner, accompanied by H. Ogle, on official, set out for Ncapayi's principal place. When nearing the place, Gardiner noticed large bundles of Indian corn suspended from branches of high trees in the immediate neighbourhood of the huts, in order to secure them from the depredation of rats. The fur-kilts, which were symbols of war, were frequently exhibited from the trees - a practicable evidence of the warlike propensities of the owners.²³ At the time of contact of the Bhacas with Gardiner,

"Their whole force was computed at about three thousand fighting men, a small army indeed, when compared with that of the neighbouring states: but from the particular wariness of their attacks - generally in the night - their acknowledged courage and indiscriminate carnage never sparing either women or children, they have long been the terror of this part of the country; and under their present enterprising chief, were their present population more numerous, would rival Tshaka himself in rapine and war....²⁴

According to Gardiner, the Bhacas under Ncapayi were frequently receiving accessions from other chiefdoms and they were already spreading themselves more to the north and they were rising to be a powerful nation.

23. Gardiner, A.F. A Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolo Country in South Africa. p. 272.

24. Ibid. p. 277.

Captain Gardiner reached Mpoza, the Great Place of Madzikane, the Bhaca late chief, at sunset. Chief Ncapayi was not present when the visitors arrived but he was expected to come after three days to meet his Mpondo bride, the betrothed daughter of Faku. The widow of Madzikane, was unwell, but she despatched messengers to acquaint Ncapayi of the visitors.

The Great Place was built upon the slope of a steep hill. The whole village, both in situation and appearance, seemed only fitted for the abode of a party of free-booters, according to Gardiner's exaggerated point of view. The chief arrived in the evening. He received the visitors in a large hut. Gardiner's description is:-

"He was seated before fire, without a particle of clothing, attended by eight or nine men" He seemed amused when asked who Ncapayi was. "His figure was slight and active, of middle stature; but the searching quickness of his eyes, the point of his questions, and the extreme caution of his replies, stamped him at once as a man capable of ruling the wild and sanguinary spirits by which he was surrounded."²⁵

After a long discussion between Ncapayi and Captain Gardiner, concerning the Zulu threat to the Bhacas, and the English forces who were camping along the Kei river,

25. Ibid. p. 283.

Gardiner wanted to know whether Ncapayi had any message to the Governor. He said he wished Gardiner to inform the governor that he was friendly to all white people, that he had protected all those who had passed through his country. He further expressed sympathy that a White man had been killed by his people, when he made an attack on the Tembus. But the white man had joined with the Tembus and fired his gun upon Ncapayi's people and it could not be helped. Ncapayi promised to send two elephant's tusks as a present to the governor, and as a proof of friendship, but he declared that, should the White people ever come against him in hostile manner, he was resolved to fight with them.²⁶

It was in this meeting that Captain Gardiner induced Ncapayi to ask for a missionary to come and reside with him. Captain Gardiner preached to Ncapayi and his principal captains. The chief listened with earnest attention until struck with the description of the character of God, he (Ncapayi) suddenly turned to his captains and said with emphasis: "Do you hear that God is good?"²⁷ When Captain Gardiner was proceeding to close the service with a prayer Ncapayi requested that he should instruct him how to kneel, that he might

26. Ibid. p. 288.

27. Ibid. p. 288.

present himself in a becoming manner before the Great God.²⁸

After his meeting with Captain Gardiner, Ncapayi was inspired to look for a missionary to enlighten the Bhacas.

This inspiration might have been enhanced by the fact that a Wesleyan mission had already been established in Faku's territory in 1830.²⁹ Moreover, the presence of a White man amongst the Blacks had some advantages at the time. Firstly a black leader might anticipate a higher degree of respect from his neighbours, by being allied to the white people. Secondly, there was a prospect of protection by the whites. And thirdly, the chief would certainly get many presents from the whites.

The meeting of 1835 between Captain Gardiner and Ncapayi did not stop the latter from another attack on the Tembus. In November 1836, Ncapayi launched an attack against the Tembus, and took from them immense herds of cattle, which "raised the cupidity of Faku to the

28. Ibid. p. 289.

29. de Kok, W.J. Dictionary of South Africa Bibliography p. 585.

highest point."³⁰ Ncapayi and Faku entered into alliance and they spread ruin and devastation to other chiefdoms living in the neighbourhood of the mission stations of Morley and Clarkebury.

Reverend G. Palmer of Morley, who witnessed the Bhacas in action at this period, related that when Ncapayi was attacking a chiefdom, he used to divide his men into small parties, who, concealed by the darkness of the night, scattered themselves over a large portion of the country. Once one hut was set alight, this served as a sign for all the parties to commence burning the village. Each party then attacked the following village in a like manner. One man would set fire on the hut whilst others stood at the door, to kill everyone that attempted to escape, (not excepting women and children), during which time the remainder of the party drove off the cattle from the kraal.³¹ This being accomplished, they proceeded to another village and acted in the same way. The attack was too sudden and general and it used to throw its victims into confusion. On this occasion in 1836 Ncapayi went about 25 kilometres in a westerly direction of the Missions Station and he cleared the

30. Theal, G.M. History of South Africa since 1795 Vol.6 p. 406.

31. Wesleyan Missionary Reports - Rev. Palmer to Superintendent of 1837 p. 36.

country of all the cattle. Faku's army took the southern direction and it was not so successful. Reverend Palmer also reported that Ncapayi took some boys and girls prisoners, but on reaching the other side of the Umtata river, he instructed his men to make a circle round the girls and kill them with spears.³² The armies, however did nothing to the Mission Stations.

Early in 1838 Ncapayi and Faku swept the country between Umtata and the Bashe rivers three times in succession. Later when the Bhacas were returning with captives and much spoils, it was reported that among the captives were the wives and children of Tyopo, a Tembu chief.³³

The Tembus were reduced to such an extent that in October 1838, they were dying of hunger. These events caused the great bulk of the Tembus to move away from the vicinity of Clarkebury to the territory along the upper branches of the Kei river.³⁴ It was this alliance of Ncapayi and Faku that scattered the people between Umtata and the Bashe rivers. The Mpondo first attacked the amaNgxabane and plundered them and then Myeki the

32. Ibid. p. 36.

33. Whiteside, J. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A. (London, 1906), p. 190.

34. Theal, G.M. History of South Africa since 1795 Vol.6, p. 407.

chief of the Mpondomise, then migrated to the Roda, because he was in danger of being eaten up by the Mpondo.³⁵ Ncapayi and Faku laid the country waste more than the Mfecane did in the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁶ Myeki died near Cacadu and he was the first Mpondomise chief that died out of their country and he was succeeded by his son, Matiwane, who was named after the Great Ngwane chief, killed by the English at Mbolompo, Umtata.

The alliance between the two chiefs, Faku and Ncapayi did not last. The Bhaca and the Mpondo could not live peacefully and they quarrelled over petty issues. A young man, named Maranjana, got married to a Mpondo girl. The wife paid a visit to her home and she never returned, apparently flirting with another man. Maranjana went to his in-laws to claim the lobola. This was not accepted by the Mpondo and an attack and murder on Maranjana ensued a war between the Mpondo and the Bhaca chiefdoms.³⁷ Further misunderstanding was caused by the fact that the two great chiefs could not come to terms in the division of spoils and this led to another threat of war of 1840, which probably prompted

35. Vete, Historical Records. p. 407.

36. Ibid. p. 114.

37. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane, p. 26.

Faku to send to Pietermaritzburg to ask the Voortrekkers to allow him to receive assistance from the Ntlangwini chief, Fodo, who was living under their jurisdiction on the land south of the Umzimkulu river.³⁸ Nombewu, Fodo's father, was attacked and killed by the Bhacas under Ncapayi, in 1826 and thus there was enmity between the Bhacas and the Ntlangwini which Faku wished to turn to account when he resumed hostilities with Ncapayi.

Ncapayi Applies for a Missionary

Captain A. Gardiner succeeded in persuading chief Ncapayi to have a missionary amongst the Bhacas, whose influence was seen immediately after the Boer attack of 1840. Ncapayi seemed to be tired of heathenism and he was further inspired by the influence and advice brought particularly to his neighbours, the Mpondo. David Makaula related that Mjokovana and Siwela, under the leadership of Mayeza, were sent to Grahamstown, carrying a large elephant's tusk, to go and buy a missionary to come and settle with Ncapayi and his people.³⁹ According to the Missionary Reports Ncapayi urgently applied and requested for a Missionary, and he sent

38. Theal, G.M. History of South of Africa since 1795
Vol.6 p. 409.

39. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 27.

repeatedly to Reverend Thomas Jenkins, at Buntingville to know when he was to expect one.⁴⁰ On 12 November 1838, Reverend Jenkins promised to forward Ncapayi's request to the committee in Grahamstown. The application was further motivated by the fact that Ncapayi was the chief of a large body of people, consisting of the broken fragments of many clans. These people were, according to the report, "entirely without the means of religious instruction and were in the grossest darkness without hope and without God in the world, and hundreds were yearly carried into eternity, while they were as ignorant of iternal things as the beasts that perish."⁴¹

Ncapayi was said to be waiting anxiously to know when and whether he could have a teacher to teach him and the people, the great news from heaven.

He sent another message to Jenkins and said "for a long time I have asked for a teacher, but to no purpose; all the other chiefs have teachers, but I have none. It is true I know I am born a sinner, and I have a wicked heart, but still, only give me a teacher, and I am sure

40. Wesleyan Missionary Reports T. Jenkins to Superintendent in 1839 p. 61.

41. Ibid. p.61. See also Davis W. The story of a Mission 1843 - 1943. (Shawbury, N.D.), p.4.

I will take care of him."⁴² Ncapayi further wrote to the Committee in Grahamstown asking, "What he had done that he might not have a missionary."⁴³ In his letter to the committee, recommending that Ncapayi should have a 'teacher', Jenkins stated that the Bhacas were "the most warlike and savage of all the chiefdoms of Kaffraria, and were the more dreaded by their neighbours than any other people; indeed, they were so intent on war and plunder, that they were seldom quiet for four months together without making attacks on other tribes"⁴⁴

Lieutenant-Governor, J. Hare, at Grahamstown, approved the request of the Wesleyans to establish a Mission with Ncapayi, expressing his conviction that the appointment of a missionary to such a powerful chief, would greatly contribute to the maintenance of peace. He then referred the matter to the missionaries at Morley and Buntingville who, after communication with Ncapayi, sent Reverend W.H. Garner to open a sixth Wesleyan Mission Station amongst the Bhacas at Silindini in 1839.⁴⁵

42. Davis, W. The Story of a Mission 1843 - 1943 p. 5.

43. Cory Library. Wesleyan Missionary Reports. Jenkins to the Superintendent in 1841, p.58.

44. Ibid. p. 61.

45. Shaw, W. The Story of my Mission. (Cape Town, 1860), p. 517.

Reverend J.H. Garner had been a missionary among the Mfengu since 1835. Wilson stated that he was a giant amongst men in both stature and spiritual power."⁴⁶ His objectives seemed incompatible with the Bhaca traditional way of life. He had to unfold the gospel of God, and the converts were to abandon their ancestral worship, polygamy, lobola, witchcraft and beer-drinking, and these were integral and important parts of the Bhaca social system.⁴⁷ In his first report after his appointment was "We have confidence here that the Gospel will win its widening way; already, we anticipate the day when the tribe will change its spears into ploughshares."⁴⁸

The first mission station was at Silindeni, but after the Voortrekker attack of 1840, the incident known in history as "the Ncapayi Affair", it was abandoned, and a new station was built farther to the south on the banks of one of the upper tributaries of the Umzimvubu river.⁴⁹

46. Davis, W. The story of a mission 1843 - 1943. p.6.

47. Whiteside, J. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p. 219.

48. Davis, W. The Story of a mission 1843 - 1943. p. 6.

49. Cory Library M.B.A.D. 1840 - 1844 p. 95, quoted from Shaw, W. My mission p.517.

In December 1840 a commando under Andries Pretorius, with a small auxiliary force under the Ntlangwini chief, Fodo, attacked the Bhacas of Ncapayi, routed them out of their residential place and took possession of several thousand head of cattle, sheep and goats.⁵⁰ The reasons for the Voortrekker attack on Ncapayi have never been satisfactorily explained. The Boers themselves said that their motive was to recover stock stolen by Ncapayi.⁵¹ On this allegation, James Archbell, a Wesleyan Missionary, who visited the area after six months, asserted that "Ncapayi was entirely guiltless of any aggressive act and indeed that nothing had occurred to warrant even the smallest suspicion that (the stolen horses and cattle) had been taken into his country." Of the 3000 cattle captured from the Bhacas, only four were identified as belonging to the Boers. The Bhacas could possibly have exchanged these from the Bushmen - not stolen from the Boers.⁵² One participant in Pretorius' commando, who never wanted his name to be mentioned stated:-

50. Cory Library M.S. 15003 William Shaw to the Governor on 23/12/1840.

51. Wright, J.B. *Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg 1840 - 1870* (Pietermaritzburg, 1971), p. 38.

52. Liebenberg, B.J. *Andries. Pretorius in Natal*, (Cape Town, 1983), p. 152.

"I am now in possession of an overwhelming mass of guidance to prove that Ncapayi was entirely guiltless of any aggressive acts against the emigrant farmers previous to their attack upon him"⁵³

It is possible that the Boers were urged into action by their African ally, Fodo, the Ntlangwini chief. Certainly, Fodo had a great reason to hate the Bhacas because Ncapayi had killed his father, Nombewu, in revenge for the death of his brother Sonyangwe.

The role of Faku is also ambiguous. There are definite indications that he approved of or even encouraged the raid, in that he instigated the farmers to make it, with a view of weakening an old enemy, Ncapayi.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Faku is suspected to have requested Fodo to come to his assistance against an attack by Ncapayi.⁵⁵ After the expedition, Fodo fell into the Voortrekkers' disfavour and he was arrested for having slaughtered sheep and goats that got tired on the way to Natal. Fodo sent a message to Faku while in goal:-

53. Cory Library, Shaw William reporting to Editor of the Suid Afrikaan of 3/8/1841 quoted from "Andries Pretorius in Natal" p. 153.

54. Cory Library, MS 15698 D.G.L. Cragg "The Relations of the AmaMpondo and the Colonial Authorities 1830 - 1886" p. 54.

55. Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu. p. 430.

"I am bound in the Boers Camp and they are seeking occasion to come against you, I, therefore, send to wake you up as they will soon be upon you! After they have returned home with Ncapayi's cattle."⁵⁶

Perhaps it was this mistreatment of Fodo that discouraged Faku from allying with the Boers.

Whatever the reasons, commandant Pretorius left Pietermaritzburg on 24 November 1840 at the head of a large commando, and was joined by Fodo and his warriors. They first proceeded westward of the Ingele Mountains in search of the Bushmen who were suspected of stock thefts, but when this yielded no result, they pressed south-eastward into the heart of Pondoland.⁵⁷ Orders were issued to prepare for the war, such as making hurdles to fit in between the wagons - examining guns. A council of war was then called - death or worse punishment was decreed against Ncapayi.⁵⁸ The Boers claimed that Ncapayi had been harrassing them and the punishment was intended to make such an example of him that no one in his direction would dare to molest them again.

56. Cory Library. MS 15003 William Shaw, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions of South Africa reporting to the Governor on 25/12/1841.

57. Cory Library MS 15698 - D.G.L. Cragg. "AmaMpondo ..." p. 57.

58. Cory Library MS 15003 William Shaw reporting to Napier the Governor on 9/8/1841.

According to the information supplied by Ncapayi to the missionaries, an attack took place early in the morning of December 1840 and the Bhacas were driven out of their homesteads, leaving about 80 men, women and children dead, including Ncapayi's chief councillor, Mpolosi. The Boers took every beast they came into contact with 4000 cattle, 2000 sheep and goats.⁵⁹ The worst part of the attack was that children were taken prisoners by the Boers, to use as servants. No communication was opened between Ncapayi and the Boers before the attack. Ncapayi knew no charge against him, and the Bhacas had done nothing to offend them.⁶⁰

This brings us now to the role that was played by the missionaries in this crisis. Whenever a missionary discovered that a black chief was in trouble, he would persuade him to accept the friendship of the British government and to accept its protection. Such was the case with Ncapayi and Faku because they turned to the missionaries at Buntingville. William Shaw, the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission, believed that Ncapayi had never offended against the Voortrekkers. He was of the opinion that the cattle and the horses of the

59. Theal, G.M. History of South Africa since 1795 Vol.6 p. 411.

60. Cory Library M.S. 15003 Reverend Palmer to William Shaw on 5/11/1841.

Voortrekkers were stolen by the Bushmen and he wondered why the spoor was traced into Ncapayi's country because there were no Bushmen in his country.⁶¹ He then referred the matter to the governor, George Napier."

The missionaries had plenty of cause to complain of Ncapayi's activities in the past, for he had made numerous attacks upon peaceful chiefdoms and disturbed the work of the mission stations. For example, Chase, a British settler, dismissed the incident by describing Ncapayi as a "notorious free-booter, equally the enemy of the natives."⁶² But Shaw maintained that Ncapayi's subjects were still semi-nomadic and that they had suffered cattle losses for over 15 years. Having been frequently overrun and pillaged by their warlike northern neighbours, they tended to recoup their losses from the more settled chiefdoms in the south. Reverend W. Garner, the missionary with Ncapayi, did not condone the predatory habits of the Bhacas, but he considered that there was little justification for misdemeanours of the Voortrekkers.⁶³ On this occasion, Reverends W.

61. Cory Library MS 15003 William Shaw reporting to George Napier, the Governor, on 27/7/1841.

62. Cory Library M.B.A.D. 1840 - 1844 p. 95 quoted from William Shaw, My Mission p. 517.

63. Cory Library T. 55 Reverend J.H. Garner to William Shaw 20/12/1890, p. 94.

Garner, Palmer and Jenkins, seemed to consider the attack as an unwarranted piece of aggression and they hastened to condole with Ncapayi, probably to induce him to accept British influence. Garner's reports suggested that Ncapayi was a reformed character. He pointed out that Ncapayi gave him considerable support and he was a regular church goer and encouraged the whole of his nation to follow his example.

Cragg states that it was impossible to assess the evidence given by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries regarding the Ncapayi affair. It is probably very likely that they were anxious to exonerate Ncapayi. But the question of Ncapayi's innocence was really a minor issue, for even if he was guilty, the surprise nature of the attack and the severity of the punishment was indefensible.⁶⁴ The severity of the attack and the abduction of the children shocked Governor Napier's humanitarian instincts. It was this and his fear that an attack on Faku would disturb the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony that prompted his subsequent action.⁶⁵

Ncapayi was advised by Reverend Garner to lay aside his

64. Cory Library M.S. 15698 by D.G.L. Cragg "AmaMpondo. p. 136.

65. de Kock, W.J. Dictionary of South African Bibliography. p. 586.

warlike intentions and live in peace with his neighbours, as it was only on those grounds that the Cape Government could tender him any form of assistance. The government also suspected that the Voortrekkers would before long attack Faku for the sake of his cattle unless some very prompt measure be taken which would render it hazardous for them to do so.⁶⁶

Ncapayi, probably persuaded by Rev. W. Garner, sent a formal message to William Shaw in 1841 stating his wish to place himself and the nation entirely under the control and protection of the British Government.

This probably was a precedent for Makaula, Ncapayi's son, who opted for British rule in the early years of his rule. The plunder on Ncapayi was an unprovoked outrage, which, coupled with Faku's threat of future raid, fully necessitated the protective measures by the Colonial Government. This led to the government sending colonial troops under Captain T. Smith, to leave for Pondoland to protect Faku and Ncapayi. Smith was given definite instructions not to enter into political discussion with the Voortrekkers or to interfere in

66. Cory Library M.S. 15003 William Shaw to the Governor on 18/1/1841.

inter-tribal quarrels.⁶⁷

The Voortrekker attack on Ncapayi was an important step on the way to the British annexation of Natal. But the most important aspect as far as the Bhacas themselves were concerned was that it led to their firm absorption into the British sphere of influence. The eventual request for British protection, submitted by Makaula in the early 1870's was a long term consequence of Ncapayi's request for protection in 1841.

The Voortrekker raid had the additional result of uprooting Ncapayi and the Bhacas from the vicinity of Faku in Pondoland and causing them to move to the far distant Mganu Mountains, which later on became the permanent Bhaca country. It also led to the abandonment of the Mission Station of Silindini and to the establishment of Shawbury Mission on the Tsitsa Falls in 1843.

Ncapayi and the Missionaries

After the Voortrekker attack of 1840, Ncapayi had moved to the vicinity of the Mganu Mountains, leaving W.H.

67. Cory Library M.S. 15698 by D.G.L. Cragg. The Relations of the amaMpondo and the Colonial Authorities 1830 -1886, p. 135.

Garner, his Methodist Missionary, behind the old station of Silindini. In May 1841, however, he sent messengers to Garner requesting him to come and occupy a mission site in his new country.⁶⁸ On 3rd June 1841, the Wesleyan Missionaries, Palmer, Garner and Gladwin left Buntingville and went out to select a spot for the new mission. They travelled through a country once occupied by the amaQobosha, who were driven away by Madzikane, father of Ncapayi, in the early 1820's. The amaQobosha were no longer existing as a nation by that time, and the few that remained had joined themselves to other chiefdoms, and had found a place of refuge near the colonial boundary.⁶⁹ It was also in this country that the Bhele chiefdom of Mdingi, was destroyed by Ncapayi in 1828, on which occasion there was a great loss of human life. The missionaries arrived at Tsibesa where Ncapayi had pointed to meet them. They immediately sent to inform the chief of their arrival. It was eight days since they left Buntingville, and they had not seen a human being on their way.

War had truly depopulated the whole area. Eventually they selected a site on the Tsitsa river, at the Tsitsa

68. Reverend C. Palmer to the Wesleyan Missionary Notices of 1842, p. 39.

69. Ibid. p. 39.

Falls, about 135 km. from Buntingville. This was in every way suitable for a mission station, having a good supply of water, fine land for agricultural purposes. Ncapayi was very supportive, and the missionaries were optimistic that the Bhaca would accept the gospel. Indeed, it would seem that, independent of the efforts of the missionaries, Ncapayi wanted to lead a settled life. The new mission was named Shawbury, after the Wesleyan Superintendent, William Shaw.⁷⁰

In 1841, the first year of Shawbury foundation, Ncapayi, his councillors and their wives attended the church services every Sunday unless prevented by distance and sickness. Reverend Garner reported that so far there had been no fruit seen in the conversion of the souls amongst the Bhacas, but he rejoiced that the 'word' had not been altogether without effect. The congregation increased in numbers and the people who attended the Sabbath services were between 500 and 600, and several people had made diligent inquiry concerning the word preached to them.⁷¹

The mission grounds tended to be a place of escape to

70. Shaw, W. The Story of My Mission. p. 317.

71. Cory Library M.S. 15017 W.H. Garner reporting to Shaw W. in 1842.

those accused of witchcraft, which was at the time going into disrepute. The people who were converted to christianity were somewhat separated from the rest of the people. They tended to pay more allegiance to the missionary than to their chief and they were gradually diminishing their traditional practices.

Reverend Garner recommended that if the Bhacas were to be firmly converted, they must be able to read the scriptures. This, however, would require far more than the normal process of teaching. In other words schools were to be established as aids to successful evangelism and also as a means of substituting Western civilization and Western techniques for the Bhacas.

