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THE TRIBES
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Eastern Cape

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INTRODUCTION

1. Boundaries

1 The boundaries of the Mount Frere district were first defined in 1872 by the Griffith-Ayliff-Grant Commission, the definition being embodied in Cape Proclamation No. 57 of 1891, later amended by Proclamation 200 of 1924 dated 12/8/24. Location No. 25, Umzimvubu, in the north-east of the district and predominantly Hlubi, was originally in the Matatiele district but was attached to Mount Frere for administrative purposes in 1912.

2. Extent

2 Mount Frere district, as defined above, now covers an area of 684 square miles (206,827. 92 morgen). The whole area is Native reserve with the exception of the Trust farm Essek (804 morgen 113 sq. rds), the Seventh Day Adventist Mission farm at Cancele (1,085 morgen 106 sq. rds) and four privately-owned Native farms with an area totalling about 3,016 morgen.

3. Control

3 The district has been under the control of a Resident Magistrate since 1887 when provision was made in Cape Proclamation No. 112, dated 17/9/1897, issued under the provisions of the Transkeian Annexation Act, No. 38 of 1877, for the establishment of magistrate's courts in the districts of East Griqualand. No. 1 of the regulations promulgated under the above Proclamation was repealed by Cape Proclamation 54 of 1891, dated 11/2/91. The district is at present under the jurisdiction of a Senior Grade Native Commissioner who is also a magistrate.

4 For purposes of election to the local district council, Mount Frere district is divided into four electoral areas each electing one member to the council while two members are nominated by the Governor-General on the advice of the magistrate (see paragraph 121).

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4. Communications

5 The main road to Durban skirts the eastern section of the district and passes through Mount Frere village, crossing into Mount Ayliff district at Umzimvubu Bridge. A good provincial secondary road branches from the National Road a few miles north of the village and strikes north to Cedarville, giving access to the northern part of the district, while the Buffalo Nek - Liyengweni road opens up locations lying to the west. 141.7 miles of feeder road, often very rough owing to the broken nature of the country, are maintained by the local district council. Practically all areas are served by native buses running a daily bus service to Mount Frere and operated by Griquas.

6 There is no railway, the nearest railheads being Umtata, Kokstad and Cedarville, but buses of the South African Railways Motor Transport Service operate daily between Umtata and Kokstad.

5. Geography

7 Mount Frere is one of a block of districts which includes Tsolo, Qumbu, Mount Ayliff, Mount Fletcher, Umzimkulu, Matatiele and Mount Currie (Kokstad) and forms the territory of East Griqualand. It is bounded on the south by the Thina River and on the east by the Umzimvubu while it shares its northern boundary with Matatiele. The north-western border impinges on the district of Mount Fletcher.

8 Situated between 3,000 and 6,000 feet above sea level and only about 45 miles from the coast, it enjoys a moist climate (see rainfall normals below) and the whole district is well watered by numerous streams, many perennial, that flow into the three main rivers, Umzimvubu, Thina and Kinira. The district is bisected by the latter river, running north to south and flowing into the Umzimvubu at Nophoyi, the scene of a victory over the Mpondo, well remembered by the Bhaca tribes in the district.

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9 The country is extremely broken and possesses much scenic beauty., e. g. the Buffalo Nek pass and the Mtshazi valley. The homesteads of the people are concentrated on the sides of hills, along the tops of the escarpments and in the river valleys, often separated by steep slopes from the fields and gardens. Vegetation varies from the grass-covered hills of the uplands to the karoo-type thorn scrub of the river valleys and the rather barren country in the rain-shadow of the Mgano and Lady Kok ranges where aloe and eu,horbia dominate the landscape. The district is fairly well forested with indigenous trees. 5,939 morgen is demarcated forest area of which 3,068 morgen is wooded, the largest forests being Amanzamnyama, Tshatsheni, Putsana, Ilbuli and Colwana Plantation. Forests in the district are under the control of a forester and three forestry foremen (European) and six armed forest guards. Only wood which can be broken by hand or picked up may be removed from the forests, which consist mainly of yellowwood and stinkwood.

10 The main mountain ranges which affect vegetation and climate are the Intsizwe to the northeast and the Mgano - Lady Kok - Liyengweni system forming a great curve to the west.

11 No minerals are at present mined in the district but low-grade coal occurs in the Mgano mountains where a few shafts have been sunk.

12 The following figures taken from the publication "Rainfall Normals" of the Meteorological Office, Department of Irrigation, (1939) show the monthly distribution of rain (in inches) at a few important stations (up to 1935).

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8 RAINFALL

No. of rain station	4176	4183A	4184	4188	4189
Altitude in feet	4,000		5,600		4,200
				3,800	
Period of years to					
1935	17-18	11-13	15-17	16-17	20-23
Oct.	2.60	2.84	3.73	2.02	2.27
Nov.	4.15	4.34	5.60	3.85	3.43
Dec.	5.13	5.39	6.50	4.46	4.08
Jan.	4.83	5.77	6.53	4.55	5.04
Febr.	4.23	4.53	5.50	3.79	3.86
March	5.90	6.24	7.10	4.98	4.64
Apr.	1.81	1.91	1.94	1.20	1.53
May	0.85	0.79	1.13	0.88	0.73
June	0.68	0.71	0.77	0.52	0.57
July	1.20	1.32	1.34	1.12	0.69
Aug.	0.88	0.94	1.08	0.71	0.99
Sept.	1.70	1.78	2.29	1.39	1.18
Annual total	33.96	36.56	43.51	29.47	29.01
Days	71	85	113	80	113

Key to rain station numbers:- 4176: Glen Hope (in the west), 4183A: Tshatsheni (central), 4184: Amanzamnyama (south: forest reserve), 4188: Mount Frere (town), 4189: Mvenyane (east).

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6. Early and present inhabitants

13 The archaeology of the Mount Frere district has not been investigated but it is certain that the area was roamed by nomadic Bushmen bands up to the middle of the 19th century. The district lies in the rock painting area and, according to Archaeological Series No.V, Bureau of Archaeology, rock paintings occur in Mandileni Location, overlooking the Manzebomvu Stream, and at Yates Bush, Mtshazi. There are also painted shelters at Buffalo Nek and Cancele. The present occupiers of the district have no traditions of finding the country occupied by other tribes, in fact what is now the district of Mount Frere appears to have been bare of inhabitants until the 1840's.

14 Today the district is inhabited by two related Bhaca tribes, under the descendants of VI MADZIKANE's two sons, VII SONYANGWanEd VIII NCAPHAYI, who are politically independent of one another. The recency of the split between the two tribes, the similarity in culture, the chaza tribal markings (see par 136) and a common, distinctive dialect, mark the Bhaca off clearly from the surrounding tribes. On the other hand there is bitter rivalry between them on political grounds.

15 The Nomtsheketshe tribe is the senior, but that under the Makhaula chiefs was the first to enter the district and is by far the more numerous. The question of paramountcy, particularly in connection with precedence in the holding of the ingcubhe (first fruits festival) ceremonies, has been the cause celebre of Bhaca politics for decades. When XI MAKHAULA came under the Cape Government in 1876, XIII NOMTSHEKETSHE was still living in Pondoland (Bizana district), whither he had fled from the Griqua authorities, and MAKHAULA made representations to the Cape Government for NOMTSHEKETSHE to be also settled in the area. This was eventually acceded to and NOMTSHEKETSHE and his followers were located in the Mvenyane valley in about 1879.

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16 MAKHAULA still recognized NOMTSHEKETSHE's precedence in ritual matters and there appears to have been no friction. After his death, and that of NOMTSHEKETSHE, however, his son XIV MNGCISANA raised the question of status, styling himself Paramount Chief. This has caused much ill-feeling between the tribes, occasionally resulting in bloodshed. The Nomtsheketshe Bhaca would also like a territorial adjustment to be made, establishing the Kinira River as the boundary between the two tribes. Two locations in the Makhaula area support the Nomtsheketshe claim to the status of premier tribe, viz. Mhlotsheni (No. 1) and Lutshikini (No. 2). The Makhaula chiefs have always been given recognition and civil jurisdiction by the Department of Native Affairs, and this was extended to KHUTSHIWE in 1953. In the circumstances the Department has refused to appoint a Paramount Chief.

17 AmaBhaca is the name used both by the people themselves and by other tribes for them, and is of comparatively recent origin. It is not the name of a tribal founder, as with most Nguni tribal names, but possibly derives from the Zulu verb -bhaca meaning "to hide oneself, take shelter, lie low." According to Bryant (p. 369) the original tribal name was Zelemu, and "Bhaca" was the term given to them by the Zulu after the debacle at Intsizwe Mountain (Aug. 1830, see paragraph 92), when a Zulu punitive expedition was overcome by a snowstorm and routed. The Bhaca themselves do not seem to remember the name Zelemu and Bryant is the only writer who mentions it stating that they and the Wushe were related clans. This is also borne out by Soga who states (p. 435) that the Wushe were of the senior house. When Capt. A. F. Gardiner met chief VIII NCAPHAYI in 1835 ("Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa", 1836, p. 276) he referred to this chief's followers as the Amahoash (amaWushe), and it seems that this was the name taken over by the Bhaca when fleeing from Natal (see below). From about 1830 onward, however, the term Bhaca was applied to them and has gradually superseded the eponymous "Wushe" until today it is the only name known. There is still a Wushe clan in the district.

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7. Chronological table of district events

18

1839 Establishment of first mission among the Bhaca at NCAPHAYI's kraal at the Lutateni (the first Shawbury). Rev. W. H. Garner missionary.

1842 Shawbury moved to present site on the Tsitsa River.

?1840-50 Founding of the Osborn Methodist mission station.

1872 Boundaries of district defined by the Griffith-Ayliff- Grant Commission.

1876 MAKHAULA accepted as British subject.

1876 Sub-inspector John Maclean of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police placed in charge of the district until the appointment of a magistrate.

1876 (May) Magistracy established. Mr.J.H. Garner (Gana), son of early missionary, appointed.

1877 Arrival of the Shaw family and founding of Mount Frere village.
April 1880 W. B. Blenkins appointed magistrate.

1880 Hope's War.

1882 Year of the comet.

Aug. 1882 J. S. Simpson appointed magistrate.

July 1883 E. G. Whindus appointed magistrate.

Sept. 1884 W. G. Cumming (Komeni) appointed magistrate.

1894 Most of the Cape Mounted Rifles moved to Eastern Pondoland.

Nov. 1895 W. P. Leary (Lili) appointed magistrate.

1897 Rinderpest.

1897 Umzimvubu Bridge opened by Mrs Donald McKay.

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1902 Great blizzard. Large number of stock died.
 June 1908 F. E. L. Harries appointed magistrate.
 1910 Reservoir built by the Village Management Board.
 5.12.16 Const. A. Downham murdered at Mandileni - Mangwana's rebellion.
 1.1. 17 H. E. Grant appointed magistrate.
 7.2. 18 G. M. B. Whitfield appointed magistrate.
 25. 6. 23 F. S. Laney appointed magistrate.
 Sept. 1925 D. H. Barry appointed magistrate.

The following is a list of magistrates appointed since that time:-

R. J. MacLeod (Njanyana)	January, 1929
H. G. Scott	1932-1933
F. N. Doran (Dolweni)	January, 1933
E. W. Thomas	June, 1935
G. I. Kenyon (Mafukuzela)	April, 1937
J. P. Cowan (Act.)	1941
H. E. F. White	1942
J. A. Kelly (Zolile)	1st April, 1945

8. Numbers and distribution of the Native population

19 By kind permission of the Director of Census and Statistics the population figures for the district of Mount Frere have been extracted from the returns of the 1951 Census, which are as yet unpublished. The totals for 1951 are lower than those of the 1946 Census, but there is no reason to suspect a real drop. A large number of men is always away at work at the labour centres at any one time and there may have been other factors unfavourable to a complete census-taking. There is no method of estimating the error in the census-taking itself.

