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Union of South Africa

Department of Native Affairs

Ethnological Publications No. 35

# The Tribes of Umtata District

by W. D. Hammond-Tooke

Price 3s. 6d.

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTER, PRETORIA
G.P.-S.25819—1956-7—800

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# 1. Boundaries

- Tembuland, of which Umtata forms one district, comprises the territories of Tembuland Proper, Emigrant Tembuland and Bomvanaland and was annexed to the Cape Colony by Proclamation No. 140 of 1885 issued under the provisions of the Tembuland Annexation Act, No. 3 of 1885 (Cape). This Proclamation defines the limits of the constituent territories and lays down general regulations for their administration. The boundaries of the Umtata district itself were finally laid down by proclamation No. 102 of 1906 and the district was subdivided into locations by Government Notice No.314 of 1906 dated 3.3.1906.
- The municipality of Umtata was constituted, subject to the provisions of the Municipal Act of 1882, by Proclamation No.192 of 1882 dated 21.10.1882. Its boundaries were defined by the above Proclamation but were subsequently altered by Proclamations No. 101 of 1883 and No. 391 of 1906. In 1884 the European population of the town, excluding Colonial troops, was 490 persons.

#### 2. Extent

The Umtata district as defined above covers an area of 632 sq. miles. The whole area is Native Reserve with the exception of 46 farms, totalling 14,772 morgen, formerly all European-owned with the exception of Tyalara Farm (4,231 mgn 300 sq. rds) in the south of the district which has always been the property of the Paramount Chief. Sixteen of these farms (6,327 mgn 572 sq. rds) have been acquired by the South African Native Trust for Native settlement and grazing lands and three of these, with a total area of 402 mgn 73 sq. rds, have been resold to Natives.

#### 3. Control

4 Since April 1876 the district has been under the control of a Resident Magistrate, although it was not until 1891, after the annexation of Tembu-

land, that a magistrate's court was formally established by Proclamation No.55 of 1891. Before 1876 the Thembu were still independent of the Cape Government and in February, 1871, E.B. Chalmers was appointed Resident with Ngangelizwe the Thembu chief. He was succeeded in May, 1873, by W. Wright. In 1876 Ngangelizwe asked to be taken over and Tembuland Proper was divided into four magistracies, viz. Emjanyana (magistrate also Chief Magistrate of Tembuland Proper), Engcobo, Umtata and Mqanduli. The district is at present under the control of a Principal Grade Native Commissioner who is also Magistrate. The seat of the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories is also at Umtata.

#### 4. Communications

In addition to the fact that it lies on the main East London - Durban national road, the district is well served with secondary roads the state of which is generally good owing to the comparatively unbroken nature of the country. The main provincial road to Engcobo traverses the western half of the district while the provincial road to Elliotdale strikes south-east from Bityi station. Apart from these, the local district council maintains 181.3 miles of subsidiary road which network the district and make nearly every section easily accessible. Practically all locations are served by Native bus companies, and Native taxis operate from Umtata itself.

from Amabele junction in the Ciskei and railway buses carry freight and passengers between it and Kokstad, 108 miles to the north. There are a number of halts e.g. at Bityi and Viedgesville, and the railways carry a heavy volume of traffic daily. Apart from the passenger train from East London three times a week there is a daily mixed train and the 'Bombela' train reserved for men going to the mines. The latter also runs three times a week and conveys mine labourers from as far afield as Pondoland and East Griqualand. There is also a daily

bus service from East London, operated by the South African Railways Road Motor Service, which picks up passengers in the district.

### 5. Geography

- 7 Umtata is one of a number of districts, including Elliotdale, Engcobo, Mqanduli, St Marks and Xalanga, called collectively the territory of Tembuland. Formerly the whole area constituted a Chief Magistracy which, in its turn, was divided into Emigrant Tembuland, Tembuland Proper and Bomvanaland. Umtata district is bounded to the south and south-west by the Bashee River (Mbashe), to the west by its tributary the Thwane, to the north and north-east by the Mthatha River and its eastern boundary borders on the district of Mqanduli. It is contiguous to the following districts:- Engcobo, Mqanduli, Tsolo, Libode and Ngqeleni and its central position governed its choice as the seat of the capital of the Transkeian Territories.
- Practically the whole of its area lies in the undulating flat country which forms a corridor between the highlands to the west (that form, in effect, the foothills of the Drakensberg range) and the broken country that falls away to the sea to the east. Altitudes vary between 2,000 and 3,000 feet above sea level and the coast is about 60 miles away. Rainfall is fairly good especially in the west where the main forest group is found on the slopes of Baziya Mountain. Streams are also fairly numerous, although the country is not so well watered by them as are, for instance, some of the highlying districts of East Griqualand. Perennial streams include the following:- Cicira, Ncise, Mthentu, Tyalara, Konqetu, Zimbane and Mpheko.
- 9 The country is undulating except in the west where flats stretch to the foot of the ranges in the Tsolo and Engcobo districts. Towards the south-east the country becomes more broken where it drops into the valley of the Bashee. The vegetation consists of grasslands with thorn scrub and aloes in the low-lying river valleys, but is practically bare of trees. There are only two main groups of

forest, viz. Baziya and Qunu, the latter being a plantation of gum and wattle. 2,474 mgn 288 sq. rds are demarcated forest area of which 2239.2 acres have been planted. The most extensive area under forest is in the west of the district, at Baziya, and consists of indigenous forest and plantations of soft woods such as pine which do well in the mountainous doleritic soil. The Baziya group includes the Qakangu, Waka, Nguba, Utyi and Tsobo forests, and has 1,839.8 acres under forest. Forests in the district are controlled by a forester and forestry foremen at Baziya and a foreman at Qunu, all European, with a staff of Native forest guards. The plantations provide a certain amount of employment to people living in their immediate vicinity and women are employed for hoeing, stripping bark and the construction of fire breaks.