In 1842, Reverend Garner concentrated on the establishment of Day and Sabbath schools. A few children appeared to be keen to learn. The enrolment was 15 boys and 20 girls bringing the total to 35 scholars. In 1843 there were many more names on the book but the attendance was irregular especially for those children who stayed outside the station. Several of them could read scriptures and had begun to write on paper.⁷²

72. Cory Library M.S. 15017 Reverend W.H. Garner reporting to Shaw W. in 1843.

Late in 1844 W.H. Garner complained that there was a desire on the part of many of the Bhacas to return to their form of predatory and cruel practices, but in this they were opposed by Ncapayi, and many of the principal men of the chiefdom. Attendance at the church was becoming low as compared to the previous years, but the chapel was generally crowded. Many people had been constrained to weep aloud for their sins. This was indicative of repenting for the sins committed in the past. The total enrolment of school going children was 85, 29 boys and 56 girls.

The Bhacas believed in witchcraft and Reverend Garner found it necessary to acquire a knowledge of medicine, to discourage the use of the unanalysed medicines of the witchdoctors. When the Bhacas became ill, they used to send for the missionary and at the same time expected to be treated without being charged. Reverend Garner acquired great fame as a doctor. At one stage Ncapayi had a bilious attack, which caused great alarm. All the councillors were assembled and two oxen were slaughtered. Ncapayi's mother and one of his wives sent to the doctor to know what was killing Ncapayi, but Ncapayi sent to inform Reverend Garner that he was ill and wished him (Garner) to visit him and give him medicines. The witchdoctor advised the usual native remedy:

"Ncapayi is killed by the spirits of his relatives. They are contending why does he not give Mdutyana corn"

that is:

"Why does he not plunder a rich man and give him (Mdutyana) cattle."⁷³

Ncapayi was supposed to kill two oxen at the two great places, and at his great House, kill the fattest ox. Ncapayi was lying on the floor and cried out!

"The doctor is a liar! I will not kill the oxen. All he wants is meat, tell Garner to come and he will make me well."⁷⁴

Reverend Garner came, he administered the medicine, prayed with him, and the chief was restored to health. From that day on, when Ncapayi was unwell he went to Reverend Garner and he refused to take the native drugs except such as were applied externally. This incident contributed to a decline of the superstitions amongst the Bhacas and the trust in the God of the missionaries was enhanced.⁷⁵

In a letter of the 10th January 1844, Reverend Garner reported that Mdutyana, the son of Sonyangwe, and the

73. The Wesleyan Missionary Reports of 1843, Reverend Garner reporting to the Superintendent. p. 610.

74. Whiteside, J. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A. p. 219.

75. The Wesleyan Missionary Reports Of 1843. Garner to Shaw, p. 611.

actual heir to Bhaca chieftainship, came of age. Much blood would have been split those days because, according to the old custom, the chief was supposed to be given a spear taken from the body of a fallen enemy warrior, and the cattle should have been taken from the enemy homesteads. But there had been a great change among the Bhacas. Instead of ordering an attack on his neighbours, Ncapayi commanded that a new spear should be made for Mdutyana by the Bhaca smiths and that cattle should be collected by donation from among the Bhaca councillors for Mdutyana's coming to manhood.

Moreover, according to the former custom, the nearest male relative on the mother's side (her father if alive) was killed, and his skull was preserved in the house of the young chief as a wash-bowl, to make him strong, and he was anointed with the blood or fat of the deceased. Secondly the skin of the old man was made into a kind of amulet to be worn by the chief. It was believed that the qualities were transferable and that old age would thus be secured.

In the case of Madzikane, it was performed and he lived to be grey-headed; but not in the case of Sonyangwe, in consequence of his mother's relatives living with a

powerful clan.⁷⁶ On Mdutyana, coming on age, a question arose whether it should be performed or not. One part of the Bhacas was against it, saying, "we have a teacher. The word of God is with us. We cannot do it."⁷⁷ Another party said "we must do it, It was done to Madzikane, who lived to be an old man, and was a great warrior. It was not done to Sonyangwe, and he died young, and did nothing. Now we love Mdutyana and do not wish him to die young and his mother's relatives and father are with us."⁷⁸ Several of the maternal relatives of Mdutyane, including his grandfather, fled to distant parts. Mgema, the next male relative in the line, came to Shawbury Mission to seek help from Reverend Garner. Reverend Garner spoke to Ncapayi several times about the issue. Ncapayi said that the missionary and the refugees had nothing to fear. All the petty chiefs were instructed to make Mdutyana a great chief by giving him cattle. This was done and the relatives returned from hiding. Nearly two hundred oxen of various ages were collected and given to Mdutyana to fulfil the traditional requirement.

The interest of the British Government in the affairs of

76. Ibid. p. 611.

77. Ibid. p. 611.

78. Ibid. p. 611.

Pondoland led to the signing of the Maitland Treaty of 1844, whereby Faku was acknowledged as paramount chief over the whole country between Umtata and Umzimvubu rivers, from the Drakensberg mountains to the sea.⁷⁹ The provisions of the Treaty were that the rights of all the chiefs and chiefdoms residing within the territory were to remain unaltered. But the Treaty gave Faku claims to the vast tracts of land which were not then in his possession, and never had been. The land of the Bhacas was also included as being under Faku's jurisdiction. So far from preventing disturbances the Treaty tended to increase them. When Faku claimed supremacy over all the chiefs in the area, the other chiefs naturally resisted him.

This misunderstanding was evident even between Faku and Ncapayi. Relations between Faku and Ncapayi deteriorated partly because the latter could not recognise the former as his paramount chief. Another cause of tension between Ncapayi and Faku is suggested in an oral tradition which indicates that Faku attempted to bewitch Ncapayi, or at least that Ncapayi believed that he had been bewitched by Faku.⁸⁰ This incident made Ncapayi

79. Theal, G.M. History of South Africa since 1795 Vol.6. p. 458.

80. Bryant, Olden Times. p. 402. - C.S. Makaula interviewed on 3/7/1986 at Tyeni Location.

contemplate organising an expedition to attack Faku. Just before this, Ncapayi collected a strong force to attack Nyanda under Ndamase, a son of Faku. He captured a large herd of cattle. Meanwhile the alarm had been raised. Faku assembled a strong force and attacked the Bhacas on all sides. He drove the Bhacas before him on to a ridge overlooking the Umzimvubu (St John's river). At the extreme end of this ridge, is a precipice overhanging the river, many Bhacas were forced over it and crushed before reaching the bottom.⁸¹

According to David Makaula Faku was at first hesitant to launch an attack against the Bhacas. Then a Bhaca who had been expelled for witchcraft and sought refuge under Faku revealed the secret of the Bhaca strength. The Bhacas had a cattle-kraal specially made for the First Fruit Festival (ingcubhe), its gate was closed with poles that were smeared with charms. If one could take the pole and throw it over the rock, the Bhacas would suddenly lose consciousness and automatically fall down.⁸² This was done by the Mpondo at night while the Bhacas were asleep. If this oral tradition is true, the Bhacas fell victims of their own magic. In

81. Cingo, W.D. Iballi lamaMpondo, Bhaca, Xesibe namaMpondomise. (Palmerton, 1925), p. 49.

82. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 28.

the battle, Ncapayi was wounded, forced over the rock, falling on to the edge some distance from the bottom. He was in a helpless condition, both arms broken, besides a severe assegai wound. There he lay for days, begging those who came to look at him to put an end to his agony and misery by killing him.⁸³

Faku, to whom reports were constantly sent, at last gave orders that he be killed. That is why the legend narrates that Ncapayi was killed by the Mpondo.

Thus died Madzikane's son, a man of fearless nature and courage unsurpassed.⁸⁴ "A turbulent chief whose character matched his times, Ncapayi firmly established the Bhacas and is greatly revered in tribal tradition."⁸⁵ The Bhacas exclaimed "we see now, what Reverend W.H. Garner said was true, if we sow blood we shall reap blood."⁸⁶

"Owabizwa ngamanyange,
Amany'amakhos'ebizw'iminyakanyaka.

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83. Cingo, W.D. Ibali lamaMpondo, Bhaca, Xesibe namaMpondomise. p. 49.
84. Soga, J.H. South Eastern Bantu. P. 445.
85. de Kock, W.J. Dictionary of South African Biography p. 586.
86. Whiteside, I. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p. 221.

U-sihlang'umavundla no kwahlamba.
 U-Kop'elisweni ku-Hintsa
 U Mzazangwan'umashiya kuliwa -
 Ahamba'y'e-Ngomeni."⁸⁷

"His rule was shortlived compared with that of other long-reigning chiefs, He was determined to look exactly like Hintsa (a powerful Xhosa chief with peircing eyes and a long famous reign). They knew him as Mzazangwana who would have those he attacked crying and on his return home with his regiments would excitedly sing war choruses as if they had not left a trail of blood and suffering."

87. Ndawo, H.M. Izibongo zamaHlubi namaBhaca. p. 33.

CHAPTER 4A PERIOD OF REGENCY 1847 - 68

Mdutyana, the heir in the direct line to Madzikane as the great chief of the Bhacas was about 20 years old when his uncle, Ncapayi, was killed. He had recently selected a wife for himself out of love, Majozela, the daughter of Jozela. Meanwhile the Bhaca nation had already paid lobola for the wife of the Great House, a daughter of Mgwadlu.¹ Both these girls were brought to Mpoza Great Place on the same day.

Mdutyana had the House for Majozela built at the top of the homestead facing the three cattle gates, and took captured stock and fines to her hut. While he was still alive, Ncapayi had said his selection would be the chief wife. On seeing Mdutyana's determination that Majozela should be the chief wife, he suggested that the first son born by either of these wives should be the heir to Bhaca chieftainship.²

Ncapayi was killed before a son was born. Shortly afterwards, Nontsheketshe was born by Majozela,

1. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 81.

2. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

Mdutyana's favourite wife, and he was recognized as the heir to the chieftainship of the Bhacas, by a large section of the nation. Complications did not arise until Mamgwadla also had a son Cijisile, (Madukuda) who was especially supported by Mdutyana's brother, Tiba, and a large section of the people on the grounds that he was born of the great wife purchased by the whole nation's cattle. Mdutyana formed his own Great Place and named it Dinabanye. He further revived the house of Hlatikazi, named Mtshibeni and married Mancitwa for that House. Her sons were Msingapantsi and Mashonga.

Late in 1844 Mdutyana raided the amaCambe chiefdom of the Tembu and his scouts captured cattle, followed the Cambe up to Mgwali where they fought and badly defeated them. The Bhacas formed a camp at Mgwali and remained there for sometime. The surrounding nations collected and determined to attack the Bhacas. Matiwane, a Mpondomise chief, sent and warned Mdutyana of his danger and advised him to retire giving him an ox for rations.³ Sometime in 1845 Ncapayi retired to the Tsitsa valley and from there he raided Diko's Mpondomise at the Cumnce. Some cattle were captured but afterwards rescued by the Mpondomise and the Bhacas were defeated and driven back. On their return the Bhacas were

3. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

attacked by the Mpondo and were then forced to settle between the Rode and the Kinira river.

At the next feast of the First Fruit, in 1846, Mduyana announced that the nation was preparing to move to Umzimkulu. The path at this time was already open to the broader spaces and, with more tranquil environment in the Natal area, Mduyana, with a portion of his people, moved over into that country and settled above the sources of the Mzumbe river.⁴

The Lutateni, Ncapayi's personal followers, and his children, objected to the removal, seeing none of the Great House had been killed. Mduyana then went personally to fetch them and they refused. Noniko, Makaula's mother was prepared to remain and be a servant of the missionary, Reverend W.H. Garner. A split thus became evident in the chiefdom of the Bhacas who at one time had identical cultural, territorial, structural and political systems.⁵

When Mduyana left for Umzimkulu in 1846, he earnestly desired the removal of the mission with him, which was then Shawbury Mission Station. The resident missionary

4. N.A. 623. W.P. Leary "History"

5. Hammond-Tooke, W.D., Bhaca Society. p. 169.

at Shawbury visited him in Umzimkulu and found that he and his people were not settling in a permanent location and it was deemed unwise at that moment to remove.⁶ The Bhaca nation, originally strong and numerous, was reduced in strength by this break off of Mdutyana's section. This reduction weakened those who remained at Mpoza and exposed them to the neighbouring black nations, thus forcing Makaula in the years that followed, to seek British protection.

When Nomsheketshe and Cijisile, the sons of Mdutyana, came of age, they quarrelled over chieftainship. The dispute ended in a fight and Cijisile was driven across the Umzimkulu into Natal in the district of Ixopo where he died and his descendents are still living there, under their chief Bekukupiwa. When Mdutyana left for Umzimkulu, the Lutateni section was left under Mamjucu, Ncapayi's widow, as regent, aided by Diko, one of Ncapayi's sons. Ncapayi was a polygamist and the first four notable wives were:-

1. Makhohlisa a daughter of a Dzanibe clan, who gave birth to Nokwelapha and Gabiseni, daughters, and Diko and Sogoni, sons.

6. Cory Library - The Wesleyan Missionary Reports of 1847. James Archbell to Superintendent. p. 79.

2. Mamjucu (Noniko) of the same Dzanibe clan who gave birth to three daughters, Temtem, Nogcaya and Nobola and the only son Makaula (Silonyana).

3. Manombewu, a daughter of the Ntlangwini chief, Nombewu of Umzimkulu, who gave birth to the following sons:-
Dabula, Mpongoma and Tshalaza.

4. Mafaku, a daughter of Chief Faku of the Mpondo who was placed at Mpoza Great Place. She gave birth to Sikelem, who died young.⁷ The rest of the wives left after the death of Ncapayi and went to their maiden homes.

By virtue of birth, Diko was supposedly the heir to Ncapayi, but because the Bhaca councillors of Chief Ncapayi, Mamjucu, the mother of Makaula, was made a great wife, hence her son attained chieftainship. Makhohliso, the first wife, did not inspire the love of many of the Bhaca councillors. Meanwhile, Mamjucu, the second wife, was highly recognised because of her

7. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. The Tribes of Mount Frere. p. 44.

kindness and good behaviour.⁸

The manner by which Mamjucu was installed as a Great wife was as follows:- It happened that Ncapayi had killed a man in one of the Mfecane battles. According to the Bhaca tradition, a chief was not supposed to have any contact with his wives, until he had undergone some medical treatment. A separate accomodation was to be provided for him. Ncapayi was then placed in isolation for a stipulated period. It was further decided by the Bhaca councillors that a wife who was to give birth to a chief must go and cook for the chief in isolation. The councillors went to Makhohlisa and deceived her that she must not dare put her foot in the chief's isolation place, as this would weaken her sons and thus die of assegai as well.⁹ This sounded reasonable to her. At the same time the councillors under Qulu advised Mamjucu to go and cook for the chief promising that her first born son would be the heir to the Bhaca chieftainship. She acted as instructed and her son, Makaula became the chief of the Bhasas.

As we saw in Chapter 3, Ncapayi requested British protection after the Voortrekker attack in 1841. His

8. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 34.

9. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 34.

widow, Mamjucu, who was then regent, continued the policy of alliance with the British. When the War of the Axe broke out in the Colony in 1846, the government wrote to Reverend W.H. Garner, the missionary of the Bhacas to ask for a number of the Bhacas to be sent down to assist the government, and this was done.¹⁰

Oral tradition has it that when Mamjucu began to rule in 1846, there were no Mpondomise or Mpondo in the vicinity of Shawbury Mission Station. Reverend Garner left the mission in 1848 and R.B. Hulley, a catechist, was left in its control. It was at this time that chief Mbali, of the Mpondomise, came to Hulley bringing with him his nephew, Mhlontlo, then a boy, and a few people, who had come from Cacadu, now known as the Glen Grey district.¹¹ Mhlontlo's father had been killed and only forty of his followers were left. These survivors had headed for Shawbury with the intention of protecting the young chief, Mhlontlo.¹² Initially Mbali went to Faku, chief of the Mpondo and Faku said he could not rear another chief's child and Mbali decided to go to Tsitsa and live with Hulley.

10. C.M.K. 1/81 Chief Makaula to J.H. Garner - R.M. 17/2/1877.

11. Ibid.

12. Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records. p. 118.

Hulley reported this to Mamjucu, who was the regent for the Bhacas and advised her not to demand oxen from these Mpondomise, as a generous attitude would encourage other people to come, and enlarge the Bhaca population. These Mpondomise were then allowed to build at the junction of the Ngxorolo and the Tina and they were supplied with food by the Bhacas.¹³

Mamjucu, getting aged, Diko, Makhohlisa's son, assisted her in governing the nation. The Mpondomise gradually increased and spread to the west bank of the Tina. They all lived together with the Bhacas as one nation. The Mpondomise attended the Bhaca First Fruits Festival and the Bhaca attended the similar Mpondomise New Year Festival. Both festivals were held at Mamjucu's Great Place, because even the Mpondomise recognised Mamjucu as their ruler. They also acknowledge Makaula as their future chief.¹⁴

The war of 1850 broke out and the government again sent for men from the Bhaca nation to assist them, in a letter to Hulley. The Mpondomise accompanied the Bhaca

13. C.M.K. 1/81 Chief Makaula to J.H. Garner on 17/2/1877.

14. C.M.K. 1/81 Ibid.

forces at Mamjucu's command, going as far as Butterworth.¹⁵

The increase of the Mpondomise in the close proximity of the Bhacas posed serious problems. In addition to the pressure from the Mpondomise settlers, the Bhacas were also upset by an incident at Beecham Wood Mission Station, now known as Ncambele, during which the Missionary T. Thomas was killed by a Mpondo sub-chief, Mbola. Although this incident had nothing to do with the Bhacas, they decided to leave Shawbury in 1857, saying that as the Mpondo were beginning to kill white people, and they might kill the Bhaca missionary, and this get them into trouble, with the government against whom they had never lifted a spear. Hulley asked, "how can I leave the church you have built?" The Bhacas said, "The Mpondomise and the Bhacas who are living in the neighbourhood will take charge of it."¹⁶ Hulley then removed to the Tshungwana area and established the Osborn Mission Station in 1858.

The Wesleyan Missionary Notices of 1856 reported that Makaula of the Bhacas and Ngangelizwe of the Tembus had been placed under the care of Reverend William Shaw, the

15. Ibid.

16. C.M.K. 1/81 Ibid.

Wesleyan Missionary, with two or three youths of a similar age to attend to each of them.¹⁷ Reverend Shaw intended to train some of the young chiefs to adopt better ideas and modes of action than those previously practised by their forefathers. Reverend Shaw stated that as long as the country was ruled by the heathen chiefs, there was little hope that the feuds among them would cease. During his tour of Transkei in 1856, he conducted interviews with chief Faku of the Mpondo, the two principal chiefs of the Mpondomise, Mamjucu, the regent of the Bhacas, chief Joyi and the widow of chief Mtirara of the Tembus.

It was then that he decided to take Makaula and Ngangelizwe for training at Clarkebury.¹⁸ It is unfortunate that the Wesleyan Missionary Notices can tell us nothing about Makaula's stay at Clarkebury but it is probably from this training that he came back home fully imbued with British ideas so that he saw nothing better during his reign in the later years, other than British protection.

The death of chief Ncapayi did not put an end to the Mpondo-Bhaca wars. Raids and counter-raids were

17. Shaw, W. Wesleyan Missionary Notices of 1856. p. 8.

18. Davis, W. The Story of a Mission 1843 - 1943. p. 10.

frequent and the Mpondo and the Bhacas were making reprisals on each other. But after the move from Shawbury and Diko's accession to the regency there was a period of peace until the war of 1867 with Mpondo chief Mqikela. According to J.H. Soga, this was "a wanton act of aggression" by Mqikela, and it was not favoured by his people. The tola (wardoctor) even advised against the enterprise, however, he was overruled.¹⁹

Mqikela was reaching manhood and in 1867, he decided that he had to wash his spears in the blood of the enemy. The Mpondo army advanced in three divisions. The Vungani division was on the right, the Qauka held the centre under the chief, and the Mpondo general, Notinta, was in charge of a third division in the left.

The Bhacas Great Place was between the Kinira and the Mvenyane rivers, at a place called Lutateni. As the Mpondo advanced, the Bhacas retreated to the Mganu mountains, sending off in advance their families and the cattle. The Bhaca war-doctor, Gxumisa, used his charms to weaken the Mpondo armies, while Temtem, the first daughter of Ncapayi, is said to have marched naked to

19. Soga, J.H. *The South Eastern Bantu*. p. 315. Refer also to W.C. Scully. *Further reminiscences*. p. 267.

the Mpondo forces with intent to weaken them too.²⁰

The Mpondo had reached Lutateni when superstition stepped in and won the battle for the Bhacas.²¹ A Calf, some say a white one others say a black one was apparently disturbed in its sleep by the noise of the army, ran across the front Mpondo marching warriors, bellowing as it ran. The Mpondo took fright at what to them was an unusual occurrence. They immediately put it down to supernatural influences. The war-doctor also realised that his predictions were coming true and cried out! "It is the Ghost of Ncapayi, whom we slew in the battle."²² Immediately a panic set in and the Mpondo took to flight, pursued by the Bhacas. The fugitives were cut down by hundreds. A small party of the Bhacas under Makaula ran ahead and held the fords across the Kinira and Umzimvubu rivers, forcing the Mpondo to cross in deep water, and many were drowned. At sunset the pursuit ceased.

The war was then named after Notinta, a great leader of the Mpondo warriors. Some call it the battle of Nopoyi,

20. Cingo, W.D. Ibali lamaMpondo namaBhaca, Xesibe namaMpondomise. p. 48.

21. Whiteside, J. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A. p. 298.

22. Ibid. p. 299.

the confluence of the Kinira and Umzimvubu Rivers.²³

The Mpondo who were running away from the wreath of the Bhacas sought refuge in Osborn Mission. Reverend Charles White gave them a place to hide. The pursuers requested the missionary to release them but Reverend White replied, "these men have placed their lives in my hand. If you want them, you must first plunge your assegais into me, and then walk over my dead body to your victims."²⁴ The men were saved and the next day they were sent in safety to their homes.

Mqikela's great adventure turned out to his own disadvantage, and the disgust of his people. Instead of signaling his entry into manhood as he desired, by washing his spears in the blood of his enemies, it was his enemies who washed their spears in the blood of his unfortunate subjects.²⁵ One eyewitness counted 160 bodies in a single valley, and described the scene as follows:- "like the Philistines of old, their carcasses are given to the fowls of the air and the wild beasts of the earth" and for years to come the traveller will be

23. Ibid. p. 299.

24. Wesleyan Missionary Notices of 1867, Rev. White, C. reporting to the Superintendent. p. 172.

25. Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu. p. 317.

shocked at the sight of heaps of bones and ghastly skulls bleaching in the sun.²⁶

The outcome of the war had bad repercussions and created enmity between the Bhacas and the Mpondo. The latter were bent on revenge of such a humiliating defeat. Old sores, arising out of this past condition of war, continued to exist and nothing could guarantee Makaula greater peace after his accession about 1869 than accepting British rule and protection.²⁷ In addition, Reverend White used the war of Notinta as a pretext to urge the acceptance of British rule by the Bhacas. In his report he stated "such scenes occurring in the immediated neighbourhood of Osborn, were to continue to occur until the Bhacas became united under the mild benign sway of the British rule."²⁸

But it was the British rather than the Mpondo who posed the greatest threat to Bhaca independence. British influence in the region had been formalised by the Maitland Treaty of 1844, in which the British Governor

26. Wesleyan Missionary Notices of 1867. Rev. C. White reporting to the superintendent. p. 173.

27. G. 43 - 79 - Brownlee to Colonial Secretary. No Date, p. 54.

28. Wesleyan Missionary Notices Rev. C. White reporting in 1867. p. 174.

Maitland had recognised Faku's sovereignty over the whole territory between the Umtata and Umzimkulu rivers, and between the Drakensberg and the sea.²⁹ This included the districts inhabited by Bhacas, the Mpondomise, the Xesibes and others. At first, these smaller nations were still living in the shadow of the Mfecane and they were willing to acknowledge Faku as their paramount as far as the British were concerned. But as the threat of the Mfecane receded, the Bhacas and the others became increasingly unwilling to recognise the superiority of Faku.