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20 Earlier Census figures were:

Year	Males	Females	Urban	Rural	Total Natives	Total (all races)
1921					42,620	43,397
1936	19,069	28,984			48,053	48,480
1946	19,617	30,336	573	49,380	49,953	50,903
1951	19,481	28,958	835	47,604	48,439	49,624

21 One approach to the problem of population estimation is through the use of masculinity ratios. In his "Language Map of South Africa" (Ethnol. Publ. No. 27, 1952, paragraphs 10-12) N.J. van Warmelo has shewn that the masculinity ratio of the Xhosa-speaking people was around 48.4%. Using this ratio it is possible to calculate fairly accurately the population of a district provided the number of females is known, particularly as in the Transkeian Territories females do not leave their home districts much. Labour migration, as opposed to casual visiting outside the area, is practically confined to men. In 1951 the number of females was 28,958, which should therefore represent 51.4% of the total population of the district, viz. 56,120 persons. Subtracting the census figure of 48,439 gives 7,681 males (say between 7,700-8,000 males, 13.6% of total Native population) away from the district at the time of the census.

22

Some statistical information is presented in the following tables;

Table No. 1 Distribution of population

Table No. 2 Synoptical table of population in relation to land and stock

23 The Census was not taken on a tribal basis and estimates of tribal strengths have been made from the figures for sub-enumerator districts. These are given under the relevant sections.

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14 TABLE No.I. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Census of 1951

No.	Area	Tribe	Total	M	F
001	Township and	Mixed urban	794	403	391
002	commonage	do.	41	37	4

Total urban 835 440 395

amaBHACAO F MAKHAULA

No.	Location	Tribe	Total	M	F
800	19 Kinira	Hlubi	1087	489	598
801	20 Ncome	Hlubi	2937	1239	1698
802	17 Ngwetsheni	Bhaca, Hlubi	1456	567	889
803	18 Mandileni	Hlubi 1 Bhaca	2903	1167	1736
804	22 Cancele	Zizi,Mp.mise	1722	704	1018
805	23 Qwidlana	Bhaca	1614	685	929
806	24 Mabobo	Xesibe	1440	536	904
807	35 Mvuzi	Bhaca, Hlubi	2018	812	1206
808	32 Lwandlana	Bhaca/Wushe	1114	447	667
809	33 Dangwana	Hlubi, Bhaca	840	336	504
810	34 Toleni	Hlubi	2420	900	1520
811	29 Mhlangala	Bhaca	717	288	429
812	30 Mpemba	Bhaca	1319	520	799
813	31 Mgxabaxa	Bhaca	628	240	388
814	15 Lubacweni	Bh. Griq.Fing.	1411	578	833
815	27 Mtshazi	Bhaca	905	382	523
816	28 Tshungwana	Fing. Hlu. Bh.	1582	671	911
817	12 Sihlahleni	Bhaca	1297	469	828
818	13 Cabazi	Bhaca	861	337	524
819	14 Mpendle	Bhaca	1784	705	1079
820	16 Ntlabeni	Bhaca, Hlubi	1212	490	722
821	26 Lugangeni	Bhaca	1756	707	1049
822	21 Njijini	Bhaca	498	195	303
823	8 Nkungwini	Bhaca	1556	614	942
824	9 N gungundlovu	Bhaca	1990	755	1235
825	10 Nqumane	Bhaca	786	303	483
826	11 Mekemane	Bhaca	1673	637	1036
832	1 Mhlotsheni	Bhaca	512	208	304
833	2 Lutsp,ikini	Bhaca	307	131	176
834	3 Lutateni	Bhaca	1120	450	670
	TOTAL		41465	16560	24902

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amaBHAKA OF NOMTSHEKETSHE

No.	Location	Tribe	Total	M	F
827	6 Ntsimangweni	Bhaca	676	271	405
828	7 Colana	Bhaca	1026	451	575
829	36 Nomkolokoto	Bhaca	991	378	613
830	5 Siqhingeni	Bhaca 1	400	529	871
835	4 Mpoza	Bhaca	1097	424	673
	TOTAL		5190	2053	3137

OTHERS

831	25 Umzimvubu	Hlubi	894	378	516
836	Miscell.	Mixed	55	48	7
	TOTAL		949	426	523
	Urban		835	440	395
	Rural		47604	18991	28555
	GRAND TOTAL		46439	19481	28958

TABLE No. 2. SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF POPULATION
IN RELATION TO LAND AND STOCK

A Area of Makhaula's tribe

B Area of Nomtsheketshe's tribe

C Whole district, including Loe. 25 and commonage

	A	B	C
Population (estimated), including absentees	48,200	6,100	56,120
Area of territory in morgen	170,828	30,000	206,828
do. in sq. miles	565	99	684
Cattle units	77,659	8,341	86,000
Population per sq. mile	85	61	82
Cattle units per 100 persons	161	137	153
Cattle units per sq. mile	137	84	125
Over- or under-stocking at 3 mgn per cattle unit	37% over	16% under	25% over

Note: The usually accepted carrying capacity of the Transkeian districts is 2.5 mgn per cattle unit of one head of large stock or five of small. The grazing in Mount Frere has however deteriorated in

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some areas, as shown by the rapid spread of the inedible *asterfilifolius* plant, and a carrying capacity of 3 morgen per cattle unit is therefore taken ·h-ere.

9. Farms and agricultural statistics

24 Practically the whole of the Mount Frere district is Native reserve with the exception of the village of N[ount Frere and commonage, the Native Trust farm Essek and five privately-owned farms, to be detailed hereunder.

25 There is only one farm administered by the South African Native Trust, viz. Essek, 804 morgen 106 sq. rds. Originally ceded to the estate of the late William Hulley on Il.4.89 by Chief MAKHAULuAn der Act No.15 of 1887-, and long occupied by his family, it was finally transferred to the Native Trust on 3.2.45. It is divided into 80 arable allotments, occupied by 76 non-resident tenants at a rent of £1 per annum, and grazing land, which also produces thatching grass for sale. The lands are being let as a temporary measure until the Planning Commission, set up under the Rehabilitation scheme, has sub:nitted its recommendations. Until then no kraal sites will be allotted.

26 The farm is situated to the west of the main road about 10 miles south of Mount Frere. It lies in a valley drained by the Nzonga stream and its tributaries and most of the soil is sandy loam. Each :plot is about 5 acres in extent and the difference between the crops grown on them and the adjoining Native cultivation is very striking, yields averaging about 6 bags to the acre as compared with c.3 bags. No grazing is allowed on the stubble - a radical departure from indigenous practice - and crop rotation is being introduced. The property is under the immediate care of a Ns.ti.ve ranger/caretaker.

27 According to the 1950 agricultural Census, 50 morgen of the farm is under crops while at present 150 morgen of the arable area is lying fallow, Grazing and other land make up the additional 604

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morgen. The main crop is maize and 200 bags were produced from 50 acres during the twelve-month period ended 31st August 1950, (this was a bad year owing to drought) but there are also 35 citrus and 207 fruit trees on the farm. The number of cattle is limited to 22 head. An irrigation scheme for Essek is at present still in the planning stage.

28 Native privately-owned farms in the district:

Name of farm	Area	Registered owner.
Dlodlela (granted to MAKHAULA on 12.5.05)	1424 mgn 300 sq.rds	Chief Strachan Wabana Makhaula.
Esaufontein (port. of Dlodlela)	401.9311 mgn	Esau Pama.
Esaufontein (Mnini's) (port. of Dlodlela)	401.1606 mgn	Lydia Mnini.
Mnini (port. of Dlodlela)	688 mgn 245 sq. rds	Harry Mnini.
29	There is one European-owned farm:	
Cancele	1085 mgn 106 sq. rds	7th Day Adventist Mission.

30 Bhaca subsistence economy is based on a combination of agriculture and pastoralism. Both are fundamental but a distinction can be made between the nutritional importance of the former and the ritual and social importance of cattle and goats (see section on traditional beliefs, below). Although the Bhaca were primarily a pastoral people, agriculture is today perhaps their basic occupation from a nutritional standpoint.

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31 The main crops are maize (umbona), sorghum (amabele), beans, various kinds of pumpkin (iselwa, usolontsi\ usenza), marrows (iigalonci) and melons (umxoxozi). Some of the more educated people grow potatoes, cabbages and other vegetables but their number is still very small. In the deeper river valleys a certain amount of tobacco is grown and sold to traders. According to Bryant (p. 377) the only crops grown prior to the coming of the Europeans were uphoko (Eleusine coracana) s pumpkins and gourds. In later years, probably about the beginning of the 19th Century, a variety of short kaffir corn (Sorghum caffrorum) and Jater a type of maize, called ungoye by the Zulu, were introduced.

32 Lands are situated mainly in fertile river valleys, along river banks or in country which has been cleared of bush, and people prefer to have a number of small lands in different localities rather than one large one as there is a greater chance of striking fertile soil and the risk of hail damage is minimized. Fields quite close together can be influenced by very different climatic and ecological conditions.

33 The Bhaca are realizing the importance of fertilizer and an increasing number of people are buying superphosphates from the traders. In fact the Magistrate in his Report for 1949 stated that the demand for fertilizer exceeded the amount available for distribution. The Agricultural Foreman complains, however, that a bag of fertilizer is made to go so far that its effect on fields is not very great. Very little use is made of kraal manure which is universally utilized as fuel.

34 The use of the plough is general and according to the Agricultural Census of 1950 there were 11,871 ploughs, 1,875 harrows, 5,411 cultivators and 3,010 planters in the district. By no means every household owns a plough and there is co-operation between residents in a locality (isigodzi) - usually clansmen - one man supplying oxen, another the yoke, and so on. Contour ploughing, however, is not yet much

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practised. Clearing of the new fields is done just before planting, at the end of winter.

35 Each umti (household), in addition to its fields which are almost invariably situated some distance away with the fields of the other households of the locality, has a garden, usually next to the cattle kraal, where the first planting is done so that the family will have early green mealies. These gardens are often attractively hedged with aloes. Harvested grain is stored in a bell-shaped pit (isisele) in the cattle kraal and the Bhaca im. maintain that they find the musty taste very appetizing. The neighbouring Hlubi, however, dislike the custom and store their grain in large grain baskets. "We bury our dead, not our food". A certain amount of grain is sold to traders and bought back again when supplies in the grain pits are low.

36 Nowadays there is no public ceremony before planting but formerly no one was permitted to begin ploughing before the chief had doctored the seed. On an appointed day the representatives of each household assembled at the great place carrying small baskets (iingcekance) containing seeds of kaffir corn and maize that had been set aside the previous year for planting. The grain was placed in large baskets containing seed from the fields of the great place and previously doctored with special medicines to ensure fertility so that "the seed of the people would get blessing from that of the chief". The iingcekance were then refilled and taken home where the rest of the seed of the umti was mixed with it, receiving blessing in its turn.

37 Harvest, too, was controlled by the great national ceremony of ingcubhe or feast of the first fruits (see section on beliefs, para. 126).

38 Planting is usually begun about September, continuing into November, and by about March the crops are beginning to ripen. Formerly no green food could be eaten until the ingcubhe ceremony had been performed, but after that squash, green mealies,

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imfe (sweet reed) and, at the end of May, beans, become available. The heavy work of hoeing, clearing fields, collecting thatching grass and reaping is usually lightened by the organization of work parties (izitshongo, Xh.amalima) at which the workers are feasted on beer or meat in return.

39 Generally speaking agricultural techniques in the district are still very backward and a fulltime European Agricultural Foreman has only recently been appointed. Up to the present six demonstrators under a Native Assistant Agricultural Officer have been working in the area, each with six locations under his control. The method is to get some progressive owner, interested in improvements, to lend a plot to be worked for two years by scientific methods. Instruction is also given in contour ploughing, winter fallowing, vegetable growing, poultry keeping, use of fertilizer, etc. Ploughing is only 5 to 6 inches deep and the practice of allowing cattle to graze on the stubble is difficult to eradicate.