In addition, Faku had proved himself incapable of resisting the Colonial advance. In April 1850 much of the land between the Umzimkulu and the Umtamvuna was ceded to Natal.³⁰ The Colonists nicknamed the areas beyond Faku's immediate control as "Nomansland", even though there were in fact many people living there. Governor Sir George Grey, pursuing his expansionist aim of annexing the whole of the Transkei to the British Crown, arranged for the settlement of Nehemiah Moshesh in "Nomansland" in 1859, and of Adam Kok in 1861.³¹

29. Brownlee (ed), *Transkei Native Territories*, p. 94.

30. Souders, C.C. *The Annexation of the Transkeian Territories*. (Pretoria, 1976), p. 19.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 19 -20.

The opinions of the Bhacas were not consulted in any of these transactions. Grey's representative Sir Walter Currie, visited the Bhacas in 1861 while on his way to see Faku.³² He provides no information concerning the Bhacas, except that they had an armed strength of 1,000 men, more than any other black chiefdom in "Nomansland" except for Mditshwa's Mpondomise. Currie claimed that the Bhacas, the Mpondomises and the Xesibes "expressed a wish to be taken under the protection of the government and to be provided with European magistrates."³³ He then met with Faku and tried to persuade him to draw a boundary between Mpondoland and "Nomansland."

Nothing was ever written down, and the Mpondo later claimed that they had rejected Currie's proposals. Nevertheless this so-called "Currie-Line" was later imposed by the Cape Government as the official border of Mpondoland (see map) Makaula later recalled Currie's proposals as follows:

32. A 13 - 1873, W. Currie - G. Grey, 26.6.1861, p. 54
- 59.

33. Ibid, p. 57.

"He (Currie) then told me that boundary was the Umzimvubu, down to where a small stream called the Udaja, from there to Sebeni thence to Garner's old station, thence to the Tina. He told me that the land on the east of the Umzimvubu belonged to Faku, but the land within the boundaries mentioned was government land, and given to him (Makaula), that the Tina on the one side and the Umzimvubu on the other was the boundary of the Government ground upon which I could live"³⁴

It can be seen from this statement that Sir Walter Currie informed Makaula that by making a division between Mpondoland and "Nomansland", he had turned the whole of "Nomansland" into British "government ground." On another occasion Makaula said that Currie had given him permission to 'continue to occupy the country he was in, and to take care of it for the government.'³⁵ Thus even before he applied for a magistrate, Makaula considered himself a British Government.

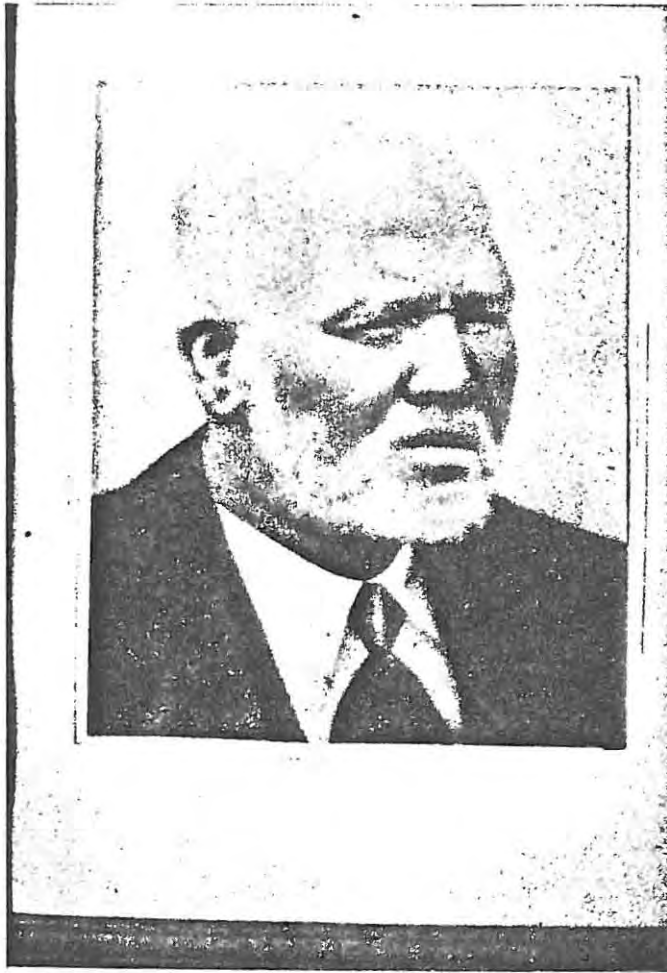
Shortly after the establishment of the "Currie Line", Sir George Grey returned to England. Governor P. Wodehouse, his successor, did not pursue an annexationist policy and for the next ten years Britain did not actively attempt to establish its authority over

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34. A13 - 1873, C. Griffith, I. Ayliff and J.M. Grant to Colonial Secretary, 2 April 1872 p. 82. The Mpondo point of view on the Currie line is given on p. 74. For the colonial viewpoint, see Cragg, AmaMpondo, p. 266.
35. Ibid. p.76. also, A13 - 1873, C. White to Natal Secretary of Native Affairs, 27.9.1871, p. 69.

the independent African chiefs of "Nomansland". Makaula spoke to Wodehouse in March 1869 while the Governor was on a visit to Adam Kok. Wodehouse told him that the Kinira was to be the border with Adam Kok, and that the Bhaca must leave the Rode to the Mpondo chief, Mqikela. Makaula protested saying that the homesteads at the Rode were his "advance guard" against the Mpondo. Wodehouse did not press the point, saying simply that he (Wodehouse) "had nothing to do with my (Makaula's) quarrels with the Mpondo."³⁶

So far, Makaula had little reason to be satisfied with the British attitudes towards the Bhacas. But he continued to hold to the British alliance, for he was a chief surrounded by many enemies.

36. Ibid, p. 82.



CHAPTER 5Reasons for Makaula's request for Colonial rule

When Makaula was installed as a Bhaca chief sometime in 1868 - 9,¹ he inherited a difficult situation. To his west, he faced the Mpondomise of Mhlontlo who were fast increasing in numbers. He immediately proposed that the Mpondomise should build on the west side of the Tina and the Bhacas on the East, and that if a Bhaca built on the west side, he should be considered a Mpondomise, and if a Mpondomise built on the east side, he should be considered a Bhaca.²

But soon disputes began to arise between the Bhacas and the Mpondomise living on the west bank of the Tina, stealing horses of the Bhacas, or in turn by a Bhaca living on the east side committing the same offence. This continued till the two sections came to actual warfare, and Makaula drove all the Mpondomise whom he

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1. Currie relates that Makaula was already a chief in 1861 when he visited East Griqualand. But most sources maintain that Diko was still regent chief during the War of Notinta of 1867. Soga, J.H. *The South Eastern Bantu*. p. 315. Whiteside, J. *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A.* pp. 296 - 298. Cingo, W.D. *Ibali lamaMpondo...* pp. 47 - 52. I am therefore, inclined to take 1868 - 9 as the beginning of Makaula's regime.
 2. C.M. 1/81 Chief Makaula to J.H. Garner 17/2/1877.

had allowed to live on his side across the Tina river. Mhlontlo, who was by the this time ruling chief of the Mpondomise, came to Makaula at the Osborn Mission Station and in the presence of Reverend C. White, who had removed there from Shawbury, begged for peace and said, "let us live as we did before", if any Mpondomise wishes to live on the east side of the Tina or if any Bhaca wishes to live on the west side, let him.³ This arrangement was confirmed by Sir Walter Currie as stated in Chapter 4.

The movement of the Mpondomise into the Bhaca territory was not, however, controlled, and chief Makaula was unwilling to remove them forcibly fearing perhaps that the government might think that he was taking too severe measures. It is also possible that Makaula lacked power to use force against the Mpondomise because the Bhaca strength had been affected by the exodus to Umzimkulu of Mdutwana's followers in 1846. It was the opinion of the missionary E. Gedye that the Mpondomise had actually driven the Bhacas across the Tina.⁴

Infact Makaula found his country surrounded by enemies

3. C.M.K. 1/81 Ibid.

4. W.M.M.S. Archives, Queenstown 1867 - 76. E. Gedye - Boyce, Mic F 380/12.

on all sides. He had to contend with the problems which Diko had faced, for example, the relations with the Mpondo. In fact the whole of the Transkei was in a turmoil as the Reverend Gedye of the Shawbury Mission Station reported in 1869, from the Bashe to the Natal borders. There was not one chief of importance who was not more or less involved in war complications.⁵ It would seem as though such a state of affairs was inevitable, so long as there were so many chiefs, each striving for territorial aggrandizement. According to him it would be a blessing for the Transkei, were the whole brought under the strong hand of the British Government.⁶ Chief Makaula probably succumbed to British protection because of the Mpondomise pressure at his rear as well as the feeling of the missionaries for the annexation of the whole of "Nomansland."

To his south-east, Makaula faced the numerous Mpondo nation, who still thirsted to revenge their defeat at the battle of Notinta. To these existing problems were soon added a bitter relationship with his relative, Nomsheketshe. The problem of Nomsheketshe began quietly enough. He was the Great Son of Mduyana, the senior Bhaca chief who had migrated to Umzimkulu in

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid. Mic F380/13

1846. After some years in Umzimkulu, Nomsheketshe fell foul of the Griqua authorities and moved to Bizana district. Makaula heard of the ill-treatment of Nomsheketshe and in 1870, he made representations to the Cape Government that he be sent to Mount Frere. He negotiated with Mqikela, Chief of the Mpondo, to give Nomsheketshe a location in the Rode Valley, between the Umzimvubu and the Umzintlava rivers.⁷

Mqikela wanted a present for the ground. Six oxen were sent to him but he was not satisfied. Because of the ill-treatment of Nomsheketshe's subjects by the Mpondo, Makaula placed him at Mpoza on the west bank of the Umzimvubu river.

It is clear that Nomsheketshe was greatly indebted to Chief Makaula, who had provided for him in his hour of need. But unfortunately Nomsheketshe was a restless and violent man, who soon made use of his senior rank by birth to abuse and embarrass his host, Makaula.

In the early 1870's, however, Nomsheketshe did not seem much of a problem. Makaula was pre-occupied by his relationship with Adam Kok's Griquas. When Sir George

7. G.26 - 82. Brownlee, C.M. to Colonial Secretary on 22/11/1882, p. 103.

Grey had settled Adam Kok in "Nomansland", the borders of this Griqua state were not properly defined. Adam Kok claimed jurisdiction over all the territory between the Gatberg (Maclear) and Natal border. The Griquas had begun to adopt more aggressive policies towards their black neighbours. In Saunders's words "the Griqua took it for granted that they should dominate the African peoples they found there (Nomansland) regarding themselves as a natural ruling class."⁸ At first, the Griquas confined themselves to quarelling with the Mpondo and Nehemiah Moshesh's Sothos. But in 1871 they were given a pretext for attacking the Bhacas as a result of an unfornate incident which had occured in Makaula's chiefdom. Makaula, though a loyal chief, continued the killing of people when accused of witchcraft. Innocent people were put to death because of witchcraft, some were killed because of wealth and others for their closeness to the chief. Jealousy was the real cause of accusation.⁹

In 1871 one of chief Makaula's wives became ill. Two men who hated Magayiyana, father-in-law of chief Makaula, on account of his wealth, plotted that he

8. Saunders, C.C. The Annexation of Transkeian Territories. p. 23.

9. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 45. For Colonial report see W.C. Scully, Further Reminiscences. p. 268.

be accused of witchcraft. They invited a well-known Xhosa doctor, Melani, and requested him to accuse Magayiyana. Melani was to get 10 heifers for the plot.¹⁰

Meanwhile arrangements were made at the Great Place to find out the cause of illness of the chief's wife. Melani was called to the Great Place and he smelt out Magayiyana as planned. He was then summoned to the Great Place and he and his two sons were ruthlessly killed. Ndzelu, a brother of Magayiyana seemed to query the death of his brother and he was in turn put to death. All the family's cattle were taken to the chief.

This incident did not go unchallenged. Magwa, Ndzelu's son, resented this unceremonious and thoughtless killing of the people of his family. He appealed to Adam Kok and the Sothos to revenge for the death of his father, uncle and cousins. The Griquas were pleased to get this appeal because they had their own grievances against the Bhacas on account of continual stealing of cattle by a certain Ngcukana, apparently a subject of chief Makaula. Makaula was either unwilling or unable to satisfy the demands of the Griquas, and this culminated into a war in which the Bhacas were complete-

10. Ibid. p. 46.

ly defeated.¹¹

In a letter written to Reverend B. Boyce on the 30th of September 1871, White, the Bhaca missionary, reported that in the course of the war, Chief Makaula sent him to Adam Kok to plead for peace. Mhlontlo of the Mpondomise, also requested Reverend Gedye to accompany Reverend White to meet Adam Kok. The Griqua chief was prepared to accept peace terms on condition that chief Makaula paid 600 head of cattle and a large tract of land ceded to the Griquas.¹² The demand was very heavy but chief Makaula requested Reverend White to communicate with Kok's army and asked for five days to lay and get the cattle together.

The Griquas continued attacking the Bhacas, burning their homesteads, and capturing a large number of cattle despite Reverend White's word of appeal. The position in the whole of the Bhaca territory was very critical.

The chiefdom was scattered and it was impossible for it to fulfil the demands. The Bhacas had no courage left

11. Ross, A. Adam Kok's Griquas, pp. 121 - 2. See also Halford, S.J. The Griquas of Griqualand. p. 125.

12. W.M.M.S. Archives - Queenstown 1868 - 1876. C. White-Boyce. Mic F/137 on 30/9/1871.

to continue the fight nor did they know what to do.¹³ To make matters worse, the Mpondo took advantage of the situation and stole a lot of the Bhaca cattle whilst they were pre-occupied by the Griqua war. The thieves got off with large droves of cattle.

The Griqua attack on the Bhacas, and their attempts to set themselves up as ruling class in the Northern Transkei, infuriated the missionaries in the area. It prompted them to urge the Colony to exercise effective control over the area and also to encourage the Africans under their influence to ask for British protection.

As far as the Cape Colony was concerned, this was not the only inducement for the extension of Cape rule. There was growing instability over the whole Transkeian Territory, and as a result the Cape officials pushed for an extension of colonial rule as a solution to the instability which, they felt, threatened the frontier.¹⁴

The missionaries urged the chiefs with whom they lived to ask for "British protection" as a solution to their internal quarrels, and to the Griqua pretensions of

13. Ibid.

14. Spicer, M.W. "War of Ngcayechibi 1877 - 8" (M.A. Rhodes University, 1977.)

hegemony. At the same time, William Shepstone, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions on the frontier, lodged a strong formal complaint with the Cape Government concerning Kok's activities, especially on the part of the Bhacas.¹⁵

The High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly was prepared to intervene. He had long favoured the eventual incorporation of the independent chiefdoms into the Cape, provided this could be done gradually and peacefully. On receiving Shepstone's complaint, Barkly appointed a commission to investigate boundary disputes in the area (1872). The head of the Commission was C.D. Griffiths, with James Ayliff and Captain Grant of the Cape Mounted Police as additional members. This commission found the country in a state of almost indescribable confusion.¹⁶ There were traces of burnt villages and devastated gardens everywhere and there was scarcely a chiefdom that did not regard its neighbours as enemies. Reverend Davis maintains that most of these chiefdoms seemed weary of the war and willing to submit to a controlling power.¹⁷

15. Saunders, C.C. The Annexation. p. 25.

16. Davis, W.G. The Story of a Mission 1843 - 1943. p. 18.

17. Ibid. p. 18.

The report of the commission was that "the Griquas were unable to maintain order in the area they claimed to rule." Instead of the Griqua raising others in the scale of civilization they had degenerated and Griqualand itself became the country of misrule, sloth and corruption.¹⁸ It also recommended that British magistrates should be appointed in "Nomansland" as a step towards annexation as far as Natal. In spite of these strong recommendations, Barkly decided to wait because Responsible Government for the Cape was imminent.

The Cape government was not yet committed to the annexation of the Transkei, but it was generally felt that a Colonial withdrawal would be the worst possible alternative, risking White position within the Cape itself. Since Britain was reluctant to assume extra responsibilities, the Cape was forced into annexation on its own account. Even so, the formal extension of Cape control over the Transkei was a slow and hesitating process.

In 1872 responsible government was finally achieved at

18. Saunders, C.C. The Annexation of Transkeian Territories. p. 27.

the Cape, and a separate department of Native Affairs was created headed by a minister designated the Secretary for Native Affairs. Charles Brownlee, a man with an intimate knowledge of frontier affairs, was a popular choice for this post.¹⁹

Although a reasonably able administrator and a man of influence among the Blacks, Brownlee was no politician and he often seemed to lose his head in a crisis.

The new Cape Government was soon drawn into Transkeian affairs by the war between their ally, the Tembu Chief Ngangelizwe, and Sarhili, the chief of the Gcalekas. To make matters worse, they appointed the convinced expansionist, J.M. Orpen, to be magistrate at Gatberg (Maclear), with general responsibilities in "Nomansland." Orpen immediately began to interfere in the internal affairs of the black chiefdoms, stirring up the Mpondomise to request British protection and provoking Adam Kok.²⁰

The consequent disorder forced the Cape government to take action. In the 1875 Parliament a resolution was put forward that the Cape should annex Fingoland and

19. Ibid. p. 35.

20. For details see Ibid. Ch. 11.

"Nomansland", including the Bhaca territory. The Colonial Office in London approved, and drafted Letters Patent, requiring the Cape to annex these territories.²¹ A second commission, also headed by C.D. Griffith, was sent to Griqualand East to pave the way for the implementation of these decision, (October 1875).

Makaula awaited the coming of the Griqualand East commission with impatience. As we have seen, pressurised by his enemies and persuaded by his missionary, Makaula had long seen British protection as a possible solution to his problems. He had already informed the first Griffith's commission of 1872 of his wish for a magistrate.²² The commission had seemed favourable to this request, and had even defined the extent of Makaula's territories as follows:²³

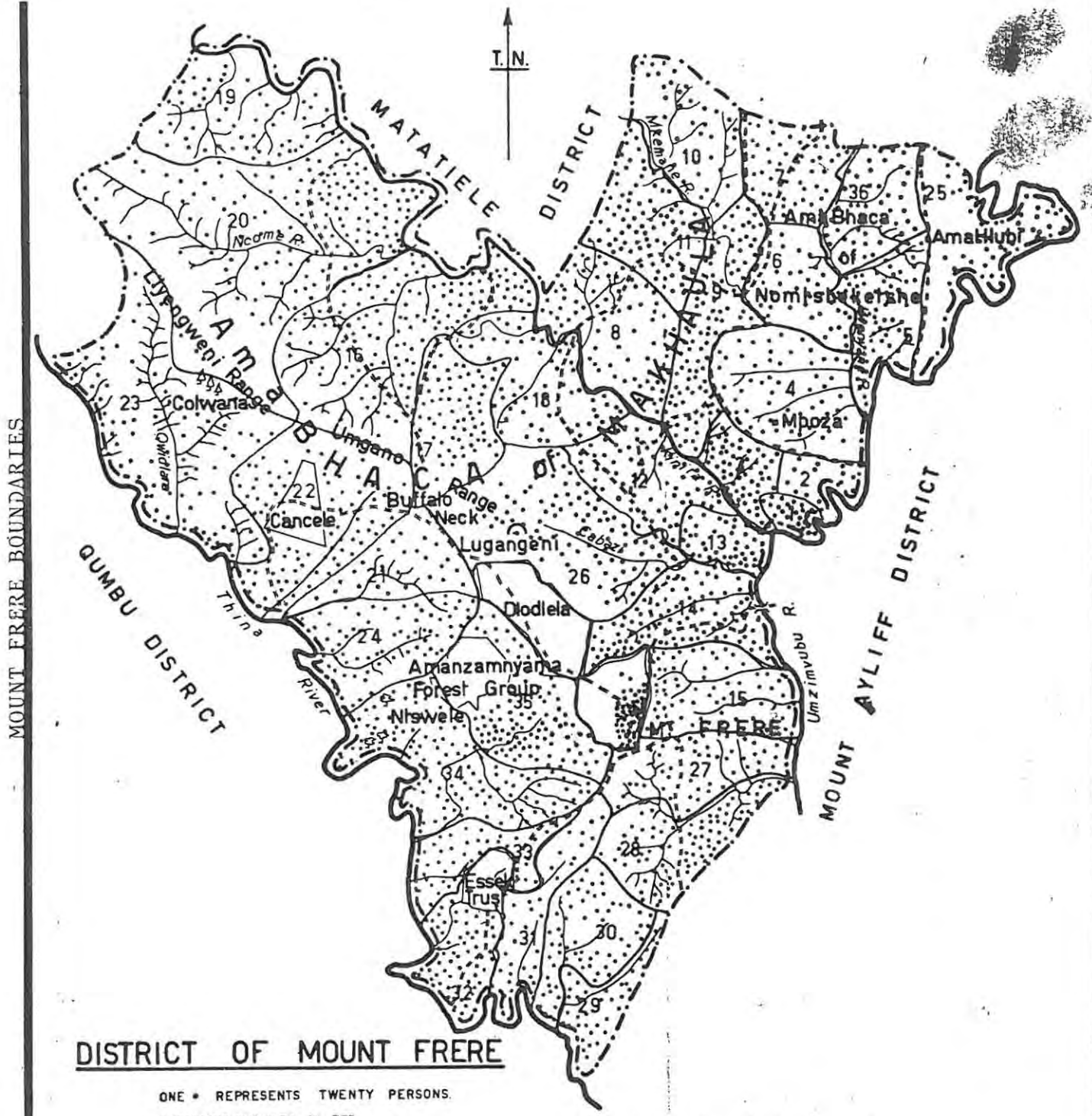
The boundary line runs from the western bank of the river Umzimvubu up to the Inunge range, thence along on a bluff on the western bank of the Mvenyana river then up to the foot of the Zingcuka Mountains, along the bank of the Kinira river, thence to the eastern bank of

21. Ibid. p. 44 - 6.

22. W.M.M.S. Archives, Queenstown 1865 - 1876, C. White - Boyce, 11.7.1872, Mic F 1/137.

23. C.M.K. 1/81 J.H. Garner to Chief Magistrate, 1.3.1877.

the Tina River, thence down to the east bank to the drift where the wagon road from Shawbury to Tshungwana crosses the Tina, then to the top of the hill at the back of Tshungwana Mission Station, called "Papane" and thence down the bank of the Umzimvubu to the mouth of the Tshungwana stream."



DISTRICT OF MOUNT FRERE

ONE • REPRESENTS TWENTY PERSONS.
 LOCATIONS OUTLINED IN RED.
 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 Miles
 SCALE.