40 Fortunately there has been a stimulus to improvement from the chiefs. WAJ3.ANMA.A KHAULdAon ated a floating trophy in 1946 for the best yield of maize: the most progressive areas seem to be in the Cancele, Mandileni, Kinira and Ncome locations.

41 The Native Farmer's Association is popular among the more progressive. There are 27 branches for men with 400 members and 31 for women with 483 members in the district. The branches are amalgamated into a District Association under a chairman who is himself a Ehaca. In the year 1948-9 seventeen competitions were held in the maize section for which 239 competitors entered, and nineteen in the vegetable section with 238 entrants.

42 According to the 1949-50 Agricultural Census 45,753 morgen was under cultivation of which 8,775 consisted of gardens. Non-cultivated land~ i.e. that under forests, plantations, grazing, mountains and residential areas totalled 82,506 morgen. The

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census also gave the following details of crops for the period:-

<u>Crop</u>	<u>Yield</u>	<u>Area under crop</u>
Maize	160,364 bags	30,157 morgen
Kaffir corn	22,287 bags	8,748 morgen
Beans	1,752 bags	628 morgen
Wheat	14½ bags (200 lb bgs)	2 morgen
Potatoes	432 pkts (37½ lbs per pkt)	
Vegetables	?	302½ morgen
Tobacco	?	10 morgen
Number of deciduous fruit trees : 38,491		
Number of citrus trees : 749		

43 The district is still overstocked although the cattle population decreased from 65,895 on 1.7.53 to 65,007 on 30.6.54, probably as the result of culling. There are 30 dipping tanks in the area and nine dipping foremen, but no bull camps exist and milk schemes have not yet been introduced. There is one borehole for stock at Tshungwana (T30300), equipped with a windmill in 1953. A considerable number of sheep are also kept especially by the wealthier tribesmen. The following gives the livestock position at 31st August 1950.

Cows and heifers, 1 year and over	29,270
Calves under 1 year	2,517
Bulls, 1 year and over	704
Oxen, all ages	<u>23,349</u>
Total number of cattle and calves	<u>55,830</u>
Mules, all ages	44
Horses, including foals	6,867
Donkeys " "	597
Pigs	12,947
Poultry	88,956
Wooled sheep, including lambs	86,817
Non-wooled sheep	<u>nil</u>
Total number of sheep	<u>86,817</u>

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10. Social

44 As the two tribes in the district are closely related historically and culturally they will be treated together. The main social stratification is that between commoners and members of the royal (Zulu) clan, representatives of which are headmen in 27 out of the 36 locations. Two locations on the north-western (Matatiele) border are predominantly Hlubi and are under Hlubi headmen, while there is a settlement of Xesibe under a Xesibe headman at Maboba, but there does not appear to be any social discrimination against them, or other non-Bhaca elements, on ethnic grounds.

45 The work of the missions in the district has produced a class of 'school people' who have become to a certain extent divorced from full participation in tribal life, being forbidden by the Church to attend pagan festivals and beerdrinks. These school people (amakholwa - believers) are usually the most progressive members of the tribe and their homes show the highest occurrence of articles of European manufacture. Although they are cut off from the normal life of the pagan community, new activities and social groups have arisen to take its place e~g. church services, womens' associations (Manyano) meetings, prayer meetings and concerts. The two groups tend to be endogamous.

46 In point of fact the pagan section of the community is fast disappearing, owing to the almost universal acceptance of Christianity in the district and the large number of schools, and today comprises about 15% of the total population.

47 There is also a growing class of "dressed people" who are neither Christians nor pagans. Many have been to school or to the mines and are more sophisticated, wearing European clothes and mixing

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with both groups. There was until recently some complaint that school people tended to neglect their obligations to the chief and to form a closed set, but today the chiefs are themselves Christian.

48 Birth is attended by a number of customs chief of which are the passing of the child through the medicated smoke of a fire and the slaughtering of a goat called imbeleko as a thanksgiving to the ancestral spirits. The skin is used as a sling for carrying the child.

49 Marriage is characterized by clan exogamy embracing the clans of father, mother and all four grandparents. Although circumcision is not practised by Bhaca there does not seem to be any objection among women of other circumcizing groups resident in the district to marrying Bhaca men. Out of 78 marriages investigated in 1949 nineteen (24%) were between Bhaca men and Hlubi women (the Hlubi circumcize).

50 As with all South-Eastern Bantu, premarital sexual experience (confined to external intercourse) is condoned, but on defloration a beast called inkomo yethuli (beast of the dust), inkomo kanina (beast of the mother) or inkomo yesidwangu is given to the mother of the girl as compensation.

51 Due to mission influence the traditional type of marriage, umtshato webozo, is seldom met with today, most people being married in church. There are two variant forms, the abduction (-thwala) and the elopement (-gcagcisa), the latter appearing to be the traditionally commoner. The newly-married bride (makoti) is distinguished by a headcloth of goatskin or silk bound low over her eyes as a mark of respect (hlonipha) to her parents-in-law.

52 The giving of ikhazi cattle in lobola transactions is still universal. A beast, called isinyaniso (truth) is given as an 'earnest' and the thseleka custom of impounding the wife until further cattle are paid is also observed. Ikhazi may consist

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of cattle or small stock and horses may be included, and money is increasingly forming a part. A set of equivalent values has been developed, e.g. 10 sheep equal 1 head of cattle as does a saddle and bridle. It is seldom that all the ikhazi is paid before marriage. The usual procedure is to pay the isinyaniso (first beast) at the betrothal, then two others at the negotiatory visit of the go-betweens (abayeni) together with the 'opener of the mouth' (imvula'mlomo), or fourth beast. Before the actual ceremony six further beasts should be paid to bring the number up to ten and so 'finish the girl's head' (ukugqiba inhloko yentfombi). This is the ideal and, after marriage, further instalments are paid to a greater or lesser extent. In practice, however, the average total paid appears to be 9-10 head (based on 108 cases).

53 Ikhazi cattle are provided by the father who often uses the cattle obtained on the marriage of a daughter to supply the lobola for a son.

54 As among most Nguni tribes, levirate is practised at the death of the husband, although some women refuse to comply and take a lover. In either case any children born are considered those of the dead man. If a widow returns home to her own people the ikhazi will be returned, less half if there are any children of the marriage.

55 No figures on the incidence of divorce could be obtained but it does not appear to be common. Extra-marital relations, however, aggravated by the absence of a large number of men away at the labour centres, are on the increase.

56 An area is set aside as a graveyard in each location. Formerly all members of a homestead were buried near the cattle kraal. In the past, homesteads were not burnt on the death of the kraalhead, as among the Mpondo, but the intsika or centre-pole of the great hut was renewed. People killed by lightning or drowned are buried at the spot where the tragedy occurred. Today the great majority of

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burials are conducted by the local evangelist and wooden coffins, stocked by the traders, are used.

11. Missions and Education

57 The first mission in the district was established by the Methodist missionary, W.H.Garner, as one of three new Wesleyan stations founded with money donated at the Centenary Celebrations in October, 1839. (The others were Beecham Wood, near the mouth of the Bashee and Imvani, south of Queenstown). Ncaphayi was eager to have a missionary as the following letter from the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, dated Buntingville, November, 1838, reveals. It is quoted by D.Wilson, "Shawbury, the story of a mission" p.4.

58 "As Capai is so urgent in his request for a missionary and has sent so repeatedly to me to know when he is to expect one, I have promised him to forward his request to the Committee.

59 This large tribe of people (the Bacas) are entirely without the means of religious instruction and are in the grossest darkness "without hope and without God in the world" and hundreds are carried yearly into eternity, while they are as ignorant of eternal things as the beasts of the field that perish. They are the most warlike and savage of all the tribes in Kaffraria; and are more dreaded by their neighbours than any other people: indeed, they are so intent on war and plunder that they are seldom quiet for four months together without making their savage attacks on other tribes; in which they are too often successful, plundering all they meet with, murdering the old people and taking the young into captivity. Accumulating large herds of cattle by these horrible means, their conquered and impoverished neighbours go and unite with them, when generally they are well received by Capai, as he is always ambitious to augment his power.

60 Yet under all these circumstances the door is open for the gospel of our Redeemer, and the chief is anxiously waiting to know when and whether

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he can have "a teacher to teach him and his people the great news from heaven". A short time ago, he sent to me in a very formal manner, saying: "For a long time I have asked for a teacher, but to no purpose, all the other chiefs have teachers but I have none."

61 There are no records of this period but it appears that Garner remained with Ncaphayi until 1842 when he moved the mission, called Shawbury, to its present site of the Tsitsa River. The work, temporarily interrupted, was resumed on the establishment of the Osborn Mission at Mtshazi, sometime between 1840 and 1850.

62 Most mission work in the district is still in the hands of the Methodist Church which has at least 63 stations and outstations. After 1850 other churches commenced work, notably the Presbyterian Church of South Africa and the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican). The Presbyterian Church works through its Native branch, the Bantu Presbyterian Church.

63 Statistics of the outstations in the district are as follows (this list is probably not entirely up to date):-

Name of Church	Stations or Outstations
Presbyterian Church of S. Africa	24
Independent Meth. Church of S.A.	2
Salvation Army	4
Moravian Missionary Society	6
Wesleyan Methodist	69
Anglican (C.P.S.A.)	26
S.A. Baptist Missionary Society	1
United Free Church of Scotland	1
Seventh Day Adventist	1
Pilgrim Holiness	1

64 Mount Frere district is well off for schools. In 1949 a new secondary school was opened at Mbonda, bringing the total to three with 235 pupils. There

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are also 82 State-aided primary schools with an enrolment of 11,084, and one industrial school for girls in Mount Frere village, run by the Pilgrim Holiness Mission, with about 50 pupils. In addition to these State-aided schools there are also a number of private schools. The number of teachers employed in the aided schools is 281. In 1952 there were 126 certificated male, 137 female and 4 uncertificated female teachers. In most of the aided schools the School Feeding Scheme is in operation organized through a Central Feeding Committee with headquarters at Kokstad.

65 There is thus one aided school for every 8 sq. miles (cf. Hunter, M. "Reaction to conquest", (1936) p. 174, where it is stated that the comparable Mpondo figure at that time was one school for every 18 sq. miles). The Mount Frere figure does not take into account the number of private schools. Average attendance is approximately 85% of the total enrolment and a very high proportion of children is enrolled at one time or another - the majority, however, not going further than Standard I. It is obvious that this state of affairs has had a far reaching effect on the traditional culture of the Bhaca - one Inspector states that it is the most advanced district educationally in the Transkei - and today practically the whole population is "dressed " and professing Christians.

12. Health

66 The district is served by the Mary Theresa Hospital, run by a Roman Catholic order and providing eight European beds and 70 for natives of which 11 are for T.B. cases. It has an X-ray department and full theatre facilities and is staffed by 4 European doctors and five nurses. In addition there are fifteen to 20 Provincial-trained Native nurses whose certificates are recognized for local purposes only. The hospital is well patronized by the Native population and the number of admissions has more than trebled in the last six years. Patients are also drawn from the surrounding districts of Tabankulu, Mount Ayliff and Qumbu.

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67 The Union Health Department maintains one clinic at Mkemane, about 23 miles from Mount Frere in the north of the district, with a qualified Native nurse. The district surgeon visits it once a week. Seven private clinics, scattered throughout the district, are maintained by private doctors in Mount Frere and visited weekly.

68 As a general rule European doctors and hospital facilities are only resorted to after long consultation with Native herbalists and diviners, but there is a growing realization that maternity and surgical cases should be treated with modern Techniques.