Most of the land thus allocated to chief Makaula was already occupied by the Bhacas. It was the line dividing Tshungwana from Mpondoland, and also the Rode Valley which were to pose a lot of problems in future. Chief Ludidi, who was previously under chief Makaula, was now to be administered from Matatiele. Some Hlubis and other Mfengu in Osborn, Mtshazi, Toleni, Mandileni, Ntlabeni and Cancele locations still remained under Makaula's protection.

When Griffith returned in October 1875 at the head of the second commission, Makaula and his councillors went to see him in Kokstad. Present were the government commissioners, Messrs C.D. Griffith, S.A. Probart, and T.A. Cumming. Chief Makaula's object in seeing the commission was to say that he wished to be taken over by the Government, and that this had been his wish ever since the first Griffith Commission of 1872.

Secondly he wished to inform the government that he had not yet been put fully in possession of the country, as defined by the said commission of 1872. Moreover, he wished to report that there was a dispute as regards four different points in the boundary lines. The first was from the Umzimkulu river to Tina river, between the Mpondo and the Bhacas. The second was up the Tina

river, between Makaula and Mhlontlo. The third was the upper boundary where Mtengwane was living. The fourth was that certain people had since the boundary was defined, without Makaula's consent, come from Griqualand East, occupied a piece of land near Umzimvubu Poort, on the west side, which they refused to remove from.²⁴

Griffith, the president of the commission, informed chief Makaula that there could not be any dispute about his boundaries, as they were clearly defined by the commission in 1872.

As regards the subject of the people of the neighbouring chiefdoms, who were said to be living within Makaula's boundary without permission, the difficulty hitherto had been that while he was an independent chief the government could not go into his country to remove those people, and that he ought to have removed them himself.

Griffith asked Makaula to express his wishes, which the commission would convey to the government. Chief Makaula replied that he wanted to be taken over together with his people and country, and in consideration of his giving up his position and power as chief wished to have

24. Ibid. See also Brownlee, F. Historical Records. p. 109.

an annual allowance made to him which he placed as ~~£~~300 per annum.²⁵

Moreover chief Makaula further stated that since the commission of 1872, his cousin, Nomsheketshe had come to live with him, and that the Bhaca country was too small. To this request the President stated that the commission was surprised that chief Makaula should mention the name of Nomsheketshe who was a man of very bad character; that he had been guilty of a very horrible and cold blooded murder when he was a subject of Griqualand East, for which crime he was outlawed by the government. The commission could not give any promise to recommend such a man to the Government.

In regard to chief Makaula's application to the Government for an annual allowance of ~~£~~300, Griffith stated that the commission would forward it, but it could not hold out any hopes that the government would consent to make him so large an annual allowance.

On the 11th of October, 1875 chief Makaula appeared before the commission submitting the names of the following chiefs and headmen to the notice of the government in order that they might get an annual

25. Scully, W.C. Further Reminiscences. p. 267.

allowance namely: Diko, Sodladla, Dabula, Gxamthwana, Mabeleni, Mtengwana, Shushu, Maqubu, Mbulelo, Sixando and Gweva.²⁶

Chief Makaula said that he and his people were quite of one opinion about giving over the country but he wished to know whether it would be compulsory that any and all cases should be taken before the magistrate before being brought to him. The reply from Griffith was that the people would be free to choose for themselves whether to go to the chief or the magistrate in any little matters of dispute between themselves but that in all criminal cases the magistrate was the proper authority to whom such cases were to be taken.

Chief Makaula asked to be allowed a magistrate specially for himself and the people and that he would not like to have a magistrate who would also be acting for another chiefdom or people. Further, that he did not wish his country to be cut up into farms. He wished it to be kept for himself and his people, with one exception and that was in the case of Mr. R.B. Hulley, to whom he had given a tract of land, Chief Makaula's reason was that he considered Mr Hulley as his father, since Mr Hulley

26. Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records. p. 110.

Hulley had brought him up. Mr Hulley had lived in the country for many years. He had called the Bhacas together, and protected Chief Makaula against his enemies. Makaula therefore wished the Government to confirm the grant of land to Mr Hulley.²⁷

The idea of incorporation under the British government was partly an advantage to chief Makaula since the body of the followers of the Bhaca senior chief were living in Umzinkulu, and Makaula was officially recognised as a senior chief of the Mount Frere district. That is how he attained the right of control and leadership of the district. On the other hand, his authority, particularly in criminal matters, was to be gradually undermined and transferred to European magistrates.

27. C.M.K. 1/85 Makaula to Blenkins on 14/8/1880.

CHAPTER 6Makaula's grievances against the Colonial
Government

When chief Makaula entered office of chieftainship, the Bhacas still followed their indigenous political system. Makaula had chief councillors under him as well as chiefs of an inferior rank, but still of the royal blood, and bearing the clan-name "Zulu". There were also the Hlubi, Xesibe and Mfengu, as already stated in Chapter 5, who were occupying their own localities, having their leaders being recognised as chiefs by Makaula and in turn recognising him as their senior chief. These were Mtengwane, Shushu and Sindasinda of the Hlubi's, Sodladla of the Xesibes and Gweva and Maqubu of the Mfengu.¹ There were also two locations, Qwidlana and Lwandlana, ruled by sub-chiefs Mbulelo and Godongwana who belonged to minor segments of the royal lineage.

Another important political institution was the council, which included not only those of the royal blood but also commoners who, by their courage in war, or their

1. C.M.K. 1/92 W. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 19/8/1885.

skill in debate on public questions or in unravelling intricate law suits, had acquired great popular influence and were thus qualified to sustain or control the power of the chief.²

Chief Makaula could not decide on his own, he had to take the opinion of his councillors amaphakathi. The land was not yet demarcated but these councillors exercised powers of administration over the areas allocated to them by the chief. The laws of the Bhacas, just like those of the other Transkeians, consisted namely of precedents such as the decisions of the chiefs and councillors in bygone days. The decisions of the deceased chiefs of note were a guide in the trial of cases.³

According to Maclean the course of law amongst the Nguni peoples differed from the English administration of justice.

The English assume the accused partly innocent till his guilt is proved by a court of law, whereas the Blacks hold the accused guilty till he can demonstrate his

2. Maclean, C.B. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. p. 26.

3. Ibid. 27.

innocence. All the councillors were supposed to be present at a trial and to ask questions. The accused party would be subjected to cross-examination and every advantage would be taken of his mistakes or self contradictions. He could, however, summon any witness he liked in his own defence. After conferring with his councillors, the chief would announce his decision.

In cases of assault, both parties were generally fined unless it could be clearly proved that the assault was all on one side. For rape, a chief would give a fine of one to five head of cattle, but the plaintiff could enjoy nothing out of this fine. Adultery was taken as a crime against the husband. The fine used to be one to five head of cattle.

If pregnancy be proved to have resulted from such illicit connection, the fine was from five to ten head. One beast was given to the chief for the trial of the case, the rest to the husband. The child in such cases belonged to the husband, who after receiving the fine, was bound to provide for it.

Seduction of virgins or cohabiting with unmarried women was taken as a disgrace by the Bhacas. If pregnancy ensued, the father or guardian of a girl could demand a

fine of five head of cattle from the father of the child. The child then belonged to its father, and when it was sufficiently grown up, he could claim it, by paying one or two head of cattle for bringing it up. If such fine was paid, then the child was the property of the parents or guardian of its mother.

Theft was considered as a civil offence. Stolen property had to be restored or compensation be given to its value. The unfortunate plaintiff had to pay the law expenses, although he seldom got the full amount of his property restored to him. If the property was recovered uninjured, no fine was paid.⁴ Concealing a theft was no crime, but assisting to commit one, was. Neither was it a crime simply to partake of the flesh of a stolen beast, knowing it to be such, unless the parties were in some way connected with the theft as accomplices.⁵

Since chief Makaula was at the apex of the administrative structure, he was a link between the people and their ancestors. During the times of war or ingcubhe festival it was his duty to invite the itola, war-doctor, to strengthen the army. He was the leader of

4. Warner's Notes from the Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs by Maclean, C.B. p. 67.

5. Ibid. p. 69.

the armies during the times of war and all the national laws were made and interpreted by him.⁶ The most powerful medicines, those of ingcubhe, were handed down by a chief to his heir and were reputed to have been originated by Madzikane.⁷

Chief Makaula did not give a clear lead with regard to Christianity. On the one hand, he pleased the missionaries by his opposition to customs such as circumcision and intojane. At the same time he did stick to the old dictates of the nation, that is, polygamy and death sentences for witchcraft. He also never stopped the first fruit festival, which the missionaries opposed because of the manner in which the sacrificial bull was slaughtered and the raids on neighbouring chiefdoms which were associated with the ceremony.

Makaula had twenty-nine wives, and the six most important were:-

1. Mamagayiyana, the great wife, of a Wushe clan who gave birth to Mgcisana, Albert (Bertie) who was later on adopted by Reverend C. White, and Notako, a daughter.

6. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. *Bhaca Society*. p. 174.

7. *Ibid.* p. 175.

Reverend W.H. Garner, the first missionary sent to Shawbury Mission Station under Chief Ncapayi, was appointed as a resident magistrate with Makaula. The first seat of magistracy was at Osborn Mission Station. Chief Makaula decided to move to a new spot near the waggon track from "Nowack drift" on the Tina to Dabula's Drift on the Umzimvubu river. The governor, Sir Bartle Free, approved of this spot in Bhacaland and designated it "Mount Frere".⁹ This is 5400 feet above sea level and the spot was on the main road and central for the nation generally.

By 1878 all the districts in East Griqualand were under the British rule. The Secretary for Native Affairs was on his routine paying visit to all government people and he began with the people at the Kei river. On the 21st of October 1878, the Cape Secretary or Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. C. Brownlee, visited Mount Frere district.¹⁰ J.H. Garner, the magistrate, notified chief Makaula and his headmen about the visit.

In his address the Secretary requested chief Makaula to assist the magistrate in carrying out laws promulgated

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9. [G.17-78] J.H. Garner to Secretary for Native Affairs on 31/12/1877. p. 74.
 10. [G.43-79] J.H. Garner to the Chief Magistrate on 2/10/1878. p. 56.

To conclude, the Secretary related that there had been disturbances caused by the neighbouring chiefdoms, but the government was happy that chief Makaula kept in peace with the people. He stated that:-

"Those who make war are enemies of government, but those who bring peace are its friends."¹²

It was in this meeting that chief Makaula got a chance to air his grievances. He mentioned the Mpondo who trespassed in his land and stole the cattle and that the magistrate had tried in vain to recover such cattle. He further stated that the government was usurping his powers in that even the smallest cases were tried in Kokstad. Chief Makaula wanted to know where he went wrong with the government.

Trying to give an answer to this complaint, the Secretary pointed out that everyone had a right to appeal even the lowest man among the people, and it was never said that no cases were to go to the chief, if a man wished to go to the magistrate, he could, or if he preferred to take his case to the chief, he could do so.

12. [G.43 - 79] The Secretary to Chief Makaula on 21/10/1878. p. 59.

Another incident which caused a lot of dissatisfaction to chief Makaula was participation in the Rebellion of 1880. By early 1878 there was a general rising of Blacks throughout South Africa against white domination. Saunders relates that Theophilus Shepstone, the former Native Secretary of Natal, believed that the rising had its roots in Sekhukune's defeat of the Transvaal forces in 1877.¹³ In the late 1870's, the Africans in Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Cape Colony engaged in wars and rebellions because they experienced or feared loss of land. According to Saunders, "there was a common desire to stem the tide of the white control everywhere rolling in."¹⁴

The Mpondomise, the Qwati and small sections of Thembu proper who went to rebellion had accepted "British protection because they sought aid against their enemies or because there was no alternative. However, those chiefs, who accepted this protection found their independent powers stripped away and there was general discontent because" the magistrates could replace the chief's court.¹⁵

13. Saunders, C.C. The Annexation of the Transkeian Territories. p. 60. For colonial report see [G20 - 81] J.N.D. Austen - Secretary 31/12/80 - p. 61.

14. Ibid. p. 61.

15. Ibid. p. 92.

The political independence of the Blacks was thus threatened; and F. Brownlee relates that "the year 1880 witnessed the most formidable attempt ever made by the Blacks to throw off European Supremacy.¹⁶ The groups that had come voluntarily under the British rule, seemed to hate the laws imposed upon them by the civilized government.

It was at this time that H. Hope, Resident Magistrate at Qumbu approached the Mpondomise chief, Mhlontlo to give military assistance to the Whites in Maclear against the rebel Sothos. Chief Mhlontlo professed to be sincerely attached to Hope and promised to do whatever the magistrate might decide.

However, in a plot organised by Mhlontlo and his councillors, Hope and two officials, were taken by surprise and killed. All the arms and ammunition they brought with them, were confiscated by the Mpondomise and they joined Lindingwana, a Sotho chief, against Thomson, the Resident Magistrate at Maclear.¹⁷ The

16. Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records. p. 53. See also Davis, W. The Story of a Mission 1843 - 1943. pp. 23 - 25.

17. Davis, W. The Story of a Mission 1843 - 1943. p. 23.

signal was then given to spread the flame of insurrection far and wide through the Black nations.

Saunders points out that Mhlontlo said at once that the war was "against the government and their magistrates" and not against missionaries and traders.¹⁸ Relevant to this statement, Chief Mhlontlo saved the life of Davis, a missionary with him who accompanied Hope and his friends.

The news of the murder of Hope reached Mount Frere magistracy, and perhaps the message for insurrection from Mhlontlo might have reached Makaula. It is now difficult to tell what could have been the position, had Makaula not been a loyal British subject. The news was received at a time when W. Blenkins, Resident Magistrate, with Makaula, was at Kokstad. W.P. Leary, his clerk took prompt steps and communicated the matter to Makaula.¹⁹ The following morning the chief arrived at the magistracy with a strong force consisting of men who had been trained for warfare during the struggles in the earlier times between the Bhacas and the Mpondo.

18. Saunders, C.C. Annexation. p. 23.

19. Macquarrie, J.W. The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford. Vol.I. (Cape Town, 1958), p. 154.

A point of interest is whether chief Makaula accepted this request out of loyalty to the British Government or whether it was because he wanted to be revenged on his old enemy Mhlontlo. At the time chief Makaula was in disagreement with his magistrate over the question of land transfers viz. Cancele and Esek.²⁰ At any rate arms and ammunition were supplied and a force under Colonel Baker consisting of Baker's horse, and Black levies was sent to Mount Frere. The first move was an attack on Mhlontlo's Great Place. The Mpondomise could not face such heavy attack and they retreated. Chief Mditshwa's section of the Mpondomise came to Mhlontlo's rescue and they posed a stiffer fighting in which many died on both sides including a prominent Bhaca general, Ngqasa. Mhlontlo retreated to the Tsitsa Gorge (Esikhohlombeni) his stronghold. He was finally forced to seek refuge in Basutoland in 1881.

At the end of the rebellion, Qumbu was divided into small locations. In 1881 Chief Makaula was given two locations by the government as compensation for the services he rendered in 1880. These two locations were later on occupied by the Hlubis of Mtengwane who once occupied Mandileni location in Mount Frere and by the

20. C.M.K. 1/138 W. Power Leary to Chief Magistrate on 21/10/1882.

Mfengu of Maqubu from Mtshazi location also in Mount Frere.²¹ But these two headmen were to be under the magistrate of Qumbu district. This probably met the land shortage being experienced by chief Makaula, especially after the arrival of Nomtsheketshe in 1870 from Umzimkulu.

After the rebellion of 1880, chief Makaula had many grievences against the colonial government which seemed to hinder his administration despite his loyalty to it. He stated to his magistrate that during the disturbance of 1880, he worked for the government and he was surrounded by enemies. The outbreak was so sudden and his people were quite unarmed and unprepared. When his people started buying guns after this rebellion to protect themselves the government prevented this.²² The Bhacas were loyal but they were much grieved that the government treated them with such distrust. It seemed suspicious of Makaula.

The chief further complained that the government had promised him a share in certain cattle captured from the rebels in the late disturbance, and that he had not

21. C.M.K. 1/97 W. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 19/8/1885.

22. [G.26 - 82] Brownlee to Secretary for Native Affairs on 22/11/1881. p. 56.

received it yet. Eight hundred pounds (£800.00) worth of cattle were sold but he got nothing.²³

Moreover, many of chief Makaula's horses had died in the government service, and that he had not yet recovered any compensation for their loss. Some of the men of chief Makaula who had participated in suppressing the rebellion, had not yet received the pay that was due to them. The last complaint the government had given the Bhacas some guns, Makaula wanted to know where those guns had gone to. According to him the government was supposed to have a depot of guns and ammunition at Mount Frere district to be ready in case of any future outbreak.²⁴

When chief Makaula came under the government, he found himself in a worse position. He felt that the laws made by the government for the recovery of stock were not carried out. When he came under colonial rule, he was told what cases to refer to it and those that he could not try. He was not permitted to try cases of murder,

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid. p. 57.

witchcraft, and rape and this according to him would make people fail to respect him as their ruler.²⁵

Simpson states that chief Makaula found himself sometimes deeply in debt because he had to buy clothing for wives who were more than twenty-one as well as sons and daughters. Sometimes he had to pull something out of his pocket for the people believing that they had a perfect right to beg from him, and that he was bound to supply their wants.²⁶

Chief Makaula was earning ~~£~~100 per annum in place of the fines that he was not supposed to impose. Since he had been faithful and that he had been ready to assist the government in suppressing the rebellion of 1880, Simpson, the Acting magistrate, recommended in 1883 that his present allowance be augmented by ~~£~~50.²⁷ There is, however, no indication that this proposal, ever took effect in the years that followed.

25. C.M.K. 1/138 Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 29/11/1883. See also [G.3 - 84] Whindus to Colonial Secretary 31/12/1883. p. 174.

26. [G.8 - 83] J.N.D. Simpson to Secretary for Native Affairs 22/12/1882. p. 244.

27. Ibid. p. 244.

It would seem that the ranks "Headman" came to be known during the advent of Colonial rule in the Transkeian Territories. This was probably introduced with the intention of destroying the power of the chiefs. With the Bhacas, a rank equal to headmanship existed before the coming of British rule, that is, chiefs of an inferior rank, but still of the royal blood.

According to J. Rose-Innes, "Headmen" form an integral portion of the district for general administrative purposes, and for that purpose mutual co-operation and good will between headmen and the people are of much importance.²⁸ However, the appointment of headmen amongst the Bhacas did not pose problems since those chiefs of minor ranks were recognised as headmen. It was in very rare cases that a headman was not appointed by right of chieftainship but by the government for merit or for other reasons.²⁹

Headmen were entrusted by the statute with considerable powers over the residents of their wards. They were responsible for the preservation of law and order by their people. The government dealt with people through

28. Cory Library M.S. 14304 MCloughlin Papers. Folder 2 of 6.

29. Ibid.

them. They were as aptly termed in Xhosa "izibonda" or the support of the state. They checked stock theft, by leading to the detention of the offenders. They rendered assistance in the collection of hut tax. But they had no power to allocate land in their locations. They were obliged to report diseases like redwater, lungsickness and other contagious diseases. Any infringement by any headmen of the above regulations was punishable by summary dismissal.³⁰

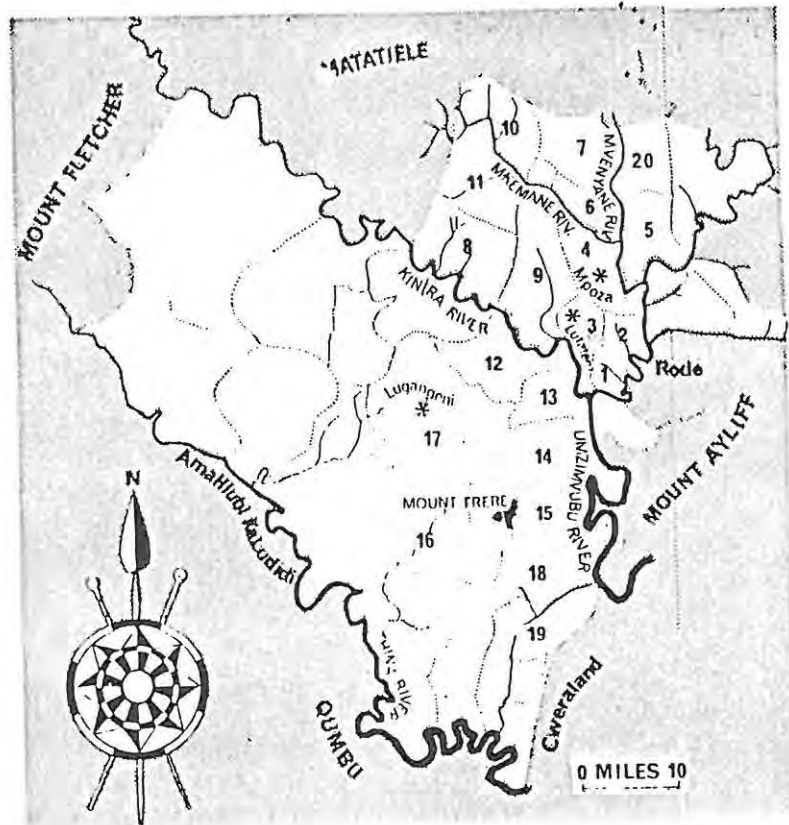
In most Transkeian Territories the magistrates worked directly with the headmen especially in cases where the chiefs were dismissed for disobedience. Makaula was a loyal chief and he worked as a link between the magistrates and the Headmen and as such there was little direct contact between the magistrate and the headmen of Mount Frere district.

As already stated in previous chapters chief Makaula was requested to hand in the names of those men whom he recommended should be appointed paid headman, when he came under the colonial government. He submitted the names of Diko of Lubhacweni, Dabula of Mpendla, Gxamtwana of Lutateni, Gweva of Cancele, Bulelo of Qwidlana, Sodladla of Mabhobho, Maquba of Mtshazi,

30. Ibid. Folder 1 of 6.

Sixandu of Mhlontshani, Shushu of Toleni, Mabelani of Xameni and Nomsheketshe of Mpoza locations.³¹ The locations of these headmen were demarcated and beacons placed. Furthermore, chief Makaula submitted the names of Nozibele of the Mповane clan, and Mapekula, a Mpondomise, as acting paid headmen of Mvuzi and Mpemba locations respectively until Makaula's sons were grown up. See map.

31. C.M.K. 1/92 W. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 19/8/1885. See Brownlee, F. Historical Records, p. 110.



- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. MILOTSIENI | 11. XAMENI |
| 2. LUTSIHKINI | 12. SIHLAILENI |
| 3. LUTATANI | 13. CABAZI |
| 4. MPOZA | 14. MPENDLE |
| 5. SIQIINGENI | 15. LUBIACWENI |
| 6. NTSIMANGWENI | 16. MVUZI |
| 7. COLANA | 17. LUGANGENI |
| 8. NKUNGWINI | 18. MTSIAZI |
| 9. MGUNGUNDLOVU | 19. TSHUNGWANA
(Osborn) |
| 10. NGQUMANE | 20. NOMKHOLOKOTIHO |

NUMBERS 1-20 INDICATE NAMES OF
LOCATIONS OF MOUNT FRERE DISTRICT

Chief Makaula's sons came of age and they were supposed to take positions as Headmen. But matters were not as Makaula planned. He discovered that he was in a worse position than when taken over by the government.³² He found himself having no powers to appoint a headman of his choice. In the clear case of Mvuzi location, where Nozibele was specifically reported by Makaula to be acting for his son, Zibokwana, Makaula received an instruction from J.S. Whindus, the resident magistrate, that Nozibele should not be removed.

Meanwhile, Nozibele had stated in a public meeting that he was willing to step down in favour of the chief's son, Zibokwana. The people were called upon to decide and they unanimously appointed the chief's son. The magistrate then referred the matter to the chief magistrate in Kokstad, Makaula received a letter stating that Nozibele should not be removed. Although Zibokwana was at long last appointed as the paid and the rightful headman of Mvuzi location, chief Makaula was quite aware that his powers were now exercised by the magistrate and that he had no say in the appointment of headmen. In fact the magistrates built a picture of African chiefs as a people who were inferior and,

32. C.M.K. Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 29/11/1883.

therefore, undertook to undermine their authority and integrity.

The list of Headmen handed to the government by chief Makaula did not include the name of Mnyamana, a Hlubi. According to chief Makaula, Mnyamana was one of Mtengwana's men, a Hlubi headman at Mandileni location, for whom a location had been pointed out in the Qumbu district, after the 1880 rebellion, then he ought to have moved thither.³³ Chief Makaula had no knowledge of the appointment of Mnyamana as a paid headman. It was only Captain Whindus, the resident magistrate, who was aware of this appointment.³⁴ In this case, it is clear that the government had appointed a headman of its own choice, exercising authority over the people directly from the magistrate. Mnyamana was, according to chief Makaula, defiant in that he had been bringing people into his location without consulting him, and Makaula was inclined to believe that Mnyamana was getting an allowance from the government because he was spying on him.³⁵

33. Ibid.

34. C.M.K. 1/92 W. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 12/8/1885.

35. C.M.K. 1/93 W. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 23/7/1886.

The question of Mandileni location is another example of the interference of the magistrate in the appointment of Headmen - When Mtengwane, a Hlubi Headman, left for Qumbu, Mandileni was vacant and chief Makaula looked forward at appointing his son William Huku.³⁶ The people of Mandileni location were consulted and appeared satisfied with the chief's nominee. Captain Whindus did not approve of the appointment and chief Makaula had to wait and at the same time take charge of the location temporarily because Huku was still a student at Buntingville. Since the magistrate had no person in mind to place in the location, Huku was ultimately appointed.

A similar case occurred when Tsibiyane, another son of Makaula returned to Mount Frere district from Mpondoland in 1891, where he had been living. Makaula placed him in Mpemba location, where he came into conflict with Bafo Msindo, a Mpondomise refugee, who had ten families under him. Seemingly Tsibiyane squeezed Bafo, who immediately lodged a complaint. To protect the latter, Scully, then magistrate, fixed a boundary for Bafo, and by the authority of the magistrate, Mngcisana, Makaula's eldest son, defined a line between

36. C.M.K. 1/90 Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 29/11/1883.

Makanda and Tsibiyane, by which arrangement Bafo came under Tsibiyane.³⁷ Thereafter disputes arose and the chief magistrate, W.E. Stanford met Makaula and several of the leading headmen of the Bhaca nation with the intention to solve the dispute. Eventually about the end of 1895 an enquiry agreed that the bounday as laid down by Mngcisana, had to be adhered to, and Bafo being sub-headman under Tsibiyane. This Bafo strenously opposed, but he was overruled and Mngcisana's decision was approved by the chief magistrate.³⁸

The chiefs continued to be recognised as means of governing Native races, as it was not in general deemed possible to dispense with them, but their jurisdiction, more particularly in criminal matters, had been gradually transferred to European Magistrates. This is clearly shown by the attitude shown by Whindus, a magistrate with chief Makaula in a case related to Diko's people.³⁹ Sometime in 1884 about fifteen to twenty men of Diko's location got drunk at a beer party and quarrelled and eventually fought until separated by Diko and Dabula, a Mpendla headman. Dabula received a

37. UTC Stanford Papers BC 293. B52.61.

38. UCT. Library Stanford Papers BC 293. B52.88.

39. C.M.K. 1/91 Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 12/6/1884,

blow in the hand by accident in trying to stop the fight. The matter reached Makaula's ears and he tried the case and fined the men who committed the offence. Captain Whindus reprimanded Chief Makaula for this and pointed out in unmistakable language that he had no right whatever to try the case.⁴⁰ Chief Makaula admitted this, but added he thought he was not doing wrong as the fight was a small one as regards the number of men and results, and he thought it was not worthwhile bringing it to the court.

Whindus was of the opinion that the chief had to be punished. He could not seize the cattle which the man had been fined by Makaula, as it would have the effect of lowering his position and authority as chief. He wanted to punish him, but before doing so, he thought it best to seek advice from the Chief Magistrate in Kokstad.⁴¹ There is no clear indication of what happened thereafter since the magistrate was transferred. However, chief Makaula was quite aware that his authority was far inferior to that of a magistrate. Moreover, the chief's main sources of revenue were removed, that is, of imposing fines.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

The headmen were forbidden to allow strangers to settle in their locations without the magistrate's permission. During the administration of magistrate W. Cumming in 1885, a large number of Thembu came to Mount Frere to beg or buy food on account of a scarcity in Thembuland.⁴² Since they had passes, Cumming could not check their arrival, but he became worried when he saw that many of them intended to stay on and had built homesteads for themselves. Cumming raised the matter with Makaula, who denied that he had given them any permission. But Cumming was sure that the chief had secretly encouraged them.⁴³ This shows that the chief's decisions were subject to approval by the magistrate. There could not have been a misunderstanding, had Makaula sought Cumming's opinion as to the settlement of strangers.

In 1890 another problem concerning the settlement of refugees in Mount Frere district arose. A Xesibe headman, named Sodladla had left the district to settle in Mpondoland, but he had been unable to settle down and he and his people had returned to the homesteads which

42. C.M.K. 1/97 W. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 19/8/18185.

43. Ibid.

they had formerly occupied.⁴⁴ This question of the Xesibes caused a hitch between the chief and the magistrate. Cumming was of the opinion that Sodladla's people should be chased off Mount Frere district. Makaula, on the other hand, seemed to sympathise with them, and forcing them to leave the district would cause further difficulties.⁴⁵ However Makaula's decision was acceded to by the magistrate and the Xesibes are still occupying their location, Mabhobho, in Mount Frere district.

It had been the governments policy to dispossess the chiefs of some of their prerogatives. All the chiefs that succumbed to British rule, were deprived of their rights to control access to major natural resources such as forests. The passing of Forest Regulations in 1886 deprived chief Makaula of the right of cutting wood from the forests as he pleased.⁴⁶

Magistrate Cumming convened a meeting in 1886 of all the Bhaca chiefs and Headmen, in which he stated that the cutting of forest trees was prohibited to all people. The people were accused of cutting trees indiscriminat-

44. C.M.K. 1/138 W.J. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 12/8/1890.

45. Ibid.

46. C.M.K. 1/93 W.G. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 29/6/1886.

ely including valuable trees such as mahogany, stinkwood and so on. The government wished to confine such wood-cutting to those who had purchased licences.

The remarks that came from chief Makaula and his subordinate chiefs and headmen were that they were strongly opposed to any restriction being placed on the liberty which they had hitherto enjoyed, of cutting down trees in the forest for their own requirements.⁴⁷ This step surprised chief Makaula and he remarked that "when the Bhacas came under the Colonial Government, they were not given to understand that the right to using the trees in the forest for kraals and building purposes would be taken from them,"⁴⁸ and it seemed wrong that those who remained loyal to the government should be put on the same footing as the Mpondomise and other nations who had gone into the rebellion.

The Forest Regulations were forced upon the Bhacas despite their objections. Permits were to be procured and in this way the forests were to a certain extent protected, nothing could be removed from them, except under the supervision of the Forester, to whom the permit had to be exhibited.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

In 1886 W.E. Stanford, chief magistrate in East Griqualand, instructed magistrate Cumming to draft "Pound Regulations: under Clause 52 of Proclamation 112 of 1879."⁴⁹ Cumming introduced the draft Pound Regulations and he recommended that the stock should first be taken to the headman of the Ward in order that the resident magistrate might have some proof, over and above the statement of the person in whose land that trespass had been committed, so that due inquiry could be made upon a man bringing stock to be impounded under the pretence that the owner could not be discovered Cumming further forwarded the minutes of a meeting from which it was evident that chief Makaula did not favour the establishment of the pounds. Present in the meeting were W.G. Cumming, Chief Makaula, Nomsheketshe, Diko, Dabula, Gweva, Sodladla, Mabeleni, Mbulelo, Dikwayo and Bafo. In this meeting chief Makaula asked permission to meet with his chiefs first. Thereafter the meeting commenced.

On behalf of the Bhacas, chief Makaula stated that they (Bhacas) did not wish the government to establish a

49. C.M.K. 1/93 Chief Magistrate to W.G. Cumming on 19/3/1886. See also [G.12 - 87] W.G. Cumming-Colonial Secretary 31/12/1886. p. 175.

pound system in their country, because they felt that a pound would bring trouble upon them.

When stock trespassed and were taken to the pound, their owner might not have the money to release them, and the cattle might eventually be sold to repay the charges.⁵⁰ Chief Makaula said that the Bhacas did not wish to oppose the government, but that he was afraid of trouble. W. Cumming argued that only stock whose owners "were unknown would be sent to the pound." He stated that the measure was for the protection of the crops, as he received many complaints concerning trespass.⁵¹

Chief Makaula stated that they did understand the regulations, they were good, but the pound was an innovation and the Bhacas were afraid of it. He wished the chief magistrate to know that the Bhacas did not care to have pounds in their country and that they would rather not pay for trespass committed as it had not been their custom.⁵²

Cumming refused to accept Makaula's remarks, but continued to argue unconvincingly, that the pound

50. Ibid.

51. C.M.K. 1/93 W.G. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 25/3/1885.

52. Ibid.

regulations would be a help to everybody. This insistence reflected the government's decision to remove opposition to its rule. Although chief Makaula and his followers were against the Pound Regulations, they were forced to accept them as they were British subjects.

The regime of chief Makaula under the British government was also not without problems concerning land allocation. Two cases arose during the administration of W. Blenkins, the resident magistrate, at Mount Frere from 1880 to 1881, which demonstrated that by acceding to colonial rule, Makaula had lost the right to allocate the land as he pleased.

In the 1870's Makaula had granted land in perpetuity to the family of Mr. Hulley his former missionary. Initially Hulley wanted a piece of land either at the "Mvenyane" or "Mvuzi". Since there were too many homesteads in the said locations, Hulley pointed out the place at Esek.⁵³ Chief Makaula wanted a contractual arrangement with regard to the grant of land so that it would belong to him (Hulley) and his son, that no one might dispute it, that any of his family might always build upon it.⁵⁴ The land was to belong to Hulley and

53. C.M.K. 1/85 Makaula to W. Blenkins on 14/8/1880.

54. Ibid.

his family and after his death to his legal heir. He had to pay a rent of £5 per annum and this had been paid regularly.⁵⁵ It was however, impossible for chief Makaula to describe the boundaries in writing. In June 1886, Blenkins had demarcated part of the land for a Mpondomise headmen named Mkila, who had helped to suppress the Mpondomise rebellion of 1880. Mkila had been promised the land of Esek from which Mcelu, one of the Mpondomise rebels, had been expelled.⁵⁶ The men under him arrived too late in the district to undertake farming. The chief Constable, Joseph, who accompanied W. Blenkins when Mkila's location was pointed out to him, corroborated the statement of the latter as to his occupying the whole of Mcelu's location, a portion of which had been taken from him (Mkila) and given to Hulley by Makaula.⁵⁷ It was this piece of land that Mkila was claiming as part of his location, and he complained that it was impossible for his people to be kept up to the prompt payment of their taxes if they had no gardens to cultivate.

55. C.M.K. 1/85 W. Blenkins to Chief Magistrate on 28/8/1880.

56. C.M.K. 1/88 W. Power Leary to Chief Magistrate on 14/11/1882.

57. Ibid.

The magistrate had no knowledge of the alleged contract entered into between Hulley and Chief Makaula. His decision (Blenkins) when giving the same piece of land to Mkila was based on the fact that Makaula had never officially conveyed the information to him concerning the contract with Hulley.⁵⁸ This indicates how the magistrates were gradually taking powers from the chiefs.

The second case was about the allocation of a piece of land in Cancele, to Bertie, the second son of chief Makaula's great wife. The actual allocation was done long before Blenkins came to Mount Frere district as the magistrate and it was assumed that this arrangement would never be interfered with, when Makaula accepted British rule.⁵⁹ This portion of land was then pointed to Bertie in the presence of Blenkins, R.M. Mount Frere, Makaula, a chief, J.H. Garner, an observer and Joseph, an interpreter.

This Cancele affair demonstrates the entirely different notions of land ownership held by Makaula and Blenkins. It was Makaula's intention to provide land for his son,

58. C.M.K. 1/88 W. Power Leary to Chief Magistrate on 21/10/1882.

59. C.M.K. 1/85 W. Blenkins to Chief Magistrate on 14/8/1886.

Bertie. He wished to give him a piece of land to be chief over, as he put it, to divide up the land between his sons Mngcisana and Bertie, just like Faku had divided land up between his sons Ndamase and Mqikela. The portion of land given to Bertie was under Headmen Sodladla, Bulelo and Gweva.⁶⁰ The boundaries could not be given in writing. Blenkins was of the opinion that Bertie should not rule over these locations as the chief, but instead he should have a private farm for himself. He was supported in his opinion by the chief magistrate at Kokstad.

The granting of an enormous tract of land to make Bertie a chief would interfere with the government's existing arrangements concerning the three headmen. This was in accordance with the colonial government policy, pointed out by Saunders, to leave "chiefs to die off" and their places to be taken by christianised and educated successors, the magistrates.⁶¹ Blenkins was not keen that more chieftainships should be created. He, therefore, only agreed to give Bertie a private grant of land in question on condition that:-

60. Ibid.

61. Saunders, C.C. The Annexation. p. 25.

1. The Cancele people had the right of the use of lands they had ploughed during their life time;
2. that 5 or 6 homesteads which were then in that tract of the grant should not be disturbed;
3. the government should reserve to itself timber available in that track of land and to all this Makaula agreed.⁶²

Blenkins also insisted on drawing a boundary line between Bertie's farm and the mission outstation at Cancele, which was in charge of a Black evangelist, named Stephen. Makaula was unhappy because he viewed that church as Bertie's and he did not want to make a separation. Some months later, he reopened the question by requesting that the line between the farm and the church no longer be recognised. Blenkins, however, insisted and even went so far as to name the boundary the "W. Blenkins Line."⁶³

It must have been painful for Makaula to discover that he could not make his own son a chief in his own

62. C.M.K. 1/87 Blenkins to Chief Magistrate on 10/1/1882.

63. C.M.K. 1/88 W. Power Leary to Chief Magistrate on 10/12/1882.

country, and allocate him land. The question of Bertie's land clearly shows the transfer of power from one ruling group to the other, that is, power from the chiefs to the magistrates.

CHAPTER 7Makaula's enemies: Nomsheketshe and the
Mpondo

As stated in Chapter 5 chief Makaula organised that Nomsheketshe should leave Bizana and go to Mount Frere district in 1870. Nomsheketshe was accompanied by some of T. Shepstone's people who handed him over to chief Makaula and told him "he was only to listen to Makaula and have nothing to say in matters."¹ Chief Makaula did not have enough land to accomodate his nephew, Nomsheketshe, so he settled him on the Rode Valley, though on a temporary basis until he found a definite piece of land at Mpoza.

So in 1870, men of different characters, Makaula and Nomsheketshe were now brought closer to one another, and a feeling of jealousy over chieftainship seemed evident. Makaula was inclined to be peaceful, desirous for European civilization, and well disposed towards the government. In contrast, Nomsheketshe was of a restless disposition, thoroughly violent in his temper,

1. C.M.K. 1/81 J.H. Garner to Colonial Secretary on 25/8/1877.

preferring his own despotic rule over that of the government.²

J.H. Garner, the Resident Magistrate, depicts Nomsheketshe as ambitious and showing signs of a desire to obtain authority over Makaula's people. Fears existed that he would before long strive to obtain it by force.³ According to J.H. Garner, Makaula was aware that he belonged to the junior house, though he had more followers than Nomsheketshe. Makaula did not wish to see Nomsheketshe giving him more trouble and he wished to live in peace. Nomsheketshe seemed to query the idea that he was to be directly under the control of Makaula and he once remarked "I do not see why my people should be called Makaula's."⁴ It is probably this kind of Nomsheketshe's reaction that made Makaula to feel in his own interest to hold well to the government, from whom he expected support of whatever kind necessary to keep him in his position.⁵

2. [G.43 - 79] Brownlee to Secretary for Native Affairs N.D. p. 53.

3. Ibid. p. 53.

4. C.M.K. 1/81 J.H. Garner to the Colonial Secretary on 11/8/1877.

5. [G. 43 - 79] Brownlee to the Colonial Secretary. p. 54. N.D.

Nomtsheketshe asked William Ayliff, the secretary for Native Affairs, who visited Mount Frere district on 21st of October, 1878, what must be done about the Bhacas on the Rode Valley. He failed to understand why he should not be given a place in Mount Frere district. His further complaint was that he got only a very small allowance from the government. He stated that he got no more than the pay of a common man although he was the real chief of the Bhacas. It was only $\frac{f}{2}$ 6 a year.⁶

In 1877, Nomtsheketshe attempted a surprise attack by night on chief Makaula. There was evidently a bad feeling on Nomtsheketshe's part towards Makaula. He took as opportunity of creating a disturbance, attributing his actions to drunkenness. De Lacy Lacy, one of the officials in Mount Frere, reprimanded Nomtsheketshe severely, saying that he knew he was under Makaula, and wondered why he could not live peacefully with him. De Lacy stated that it was through chief Makaula that Nomtsheketshe was getting pay from the government as a headman. De Lacy suggested that beer-drinking must be put a stop to, as well as all quarrels with Makaula. Nomtsheketshe was fined 3 head of cattle, the man who

6. Ibid. p. 54.

gave a beer-drink, two and all participants one head and chief Makaula thanked the magistrate for the judgement.⁷

In 1881, W. Blenkins, the Resident Magistrate with Makaula, reported that Nomsheketshe brought a case for the first time ever since he arrived in the Rode Valley in 1870. He was, therefore, considered defiant and it was not easy for the magistrates to recognise him as a senior chief. Blenkins compared Nomsheketshe with Mhlontlo, the Mpondomise rebel chief of 1880, and he predicted that he would come to a similar end.

In 1882, Nomsheketshe revived his claim to chieftainship. In reply chief Makaula stated that he never disputed Nomsheketshe's rights, he had only held his own.⁸ The chief magistrate, Captain M. Blyth, replied that when the Bhaca nation was being encircled on all sides by their enemies, and when it required all the sagacity of the then Regent Chief Diko, and all the manhood of the district to save the country being overrun by the Mpondo, Nomsheketshe's father, Mdutyana, deserted them, and with his son migrated to Umzinkulu.⁹

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7. C.M.K. I. De Lacy Lacy to Secretary for Native Affairs. 30/9/1877.
 8. C.M.K. 1/88 W. Blenkins to Chief Magistrate on December, 1882.
 9. Ibid.

So soon as Makaula had decided on claiming the protection of the colonial government and had actually given himself over, Nomsheketshe stepped in and wanted to claim the chieftainship. Captain Blyth, therefore, refused this claim and supported Makaula, and told Nomsheketshe that he lost the claim to chieftainship through abandonment of the Bhacas in their hour of need.¹⁰

W. Blenkins, believed that allowing Nomsheketshe into Mount Frere district had been a mistake, and that he ought not to have left Umzimkulu. Blenkins warned that Nomsheketshe had to be watched. He still aspired to the chieftainship, a dangerous wish in one under the government and that he would at any moment, if he saw his way clear, free himself of government restraints which seemed a burden to him.¹¹

Blenkins reported in 1882 that Nomsheketshe had sent men to his office for a pass to take him to Umzimkulu under the pretence of visiting his brother, Msingapantsi, who lived there. This was granted and it later on transpired that these men had been sent there by Nomsheketshe to invite Msingapantsi to be present at

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

a feast given in acknowledgement of Nomsheketshe's having assumed the chieftainship of the whole of Bhacaland.¹² At this feast, Nomsheketshe told these men that Makaula had abdicated in his favour and they were to spread such news to Umzimkulu.

To further signs of defiance, Nomsheketshe again invited Msingapantsi to visit his place, this time for the purpose of feasting in honour of one of his daughters arriving at the stage of puberty. A permit was given to Msingapantsi and four followers. The magistrate learnt later on that Nomsheketshe induced Msingapantsi to bring as many men as he wanted, as a result about 54 people came to Mount Frere without passes.

W. Blenkins further reported that a matter worthy of deep consideration was that Nomsheketshe never brought or allowed one of his people to take a case to the office of the magistrate. All cases were decided by himself - and this clearly showed that he meant defiance.¹³ According to J. Rose-Innes, no headman was to decide any disputes, all these were to be referred

12. Ibid.

13. [G. 26 - 82] T.C. Scanlan to Secretary of Native Affairs on 30/11/1881. p. 103.

for inquiry and decision to the magistrate or other officer representing the government in his district.¹⁴

Nomtsheketshe's people were living in the Rode Valley but in 1872 the Griffith Commission decided that, that land should fall under Mqikela, the Mpondo senior chief. All the Bhacas resident there were supposed to remove to the Mount Frere district. The magistrate reported that the Bhacas there had not yet removed nor did they appear to have any intention of leaving Rode. The magistrate learnt that many of them had started building new homesteads and breaking up new ground. In this matter Nomtsheketshe again was prominent. When pressed to remove these people, he pretended to use his utmost endeavour to do it, whilst he was secretly encouraging them in this occupation.¹⁵

Simpson the acting magistrate in 1883, wrote that chief Makaula had done his best to carry out the wishes of the government but criticized him as a weak and vacillating chief "who could not stand up to Nomtsheketshe."¹⁶ All the Bhacas who acknowledge Makaula as their chief, even

14. Cory Library - Rose-Innes, J. The Mcloughlin Papers 1 of 6.

15. [G. 8 - 83] I.N.D. Simpson to the Secretary of Native Affairs on 22/12/1882. p. 243.

16. Ibid. p. 243.

those resident in the Rode, had moved into Mount Frere district. It was only the followers of Nomsheketshe who had stayed behind. Simpson was worried that Nomsheketshe's actions might provide trouble between the Colonial government and the Mpondo ruler, Mqikela, who was still independent. By Nomsheketshe's continued occupation of the Rode, Mqikela could always point out to a grievance and when cases were reported to him for acts done by his people in this district, he sheltered himself by pointing to the acts committed by the Bhacas in the Rode and asked first to have them removed and then all other things would come straight.