69 Infant mortality is thought to be high but no data are available. The main causes are ignorance and adherence to custom. The weaning stage is particularly dangerous as there are no adequate substitutes for mothers' milk. Diarrhea and enteritis are therefore common. Many children are in a state of malnutrition which lays them open to other diseases such as whooping cough, influenza and pneumonia. One doctor is distributing powdered skim milk through the clinics at 1/- per lb. This is proving very popular and is having a marked effect on childrens' health.

70 Among adults the most prevalent disease is tuberculosis. The climate of the district is moist (being c.40 miles from the sea and c.5,000 ft above sea level, mists are common) and is accordingly bad for asthmatic conditions. Flu, colds and pneumonia are fairly common. The position regarding venereal disease has greatly improved in the last two or three years with the introduction of the new drug PAS necessitating only two injections instead of twelve. Formerly very few natives completed treatment. The infectious period is now limited to 24 hours after injection. Of eye diseases there is a high incidence of cataract but little trachoma. Cancer is rare, usually taking the form of bone sarcoma or primary cirrhosis of the liver. Typhus is endemic. There was an outbreak in 1954 during which nine cases were recorded.

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13. Sources

Informants and sources for the individual tribes are given in section 21 under the relevant tribe. In general the information presented here is based on fieldwork conducted in the district during February 1955, and also on nine months intensive anthropological research in 1949 financed by a grant from the National Council for Social Research. I wish to thank the staff of the Magistrate's office, Mount Frere, for unstinted assistance, particularly Mr. F. A. du Preez.

Literature on the district is extremely meagre. A bibliography of consulted sources is appended.

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THE AMABHACA OF MAKHAULA

1 District:

71 Mount Frere, East Griqualand. The tribe is under the administrative control of the Magistrate, Mount Frere.

2 Name of tribe:

72 AmaBhaca of Makhaula. There are no specified names for the two tribes apart from "Bhaca". For reference I call them after the first chiefs recognized by the Administration. The tribe is No. 12-644 in "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa" by N.J. van Warmelo. The tribe also includes the following non-Bhaca elements:- amaMpondomise, No. 11-500; amaXesibe, No. 12-836; amaHlubi, No. 12-198; amaZizi, No. 12-360 and a mixed population of Mfengu.

3 Chief:

73 STRACHAN WABANA MAKHAULA, installed on 25.11.41 and granted civil jurisdiction on 22.2.45 and criminal jurisdiction on 2.2.51. Residence: Great Place, Lugangeni, P.O. Buffalo Nek. Born in 1918, he attended the Healdtown Mission Institution but left at the end of 1940 without having completed the Junior Certificate examination. He was married by Christian rites to the third daughter of the Xesibe chief Jojo on 21.1.41 and is a member of the Methodist Church. He is literate and has a fair knowledge of English. Isibongo: Zulu.

4 Language:

74 The isiBhaca dialect of Xhosa, characterized by certain sound shifts, notably the substitution of t for z, and called by the Bhaca -thsefula. There are also vocabulary differences between it and Standard Xhosa. With the spread of education there is a strong tendency for isiBhaca to be supplanted by Standard Xhosa.

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5 Land and strength of population:

75 This tribe is the largest in the district and occupies the entire area with the exception of the five locations (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 36) under the control of Acting Chief Khutshiwe Nomtsheketshe, and the independent Location, Umzimvubu, which comes directly under the Magistrate. The strength of the tribe according to the 1951 Census was then 41,465 (probably about 48,200 if absentee males are included, see paragraph 21 and paragraph 23 Table 2) and although junior to the Nomtsheketshe section, is considered the most important administratively. The Great Place at Lugangeni lies about 10 miles to the north-west of Mount Frere village, to the right of the road to Buffalo Nek and below the Mgano range. Apart from the farms mentioned in paragraphs 24-29, all of which lie in the tribal area, the land is Native reserve. The whole area is very mountainous, the basic topographical features being the Mgano-Liyengweni range lying in a great curve to the west and continuing into Maclear district, the huge depression of the Mtshazi valley to the east of Mount Frere, and the broken country falling away to the valleys of the Thina, Umzimvubu and Kinira rivers. The uplands are covered with grass and most of the forests are in this area, while thorn scrub, aloe and euphorbia are features of the stony river valleys. Numerous streams, e.g. the Ntenetyana, Cabazi, Cancele, Mbodleni, Ncome and Qwidlana drain into the three main rivers, making wells unnecessary in most areas. The average annual rainfall is about 36 inches and the country averages 4-6,000 feet above sea-level.

6 Migrations and affinities of tribe:

76 The Bhaoa are comparative new-comers to the Cape, having fled under the great chief MADZIKANE from Natal and Tshaka's armies in about 1820. They crossed the Mkhomanzi River, entered into a temporary alliance with the amaCunu at Cekwane and crossed the Umzimkhulu, raiding the Mpondomise as far south as Tsolo district. MADZIKANE built a kraal near

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Rode, in what is now the Mount Frere district, and from this settlement the Bhaca ravaged the surrounding tribes. Expeditions were sent against Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondomise, Sotho and the scattered tribal groups of the Umzimkhulu area. Sometime between 1830-1834 MADZIKANE was killed, while on a raid, in the Engcobo district by a combined force of Thembu and Qwathi and the tribe came under NCAPHAYI, his second son in the Great House, SONYANGWE, his heir, being dead. For a number of years the Bhaca were tributary to the Mpondo chief, Faku, until the two tribes quarrelled and NCAPHAYI moved into Cweraland (Tabankulu district). In 1844 NCAPHAYI was killed by the Mpondo and the tribe came under MDUTYANA, heir of the great house. MDUTYANA decided to move back to the Umzimkhulu but a large section of the tribe elected to remain in Cweraland under NCAPHAYI's heir, MAKHAULA, and the regent DIKO. The tribe thus split, one section moving to Umzimkhulu while the other remained in Tabankulu, spreading gradually westward to occupy its present territory in Mount Frere. The history of the senior tribe will be described in the next section (the amaBhaca of Nomtsheketshe).

77 This tribe is the largest in the district and the most important administratively. It is not the senior, however, and until the death of MAKHAULA in 1906, recognized the Nomtsheketshe section's precedence in ritual matters. Since then there has been a progressive deterioration in relations between the two tribes leading, occasionally, to faction fighting. Both tribes are independent of one another and have their own chiefs, and, apart from the period spent under Fark's protection, have never been subject to other tribes. The Bhaca are looked upon by neighbouring tribes as experts in the use of medicine and witchcraft and they have always had the reputation of being redoubtable fighters.

78 The Bhaca have no affinities with any of the other Transkeian tribes but there are sections at Ixopo and Bulwer in Natal and a fairly large concentration in the district of Umzimkulu.

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THE AMABHACA OF MAKHAULA

7 Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:

79 I ZULU

II DIDI

III VEBI

IV WABANA

V KALIMESHE

VI MADZIKANE Mqambeli Matomela

VII SONYANGWE VIII NCAPHAYI IX DIKO

X MDUTYANA Thiba XI MAKHAULA

XII XIII NOMTSHE XIV XV NKEVULANE
CIJISIWE KETSHE MNGCISANA

XVI BEKUKUPHIWA XVII ROLOBILE

XVIII NYONGWANA XIX SIKHANDA XX KHUTSHIWE

(in Natal) Ngayibeki XXI WABANA

8 History and genealogies of chiefs:

80 The early history of the tribe is lost in the mists of the past and Bhaca themselves are vague as to tribal origins. Our main sources of information for this period are Bryant and Soga (see bibliography) but they are not always in agreement. It seems that the original home of the Bhaca was in Natal, below the Lebombo Mountains, and this accords well with their thsefula type of speech which greatly resembles Swazi - although no common origin for the two tribes is postulated. IsiBhaca is a thekeza form of Nguni speech but all Bhaca insist on calling it thsefula. Bryant considers that the Bhaca belonged to the group of Natal tribes of distinctive culture called collective]y, Lala, and has this to say of their dress and mode of life while still in Natal (p. 375):- "The dress

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of the Wushe-Zelemu men consisted of a separate covering fore and aft, as with the Zulu-Ngunis; but the sporran and buttock-cover was with them, not prepared of skin (as with the Zulus), but of square patches of supple mat-work, woven of fine grass (after the manner of the small Zulu eating-mats or iziTebe) and strung from around the projecting thigh-bone before and behind. A tiny headring, fashioned after the manner of that of the Zulus, but scarcely larger than a duck's egg - one of which we met with still in use as late as 1889 - was worn by men, sewn onto the hair, and allowed to grow upward with the latter, till it rested on an oval wall of hair four or five inches in height The Zelemu women wore a kilt similar to that of the Zulus, but of dressed sheep-skin (in place of cowhide), or alternatively of the paunch of an ox. Their hair, smeared with red-ochre mixed with grease, was 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 an umYeko..... Hollow, cylindrical neck-rings (called izimBedu, z. imNaka) of copper or brass vrere worn originally as aristocratic decorations by both sexes

81 The history of the Natal period is vague in the extreme and no longer known to informants, tradition moving to surer ground with the exodus under the great chief MADZIKANE. It seems, however, that sometime during the period 1734-1800 the Zelemu (as we shall for convenience call them at this time) moved from the Lebombo and settled in the region of the Mngeni River, Natal.

82. The first five chiefs whom the Bhaca remember were I ZULU, II DIDI, III VEBI, IV WABANA and V KALIMESHE. This does not accord entirely with either Bryant's account (p.372) or that of Soga (p.447). Only in Bryant's genealogy does the name Zelemu appear.

83 Before Tshaka's time the amaWushe were a powerful and numerous tribe of which three sections have been recorded (Soga p.436). One under Mqinambi

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was situated on the Karkloof River, another, under Hlephu, on the upper reaches of the Mngeni and a third, under Nondzaba, on the lower Mngeni. The Zelemu were their immediate neighbours and for a number of years the two tribes lived peaceably together.

84 Peace was short-lived, however. The early 19th Century saw the rise of the Zulu power under Tshaka with its attendant chaos among the tribes of Natal. At first the Zelemu-Wushe were immune from immediate attack owing to the presence of a number of clans lying between them and the Zulu. Chief of these was that of the amaCunu under their chief Macingwane. Inevitably the Cunu came within the reach of Zulu raids and, although they repulsed Tshaka's impis, decided to move south. A number of tribes blocked their way, among them the ZelemuWushe, but the Cunu broke through and passed on to the Umzimkhulu.

85 The removal of the Cunu exposed a bloc of tribes to Zulu attack and there were large-scale movements south. Again the Zelemu-Wushe lay in the path of the fleeing clans and opposed their advance. A confederacy was formed by the Bhele, Funze, Dunge and Ntlangwini which, reinforced by the Gwenyane, succeeded in breaking completely through, practically destroying the Wushe and dismembering the Zelemu in the process (see Soga, p.438 sqq.). To all intents and purposes the Wushe ceased to exist as a separate entity and the remnants were gathered under VI MADZIKANE, son of V KALIMESHE. In the tribal consciousness of present-day Bhaca the statesmanship of MADZIKANE remains the pivotal factor in their history and he is revered as the greatest of the Bhaca chiefs.

86 For some years the Zelemu remained in Natal till the inevitable clash with Tshaka occurred. The Bhaca proudly relate that MADZIKANE had become so powerful that Tshaka became jealous and attacked him. MADZIKANE and his people fled south along the route taken by the other fleeing tribes and Soga

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(p.435) considers this as the time when they received the appellation "Bhaca". (but see paragraph 17.)

87 The fleeing Bhaca kept to the route formerly taken by the Cunu and, after crossing the Mkomanzi, entered into an alliance with Macingwane at Cekwane (Dronkvlei) c.1821. MADZIKANE raided the amaVundle at Ixopo, looted their stock and handed it over to Macingwane. Meanwhile the latter had attacked the amaNtunzela under Marogo at Umzimkulu, but was defeated. MADZIKANE, however, came to his assistance and the combination drove the Ntunzela across the Umzimkulu. During this period the Bhaca appear to have engaged in incessant warfare and Bryant speaks of them as overrunning the Drakensberg and ravaging the Sotho tribes there.