Apart from this, Rode had become a haven for runaways and criminals. The magistrate complained that, a few days back, some men from Mount Frere district, who had committed theft, were wanted and Headmen Ngalonkulu, a follower of Nomsheketshe, flatly refused to give them up on the magistrate's warrant. The magistrate pointed out the annoyance likely to arise and the contempt for the law by criminals if the Rode was allowed to be their safe headquarters. Simpson concluded that the sooner the Rode Bhacas were brought to their senses, the better it would be for the peace of the country and for the dignity of the law.¹⁷

17. Ibid.

Simpson therefore, recommended that the government policy should be as follows in the Rode Valley:- that the Bhacas who continued to remain there, would henceforth be regarded as the Mpondo subjects, under the Mpondo rule - that no government influence would again be brought to bear on their behalf, and that the Mount Frere Bhacas would be enjoined to abstain from rendering them assistance when they came into contact with the Mpondo.¹⁸

Consequent to the above threat some (less than half) of Nontsheketshe's followers moved out of the Rode, but thirty-six homesteads still remained. It was rumoured that Cetywayo, son of Mqikela, enforced their submission. In the event of these remaining Rode Bhacas continuing to give trouble, the question arose whether the government should forcibly expel them from the Rode as for sometime it had quietly allowed them to stay.¹⁹

As pointed out in Chapter 6, chief Makaula had been given two locations in Qumbu district as a reward for

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18. [G. 8 - 83] J.S. Jenkins to the Secretary for Native Affairs on 8/1/1883. p. 235.
19. C.M.K. 1/87 W. Blenkins to Chief Magistrate on 4/2/1882. See also [G.8 - 83] Jenkins to Secretary 8/1/1883. p. 226.

his services during the Mpondomise rebellion. Although he was himself faced with a shortage of land, he generously offered one of these locations to Nomtsheketshe.²⁰

In an interview with W. Blenkins, Nomtsheketshe agreed to remove his Bhacas from the Rode on the following conditions:-

- I. that one of their own headmen (chief) shall be placed over the people so removed;
- II. that they shall not be under any Mpondomise chief, only under the magistrate of the district;
- III. that the crops at the Rode now coming on shall not be forfeited.

When Nomtsheketshe Bhacas were about to leave, he changed his mind. Blenkins stated that Nomtsheketshe had no objection whatever to the removal of the Rode Bhacas but he failed to see where they were to be put. He refused to go to Qumbu and his excuse was that the place was at the border of wars. He further objected the offer of occupying the ground vacated by the Mfengu of Maqubu, at Mtshazi as they (the Bhacas) would be too

20. Ibid. p. 227.

far off from him and he would not be able to take care of them.²¹

Blenkins related that Nomsheketshe then requested chief Makaula to remove certain homesteads adjoining Nomsheketshe's location, and he would be prepared to instruct his people from the Rode to go to this district. He was aware of the ground offered to him at the Qumbu but he preferred to remain in this district and have the Rode Bhacas alongside of him and presumably under his supervision.²² Moreover, Nomsheketshe was reluctant to live in close proximity with the Mpondomise who had a grudge against the Bhacas for helping to suppress the rebellion.

To this request, Makaula replied that although it would be very inconvenient to remove those fourteen homesteads, he would nevertheless, meet Nomsheketshe half way. The people concerned had just finished ploughing and had occupied their ground since before Nomsheketshe came into the district. Chief Makaula thus suggested the government should remove Nkahlela, a Hlubi from the vicinity of Mpoza, to join the other Hlubis of Ludidi along the east bank of the Kinira river. Nkahlela

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

actually left the area in question for Nomsheketshe's settlement. While chief Makaula was busy with removal of Nkahlala, Nomsheketshe and his Rode Bhaca were served with punishment by the government. They lost their harvest to chief Mqikela "through their own folly" by failing to move out of the Rode when told to do so and the magistrate, recommended that this view of the case be adhered to.²³ Finally the Rode Bhacas could no longer be removed to Qumbu but they were settled in five locations in the valley of the Mvenyane in the North-Eastern part of the district viz Mpoza, Siqhingeni, Ntsimangweni, Colona and Nomkolokoto. The Great Place, Mpoza is about 32 km from Mount Frere village. Nomsheketshe was recognised as the headman of the Mpoza location and his four sons, Ngqakaqa, Siborolo, Phikwa and Mzobuxoki were appointed headmen over Siqhingeni, Nomkolokoto, Colana and Tsimangweni locations respectively.²⁴ It seems that Makaula, while maintaining his independence, regarded Nomsheketshe as his senior in ritual matters particularly in the performance of ingcubhe.

23. C.M.K. 1/89 W. Blenkins to the Chief Magistrate. 5/4/1883.

24. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. The Tribes of Mount Frere District. p. 61.

In the 1890's chief Makaula became ill and Nomsheketshe took advantage of the state of affairs by exerting his extremely bad influence. As the senior chief by birth, Nomsheketshe was acknowledged by a large section of the Bhacas, including several of Makaula's brothers, Diko, Dabula, Tshalaza, Mpongoma and Bhekezulu as the heir of the chiefdom.²⁵ Even Makaula's sons and nephews are said to have recognised Nomsheketshe as the heir, according to Scully, the magistrate, but no names are quoted.

It was about this time that W. Scully got an instruction to call out a contingent of the Bhacas for service in Eastern Mpondoland, against Sigcau, the chief of the Mpondo. At this time chief Makaula was staying at his Great Place, Sihlahleni, about 19 km from Mount Frere village.

A message was sent to him to communicate it with the chiefs and headmen on the northern side of the district. Makaula also sent a message to Nomsheketshe to furnish a contingent of one hundred men.²⁶

25. C.M.K. 1/138 W. Scully to the Chief Magistrate on 6/3/1895.

26. Ibid.

Scully further reported that he also sent constable Vila, direct to Nomsheketshe with a similar message and Vila brought back a reply to the effect that the contingent would be at Mount Frere the following day. The next day in the afternoon, Scully received Nomsheketshe's son, Pikwa who brought a message from his father that his men were busy preparing and could be expected on the following day. Nomsheketshe further requested constable Porringer, to purchase equipment. To the surprise of all the officials, there was nothing heard of Nomsheketshe the following day.

Meanwhile Nomsheketshe sent a message to chief Makaula that none of his men would be available for the war as they were busy reaping their crops. Scully gathered later on that Nomsheketshe endeavoured to persuade Makaula to delay sending out any of the people until a general meeting of the nation had been held at Sihlahlani to discuss the subject.²⁷ Scully ascertained that Nomsheketshe used all his considerable influence to prevent the people turning out at all. One contingent composing the column was very shaky up to the last moment, and it was only by pressure upon the headmen

27. C.M.K. 1/138 W. Scully to the Chief Magistrate on 8/8/1895.

that Scully was able to induce this particular contingent to move.²⁸

Scully had no doubt about the reason underlying Nomsheketshe's conduct. Just at that time, the district was full of messengers from Chief Sigcau attempting to persuade the Bhacas to sit still. Moreover, Scully intercepted two Mpondo and a discharged policeman, with a letter in the handwriting of Chief Sigcau's Secretary, Marcus Kines, addressed to Makaula.²⁹ These men, with the concurrence of Makaula, were at once sent out of the district under a police escort.

Scully pointed out that Nomsheketshe was from a Bhaca point of view, of higher rank than Makaula, and it was perfectly clear that his action in refusing to turn out was dictated by the idea that if the Mpondo came successful in the expected war, he then, the one who refused to turn out against them, would be recognised as the Great Chief of the Bhacas, instead of Makaula who took the side of the government.³⁰

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. C.M.K. 1/138 W. Scully to Chief Magistrate on 6/8/1895.

According to Scully, rightly or wrongly, the impression got all round amongst the nation, that had there been a general Mpondo war, Nomsheketshe would have joined the enemies of the government. Scully thought that "the cup of Nomsheketshe's iniquities" was now full to overflowing, and that the time when some substantial punishment for his many misdeeds had arrived.³¹ The magistrate reported that Nomsheketshe drew an allowance of £25 per annum, but his only reaction was one of constant opposition to the authorities. Scully reminded the chief magistrate of his confidential report of 12 January 1894, in which he strongly urged the advisability of Nomsheketshe being removed from the district.³² Had a war with the Mpondo broken out, Scully's opinion as to the advisability of Nomsheketshe's removal might have been strikingly justified. Scully recommended that Nomsheketshe's allowance be reduced to £5 per annum and that he be informed that his allowance would be wholly stopped upon the least repetition of misconduct. The magistrate even urged that Nomsheketshe should be removed to Robben Island. If his suggestion was to be successful, he recommended that a sum of £15 per annum be added to the allowance of Headman Mngcisana, who was

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

Makaula's great son, and who would succeed to the chieftainship on Makaula's death.

More and above Mngcisana had spent ~~£~~38 in equipping himself for the expected campaign and all he received as pay was ~~£~~3. He only received ~~£~~20 per annum as allowance.

Scully pointed out categorically that Nomtsheketshe had a great deal of influence by his conduct, and this would be a great opportunity of putting him down and increasing the influence of Mngcisana. "As a matter of policy it should be strongly stated to the chiefs that disloyalty must be punished and almost equally loyalty should be rewarded."³³ Unfortunately for Scully, his proposal could not take effect because Nomtsheketshe took ill.

In a meeting convened by the magistrate in 1894, all the chiefs and Headmen were told about the provisions of the Scab Law. On this occasion it was resolved that tanks were to be built for the purpose of dipping sheep and goats against Scab. All the people were to repay the government for the construction of the tanks. They all agreed to give assistance in the construction of

33. Ibid.

these tanks. Nomsheketshe was present and did not make any objections.³⁴

On the 9th of July 1895 Benjamin Scott King visited Nomsheketshe's homestead and told him that he had come to choose a site for a dipping tank for the use of the people in the location, and he requested his co-operation. Nomsheketshe's reaction was, "I don't want you. I will have nothing to do with you."³⁵ King then asked for a man to go with to choose the site so that he would be able to show the same to Nomsheketshe. He refused point blank saying "I will not give you a man- I have no sheep."³⁶ King had to leave without being attended to. He asked the government to discipline Nomsheketshe since he clearly intended to impede him in the execution of his duties.

When Scully heard this, he pointed out that Nomsheketshe had obstructed him in all measures attempted to be carried out for the good of the people. He maintained that Nomsheketshe was a standing menace to the general peace. His continued defiance of authority was

34. C.M.K. 1/138 Scully to the Chief Magistrate on 10/6/1895.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

extremely unsettling to the Bhacas. This time Scully was prepared to dismiss him. In all cases of misconduct committed by Nomsheketshe, Makaula, his uncle appealed for him to the government and he, being a loyal chief, his pleas were always taken into consideration. But the incident of 1895, concerning the dipping tanks, was serious that it is doubtful whether chief Makaula could have succeeded in pleading for him. But early in 1896, Nomsheketshe died of ill-health, just before he could be dismissed. He was then succeeded by his son, Rolobile, who was even more troublesome than his father had been.

In December 1897, W. Power Leary reported the arrival of a party of the rebel Griquas at the home of Gobidolo in Rolobile's location. Headman Joseph Makaula reported to the magistrate that the Griquas, Rolobile and some of the black chiefs held a meeting at the farm of Ngqayimbana, "Boschfontein".³⁷

Power Leary proceeded to Mvenyane to ascertain what was going on. Firstly Rolobile denied all knowledge of the presence of the Griquas. Later on he agreed and said that he sent a messenger to notify chief Makaula and the

37. C.M.K. 1/138 W. Power Leary to Chief Magistrate on 31/12/1898.

magistrate about the presence of Le Fleur's Griquas. Generally Rolobile's attitude, according to the magistrate had not been that of a loyal headman. Leary had reason to believe that Rolobile had been a good deal misled by his uncle Mtiwake.³⁸ Le Fleur was suspected of attempting to raise the Blacks against the white people and this aborted because of the arrest of the arch-rebels. Because of this incident Rolobile was suspended from headmanship.

Makaula and Nomsheketshe represented the opposite pole to the Mount Frere magistrates. That Makaula was a favourite of the government, praised for his loyalty and desire for civilization, and Nomsheketshe was despised for his surliness and indolence was due in no small measure to the opposite system of treatment that had been meted out to them by the colonial government.

Apart from the troubles with Nomsheketshe, chief Makaula had to face the Mpondo nation. The relations between the Bhacas and the Mpondo varied from friendliness to deep enmity. This was probably caused by the war of 1867 in which the Mpondo were mercilessly repulsed by the Bhacas, and the thefts committed by the Mpondo on Bhaca stock whilst the latter were pre-

38. Ibid.

occupied by the Griqua war of 1871. But misunderstanding was aggravated by the thefts taking place on the borders separating Tshungwana location from Mpondoland on the Papane Mountains as well as on the Rode Valley across the Umzimvubu river.

In December 1883, Captain Whindus the Resident Magistrate of Mount Frere, reported a battle which took place between the Mpondo and the Bhacas. These two parties came into collision in consequence of horse and cattle thieving. It appeared that early in the week four horses were stolen from chief Makaula's place and a party of the Bhacas, starting off in pursuit, followed the spoor into Mpondoland.³⁹ The party failed to regain possession of the horses and, in retaliation, swept off twenty head of cattle belonging to the Mpondo.⁴⁰ Hostilities then immediately commenced and a large party of the Mpondo prepared to attack the Bhacas, who were also quite ready for a fight. This being reported to Captain Whindus, he set off for the scene and managed for the time to prevent further fighting.

39. C.M.K. 1/90 Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 31/12/1883.

40. The Kokstad Advertiser on 19/1/1884.

The Bhacas, as British subjects, were not permitted to take the law into their hands, that is, by revenging for losses incurred. But this seemed impossible for the Bhacas to stick to their obligations because conditions along the Tshungwana border became tense. The grievance of the Bhacas was that the Mpondo constantly raided into their locations and swept off their stock. Whindus thereupon reported to the chief magistrate, in Kokstad and the latter reported to the colonial government which in turn demanded restitution from Mqikela, the senior Mpondo chief. But there the matter ended, for the Bhacas obtained no redress or restitution of their property. On the other hand, whenever the Bhacas were guilty of taking stock from the Mpondo, they were promptly brought to book, fined severely and compelled to return their booty.⁴¹ The Bhacas and the Mpondo were thus living in a state of perpetual nig-nagging along the border. One remark to the editor of the Kokstad Advertiser was that "the Bhacas had better start training their pigs to saddle,"⁴² as shortly they would lose all the horses they possessed. The Mpondo seemd to be under the impression that the magistrate of

41. [G.3 - 84] Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 31/12/1884. p. 174.

42. The Kokstad Advertiser, on 19/9/1884.

Mount Frere district was on their side since the Bhacas were forced to return their booty.

Captain Whindus was of the opinion that the encounter between the Mpondo and the Bhacas was one of a series and would occur as long as existing conditions continued. The conditions of the Bhacas were such that not even a civilized community could endure them with much equanimity.⁴³

According to Whindus's point of view, there was probably one course which might give a remedy and that was the judicious distribution of the arms, which it might be remembered, were once despatched to Mount Frere, amongst the most trustworthy and reliable Headmen of Makaula's nation.⁴⁴ These might have the same good effect upon the Mpondo near Mount Frere, as the distribution of arms to the Xesibes had had upon the Mpondo close to Mount Ayliff. The magistrate suspected that the Mpondo were only waiting for a favourable pretext and opportunity to make a night raid into Mount Frere district.⁴⁵

43. Ibid. on 20/9/1884.

44. C.M.K. 1/91 Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 24/1/1884.

45. Ibid. See also (G.3 - 84) Whindus - Chief Magistrate 31/12/1883 p. 174.

Although Captain Whindus was averse, in principle, to the arming of Blacks, he thought that the Bhacas should not continue to remain defenceless. Their past history had proved them undoubtedly loyal as shown during the Mpondomise rebellion where even the Bhacas of Gweva and Bulelo, residing within reach of Mhlontlo, fought until the rebels were forced to the other side of the Tina river.⁴⁶

Captain Whindus did not suggest that the whole Bhaca nation should be armed, but only those living on the Mpondo border, that is, between the Rode and the Tshungwana locations. At least 500 rifles, with corresponding supply of ammunition were to be supplied to selected men of steady character. Any such thing as a night attack might probably be repelled before it had assumed serious proportions. At all events the Bhacas would be in a better position to defend themselves.⁴⁷

Whindus's recommendations were not, however, immediately implemented. Shortly afterwards a serious disturbance took place between the Mission people of Tshungwana and the people of Mbali, a Mpondomise chief under Mpondo

46. Ibid.

47. C.M.K. 1/91 Whindus to Chief Magistrate on 19/2/1884.

rule. Reverend Pocock, the Missionary at Osborn, reported that the quarrels have arisen between the herds belonging to the respective parties. The Mpondo were blaming the mission herds for letting their cattle go into Mpondo gardens. This resulted in the young men of the mission taking their part and joining in the fight.

In February 1884, Whindus again visited the mission and found all quiet, each side having retired to their homes. Mbali happened to visit. Whindus who took the opportunity to invite the chief for a meeting on the border. The magistrate proceeded to the spot, accompanied by Reverend Pocock and a few leading men of the station, and met Mbali at a hut across the border. Mbali complained that the Tshungwana herds brought their cattle on the top of the ridge behind the station, and allowed them to do serious damage to his peoples' gardens, and that two of his herds had been wounded with assegais while others had been beaten with kieries.⁴⁸

Whindus ascertained that the Mpondo had been in the habit of beating the Tshungwana herds. Mbali then spoke of the boundary and claimed the ground on the top of the ridge, and down its sides to the Tshungwana stream. Whindus explained that the ridge itself was a boundary

48. Ibid.

as laid down, and that the line ran from the Umzimvubu river along its crest to Papane Mountains. Further that the station men had as much right to graze their cattle on the ridge and Mbali ought not to have made gardens just on the ridge itself, as they became a trap for the station people, and were the cause of disturbances.⁴⁹ The only way to put a stop to these petty squables was to have the boundary line clearly defined by beacons and pointed out to both parties.

Not long after this meeting between Whindus and Mbali, another serious encounter took place between the Mpondo and the Bhacas living in the neighbourhood of Mount Frere. It happened that on Thursday 18th June 1884, two or three horses were stolen from the Bhacas living in the vicinity of Tshungwana Mission Station. The spoor was traced into Mpondoland, and eventually the horses were found in possession of Mbali, who pretended that they had been captured from the thieves by some of his people.⁵⁰ He refused to give them up, saying that they would be restored to the owner the following day.

49. Ibid.

50. [G. 5 - 86] W.E. Stanford R.M. Mount Ayliff to Chief Magistrate on 18/6/1886. p. 105.

During the night, a flock of seventy sheep was stolen from the Bhacas of Tshungwana. As soon as the loss was discovered the war-cry was raised. At daylight the following day the spoor was sought and it was found to be leading in the direction of Mbali's location.⁵¹

There was some indication that this theft was committed in mere defiance. These two audacious thefts committed by the Mpondo so exasperated the Bhacas that they retaliated.⁵²

On the road one sheep was found stabbed to death. According to the Bhacas, such an act was intended as a deadly insult and a direct challenge to fight. When the Bhacas reached the boundary a number of the Mpondo arrayed in arms, seemingly waiting for them. At this juncture, one of the stolen sheep was seen to come out of a thicket behind the Mpondo and made straight home.⁵³ This was too much, a sharp skirmish took place and there were casualties on both sides, but the Bhacas were victorious.

51. Macquarrie, J.W. The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford. Vol.2 (Cape Town, 1962), p.16.

52. The Kokstad Advertiser on 28/6/1884.

53. [G.5 - 86] W.E. Stanford to Chief Magistrate on 18/6/1884. p. 105.

The Bhaca victory of June 1884 kept the Mpondo quiet for about three months, but in October 1885, Bhaca stock began to disappear once again. The Mpondo chiefs refused to assist Bhaca complainants in getting their stock back. The Bhacas therefore began to seize Mpondo cattle in reprisal.⁵⁴ Seemingly the Bhacas were staging successful attacks on the Mpondo up to the end of 1885.

Apart from the Tshungwana boundary line the Rode Valley had always been a field of continual struggles between the Mpondo and the Bhacas. The Rode Valley continued to be occupied by the Bhacas of Nomsheketshe from 1870, although there were some Bhacas of Makaula there even before 1870. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Rode Valley was given to chief Mqikela of the Mpondo, by the Griffith Commission of 1872, and chief Makaula was forbidden to interfere on behalf of his people settled there.⁵⁵

C. Brownlee, the chief magistrate of East Griqualand, visited the Rode, and told the Bhacas that they were entirely to be under the control of Mqikela and could

54. Ibid.

55. [G.26 - 82] Scalen to the Secretary for Natives Affairs on 30/11/1881. p. 103.

only remain there with Mqikela's permission and on condition of obedience to him. If he desired to expel the Bhacas or Xesibes in his territory, then neither chief Makaula nor chief Jojo would be permitted in any way to assist them.⁵⁶ On the strength of this the Mpondo expelled the Bhacas in 1884.

The Bhacas and the Mpondo were living in close proximity to one other and because of continued thefts, they regarded each other as traditional foes. For a time the Bhacas bore their losses with the best patience they could command. But at length they were provoked into retaliating upon the Mpondo.⁵⁷ Just like on the Tshungwana border, the government restrained the Bhacas from falling upon the Mpondo and exacting satisfaction for all the wrongs done to them. Because of the constant failure on the part of the Bhacas to obtain redress from the Mpondo chiefs for thefts committed by their people, the Bhacas were driven to active retaliation in following a spoor of the stolen stock over the border, fully armed. Consequent to the hostilities that ensued between the Bhacas and the Mpondo, a commission

56. The Kokstad Advertiser on 5/7/1884.

57. C.M.K. 1/91 Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 24/12/1884.

under Cumming and Wylde was appointed.⁵⁸ The findings of the commission were that Mqikela failed to restore stolen stock traced into Mpondoland, and the Bhacas were thus provoked. The Cape Mounted Riflemen were appointed in 1884 to patrol the border area.

The appointment of the Cape Mounted Riflemen caused a lot of dissatisfaction among the Mpondo. According to the Mpondo viewpoint, the Riflemen were there only for the purpose of keeping them - not the Bhacas in check. The Mpondo further believed that the majority of cases of theft were committed by the Bhacas and brought into Mpondoland, that is, the Bhacas stole cattle from other Bhacas and sold them to the Mpondo. The Mpondo simply acted as receivers and also got a share of the booty.

Whilst the CMR were on the border, the Bhacas attacked and burnt two Mpondo homesteads full of corn just after harvest and this meant that the families were to beg for at least a year.⁵⁹ Mqikela expressed his intention of refusing to give up any other Bhaca stock until compensation had been made for this raid. According to Mqikela the CMR stationed on the border had orders to

58. Macquarrie, J.W. The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford. Vol.2, p. 23.

59. The Kokstad Advertiser on 17/7/1885.

fire on any Mpondo who crossed the border for hostile purposes. It seemed strange to him that these orders did not also apply to the Bhacas, who, according to him, seemed to do much as they pleased. The Mpondo viewed the British government as being in favour of the Bhacas. Captain Whindus had once recommended that the Bhacas be supplied with fire arms. To the Mpondo the government would not be justified in issuing arms to the Bhacas, unless they wished to bring about a war between the two nations. The Mpondo wondered what would be said or done by the government if they had crossed into the Bhaca territory and burnt their homesteads.⁶⁰ The Mpondo were further aggrieved with the Cape Government over the question of Port St. Johns.

The Mpondo then became more aggressive and they went to the extent of attacking Nota, a Hlubi headman, their reason being that Nota was suspected of giving the Bhacas information about stock stolen from them.⁶¹ But above all, Nota was occupying a fertile valley, upon which certain Mpondo chiefs had cast a covetous eye. If they could succeed in ousting him, they could probably gain the land.

60. Ibid.

61. Macquarrie, J.W. The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford. Vol.2. p. 46.

In reprisal, the Bhacas under Nomtsheketshe together with some of Nota's men invaded Mpondoland and amongst others, looted the homestead of Josiah Jenkins, a relative of Chief Mqikela. After this incident, chief Makaula met W.E. Stanford the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, at Mount Frere and he spoke strongly against the Mpondo and he asked the government to stand aside and let the Bhacas redress their own grievances,⁶² but Stanford advised chief Makaula to respect the Mpondo borders and report losses to the government.

In January 1886, William Nota visited W. Stanford, and he sought British protection. He complained of ill-treatment at the hands of Mqikela. At the same time, Mdlangaso,⁶³ Mqikela's chief councillor, sent three times to Nota, asking him to attend a meeting enquiring into the causes of the fighting, but Nota refused to attend, saying that he had handed himself and the country over to the government. Mdlangaso's instructions from the Great Place were to hold a meeting with Nota and his people and try and settle the matter

62. Ibid.

63. Mdlangaso is usually referred to in the European sources as Mhlangaso or U'Mhlangaso. I have, however, preferred to use the correct spelling as defined by the present descendants of Mdlangaso.

peacefully. If he found that impossible, he was to clear the Rode of him and his people, also any Bhacas that might be there.⁶⁴

Consequent to Nota's failure to attend the meetings, Mdlangaso and Josiah Jenkins occupied the Rode. Nota's men were driven back to Umzimvubu. The Mpondo began to fire on women and children working in gardens. Nota's men were now in retreat at the Umzimvubu poort. They, then fell back into Gogela's location in East Griqualand, pursued by the Mpondo. The Mpondo crossed over to Sixandu's location. The Bhacas under Nomtsheke-tshe at once crossed to Nota's assistance, and a long fierce engagement ensued on the colonial territory.⁶⁵ Eventually the Mpondo were driven back to the Rode with a loss of 10 killed and a number wounded. Both sides fought with determination and bravery, but the Bhacas were severely handicapped, being short of ammunition. Nota lost 3 men, and 10 horses. It is estimated that not less than 500 Mpondo took part in the engagement.

64. The Kokstad Advertiser of 13/2/1886.

65. C.M.K. 1/93 W.E. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 21/1/1886. Refer also to A.F. Conradie, "The life and work of Peter Hargreaves ... 1882 - 1901. (M.A. University of Pretoria, 1967). pp. 123-126.

The rifles belonging to the 14 men killed were taken by the Mpondo. They were the property of the government.⁶⁶

After this conflict, W. Stanford, the East Griqualand chief magistrate, asked for and received authority to issue arms and ammunition to the Bhacas and Xesibes. In 1886 about five waggons left Kokstad for Mount Frere with 600 stand of arms and 60,000 rounds of ammunition.⁶⁷ It was stated that the Cape Mounted Riflemen had discontinued their patrols.

Stanford's next step was to get the new border at the Rode defined, and the Xesibe boundary as well. Chief Makaula took a reasonable view and asked only that portion of the Rode already occupied by the Bhacas west of the waggon road should be retained for them.

To this Stanford saw no objection, subject to the approval of the Colonial government.

Mdlangaso reacted to the issue of Guns to the Bhacas and the Xesibes. He wrote a letter to the chief magistrate in Kokstad and he caused it to be published in "The

66. Ibid.

67. The Kokstad Advertiser of 12/3/1886.

Kokstad Advertiser" in March 1886. The content of the letter was:-

"I hear that the Bhacas have been armed by the Government and also hear that they want to cross the Umzimvubu river to come and attack the Mpondo on their grounds, but if that is true, that river is the boundary between the Mpondo and the government."⁶⁸

Mdlangaso stated that the Bhacas had crossed the boundary five times and they were preparing to cross it for the sixth time. Mdlangaso wanted to know if the boundary was to be recognised by the Bhacas. He wanted to know why the Mpondo should not cross this boundary if the Bhacas crossed it. Mdlangaso stated that the boundary was made for the government by Faku. Before the land was occupied by the Bhacas, it belonged to Faku and Faku gave it over to the government. Now the Bhacas had broken the Treaty made by Faku and the government, by crossing and attacking the Mpondo on their own grounds. Mdlangaso pointed out that if the government had no authority over the Bhacas, it would be better for it to return the land occupied by them to its original master, that is, the Paramount chief of the Mpondo.

68. Ibid.

Mdlangaso blamed the colonial government for arming the Bhacas and the Xesibes, and encouraging them to fight the Mpondo. He stated categorically that "so long as the Bhacas and the Xesibes know they are assured of government protection, so long will they continue their border raids until someday the kokstad people will be surprised to have breakfast with the Mpondo army."⁶⁹

Moreover, Mdlangaso insisted on the recognition by the Cape Government of Mqikela's rights over Port St. Johns, and the restoration to the Mpondo chief of the Xesibe country and the control of its people. The Mpondo raids continued on the Xesibe borders. Sometime in 1886, A.B. Sampson, the missionary at Palmerton sent a verbal message to Mqikela, requiring to see him and his councillors. His visit was to bring a message from the government informing the Mpondo that their raids on Nota had strained relations between them and the government and that the government learned that Mdlangaso had assembled a large army on the border for the invasion of the Xesibe country.⁷⁰ Sampson stated that the government desired to inform the chief that any such invasion by a Mpondo armed force would be looked upon as an open declaration of war against the colony. The government

69. The Kokstad Advertiser of 3/4/1886.

70. Ibid.

wanted to sign a new treaty with the Mpondo. Should the Mpondo agree, the government would be ready to discuss the question of compensation for the recent Bhaca raids. It would also disarm the Xesibes and the Bhacas in future. If the Mpondo refuse, the government would decline to either disarm or restrain the Bhacas or Xesibes.

Since hostilities seemed to be worst on the Bhaca-Mpondo border, Stanford, said that the Bhacas explained in no uncertain terms that they were content to be obedient to the orders if the government would find a way to recover their property when stolen, but they were determined to no longer endure the injustices of the Mpondo chiefs.⁷¹ Chief Makaula added that the Bhacas did not come under the Colonial rule for fear of the Mpondo, against whom they had always successfully fought, notwithstanding numerical inferiority. Stanford believed that Mqikela was by no means an encourager of thieves himself, but owing to his ill-health and natural weakness of character, his subordinate chiefs did much as they pleased and the consequence was the unsatisfactory state of border affairs.

71. W.E. Stanford reporting to The Kokostad Advertiser on 20/7/1886.

Chief Mdlangaso was willing to respond to the request by Sampson for a proposed meeting. He wanted that shepstone, Griffith and Irvine should be invited. He wanted to bring to their notice the following complaints:- The raids of the Bhacas into Mpondoland on repeated occasions without any provocation of the Mpondo side, their killing the people and burning their homes, when there was nothing to justify this. The Xesibes followed the Bhacas, making repeated raids into Mpondoland, killing, looting and also burning homesteads on the Xesibe-Mpondo border.⁷²

After a long period of quiscence, hostilities again commenced upon the Mpondo borders between the Mpondo, Bhacas and Xesibes. The Bhacas engaged in following up a spoor of some lost or stolen cattle in August 1886, and whilst at Mnceba, they were fired upon by the Mpondo, and one Bhaca warrior was killed. The Bhacas reinforced and entered Mpondoland, burnt a number of Mpondo homesteads. When the Mpondo were retaliating they burnt a number of the Xesibe homesteads.

At long last a meeting with the Mpondo councillors succeeded in October 1886. Mqikela was represented by chief Mdlangaso and Stanford, the chief magistrate

72. Ibid. on 27/7/1886.

addressed the meeting. Stanford stated that the aim of the meeting was to settle the border matters. He remarked that the Mpondo first invaded the Xesibes inspite of the notice they received, amassed a great force to invade a government territory. Year after year property had been stolen by the Mpondo and the government could not get redress. These raids began in Captain Blyth's period and continued up to Stanford's time. Stanford proposed that the border question should be settled as well as free port and free road through Mpondoland.⁷³

Another meeting was held in December 1886 in which chief Mqikela was present and he made a sworn statement before the government deligation about the question of Port St John's and the Rode Valley. He declared that he:-

"the said Mqikela for himself, his heirs and successors and on behalf of a Mpondo nation, hereby undertook to properly control the border of his territory in the neighbourhood of Mount Ayliff and Mount Frere, to suppress stock or other thefts by following up the spoor, capturing thieves and punishing them according to the Mpondo law, restoring stolen stock, to make compensation to owners and further engaged to hand over to the colonial government all thieves, other criminals and suspects who may take refuge in Eastern

73. Stanford to The Kokstad Advertiser in October 1886.

Mpondoland, and undertook generally to promote the interests of justice and order."⁷⁴

Owing to the existing complications between the Hlubi headman, Nota, and the Mpondo resident in the Rode portion of his territory, Mqikela ceded the territory to the colonial government for the payment by the government of a sum of ~~£~~600 to Mqikela, his heirs and successors.⁷⁵ After the agreements arrived at in this meeting, the Bhacas and the Xesibes were disarmed. These decisions were taken without consultation of the Bhacas and the Xesibes.

Immediately after this meeting Stanford convened a meeting in Mount Frere with the Bhacas in which he explained that peace had been established with the Mpondo. He further announced that the Cape Mounted Riflemen were to be stationed on the border, all cases of theft were to be reported to the nearest station. The war-cry would have to cease. The rifles and ammunition which were given to the Bhacas for self defence were to be returned to the magistrate's office. Stanford said the Mpondo had exerted themselves to support the wishes of the government.

74. The Kokstad Advertiser on 9/12/1886.

75. Ibid.

When Stanford gave a chance for questions, Sixandu, a brother to chief Makaula, was the first speaker. He seemed more anxious about the stolen property than the peace that was settled. This man spoke feelingly, as he was a personal loser. He thought that the Bhacas and the Mpondo ought to have met and heard what they had to say about the continued thefts. His final remark was, they, the Bhacas were weeping over their property.⁷⁶ Chief Makaula said that there was nothing left for him to say, the government had settled matters with the Mpondo in their absence, yet the Bhacas were to be satisfied as they were government children. This step clearly shows that the British government had no confidence in the Africans and that they did not allow them to make their own decisions. The peace terms arrived at between the government officials and the Mpondo were just imposed upon the Bhacas and they could not introduce changes since they were government subjects.

Sometime in 1888, Chief Makaula received a message from Mdlangaso requesting him to come over to the Rode to meet him and to arrange about the punishment to be meted out to those of the Mpondo and the Bhaca people caught

76. Ibid.

stealing from each other. The meeting was held but it was strictly a secret one, the two chiefs meeting alone. It was arranged that any Mpondo stealing from a Bhaca, on conviction should be put to death, and any Bhaca found in Mpondoland, stealing was to be dealt with in the same manner.⁷⁷

When Sigcau succeeded his father in 1888, the Bhacas and the Mpondo were on friendly terms. The cases of theft did occur, but they did not warrant a war between the two nations.

77. The Kokstad Advertiser on 22/17/1888.

CHAPTER 8MAKAULA AND SOCIAL CHANGES(a) Christianity

Christianity amongst the Bhacas can be traced as far back as the mid 1830's when Ncapayi, being inspired by Wesleyan Mission work among the Mpondo, applied for a missionary to come and spread the Gospel among his people. This did not die with him, because mission work continued after 1844 in Shawbury, Mamjucu, Ncapayi's widow being a staunch member of the Wesleyan Mission Church.

After the Bhacas moved in the direction of Mount Frere, in 1858, the Osborn Mission Station was started under R.B. Hulley, a catechist. A new Chapel was established at Tshungwana and then Christian church was well attended. The work of christianity was further extended by the immigration of a number of the Mfengu in the late 1850's who wanted to reside among the Bhacas on the Umzimvubu, Tshungwana and Mtshazi locations, and the services were attended by a considerable number of the

surrounding population.¹ In 1864 the number of congregants at Osborn Mission Station was 243, 21 were on trial, 21 were infants and 19 adult were baptised.

At the commencement of the year 1865, the Tshungwana Station was separated from Shawbury and it constituted the head of a new circuit.² However, the station was still exposed to the constant wars between the chiefdoms.

In 1865 Reverend C. White started his mission work at Osborn. It was during his time that the first brick church was completed. He did all the carpenter's work himself. Reverend White "was the first minister of rare simplicity and purity of character."³ The opening of the church was followed by a remarkable revival, in which a number of the Bhaca young men were converted who afterwards largely assisted Reverend White in preaching the Gospel to their own people. Mamjucu, Makaula's mother, did a lot to help the missionaries to establish the mission stations of Shawbury and Osborn. It was

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1. James, Archbell to the Superintendent - Wesleyan Missionary Reports of 1855. p. 52.
 2. James Archbell to Superintendent - Wesleyan Missionary Reports in 1865 page 124.
 3. Cingo, W.D. Ibali lamaMpondo, lamaBhaca, Xesibe namaMpondomise, p. 52.

through her devotion in mission work that the present Hostel of Osborn Senior Secondary School was named after her married name of Noniko.

Chief Makaula assumed chieftainship and, although he had not yet embraced christianity, he had a respect for missionaries. Since he once trained at Clarkebury and grew to adulthood in a mission environment, he often sought advice from Reverend C. White and did not, therefore, hinder the spread of christianity. The missionary Reverend C. White was to have another role to play. Chief Makaula's second son was very delicate at birth and weakness resulting from illness was regarded as an omen of bad luck at the "Great Place," and armies would never be sent out to fight while there was sickness at the Great Place.⁴

Makaula first consulted his own witchdoctor to cure the child and when this step proved a failure, the boy's grandmother, Mamjucu, suggested that the baby be given to the missionary. Chief Makaula handed the baby over to Reverend C. White saying, "Here is a thing that I

4. Jean Coulter, to the Daily Dispatch on 27/11/1987 "traces the roots of the Bhaca people and their colourful contribution to the history of the country".

have brought you. If it lives, it is yours. If dies, bury it."⁵

The baby was adopted by the Whites and he was brought up in their household speaking English only. He became known as Albert Makaula-White. Albert Makaula-White became the first highly educated Bhaca who took on various positions such as interpreter at Idutywa, chief Constable at Libode and also worked for Cecil John Rhodes.⁶ Before coming to South Africa in 1892, he studied at Richmond College in England. In 1901, when the Duke and Duchess of York visited South Africa, Albert accompanied his father, Makaula to Cape Town and acted as his interpreter.

In 1871 most of the Bhacas were driven from their homes and many of their homesteads were burnt during the Griqua-Bhaca war. This event proved to be a setback for christianity in the circuit.⁷ Young men had suffered much, several who had run away, had forsaken the way of Lord. People were scattered by the war of 1871 and the services were discontinued. However, after the war,

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Reverend C. White to Superintendent - Wesleyan Missionary Records of 1871. p. 81.

services were resumed at Maqubu's location and the attendances were very good. In Ludidi's location preaching was resumed among the Hlubi's but there was marked poor attendance. In Peyana's location services were resumed and the attendance was fairly good.⁸

The tactic of the missionaries was to threaten the chiefs to throw away their customs and serve God, threatening that if they failed to do so their villages would become desolate. In many of the heathen Bhaca locations the people would not go near the services, for fear they would be converted. When a woman wanted to repent it was very common that the husband would simply take a stick and beat her. Because of the persecution going on in some Bhaca villages, several young men and women had been compelled to give up coming to the services. The greatest hindrance to the progress of christianity among the heathens originated from their customs such as praying to the spirits of the dead, beer-drinking and so on.⁹

The establishment of a mission station in a purely heathen country was like a "new state" civil and

8. Ibid. p. 82.

9. Reverend C. White to Superintendent - Wesleyan Missionary Records of 1879. p.99.

religious. A large grant of land was secured from the chief, with treaty stipulations, that while the Mission Station was his, the missionary being answerable to him for the good conduct of the people in this new community, the chief was not to interfere with the internal government of the mission people.¹⁰ A mission was designed to be a model of christian government, embodying Gospel preaching, schools for education, mechanical industries, in short it was a miniature christian nation for the government of which a heathen chief had no qualification. The mission station was a sanctuary to which all persecuted people, under suspicion of witchcraft and so on might flee, and be safe, while they remained there. The missionary necessarily became the chief of the mission people. He was a minister, a magistrate, a superintendent of the schools, the master mechanic and the patron in general of all the arts of civilization."¹¹

The nature of the mission stations as a state within a state and the status of the missionary as a ruler independent of the chief caused hostility to missionaries in many Xhosa-speaking areas. The tension

10. Reverend C. White to Superintendent - Wesleyan Missionary Notices of February 1867. p. 41.

11. Ibid.

between the Xhosa under Hintsa, and the Reverend John Ayliff is a good example of this.¹² Among the Bhacas, however, the missionaries were well accepted, and no such tensions occurred in chief Makaula's area.

Although chief Makaula was keen that the Bhacas should be converted, christianity seemed to be concentrated around the mission stations only. Drunkenness was a remarkable feature, christians were to be sober at all times. Most christians had signed the total abstinence pledge from liquor, and they were noted for the orderliness of their conduct. Most of the Bhacas and the Hlubis could not easily accept christianity if it meant the forfeiture of their drinking habits.

In 1876 Reverend C. White requested the assistant magistrate, J.H. Garner, to convene a meeting of all principal men. The attendance was good. In this meeting Garner urged the people to discontinue beer-drinks, especially in the neighbourhood of the mission stations. The second complaint was the use of "dagga" and that those addicted to it were to give it up entirely or they were to be severely punished by the

12. Peires, J. The House of Phalo, (Johannesburg, 1981), p. 76.

magistrate.¹³ The principal men appeared to take great interest in the whole proceedings.

An unfortunate point for Reverend C. White was that he had to preach the Gospel among the people who deeply believed in customs like intonjane, ukulobola, witchcraft, superstitions, inheritance and so on. Most of these customs were opposed to all advancement in European civilization, and were utterly at variance with the spirit of the missionaries.¹⁴ The Bhacas believed that their lives and well-being depended on the due performance of their customs. If one had to dispose or neglect one's customs, one would lose status and would be avoided by one's friends and neighbours as a suspicious character who could be suspected of witchcraft, so the customs and the rites connected with them could be termed as the religion of the Bhacas which was at variance with Reverend White's christianity.

Despite all odds, Reverend White had managed to have about 251 church members, 80 members on trial and 32

13. C.M.K. 1/81 J.H. Garner to Captain Blyth on 2/11/1876.

14. Maclean, C.B. Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. p. 109.

baptised adults and 45 infants in 1876.¹⁵ Reverend White convinced the christians to abstain from drinking beer, ijiki. Abstinance from sorghum beer was regarded by the Bhacas as a sign of christian character. Reverend White used to climb a hillock facing Tshungwana location and stand there looking at the location if there were no drinking parties near the mission grounds. The hillock later on assumed the name Bhekijiki (look for homes with beer-drinking).¹⁶

Apart from beer-drinking, there were other factors retarding the progress of christianity. All people who could afford it, were polygamists. a man could have as many as three or up to six wives. If a man wanted to be converted, the missionary had to marry him to one wife according to the christian rites before he could become a member of the church. Usually a man chose the youngest wife. This choice always caused trouble over the property, followed by litigation which often ruined the whole family.¹⁷ It sometimes happened that a converted woman declined to live with her heathen husband and law suits followed for the restoration of

15. (G. 16-76) Reverend Charles Whites to E.B. Gladwin on 10/1/1876 pp. 35 - 36.

16. Cingo, W.D. Ibali lamaMpondo, p. 52.

17. C.M.K. 1/138 W.P. Leary to Chief Magistrate on 28/1/1900.

dowry paid for her involving both her husband and her own family in ruin.

The conversion of some of the Bhacas to christianity led to domestic problems as wives refused to fulfil their traditional functions, where these clashed with christianity. It is significant that Makaula was quite prepared to employ the force of law in upholding christianity. In fact, on one occasion he clashed with Captain Whindus, the magistrate. Mafina's wife ran away from her husband because he ordered her to make beer for him. Captain Whindus decided the case in favour of the husband. The woman then returned to her husband who again ordered her to make beer.¹⁸ The wife then ran to chief Makaula's place and the husband followed her. Chief Makaula wanted to go with the couple to the magistrate and hear if he would encourage the woman to make beer - thus hindering christianity.¹⁹ Mafina said that if the chief wanted to accompany them, he would not go.

Some days later the chief was told by the chief constable that the woman had been ordered by Captain

18. C.M.K 1/138 Chief Makaula to Chief Magistrate on 14/7/1884.

19. Ibid.

Whindus to make a little beer for her husband, but not a great quantity. The chief was surprised at hearing that because the wife said she had been taught differently by God.²⁰ The magistrate admitted having given this instruction, but with a purpose of stopping domestic misunderstanding.

In his report on the matter Captain Whindus stated that Mafina and his wife were Bhacas, and married according to Bhaca law, and were both heathens at the time of their marriage.²¹ The wife subsequently became a christian and as a matter of conscience she considered it wrong to make beer, while the husband in accordance with the law under which he was married, considered that making beer was part of the duties of his wife and moreover that under this law he was justified in chastising his wife, should she refuse or neglect to perform any duty in accordance with the custom devolved upon her.²² Whindus, infact, did punish Mafina for the assault on his wife and he also pointed out to her that as a good wife, she should try and please her husband in all reasonable matters. It was at this point that he

20. Ibid.

21. C.M.K. 1/191 Captain Whindus to the Chief Magistrate on 4/4/1884.

22. Ibid.

remarked that he saw no harm in a wife making a little beer for her husband.²³

However, christians maintained that there was nothing which so much retarded the spread of the Gospel and the advancement of the people as the constant gatherings for beer-drinking, where most of the cases of assault took place. Whindus stated that he would be glad to see a law promulgated which would make these beer-gatherings punishable, but since no law had yet been passed, he had no power to prevent the making or the drinking of beer.

Despite these problems christianity was spreading rapidly. Sometimes in 1883 chief Makaula embraced christianity and he had regular services held at his Great Place.²⁴ This gave an improvement in christianity among the Bhacas. Moreover, the missionary had received great help from some of the European inhabitants, and much good work had been done by two earnest and devoted Black ministers, Reverend M. Pamla and Reverend W. Sigenu, the Mfengu. Captain Whindus related in 1883 that the people living in the vicinity of Osborn Mission Station were more christianised than others and that

23. Ibid. on 7/4/1884.

24. (G. 8-83) J.D.N. Simpson to Secretary for Native Affairs on 22/12/1882. p. 244.

there was little crime among them. It was further reported that heathen customs were fast losing their hold. "Intojane" for example, where a lot of drunkenness took place was done away with, among the christian converts.²⁵

To mark progress in christianity the new Wesleyan Chapel at the Osborn Mission Station was opened for public worship in March 1884.²⁶ Nearly all the Europeans of the district assembled. The opening service and dedicatory prayer were conducted by Reverend W. Segenu, the Mfengu minister from Rode. The sermon was preached by Reverend C. White.

Much enthusiasm was elicited and notwithstanding the low price of prizes, the value of contributions exceeded ~~£~~400. Chief Makaula intimated at the close of the proceedings that he would relieve the missionary of the burden arising from the yet unpaid expenses.²⁷

Some of the headmen were fast moving away from darknees. A mention has to be made about Mnyamana, a Hlubi

25. (G. 3-84) E.J. Whindus to Secretary for Native Affairs on 31/12/1883. p. 175.

26. The Kokstad Advertiser of 23/3/1884.

27. Ibid.

headman, and a lack of considerable enlightenment, according to Captain Whindus, who completed a substantial stone building in 1888, roofed with galvanised iron, the cost of which he paid himself.²⁸ It was intended that the place in question should serve a double-purpose - on Sundays divine services were to be held in it, and on week-days it was to be used as a school room.