88 About this time, too, Nondzaba (amaWushe? Soga p.447 and paragraph 83) with a section of the tribe crossed the Umzimkulu. higher up and attacked the amaMpondomise at Rode in the Mount Ayliff district, occupying the Mkemane valley and sending to MADZIKANE for assistance. The Bhaca marched over the Nunge and joined Nondzaba, defeating the Mpondomise and capturing their stock. The broken remnants took refuge below the Tsitsa Falls. On his return to the Mkhomanzi MADZIKANE met a reconnoitring Zulu impi which seized his oxen, and learned that Macingwane had been raided by the Zulu at Ntsikeni. Nondzaba was killed by the Mpondomise near Tsolo on the hill that still bears his name (see Brownlee, F. "The Transkeian Native Territories: historical records", p. 118).

89 The Bhaca eventually moved south again and settled between Rode and the Mgano Mountains, in what is now the district of Mount Frere, where MADZIKANE built his Mbondzeni kraal (c.1823). The ensuing period was again one of almost continual raids. We read of expeditions against the Xhosa and Thembu, when MADZIKANE was defeated at the Mgwali River on 20.12.1824 (Bryant p.384); the attack upon the Mpondomise at the Nqadu where MADZIKANE's brothers, Mqambeli and Mqezu were killed; the

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seizing of cattle from the Sotho chief Hluwe; the defeat of Matiwane's amaNgwane and the raiding and looting of various small tribes living in the Umzimkhulu Area.

90 These expeditions were not raids in the true sense of the word but movements of the whole tribe. The Bhaca 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. This was a period of tribe-building which saw the accretion to the original Zelemu-Wushe stock of aliens from the various defeated clans and Tribes.

91 It was during this chaotic period that VII SONYANGWE, son of Madzikane's Great House, was killed by the amaBhele under Mdingi at Rode. It is stated that he was treacherously burnt to death in his kraal during a night attack, while it was surrounded by amaNgwane refugees, a number of whom he had received after they were defeated by Lt-Col. Somerset at Mbholompo near where Umtata now stands. This battle took place on the 28th August, 1828 (van Warmelo, N.J. "History of Matiwane and the amaNgwane Tribe", Ethnol. Publ. No.7 1938 p.6) and would seem to fix the date of SONYANGWE death as 1828 and not 1826 as stated by Bryant (p.385). One account states that Nombewu, the notorious Ntlangwini chief, whose daughter was Great Wife to SONYANGWE, was party to this assassination, but this does not fit in with the list of chiefs' wives (paragraph 152). SONYANGWE's son, X MDUTYANA, was a minor at the time of his father's death.

92 In August, 1830, Tshaka made a final sortie against the Bhaca in order to raid cattle for his armies. The Bhaca learnt of the Zulu approach and the women and children, with the cattle, were sent to the Mgano and Liyengweni ranges above Mandileni and Ncome, while the army was stationed at the Lutateni, between the Kinira and Umzimvubu Rivers. MADZIKANE and VIII NCAPHAYI, of the Right Hand House were in command, SONYANGWE being dead. According to

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Soga, quoting Scully, in the "State" for 1909, the Zulu approached from the direction of Kokstad but to the west of the Intsizwe range, where it turns due west and is called Nunge. Dusk fell with the Zulu still on top of the mountain: they decided to camp for the night and attack at dawn. During the night, however, a snowstorm overtook them and a great number died of exposure, the remnant descending into the Rode valley and retreating north past what is now Sugar Bush and Mount Ayliff. Since then the range has been called Intsizwe (young man) after this debacle.

93 Within a few years MADZIKANwE as dead, killed in Tembuland at the battle of Gqutyini forest by a force of Thembu aided by Qwathi. Dates are difficult to determine but that given by Soga (p. 442), 1836, is almost certainly wrong as Capt. Gardiner visited the Bhaca in 1835 and speaks of Maddegan's (Madzikane) widow receiving him. The tribe was then under Ncaphayi. Bryant's account of MAJZIKANE's death (p. 385) differs from all other sources. Summing up it would seem that the great Bhaca chief died between 1830-4. He left the tribe under his righthand heir, NCAPHAYI, as MDUTYANA was still a minor, and Gardiner describes its condition in the following words (p. 277):-

94 "At present (1835) their whole force is computed at about three thousand fighting men - a small army indeed, when compared with that of some of the neighbouring states: but from the peculiar wariness of their attacks - generally at 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 (Ncaphayi), were their population more numerous, would rival Charka himself in rapine and war. They are frequently receiving accessions from other tribes - already they are spreading themselves more to the north; and it is not improbable that they may eventually rise to be a powerful nation."

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95 The defeat at the hands of the Thembu was severe. One of MADZIKANE's wives, with her children, was seized and women and children were murdered with great brutality, many being mutilated and others having their hands cut off to remove the metal armlets they wore. Gardiner (p.286) saw "two of these unfortunate creatures at Impoza - one deprived of both, the other of one hand."

96 VI MADZIKANE had a number of wives but the names of only a few are still remembered. Both VII SONYANGWE and VIII NCAPHAYI were of the great house, the descendants of the righthand house - the Chitha family - today being headmen in Location 2 (Lutshikini). Dliwakho of the iqadi house, the first to enter under Faku's protection (paragraph 101) finally moved to Natal where his descendants now live in the Donnybrook area.

97 MADZIKANE had the following wives and issue: -

- 1 Mandakeni (righthand house) daughter of Ndakeni, a Councillor.
a Sobila f married and moved to the Colony
b Nobele m died without issue
c Chitha m descendants headmen at Lutshikini
- 2 Mamzamane (great wife) daughter of Bhaca commoner
a VII SONYANGWE m first chief of the Nomtsheketshe section
b VIII NC .. PHAYI m first chief of the Makhaula section
c Vatshile f never married
- 3 ?
a Genyane m descendants today in Ixopo district, Natal
- 4 ?, wife of qadi to the great house
a Dliwakhom m desc. in Donnybrook area
b Songelwa m killed in Tembuland by the Thembu

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- 5 ?
 a Mafinyila m desc. resident in Loc. 10 (Nqumane) but not headmen
- 6 ?
 a Sontsi m desc. headmen at Mhlotsheni (Loc. 1)
- 7 ?
 a Bhekizulu m desc. resident at Mkemane and Lubacweni

8 This wife was seized by the Thembu at the battle at Qqutyini forest, Engoobo district, when MADZIKANE was killed.

98 On the death of MADZIKANE his second son in the great house, VIII NCAPHAYI, was left in sole control of the tribe as the heir, SINYANGWE, had been killed and his son, X MDUTYANA, was still a child of about 8 years of age. Gardiner states (p.285), "Being desirous to see the heir apparent before leaving, Tpai sent for him at my request, when Umtuchani, the hopeful chief, accompanied by his brother, soon appeared. Both are nice lads; the former about eleven or twelve years of age..." (1835). Informants state that MDUTYANA was the illegitimate son of SONYANGWE and that the tribe wanted NCAPHAYI to ngena his brother's wives to raise up an heir to him, but the shrewd NCAPHAYI had his eye on the chieftainship and refused to do so.

99 A notorious freebooter, NCAPHAYI is perhaps the best-known of the Bhaca chiefs. Gardiner describes him in 1835 as follows (p.281). "He was seated before the fire, without a particle of clothing, attended by eight or nine men..... He seemed amused by my asking, as I entered, which was Tpai; but although the light was not favourable to a narrow inspection, it was soon evident that I was in the presence of one of the shrewdest and most desperate characters in this part of Africa. His figure is slight and active, of middle stature; but

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the searching quickness of his eye, 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 is surrounded."

100 NCAPHAYI's first action on becoming chief was to attack the Bhele under Mdingi to revenge SONYANGWE's death. They combined, however, with a large body of fugitive Hlubi under Mehlomakhulu and took the Bhaca by surprise, carrying off their cattle (Bryant p.386). NCAPHAYI thereupon counterattacked both the Bhele and their allies the Ntlangwini under Nombewu, routing them, and Mdingi fled to die ignominiously at Umzimkulu deserted by his followers.

101 After some time NCAPHAYI and his brother Dliwakho; of the qadi to the great house, quarreled. At the annual first fruits festival (ingcubhe) it was the custom that members of the tribe could upbraid the chief with impunity. On this occasion NCAPHAYI took exception to Dliwakho's words and wounded him above the eye with a spear: "that night Dliwakho with a very large section of the tribe went to Pondoland". Fearing to lose the chieftainship, NCAPHAYI followed with the rest of the tribe and was well received b-y the Mpondo chief, Faku, after giving him 100 cattle as tribute. The Bhaca were settled on the Ntafufu, in Lusikisiki district, not far from Faku's great place at Mgazi, and in 1835 NCAPHAYI married one of Faku's daughters. During this period the Bhaca raided the amaMpondomise, the amaGcina under Tyopho and the amaQwathi. The Mpondo-Bhaca alliance also invaded Tembuland on three occasions and, according to Soga (p.444), practically denuded the Thembu country of cattle. Many Thembu immigrated to the districts of Xalanga and Glen Grey - the so-called Emigrant Thembu.

102 The Bhaca and Mpondo soon quarrelled, however. The immediate cause appears to have been a dispute over lobola cattle when a Bhaca youth was rejected by his Mpondo betrothed and killed while trying to

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recover the ikhazi, but this was only the culminating point in a growing tension between the two tribes. As Gardiner comments (p. 270), "The real fact I believe to be, that Tpai could not be induced to unite his forces with those of the .Amapondos; for, notwithstanding the pending family alliance between Faku and him, these people are naturally so jealous of each other, that any 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." Battles were fought at Mkatha and Lusikisiki and the Bhaca retired across the Umzimvubu into what is now Cweraland, between the Thina and Tabankulu Mountain. It was during this period that the notorious "Ncaphayi Affair" occurred with the emigrant Boers (1838-40) when the Bbaca were raided by a commando from Natal and protests were sent to the Natal Republic by the Cape Government. It was while the great place was at Silindini that the Rev. W.H. Garner established the first Shawbury Mission at NCAPHAYI's kraal. NCAPHAYI again attacked Faku in c.1844 and was killed near Mkatha.

103 NCAPHAYI had the following wives and issue.;

- 1 Makbohlisa (righthand house) daughter of Bhaca commoner of the Dzanibe clan
 - a Nokwelapha f ma. Jojo the Xesibe chief
 - b DIKO m regent during the minority of MAKHAULA
 - c Sokhoni m desc. at Lubacweni: not headmen
 - d Gabisane f ma. Nqwiliso, Pondo chief, grandfather of chief Poto
- 2 Nomjucu (great wife) daughter of Ngolo, a Bhaca commoner of Dzanibe clan
 - a Ntemtem f ma. a moSotho
 - b Nogcaya f
 - c Nobolo f died unmarried
 - d MAKHAULA m Chief

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- 3 ? daughter of a Bhaca commoner
 - a Vikwa m descendant at Mkemane: not headmen
 - b Mavi m mentally deranged
- 4 Manombewu daughter of Ntlangwini chief at Umzimkulu
 - a Dabula m descendant headmen at Mpendle (Location 14)
 - b Mpongoma m descendant resident at Sihlahleni (Location 12)
 - c Tshaleza m descendant resident at Mpendle
- 5 Mafaku daughter of Mpondo chief Faku. Placed at Mpoza as SONY ANGWE had died without male issue
 - a Sikeleme m descendant headmen in Mount Ayliff District
 - b ? f married a member of the Ntlangwini tribe in Natal.
- 6 Mamjoli daughter of Nontshatsha, a Bhaca of the Wushe clan
 - a Ndimetsi m descendant headmen at Ntsimangweni (Location 6)
 - b ? f married Sidoyi, chief of the Ntlangwini at Umzimkulu

Note: two further wives had no issue and left after the death of NCAPHAYI.