The locations under Nomsheketshe had always been regarded as the stronghold of national conservatism. Through the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, a new church was built at Mpoza, one of Nomsheketshe's locations. On the day of the official opening, the people contributed £30-0^s towards defraying the costs, leaving the debt of £8 which could easily be cleared off. The erection of this church might be regarded as a hopeful sign of progress.²⁹

To further the aims of christianity, the Reverend J.H. Soga, of the Presbyterian church, had with a very short space of time, by his consistent perseverance, erected a spacious and suitable place of worship at the Lugangeni

28. [G. 3-89] W.G. Cumming to Secretary for Native Affairs on 2/1/1889. p. 50.

29. The Kokstad Advertiser on 14/2/1894.

Great Place, where chief Makaula was then living, in 1895, where on a few years back it was but a howling wilderness. The mission was given the name Mbonda. At its official opening in 1895, a sum of £40 was collected to finish off the debt. Chief Makaula sent a fine ox together with a monetary subscription. During this occasion a few small amounts were collected for the partial recovery of the chief, and praying for his perfect restoration to health. A letter enclosing a cheque was received from Reverend William Sigenu, a Wesleyan Missionary at Ntlabeni towards the opening of Mbonda mission, expressing sympathy with the movement and regretting his inability to be present.³⁰ The area of Reverend Soga's mission work embraced Mount Frere, upper and lower Mkemane, Mandileni, Ncome and even reaching to Matatiele itself.

In 1896 it was the official opening of the Wesleyan Church at Mandileni. Reverend Sigenu, assisted by Reverend Keswa from Qumbu, ably conducted the services. The school children from Mount White (Ntlabeni) and Mandileni sang choral music during the day. The list of subscribers included chief Makaula, and his son, Huku,

30. The Kokstad Advertiser on 24/4/1895.

the Headman of Mandileni location and Reverend J.H. Soga of the Mbonde Presbyterian church.³¹

Another memorable event was successfully carried on in 1897 by the opening of a new church at Mount White, known perhaps by some as Ntlabeni. This stronghold lies in the valley not far from the Kinira river and within easy distance of Mount Frere. A sum of £232.12s.3d was paid before the proceedings of the opening day. Reverend W. Sigenu received a sum of £113.6s.3d from his own congregants. Chief Makaula performed the ceremony and the devine service was conducted by Reverend James Mjela. An open air meeting was held which was attended by some hundreds of people where donations in specie and cattle were collected. There were present the Reverends W. Segenu, C. Pamla, I. Mjela, Mr. Makobotlhwana, Mr and Mrs Loure and Mr Wilson. The letters of sympathy in the work and of regrets at inability to attend were received from all qaurters including handsome gifts.

Since there were different denominations in Mount Frere, one would expect a sense of ill-feeling between the different churches. This feeling was not noticeable because the Reverends of these churches worked jointly and with co-operation especially in occasions like the

31. Ibid. on 5/11/1896.

official opening of a church. The Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Roman and the Wesleyan denominations were all making earnest efforts to establish christianity. But the Wesleyans, having been first in the field, were in a position to show more numerous and more tangible results of their operations.³²

The beginning of the year 1903 saw a great advancement in christianity. The sessions of the Clarkbury Native Synod were held at Osborn, in Mount Frere district. Chief Makaula was introduced to the synod by Reverend W. Mears, the Superintendent of the Osborn Circuit of which the chief was a member. Makaula, who appeared to be rather feeble, gave a very interesting address, in the course of which he narrated the introduction of the Gospel among his own people in his father's time.³³ He concluded by making references to the relation of the chief and the people to the missionary, and the influence of the missionary and the christian people upon the policy of the chief and the nation.

The closing remarks from Reverend W. Mears were that the church goers were still saddened to learn that there

32. [G. 12-87] W.E. Cumming to Secretary for Native Affairs on 31/12/1887. p. 70.

33. The Kokstad Advertiser on 30/1/1903.

were still fights continuing amongst the pagans in the near proximity of the mission station. This was to be greatly regretted that the people should be killing each other in a nation so privileged as the Bhacas. Despite this prevalence of heathenism, however, it is clear that by this time christianity had become deeply implanted among the Bhacas, so that it was no longer dependent on missionaries but self-supporting and self-sustaining.

b: Education

When Reverend C. White started his mission work at Osborn in 1864, he opened two schools but there was no government aid. In the late 1860's, a sewing school for girls was opened at Osborn and it commenced with about 30 girls. Chief Makaula showed interest in education and through his encouragement many Bhacas were desirous to have more schools. Meanwhile, White was busy increasing the out-stations of the mission. For congregants to be able to read the catechism, schools were to be introduced. In 1876 there were four schools with 313 pupils.³⁴ Because many Bhacas did not see the need for education, many pupils could hardly go beyond standard 2 level.

34. [G. 12-77] I.H. Garner to Secretary for Native Affairs on 28/12/1877. p. 31.

It seemed quite evident that every headman needed a school in his locality. The only problem was that teachers were scarce and that those who made themselves available required larger salaries than people could afford.³⁵ George Pamla, a Hlubi and ex-student of Healdtown became the principal of Osborn and he recommended the erection of new buildings to replace the dilapidated one.³⁶ According to Reverend White the greater barrier to establishing schools lay in the difficulty of obtaining qualified teachers, but he hoped that they might be able to procure more, with government help.

When the Secretary for Native Affairs visited Mount Frere district in 1878, he remarked that the government wished to see the Bhacas advance in the path of civilization. He said that formerly the Bhacas were wild and violent, people went about naked, but then they had changed their habits and nearly everyone had clothes.³⁷

35. Ibid. p. 31.

36. [G 33-79] J.H. Garner to Secretary for Native Affairs on 24/1/1879. p. 60.

37. [G. 43 - 79] Brownlee to Chief Makaula on 21/10/1878. p. 56.

In 1880 there were 5 more schools in the district. Chief Makaula made a grant of £20 per annum towards the payment of the two headmasters, £10 for each, one to be at his Great Place and the other at his mother's.³⁸ This amount was probably drawn from the chief's salary. The magistrate reported that the work of education suffered much through lack of good teachers on which account, several of the schools in the district had to be closed.

Posts were advertised for teachers but the great distance of these schools from the colony made suitable men fail to come to them.³⁹ In consequence of this problem, a good number of the youth of both sexes, were reported by magistrate Cumming to have been sent out to the institutions like Lovedale, Healdtown and Buntingville, to be trained as teachers or mechanics. Several of those formerly employed as under-teachers also went to receive better education.⁴⁰

Another indication of the dire need for education by the Bhacas was noted in the sale of elementary Xhosa

38. [G. 13 - 80] J.H. Garner to the Secretary for Native Affairs no date. p. 106.

39. C.M.K. 1/88 W.G. Cumming to Chief Magistrate on 12/12/1882.

40. Ibid.

language books in neighbourhoods where no schools existed.⁴¹

By 1887 progress was seen in education. About six schools in the district were receiving a government grant and five were supported by the people. The magistrate's report was that people living in the neighbourhood of the schools were more exposed to civilizing influences than those living farther away. The chief set up schools in each of his Great Places and encouraged not only his own children but also all living at the neighbouring homesteads within easy distance to attend.⁴² Cumming also reported that Shushu, a Hlubi headman of Toleni location, had opened a school in his location and there was every prospect that it would be well attended. In addition to the foregoing there were thirteen other schools in the district by 1888, all of which were partly supported by the Bhacas.⁴³

It had always been chief Makaula's earnest interest to promote education and European-style civilization among

41. [G. 3 - 84] E.J. Whindus to Secretary for Native Affairs on 31/12/1883. p. 175.

42. [G. 12 - 87] W.G. Cumming to Secretary for Native Affairs 31/12/1887. p. 70.

43. [G. 3 - 89] W.G. Cumming to Secretary for Native Affairs on 2/1/1889. p. 50.

the rising generations of the Bhaca nation. His intention, as reported by the magistrate was to have a school established in each location in the district. The most serious obstacle to the attainment of his aim was the reluctance of the people to contribute enough for the education of their children.⁴⁴ To meet this difficulty, chief Makaula suggested that a law should be passed by the government making it compulsory on each householder to pay a sum of one shilling annually. He further suggested that this amount should be paid to the magistrate when the hut-tax was being collected, and that it should form an educational fund which should be placed under the control of a board of management, consisting of the magistrate, the missionary and himself.⁴⁵ The suggestion was good but there is no indication whether it actually materialized.

W.G. Cumming pointed out that through Makaula's influence, the people of the district were desirous of starting an industrial school like the Lovedale and Blythswood institutions. But this scheme was found to be too ambitious and rather beyond their means. This problem led to a meeting which was convened by chief

44. [G. 4 - 91] W.G. Cumming to W.E. Stanford. C.M. on 3/1/1891. p. 49.

45. Ibid. p. 50.

Makaula in January 1890. The people present were W.E. Stanford, chief magistrate, W.G. Cumming, R.M. Mount Frere, I.P. Cumming, R.M. Tsolo, Chief Makaula, Chief Makaula's councillors and the Bhacas.⁴⁶

The chief magistrate in his opening remarks said that he was responding to an invitation by chief Makaula. The object of the meeting was to arrange for the establishment of an Industrial School. Many people were becoming aware that their customs were things of the past, and that a new order of things had commenced. Chief Makaula was called upon to state what he proposed should be done. He stressed the need for an industrial school. There was some discussion and disagreement concerning the site, but all agreed on the necessity of the institution itself, and promised every support. Some people asked the chief magistrate if the school was to be for the Bhacas only. It was stressed by the chief magistrate that it was to be a school for the territory, and the Resident Magistrates and chiefs of various districts were to form a sub-committee for the purpose of collecting subscriptions for the said fund. The school was, therefore, established at Osborn. The success of this plan could be seen from the fact that

46. The Kokstad Advertiser on 4/1/1890.

Osborn used to take students from other districts until schools were established in these too.

Cumming reported that the Bhacas were socially neither better nor worse than other Blacks for the Transkeian territory in 1884. Their chief, Makaula, had adopted civilized European habits. Both in his dress and mode of living he was like a respectable European. His people appeared to be in a transitional state. If put in comparison with the Mpondo, or Gcalekas, or Thembus, Cumming believed that, they could still be called models of honesty.⁴⁷ They showed more regard for the truth than any other nationalities, although he did notice a want of cleanliness. Although the Bhacas lacked architecture, they built square houses with three or four rooms which tended towards moral improvement.

(c) Witchcraft

Despite the evident advance of European religion and education in Mount Frere district, there were areas of Bhaca life in which African habits of thought remained unshaken. The Bhacas just like any other chiefdom, believed in witchcraft. Scully the magistrate reported

47. [G. 2 - 85] W.G. Cumming to Secretary for Native Affairs on 24/12/1884. p. 176.

that the belief in witchcraft was so deeply rooted in the minds of the Bhacas that it would take years to eradicate it.⁴⁸ Even enlightened people believed that disease or misfortune might be brought up on them at the pleasure of evilly disposed individuals.⁴⁹ It was rather impossible if not difficult to make people forget about their superstitious notions. A person would generally listen politely to all arguments advanced and would admit their force but would remain as firmly convinced as ever that his belief has strong foundation of facts.⁵⁰ Witchcraft was certainly a great factor in the social life of the Bhacas. The "smelling out" of witches had been the practice in cases of death or any other misfortunes. Whenever a person became suddenly unpopular and was subjected to petty persecution at the hands of his neighbours, it might be safely concluded that he had been smelt-out. A suspect would have his hut sometimes mysteriously burnt down or he generally saw it advisable to leave the neighbourhood.⁵¹ This take us back to 1878 in one case of witchcraft in which a father had his son put to death, believing that he was

48. C.M.K. 1/138 W.C. Scully to the Chief Magistrate in December 1894.

49. [G. 4 - 93] W.G. Cumming to W.. Stanford on 3/1/1893.

50. Ibid. pp. 92 - 93.

51. Ibid. pp. 90-93.

the sole cause of an agonising disease from which he was for a long time suffering. Two young men instructed to kill him were each given 5 years imprisonment with hard labour and fifty lashes. All the property belonging to the father was confiscated by the magistrate and he received 25 lashes.⁵² In 1887 a Penal Code was put into full force with intent to punish those who pretended to practise the 'black-art' or who charged others with doing so, and this must have reduced the number of witchcraft accusations.

(d) Lobola

The custom of paying dowry lobola for a daughter before marriage, was greatly loved by the Bhacas. It carried even more weight when it came to the question of a daughter of a chief. Once a dowry was paid the cattle could not be refunded, even if separation had taken place before the marriage, as this was regarded as the lowering of the status of the princess.⁵³ But this important custom was interfered with by the advent of British rule in the Mount Frere district. This is clearly seen in the following story:-

52. [G. 33 - 79] J.H. Garner to the Colonial Secretary on 24/1/1879. p. 59.

53. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 68.

Ndarala wanted to marry Mantajana, a daughter of the late chief Mduyana. He paid 41 head of cattle to Nomsheketshe-Mantanjana did not want to go to Ndarala as a wife. He therefore, wanted the return of his lobola. Nomsheketshe referred the matter to his uncle, Makaula. He ruled that "no cattle that had been paid for the great daughter of Mduyana were to be returned, and no dowry paid for the daughter of a Bhaca chief was to be returned."⁵⁴ Chief Makaula's decision was final because he was not yet under the government at that time. Another point of interest was that when chief Makaula was taken by the government it was categorically stated that it would never interfere in decisions made prior to subjection to its rule.

In the later years Ndarala appealed to the magistrate, J.H, Garner. Mantanjana was called upon to testify. In her statement she said that she never liked Ndarala. She accepted to be taken to him hoping that she might be induced to love him, but she never did.⁵⁵ For the same reason she slept with him for two nights but could not allow him to have connexion with her. She, therefore, decided to go back to her home. Garner undermined the

54. C.M.K. 1/81 J.H. Garner to Chief Magistrate on 19/3/1877.

55. Ibid.

decision made by chief Makaula as he disapproved of the custom which he indicated should be abolished. He stated that all men were equal in the eyes of the British law, whether chief or subject.

The decision by the magistrate and other events that followed regarding the payment of Lobola led to sharp criticism of the custom and a few westernised people seemed to gradually despise it. The custom tended very much to lower the moral tone of the nation according to the British point of view.⁵⁶ The father and son threw covetous eyes towards the lobola at the expense of the daughter. Magistrate J.S. Simpson trusted that the time was not far distant when the Bhacas would voluntarily forego some of their old customs, and work hand in hand with the government for the good of all.⁵⁷

Simpson hoped that the Cape Parliament would see its way to prohibiting this nefarious practice of lobola. Seemingly the agreement of 1876 with chief Makaula was violated and his powers as a Bhaca chief were undermined.

56. C.M.K. 1/88 J.S. Simpson to Chief Magistrate on December 1882.

57. Ibid.

However, the British authorities did not take the final step of abolishing "lobola", and magistrate W.P. Leary actually commented on its positive aspects. He remarked that the passing of dowry, ikazi, was tending in the direction of protecting rather than enslaving the women. The custom continued to be practised, notwithstanding the refusal of the courts in the Colony to entertain dowry cases.⁵⁸ Even christianised Blacks, who had once given up the custom, began to return to it, having found, they said, their daughters married without lobola were often not well treated by their husbands. From the African women's point of view, the payment of cattle imparted dignity and propriety to marriage.

Between the years 1898 and 1902, the magistrate reported 81 cases in which the Black husbands sued for the return of wives or lobola. The percentage of cases in which the husbands were successful in getting such orders was 80,24%. There were 51 cases in which the wives brought action against their husbands for assault.⁵⁹ This statistics clearly shows the importance of lobola at the beginning of the 20th Century.

58. [G. 12 - 1904] W.P. Leary to W.E. Stanford C.M. Umtata on 14/01/1904. p. 79.

59. C.M.K. 3/131 W.P. Leary to Chief Magistrate on 14/2/1903.

(e) Circumcision

One custom that often caused friction between magistrate and Black nations was the question of circumcision. Among the Bhacas, however, this problem did not arise. We last hear of its practice among the Bhacas in 1842 when Mdutyana, son of Sonyangwe, came of age and he had to circumcise.⁶⁰ This was, however, unusual because as related in Chapter two during the reign of Madzikane, a group of about one hundred initiates were in the initiation school, and their hut ibhuma was mysteriously burnt by unknown enemies.⁶¹ During the same period, Tshaka of the Zulus stopped circumcision among the Zulus, and Faku did so too among the Mpondo. This probably had an influence on the Bhacas to stop the custom.

The Mpondomise village within Mount Frere district did continue with the custom.⁶² But with this exception, from thence on a young man would simply go into the mines or industrial areas, and on his return he could automatically be accorded a status of manhood especially

60. Whiteside, J. History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p. 220.

61. Makaula, D.Z. UMadzikane. p. 63.

62. C.M.K. 1/81 J.H. Garner to Captain Blyths on 9/11/1876.

after marriage. According to Chief Makaula, the custom was done away with before the government took over the country, and had since not been practised. At a meeting that was held at Mount Frere with magistrate W.P. Leary in 1895, it was unanimously decided to put a stop to circumcision. The chief stated that certain Hlubi and other Mfengu, who had come into the district, had attempted to revive the custom. At first they had done it so secretly, but then that they had begun to circumcise openly, he felt that it was necessary to ask the government to punish them.⁶³ In support of chief Makaula, the magistrate stated that in the colony "abakhwetha dances" were prohibited and incidentally Makaula wanted to strike at the sort of evil in making the operation itself a punishable offence.⁶⁴ The magistrate stressed that Makaula's request was reasonable and a proclamation was to be introduced to make it illegal to circumcise in the Mount Frere district, but this did not actually take effect.

(f) Beer-drinks

63. C.M.K. 1/138 W.P. Leary to Chief Magistrate on 31/12/1895.

64. Ibid.

It had always been customary among the Bhacas to make beer for the people of the location to drink. Beer could also be made to mark occasions like, intonjane, wedding, ingcubhe festival and so on. The officials of the British government had always thought that the Bhacas were too violent and that crime was very rife amongst them. J.H. Garner reported that a few fights and quarels took place at the beer-drinkings but there were no aggravating instances.⁶⁵

The missionaries arranged with Chief Makaula and his headmen that beer-gatherings should be prohibited on sundays as this habit was regarded as a cause of affrays. According to W.G. Cumming's report of 1885 cases of theft and breaches of the peace were commonly arising out of beer-drinks and they were also seen as a result of idleness and lack of occupation.⁶⁶ By the end of 1884, the rate of stock theft was very high and W.C. Scully attributed this to constant consumption of brandy which had a tendency to impoverish the Bhacas, and created a want which had to be satisfied at all costs

65. [G. 17 - 78] J.H. Garner to Chief Magistrate on 31/12/1877. p. 74.

66. [G. 3 - 89] W.G. Cumming to Colonial Secretary on 2/1/1889. p. 51.

and risks.⁶⁷ In 1902 cases of theft and violence decreased and the assumption was that there had been a shortage of grain during this period to make beer. I wonder if this decrease would not have been the influence of the civilizing and christianising methods of the missionaries. Moreover, it appeared that the government officials, the magistrate in particular, had an impression that the Bhacas were lawless marauders who could commit crime as they pleased. But it is no exaggeration that the Bhacas wanted to live peacefully with the exception of a few cases. Moreover one must take into consideration the fact that the magistrates were not conversant with the living habits of the Bhacas and the tendency was to exaggerate what has been reported to them by either a chief or headman. The Bhacas were probably fond of fighting but not in the manner in which they were reported to be, and not without cause. The decrease in all sorts of crime could probably be attributed to the loyal and peaceful attitude of the Bhaca chief, Makaula, who seemed to cut off some of the Bhaca activities where crime sometimes took place.

67. C.M.K. 1/138 W.C. Scully to Chief magistrate in December 1894.

CHAPTER 9CONCLUSION

Chief Makaula got paralysis in the early 1890s and he consequently died on the 28th of September 1906.¹ Makaula's death caused suspicion to some people that trouble could take place between Mngcisana, his son, and Rolobile, the son of Nontsheketshe, by virtue of seniority. The prompt action of the government in recognising Mngcisana as chief of the nation, in succession to his father, nipped any movement that might have been contemplated, in the bud.²

The death of Makaula marks the end of an era in the political history of the Bhacas, the era of independent rule. This era will always be associated with the names of three great chiefs - Madzikane, Ncapayi and Makaula.

It was Madzikane who created the Bhaca Nation by welding the amaZelemu and the amaWushe into a strong fighting unit. He led it from Natal to the present district of Mount Frere although he again left and died

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1. [G. 36 - 1907] W.P. Leary to Chief Magistrate on 2/4/1907. p. 90.
 2. Ibid.

at Engcobo. After his tragic death, Sonyangwe took the Bhacas back to Mpoza.

It was Ncapayi, who saved the Bhacas from possible disintegration after the death of Madzikane. He engaged his warriors in a series of wars and he gathered a lot of cattle as a booty from the defeated nations and this estranged him with the Natal Voortekkers, and this led to the 1840 incident in which the Bhacas were mercilessly crushed.³ Ncapayi opted for British assistance and at the same time he applied for a missionary who later on started the Shawbury Mission station.

After the death of Ncapayi, his successor, Makaula negotiated the transition from independence to colonial rule. The immediate cause for the acceptance of British rule was the pressure exerted by the Griquas over the Bhacas especially in 1871 and the influence of the missionaries who saw nothing better than accepting annexation by the British government. At first British protection seemed advantageous as it brought help against the enemies but it was later revealed that Makaula's powers had been stripped away.

3. Wright, J.B. Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg. 1840 - 1870. p.40.

The Colonial government however, succeeded in removing a dangerous focus of opposition to its rule. Though chief Makaula was said to be a loyal chief, it had been the intention of the Cape government to transfer power from one ruling group to another. The corner stone of the government's policy, especially under Sir George Grey, was to break the power of the chiefs and to destroy the tribal systems.⁴ Grey had to implement his policy through the missionaries. These were given financial support by the government to increase their missionary work and to establish mission schools.⁵ Reverend C. White gave higher education to a portion of the Bhaca youths, under chief Makaula, to raise them up to be an educated class. There evolved a class of privileged and educated Bhacas who carried out mission work among their own people.

Chief Makaula's sources of revenue were removed. Licence fees and control over traders were taken over by the magistrates who were government officials. Concessions were disallowed and the right to control access to major natural resources, such as minerals and

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4. Saunders, C.C. Annexation. p. 25. See also Majeke, N. The Role of the Missionaries in conquest. p. 25.
 5. Majeke, N. The Role of Missionaries in conquest. (Johannesburg, 1952), p. 68.

forests, were removed.⁶ Chief Makaula could no longer import ammunition as he pleased and liquor was prohibited amongst the Bhacas.

The headmen were also given allowances and this was probably intended by the government to create a wedge of misunderstanding between a chief and the headman. This was apparently evident between chief Makaula and Headman Mnyamana, who seemingly was appointed by a magistrate.

Chief Makaula virtually lost his powers and his chieftainship. The government officials adopted the policy that customs that were directly inimical to civilized government should be disallowed.⁷

On the one hand, there had been an increase in christianity and education because of the acceptance of colonial rule, on the other, many Bhaca customs still remained which indicates that mission work among the Bhacas cannot be regarded as a complete success.

6. Beinart, W. The political economy of Pondoland 1860 to 1930. p. 35.

7. Ibid. p.39.

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