104 At the time of NCAPHAYI's death MDUTYANA was about 20 years of age and he assumed the chieftainship of the whole tribe which had by now retired from Silindini and occupied Nyegini, Rode and Kinira to the north-west. At the next ingcubhe festival it was announced that the tribe was to remove to the Umzimkhulu. NCAPHAYI's adherents, however, refused to accompany MDUTYANA "as the missionary Garner had said that this was their country; the part that they were going to belonged to Europeans". NCAPHAYI's son XI MAKHAULA was still a child and the tribe was therefore ruled by IX DIKO assisted by NCAPHAYI's remarkable great wife, Mamjucu. The great place was established at Lutateni, in what is now the Mount Frere district. Soga gives the extent of tribal territory at the time as follows:- "Bacaland roughly was the name given to the district

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bounded on the West by the Tina River, and on the East by the Mvenyane east of the Kenira River, and South to North from about the Osborn mission to the Mganu hills. All these points were within the Mount Frere area"

105 DIKO's regency seems to have been comparatively peaceful except for a war with the Mpondo chief Mqikela, according to Soga (p. 315) a wanton act of aggression by the latter which was not favoured by his tribe as a whole. DIKO's great place was at Lutateni and the Bhaca fell back before the advancing Mpondo until they engaged the right wing of the enemy below the Mgano mountains. Tradition relates that a frightened calf charged for home through the Mpondo ranks causing consternation among the superstitious warriors. The young MAKHAULA saw his opportunity and attacked. The Mpondo army broke and fled along the Cunundwana ridge above Mhlotsheni until they reached the ford at Nophoyi (confluence of the Kinira and Umzimvubu) where the congestion was so great that they were massacred by the pursuing Bhaca. The Mpondo still remember this debacle as the Battle of Notinta, after one of their army commanders.

106 On DIKO's relinquishing his regency in favour of MAKHAULA the latter immediately made peace with the Mpondo by paying a thousand head of cattle. The great place continued at Lutateni but MAKHAULA built another kraal for his personal use at Lubacweni, near the village of Mount Frere.

107 In 1872 MAKHAULA made his first application to be taken over as a British subject, and in 1875 the Secretary for Native Affairs for the Cape Colony informed him that the Government was ready to accede to his request. Certain rights had to be surrendered. Every person was to have the right to take suits and complaints direct to the magistrate without let or hindrance, the people were to pay taxes and no person was in future to be put to death for witchcraft, be smelt out or "eaten up". MAKHAULA stated that he was willing to comply with these conditions but, in

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consideration of his having to give up his position as independent chief, wished to have an annual allowance made to him and to certain specified headmen.

108 With the accession of MAKHAULA the Bhaca can be said to have finally settled in their present territory. Location and district boundaries were defined and at last their wanderings were at an end. In the 1880's AMATSHEKETSHE was settled in the five locations occupied by his tribe in the Mvenyane valley and the present political pattern developed (see paragraphs 14-16).

109 MAKHAULA was an enlightened chief but it is said that the father of Mamagayiyana, his great wife, was killed by him for possessing too many cattle and that she left him on this account. This is the explanation as to why there is no iqadi to the Great House. MAKHAULA died in 1906 after having suffered for many years from paralysis.

110 MAKHAULA had twenty-nine wives.
The details of the first six only are remembered:-

- 1 Mamagayiyana (great wife) daughter of a Wushe clan member of Mount Frere District

a XIV MNGCISANA	m successor to MAKHAULA
b Albert	m adopted by the Reverend Mr. White and taken to England
c Nothako	f married Nogoqa, a Bhaca commoner at Mandeleni
- 2 Malukhuzela (righthand house) daughter of a Bhaca Commoner

a Huku	m headman at Mandeleni: grandsons present headmen at Mandeleni and Ngwetsheni
--------	---
- 3 Mabebula, daughter of Bhaca commoner of Wushe clan

a Zibokwana	m grandson today headman at Mvuzi
b ?	m died before marriage
c Mandiza	f great wife of Thembu chief Dalindyabo

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4 Mazunguleza, daughter of Bhaca commoner

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| a Ngane | m son at present teacher at Lugangeni |
| b Samuel | m teacher |
| c Manqenqe | f married at Mpendle, Mount Frere |
| d ? | f married at Cabazi |
| e ? | f died in childbirth |

5 Mamhlontlo, daughter of Matiwane, Mpondomise chief, Qumbu district

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| a Lukilibana | m headman at Umzinto, Mount Ayliff district |
| b Seliyane | m died single |

6 Maboyiya, daughter of Bhaca commoner of Nkungwini

- | | |
|--------|--|
| a Roro | m descendant headmen at Njijini |
| b ? | f mother of headman Le Fleur Photwana, Kinira Location, (Hlubi). |

111 Shortly before his death MAKHAULA had instructed his son MNGCISANA to build a kraal at Lugangeni although he himself continued to reside at his own kraal at Sihlahleni. The former is still the great place of the Makhaula chiefs. During, MNGCISANA's chieftainship the quarrel with XVII ROLOBILE over the paramountcy of the Bhaca became acute, and led to the fighting which resulted in ROLOBILE's suspension (see paragraph 151). The whole question is discussed more fully in the section on the Nomtsheketshe tribe. MNGCISANA reigned for over thirty years and died on 23 May 1936. He was buried at Lugangeni. As the heir, WABANA, was still a minor, MNGCISANA's brother, XV NKEVULANE, of the iqadi house, was installed as regent on 13 March 1937. This office he held until the present chief's succession in 1941.

112 XIV MNGCISANA had over thirty wives: the details of the more important only are given here.

1 Manqwaba daughter of a Bhaca commoner at Ntlabeni

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| a Mziwamandla | m no descendants now survive in district |
|---------------|--|

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b Novingqi f married a Mpondo in Qumbu district

MNGCISANA married Manqwaba against the wishes of his father who wanted him to marry Maqumbelo (2) as great wife. MAKHAULA therefore named the first born son Mziwamandla i.e. "kraal established by force".

2 Maqumbelo (great wife) daughter of a royal Mpondoheadman of the Libode district

- a Mzayifani f married Mziphu Ngqasa, a Xesibe commoner
- b Makhwangini m died about 40 years old
- c Qotshwayo f died unmarried
- d Nomadangwana f married Isaac Sineke, a Hlubi commoner

Note. After the death of Makhwangini the great house recommended that, as Maqumbelo was old and past the age of child-bearing, her "sister" should be married to bear an heir in the great house (ukuvusa amabele - to wake up the breasts). Maqumbelo's paternal uncle's daughter, Malothole, was accordingly married with cattle contributed by the tribe.

3 Malothole, daughter of brother of Qumbelo, also ranked as wife in great house

- a WABANA m b. 1918, present chief
- b Nozidlele f married Mpopheni Qulu, a Bhaca commoner of Lugangeni

4 Mamzamo, member of Mpondo royal house

- a Ntombise f married to a Hlubi in Matatiele district
- b Mabunjwa f died single
- c Mashicilela m desc. resident at Nkungwini (Loc. 8)
- d Fumbatha m headman at Nkungwini

5 Matunyiswa, daughter of Bhaca commoner of Xameni

- a Gawulile m no living descendants
- b Sidlathi m desc. headmen at Cabazi (Loc. 13)
- c Nomagubushe f married commoner of Mpoza
- d Nomahleka f married near Kokstad

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- 6 Maqulu daughter of a Bhaca of Siwela clan
 a Galilifa m desc. at Mtshazi (Loc. 27)
 b Bhengeza m desc. at Xameni; not headmen.

It will be noticed that MNGCISANA did not appoint a wife as right hand wife. He stated that the custom was dangerous as it threatened to split the chieftainship. The present chief WABANA has no heir, children born to his wife dying soon after birth. This poses problems of succession.

9 Regiments and chronological table:

113 As the Bhaca do not have a system of regiments, a short chronology of tribal events is appended for assistance in estimating ages:-

c. 1820	MADZIKANE left Natal
c. 1821	Alliance between Bhaca and Cunu at Dronkvlei
1823	MADZIKANE established Mbondzeni kraal above Mount Frere Bridge
20.12.1824	Battle with Xhosa and Thembu at Mgwali River
c. 1824	MDUTYANA born
?1828	Death of SONYANGWE
1830	Rout of Zulu at Intsizwe
1830-1834	Death of MADZIKANE
1835	NCAPHAYI visited by Captain A. Gardiner.
Aug.	NCAPHAYI married Faku's daughter
1830-1840	The "Ncaphayi Affair" with the Natal Boers
1839	Rev. W.H. Garner establishes first Shawbury at Silindini (Dumsi)
c. 1844	Death of NCAPHAYI
1896	Death of NOMTSHEKETSHE
1906	Death of MAKHAULA
23. 5.1936	Death of MNGCISANA
13. 3 .1937	NKEVULANE installed as regent
25.11.1941	STRACHAN WABANA installed as chief.

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10 Political organization and composition of tribe

114 The district of Mount Frere is divided into 36 wards or locations (iilali) each under a hereditary headman (isibondza). Chief WABANA has control over thirty locations, KHUJTSHIWE five, whilst No. 25 Umzimvubu is independent and falls directly under the magistrate. Certain headmen in this tribe, however, are non-Bhaca e.g. those of the Hlubi locations of Ncome and Kinira in the west of the district and the headmen of the Xesibe location No. 24 Maboba. The two Hlubi locations recognize Wabana as chief but do not send cases to his court, but the Xesibe headman is related to the Makhaula chiefs and does so. There are also two Fingo headmen in the district.

115 At the head of the tribe is the chief (inkosi). He is advised by a family council consisting at the present time (1955) of Albert Dabula, Agrippa Zihle and Maula Makhaula. These advisers (iinduna zakomkhulu) are consulted in important tribal matters and form an inner council. The chief is also assisted by a deputy or isandla senkosi ("hand of the chief") who is the headman of Lugangeni location, at present Mqambeli Makhaula. The isandla is the chief's representative at the Great Place during his absence but does not try cases.

116 Apart from the non-Bhaca groups and two commoner headmen at Qwidlana and Lwandlana, all headmen belong to the royal family and bear the isibongo (clan name) Zulu. In spite of this, the chief appoints, in each Bhaca location, a man who may be a commoner, to be the 'eye of the chief' and keep him informed. As one informant put it, "Some headmen want to become independent". Apparently the 'chief's eye' is not appointed where the chief is certain of the headman's loyalty, e.g. at Ngwetsheni.

117 WABANA has civil and criminal jurisdiction and court is held weekly on Tuesdays. Court officials comprise:

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- a the chief
- b the headman of Lugangeni ('isandla')
- c two senior men of the location who know the laws and customs. They are called abacebisi (councillors) and are, at the present time, Siggongpo Mabumbulu and Makhasonke Makhaula
- d secretary (Caleb Mxothwa) for correspondence, records, summonses, etc.
- e court messenger (umsila wenkosi) - paid 3d a mile from court funds
- f any other interested men of the tribe.

118 When matters concerning the whole tribe are discussed a meeting (imbizo) is called to which all headmen are summoned accompanied by the most prominent of their followers. Formerly the chief was the focus of the great tribal rituals of incubhe, the doctoring of the seed and rainmaking but these are no longer performed.

119 In each location the households (imiti) are concentrated in certain localities (izigodzi), usually on the slopes of a hillside, in a river valley or on the top of an escarpment. Izigodzi are usually occupied by the members of the same clan or lineage, the senior representative of which functions as a sub-headman (isibondzana), responsible to the headman for the welfare and actions of those under him and advisers to him in matters affecting the location. They function as a private council and form the nucleus of his court. In this way the individual family group is linked, through a hierarchy of political officers, with the chief.

120 The chief is paid a salary by Government but he no longer receives the isizi death dues as formerly nor part of the harvest. Food and beer for entertainment purposes are provided by his farm of 1,424 morgen 300 sq. rds (Dlodlela). His fields are worked by members of his family and occasionally a work party (isitshongo) is organized to assist in big tasks such as hoeing and reaping for which the usual beer and meat is provided. In certain cases the chief can call on free labour, but only for

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work in the tribal interest. e.g. all locations sent men to assist in the building of the new secondary school at Mbonda and the girl's hostel at Osborn Mission.

121 The Mount Frere district Council operates independently of the tribal political hierarchy. The district is divided into four electoral areas, each electing one member while two are appointed by the Governor-General. Although headmen offer themselves for election and sometimes bring pressure to bear on their followers to support them, there is a strong tendency to appoint literate men to the Council. The present four elected members are:

Chief WABANAM MAKHAULA
Colbert Pama - a Fingo ex-teacher
Sihala Makhaula - headman
Le Fleur Photwana - Hlubi headman and ex-teacher.

The Council meets every two months under the chairmanship of the Magistrate and an important point is that the chief need not necessarily be a member. The main matters dealt with are the construction of roads, dipping tanks, bridges, the recommendation of Bunga scholarships and trading licences and the employment of Bunga personnel, especially dipping foremen. The estimates for 1955 are:

Revenue - £13,800
Expenditure - £1,126.

11 Social:

122 This topic has been discussed in paragraphs 63-75. Generally speaking the results of contact with European culture are more pronounced in this tribe than in KHUTSHIWE's. An interesting phenomenon is the adoption of circumcision ceremonies under the influence of the nearby Hlubi, especially in locations bordering on Kinira and Ncome and the Matatiele boundary, e.g. Mandileni, Ntlabeni, where there are large Hlubi populations and considerable intermarriage. Although there is some evidence that circumcision was practised formerly it is today no

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longer part of true Bhaca custom. Most girls reaching puberty should, however, go through a special ceremony (umngquzo, umgubo) initiating them into womanhood. Traditionally the ceremony consists of the following elements:- seclusion of the girl for a week, sacrifice of an umhlonyane goat, and ritual washing. A modified form (ipati: Engl. party) is practised by Christians.

12 Beliefs:

123 Although today a great many tribesmen are church members the ancestor cult is still a vital part of daily life, many combining Christian and pagan concepts. The spirits are approached through the sacrifice of cattle and small stock in the cattle kraal and the hanging of entrails at the back of the hut, a place sacred to the spirits (amathongo).

124 The typical Nguni diviner (isangoma), called to his profession by the spirits, plays an important part in social life. The dress of the Bhaca diviner is characteristic. Dressed entirely in white, with a headdress made of a fringe of white beads, all izangoma have the dried gall bladder of a goat: (the dwelling place of the spirit) fixed to the head. Divination by means of bone-throwing is not a Bhaca custom, although it appears to be practised today by a few diviners, and communion with the amathongo is established by means of trances accompanied by dancing.

25 Belief in witchcraft is general and the Bhaca have the reputation, among the surrounding tribes, of being great sorcerers and witches. The administration of loro (caustic soda) as a poison, in particular, is popularly considered a penchant. Herbalists (iinyanga), experts in native medicine but unable to divine, are frequently come across.

126 Formerly in this tribe, and still to a certain extent today, magic is utilized on a tribal scale. The seed was annually doctored by the chief who was also the tribal rainmaker. The protection

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of the tribal lands from lightning was also in the hands of herbalist specially employed by the chief. The most important piece of ritual, however, is the annual first fruits festival (ingcubhe), involving a review and doctoring of the army, the ritual tasting of the first fruits by the chief and his impi and the killing, with the bare hands of a black bull. (For a detailed description of this ceremony see, Hammond-Tooke, W .D. "The function of annual first fruit ceremonies in Baca social structure", *African Studies* 12:2 (1953) p.75-87).

127 There have been no proven cases of ritual murder in the area.

13 Churches and Schools:

128 The main church working in the tribe is the Methodist, followed by the Church of the Province of South Africa. The Seventh Day Adventist's have a mission at Cancele in the south-west of the district. The tribe has many schools (paragraph 64) and the majority of people are professing Christians.

14 Mode of Settlement:

129 This is typically South Nguni, with scattered homesteads (imiti) grouped in localities with the fields some distance away. Homesteads average 3-4 huts, built in a straight line facing a square cattle kraal of brushwood or aloes. The traditional circular cattle kraal with a semi-circle of huts is no longer seen. Most huts have designs in white painted on them.

15 Material culture:

130 Although clay pots, wooden spoons, horn snuffspoons (iintshengula) mats and skin skirts are still met with the number of goods of European manufacture in the district is comparatively high. They include lamps, sewing machines, crockery, furniture, tools, ploughs and other miscellaneous hardware. There is an increasing demand for better quality blankets and dress material. Snuff is

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universally taken, especially by the women, who do not smoke. Tobacco is smoked by the men, however, in European-type pipes.

16 Tribal marks and dress :

131 Practically all Bhaca practise face-incision (chaza) which is performed on children, "to let out the blood of childhood", with a piece of sharpened iron called igcaguba. Cuts are made lengthwise and no special number is necessary, although there should be one between the eyebrows on the bridge of the nose. The face is then smeared with red clay and lard to promote healing. It is thought that if this custom is not performed the ancestral spirits will complain, causing sickness and perhaps death.

132 Although the majority of Bhaca, particularly the men, have adopted European-type clothing, the traditional dress is still met with. Small boys go naked while girls wear a short bead apron. The chief article of clothing of young unmarried girls is a short apron of coloured beads with a bright square of red or yellow cloth bound firmly round the buttocks. Bangles, bead necklaces and chaplets are much favoured and, for more formal occasions, a breast-cloth is tied behind the neck and allowed to hang down in front. The head is clean shaven until betrothal when the hair is allowed to grow in preparation for the married woman's coiffure. Bhaca women wear skirts of dressed goatskin smeared with fat and supported by a leather belt. At home the breasts are left bare but on visits to the store or village a fat-smeared blanket is bound under the armpits and tied in front.

133 The headdress (unyaba) of Bhaca women is distinctive. On engagement the hair is allowed to grow until it stands out in a thick mop and it is then rubbed with a mixture of fat and red ochre and twisted into long strings which hang down in a fringe. A wool-padded headring, smeared with ochre, forms the base, through which the ringlets are pushed and allowed to hang down all round the head,

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those before of the eyes being drawn back with a headcloth (iqhiya). Christian women wear a black headcloth with a dress of blue german print.

17 Cattle and pastoralism:

134 The data in the Introduction (paragraph 43) apply to this tribe, which occupies practically the whole district. Medicines are used to ensure the health of stock. Large herds are still the index of wealth. Because of the rainfall, grazing is generally fair though it has deteriorated, see paragraph 23 Table 2, note. The tribe owns 49,819 head of cattle, 139,200 head of small stock (27,840 cattle units) together 77,659 cattle units. When brought into relation with the grazing this gives a ratio of 137 cattle units per sq. mile, an overstocking of 37%.

18 Agriculture:

135 See paragraphs 24-43. Despite the influence of the church, the use of agricultural magic is widespread. The ingcubhe ceremony, through which reaping was formerly controlled, is today almost obsolete owing to the attitude of chief WABANA.

19 Economics

136 There is the usual picture of heavy labour migration to the urban areas. Comparatively little recruiting, however, is done by traders, unlike in some other Transkeian districts, most recruiting being done direct through the offices of the N.R.C. Migrant labour is an important source of income to the district £34,642 having been remitted home during the year 1948-1949, while it was estimated by the Post Master, Mount Frere, that at least another £200,000 was sent home through the usual postal channels. Most of this is spent in the district. An interesting feature of labour is that the Bhaca are the only tribe who perform, and prefer, sanitary work.

137 The area is covered by a net-work of stores and there is a certain amount of employment locally in Mount Frere village, on Native buses and in government service.

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20 Health:

138 For details see paragraphs 85-91. The government clinic at Mkemane is in the area of this tribe.

139 Specific investigations were carried out in the tribe during February, 1955, but much background material was collected between January and September, 1949, from numerous informants. Field data were gathered mainly at the great place at Lugangeni and from old men. I would like to put on record my indebtedness to Manyawo Monki, imbongi to the late Chief MNGCISANA, and to Albert Dabula, for assistance, particularly in matters genealogical.

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THE AMABHACA OF NOMTSHEKETSHE

1 District:

140 Mount Frere, East Griqualand. The tribe comes under the control of the Magistrate, Mount Frere.

2 Name of tribe:

141 amaBhaca of Nomtsheketshe. The tribe is No. 12-640 in "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa" by N.J. van Warmelo.

3 Chief:

142 Since 15.8.45 KUTSHIWE NOMTSHEKETSHE, younger brother of the late Chief SIKHANDA (died 19 January 1945), has acted as regent during the minority of the latter's son NGAYIBEKI (born September 1929). He was granted civil jurisdiction on 22 October 1953. Great Place: Emhlazi, Mpoza Location. He is a member of the Methodist Church, is illiterate and in dealings with the administration is assisted by a secretary, Hansen Lugongolo, a retired teacher. He cannot speak either official language. Isibongo: Zulu.

4 Language:

143 The isiBhaca dialect of Xhosa. Owing to its comparative remoteness this tribe tends to be more conservative than Chief WABANA's and pure isiBhaca is more widely spoken. Here too, however, standard Xhosa is becoming more general.

5 Land and strength of population:

144 The tribe occupies five locations lying in the valley of the Mvenyane in the north-eastern part of the district, viz. No.4 Mpoza, No.5 Siqhingeni, No.6 Ntsimangweni, No.7 Colana and No.36 Nomkolokoto. The 1951 Census returned a population of 5,190 persons, but if absentees are included (vide paragraph 21) the total is probably around 6,100 persons. The capital at Mpoza is about 20 miles from Mount Frere village. It lies to the east of the Mount Frere-Cedarville road, and is served by a bus company operated by Griquas. The average altitude is about 4,000 feet above sea-level. The

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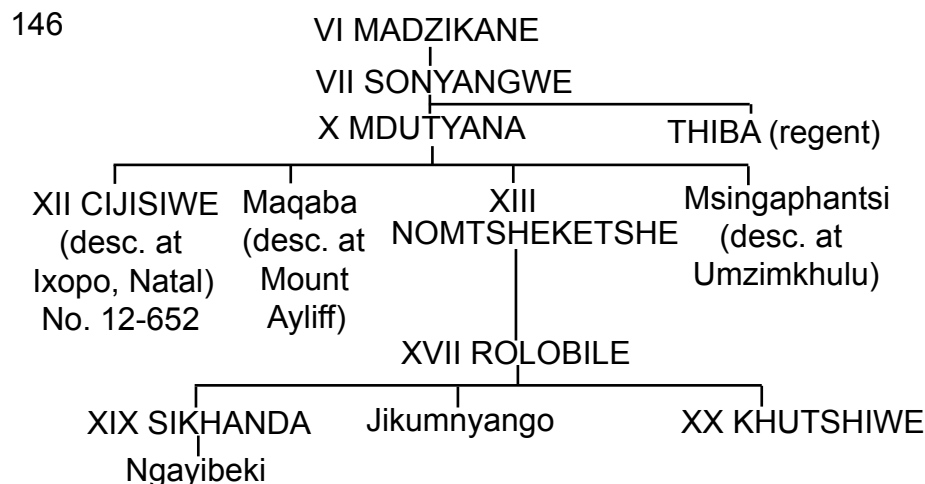
Mvenyane river flows through the tribal area from north to south and is joined by the Mkemane near its confluence with the Umzimvubu. The latter river forms part of the eastern boundary. Other important streams are the Mpoza and Siqhingeni. The eastern boundary of the tribal territory is formed by the precipitous Nunge range, a continuation of the Intsizwe, which cuts off the independent location Umzimvubu No. 25.

6 Migrations and affinities of tribe:

145 It was mentioned in paragraph 104 how MDUTYANA left NCAPHAYI's faction and removed to the Umzimkhulu River leaving the junior section on its own.

There is very little information on the subsequent details of tribal history. After some years at the Umzimkhulu, which at that time formed part of the Griqua state of Adam Kok, the Bhaca fell foul of the Griqua authorities and moved to the Bizana district. Representations were thereupon made by MAKHAULA to the Cape Government and this section was permitted to settle in its present area. It was at first recognized as senior by MAKHAULA but since his death there has been rivalry between the tribes for paramountcy in the district. The senior branch of all the Bhaca tribes is that in Ixopo, under Kumkani, the descendant of XII CIJISIWE.

7 Skeleton genealogy of chiefs:



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8 History and genealogies of chiefs

147 It appears that X MDUTYANA favoured XIII NOMTSHEKETSHE, son of Majozela of the righthand house, as his heir and tried to place him and his mother in the great house. The tribe was opposed to this as there was already an heir in the great house, XII CIJISIWE, son of Mangwadlu. Frustrated in this attempt, MDUTYANA sent the young NOMTSHEKETSHE with a few followers to MAKHAULA for protection.

148 On MDUTYANA's death his younger brother Thiba became regent and brought NOMTSHEKETSHE back to Umzimkhulu. This was an unwise move for no sooner had the two young men reached their majority than they clashed over the chieftainship. A great deal of fighting ensued, and NOMTSHEKETSHE, assisted by Adam Kok's Griquas, emerged victorious. CIJISIWE and his followers left Umzimkhulu and settled in the Ixopo district of Natal where their descendants still are (No. 12-652 in N.J. van Warmelo, "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa").

149 It appears that NOMTSHEKETSHE remained for some time under Griqua control until he fell foul of them. Details are difficult to discover but apparently a woman (his mother?) was cruelly burnt to death for witchcraft and other atrocities committed which so incensed the Griquas that they expelled him. The tribe then moved to Pondoland and settled in the Bizana district.

150 MAKHAULA thereupon made representations to the Cape Government that NOMTSHEKETSHE should be given land in the Mvenyane valley and this was at last acceded to. He was later recognized as a headman. His four sons, Ngqakaqa, Siborolo, Phikwa and Mzobuxoki were appointed headmen over Siqhingeni, Mpoza, Colana and Ntsimangweni respectively. It seems that MAKHAULA, while maintaining his independence, regarded NOMTSHEKETSHE as his senior in ritual matters particularly in the performance of incubhe which was held one day earlier by the latter. NOMTSHEKETSHE and his followers assisted the Government forces during the Mpondomise

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Rebellion of 1880 (Hope's War) and for this his stipend was increased. He was also offered land in the Qumbu district in 1883 by the Vacant Lands Commission, but refused it.

151 A satisfactory *modus vivendi* was reached between MAKHAULA and NOMTSHEKETSHE but their respective heirs, MNGCISANA and ROLOBILE, both claimed paramountcy. Faction fights between the two sections became common and culminated in an attempt in 1913 by ROLOBILE to usurp the chieftainship by force. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment and suspended until 1.5.1919, when he was reinstated with the rank of independent chief over the five Mpoza locations. There are thus two independent Bhaca tribes in the Mount Frere district and the Department has up to now refrained from recognizing either as paramount.

152 VII SONYANGWE had the following wives and issue:-

1 Manonzaza, da. of Bhaca commoner of Luthuli clan

a X MDUTYANA	m chief
b Thiba	m regent for NOMTSHEKETSHE

2 Magawu, da. of Bhaca commoner of Gebashe clan

a Nobecunu	f died young
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Note: SONYANGWE died young, killed at Rode by the amaBhele (see paragraph 91). Some informants state that Manonzaza was not a great wife as the cattle for her lobola was contributed only by the amaWushe clan - this has some relevance to the paramountcy issue.

153 X MDUTAYNA had many wives. Present day informants can only remember the details of the first four:-

1 Mangwadlu, da. of the Bhele royal house, great wife.

a XII CIJISIWE	m chief, settled in Ixopo, Natal (No. 12-652).
b Maqaba	m descendants in Mount Ayliff (No. 12-656).
c Xaxaza	m desc. at Umzimkulu.

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THE AMABHACA OF NOMTSHEKETSHE

2 Majozela, daughter of Bhaca commoner, right hand house

- a XIII NOMTSHEKETSHE m chief
- b Dinabanye f married at Siqhingeni
- c Mtsiwakhe m desc. at Mount Ayliff
- d Notisakhona f married at Mkemane

3 ? qadi to the great house

- a Msingaphantsi m desc. at Umzimkulu
- b Luzulwane m desc. at Umzimkulu
- c Mfazi m desc. at Mount Ayliff
- d Madonela m desc. at Umzimkhulu

4 ?

- a Ndavundavu m descendant at Siqhingeni - not headmen.
- b Mgiqiki m desc. at Siqhingeni - not headmen

MDUTYANA died at the Umzimkhulu.

154 XIII NONTSEKETSHE had five wives. The names of the following are remembered:-

1 Madlephu daughter of a man of the Folo clan

a Nomagolonxa f never married, according to the high lobola demanded for her.

- b ROLOBILE m chief
- c Ngqakaqa m late headman at Siqhingeni
- d Siborolo m late headman of Mpoza - no male issue
- e Madziya m was never headman
- f Nomhenyu f married a Mfengu at Lutateni
- g Sigcau m never headman
- h Nomalisa f married a Hlubi and lived at Mpoza.

2 Mamhlali da. of a Maduna clansman (Sotho)

- a Phikwa m late headman of Colana
- b Nyamandana f

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3 Mamlamla daughter of a Luthuli clansman

a Mzobuxoki	m late headman of Ntsimangweni
b Mangaphi	f
c Nomgqolovane	f
d Nontlama	f

NOMTSHEKETSHE died in 1896.

155 XVII ROLOBILE had the following wives and issue:-

1 Mancavu daughter of a man of the Mjoli clan

a SIKHANDA	m Chief.
b Nomatewu	f married Mantonzima of Mpoza location
c Siphephane	f married Bangapha of the Mzamane clan
d Jikumnyango	m present headman of Mpoza
e Nomanqondweni	f married to a Hlubi and living in Ntsimangweni
f KHUTSHIWE	m Regent Chief.

2 Mamkahla daughter of a Hlubi

a Ngubendzala	m living at Nomkolokoto: he is a deposed headman
b Wilson	m headman at Nomkolokoto
c Nohlakatha	f married a man in the Umzimkhulu district

3 Mampolo daughter of a man of the Nxathina clan
(Zulu?)

a Sabhokhwe	m not a headman
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4 Mamotshela daughter of a man of the Gebashe clan

a Mthethonzima	@ Justice married and on the mines in Johannesburg
b Nothiqumbi	f died
c Kanandana	m married: at the mines

5 Mmkopheni daughter of Dlomo clansman (Hlubi).

a Nondidima	f married Bhaca commoner
b Nogangela	f died
c Nomajuba	f married, living at Lutateni.

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THE AMABHACA OF NOMTSHEKETSHE

ROLOBILE was killed when he fell from a train while on a visit to the Gold Mines in 1925.

156 ROLOBILE's heir XIV SIKHANDA was installed as chief on 1.11.1925. He had the following wives and offspring:-

1 Mamatsha, da. of a Bhaca commoner of Lubacweni

- | | | |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| a | Ngayibeki @ Joel | m heir and still at school |
| b | Nowindi | f attending school |
| c | Siphathele | m at school |
| d | Langalibalele | m at school |
| e | Ntonga | m still young |

2 Manongudle, da. of a Bhaca commoner

- | | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------------------|
| a | Makhosendile | m at school at Ntsimangweni |
| b | Nomfazwe | f at school |

SIKHANDA died on 19.1.45 and was succeeded by his younger brother XX KHUTSHIWE who is acting as regent until Ngayibeki comes of age. KHUTSHIWE is a Christian and has one wife.

9 Regiments:

157 The Bhaca have no system of regiments, nor is circumcision practised. The Hlubi influence mentioned in paragraph 122 is not marked in this tribe.

10 Political organization:

158 This tribe is practically pure Bhaca in composition, i.e. there are no large foreign groups resident in the area. All five location headmen are members of the royal family and there is considerable solidarity among tribesmen. Their common antagonism to the Makhaula tribe is a unifying factor. There is greater conservatism in regard to language and custom and greater importance attached to the ritual attributes of the chief. The ingcubhe is still an important ceremony.

159 The political hierarchy is similar to that described in paragraphs 115-120 with simplification due

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to the smallness of the area. KHUTSHIWE enjoys civil jurisdiction only. As isandla senkosi he has Mongameli Majujulwa, an old man well versed in law and custom, who listens to cases when the chief is away. He belongs to the royal (Zulu) clan. The iinduna zakomkhulu (all commoners) are Hansen Lugongolo (Secretary), Ngobozana, Zachariah Mdonsa and Amos Mjomi. The council of headmen is in effect a family council and all important matters are discussed by it. The chief's messenger (umsila) at present is Sikhumbi Magema. The arrangement of important meetings at the great place is in the hands of the headman of Mpoza.

160 The following are some of the main clans in KHUTSHIWE's tribe with their senior lineage representatives in the area:-

Clan	Head	Location where resident
Chiya	Hokoni	Mpoza
Dzanibe	Godusa	Colana
Zhuqu	Mantshinge	Colana
Folo	Sixandu	Mpoza
Siwela	Sibokosho	Siqhingeni
Mjoli	Maunga	Nomkolokoto
Gebashe	Zephaniah	Colana
Ntola	Mkokhwe	Mount Ayliff

11 Social:

161 This topic has been discussed in paragraphs 44-56. The same pattern obtains although less European influence is apparent.

12 Beliefs:

162 See paragraphs 123-127. Here again the tribe is more conservative.

13 Churches and schools:

163 Owing to inadequate records it was not possible to ascertain the number of mission stations in this tribe. The position is in general similar to that in the Makhaula tribe.

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14 Mode of Settlement.

164 Typically South Nguni. See paragraph 129.

15 Material Culture.

165 See paragraph 130.

16 Tribal marks and dress:

166 This is the same as described in paragraph 131, with a tendency to more conservatism.

17 Cattle and pastoralism:

167 See Introduction paragraph 43. The grazing in the tribal area is generally poor, but there is no overstocking, see paragraph 23 Table 2. There are no boreholes or bull camps. The main cattle types are scrub with crossbred Afrikanders and Frieslands. In 1950 there were:

large stock	6,011,	cattle units	6,011
sheep	5,632		1,126
goats	6,020		<u>1,204</u>
			8,341

Brought into relation to the available grazing, this figure gives 84 cattle units to the square mile, an understocking of 16%.

18 Agriculture

168 See paragraphs 24-42 and 135. The total tribal area covers about 30,000 morgen of which 3,178 morgen are under crops, viz, 1,846 morgen under maize, 788 morgen under kaffir corn and 141 morgen under beans. The tribe owns 507 ploughs, 21 harrows, 126 cultivators and 107 planters. Agricultural techniques are generally backward.

19 Economics:

169 The economic organization cannot be considered separately from that of the Makhaula tribe (see paragraphs 136-137).

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THE AMABHACA OF NOMTSHEKETSHE

20 Health:

170 See paragraphs 66-72. Drinking water is obtained from streams and there is high incidence of tuberculosis and deficiency diseases.

21 Sources:

171 The material presented here was obtained over a long period in 1949 and from investigations carried out at the great place of Acting Chief KHUTSIWE in February, 1955. Informants included headmen Jikumnyango and Wilson as well as the old men of the tribe. In compiling statistical information for both tribes I was assisted by agricultural officials of the Department.

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