- The only mountain in the district is the Baziya which has the effect of increasing rainfall along the western boundary, as will be seen from the table of rainfall normals (see para. 12).
- No minerals are mined in the district.
- The following figures are taken from the publication "Rainfall Normals" of the Meteorological Office, Department of Irrigation, (1936) and show the monthly distribution of rain (in inches) at the relevant stations. These figures are based on data collected prior to 1935. It will be noted that rain station No.4159 (Khambi) is situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet, considerably higher than the district limits. This mountain is actually in the Tsolo district but is on the boundary and dominates Khambi location and is included to give a more general picture of climatic conditions. It appears that rainfall is distinctly higher in the north and west with a marked decrease towards the south.

#### RAINFALL

		- 414141		
No. of rain station	4153	4154	4150	
Altitude	1-75	7-74	4159	4172
in feet	2,410	2,600	4,000	2,278
Period of years				
to 1935	33-35	12-13	15-16	53-55
Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. March April May June July Aug. Sept.	5.04 6.25 7.50 8.07 6.93 7.52 2.25 1.56 1.06 1.06 1.28 3.29	2.24 3.54 3.77 2.36 5.12 1.45 0.60 0.88 1.62 1.01 1.87	2.58 5.04 6.12 6.13 4.65 6.94 1.61 1.16 0.73 1.13 0.94 2.25	2.24 2.71 3.17 3.58 3.38 3.85 1.60 1.06 0.88 0.71 0.80 1.67
Annual				
total	51.81	28.20	39.28	25.65
Days	113	67	100	97
		40.5%		21.

Key to rain station numbers: - 4153 : Baziya (in the west) 4154 : Qunu (east central) 4159 : (extreme north) 4172 : Umtata (north east).

# 6. Early and present inhabitants

of the district but it is certain that the country was extensively roamed by Khoisan groups, particularly Bushmen, up to the middle of last century. Bryant (p.242) refers to the whole area as a "Bushman's paradise" and states that the Thembu clans on their arrival from the north incorporated some of the clicks into their language and adopted the ingqithic custom of amputating one or more joints of the little finger, "a sure tribal sign of Bushman

connection". Almost pure Bush physical types have been come across in the district.

- 14. The only rock painting site known in the district is a rock shelter at Khambi, on the Umtata river about 15 miles north of Umtata town. The paintings are very faint but, on spraying them with water, a long frieze of human and animal figures in blacks, browns and reds. is revealed, part of which composes a hunting scene. The animals are mostly eland while the human figures portray Bantu. No excavations have been made in the shelter but ostrich eggshell beads, scrapers and other evidence of Wilton culture have been found there while Stellenbosch-type handaxes have been picked up in Umtata itself. There are no traditions of the displacement of other tribes, apart from the Bushmen, when the Thembu occupied their present territory.
- 15 At present the district is inhabited by an independent tribe, which calls itself the amaHala or amaDlomo and which is the senior branch of a number of related tribes called collectively, aba-Thembu. The original Thembu tribe is now split up into a number of sections viz, the amaHala, ama-Jumba, amaHlanga, amaNdungwana and amaTshatshu, each under its own chief and practically independent; save that each recognize the chief of the tribe in the Umtata district as Paramount. All these tribes are very conscious of their common origin - they are all Thembu - and it is only by enquiring further that their more precise tribal designation can be ascertained. The Thembu tribal complex occupies today roughly the territories known as Tembuland Proper and Emigrant Tembuland, with the following distribution (numbers refer to "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa", N.J. van Warmelo, Ethnological Publications Vol. 5 (1935)):-

Index No.	Name	Main concer tration	n- Chief
11-330	amaHala (amaDlomo)	Umtata	Sabata Mthikrakra (Paramount Chief)
11-335	amaHala	St Marks	Kaizer Mathanzima
	amaHala	Engcobo	Hlathikhulu Mthikrakra (Acting)
11-345	amaJumba	Engcobo	Sazingama Mgudlwa (Acting)
11-355	amaNdungwana	St Marks	Daliwonga Dindalo
11-350	amaJumba	St Marks	Belairs Mgudlwa
11-360	amaHlanga	Mqanduli	Stanford Diliqili Bacela
	amaHegebe (not of Thembu stock)	Mqanduli	Bezindlovu Holomisa.

In addition to the above tribes, all except the last of which are of Thembu origin, the descendants of the righthand house of the Kesibe chief, Nondzaba, called the amaQwathi, also recognize SABATA as Paramount. They separated from the main branch of the amaXesibe in the early part of the nineteenth century and entered Tembuland. They were driven off by the Thembu and settled in Basutoland for a short time, but were eventually compelled to leave and were granted a tract of land by the Thembu chief NGUBENGCUKA. Today they are settled in the Engcobo district under the Chief Regent Mayiza Dalisile but apart from their political connection with the Thembu, they have maintained their separate identity (para. 87).

17 Formerly allegiance to the paramount chief was well defined and was marked by the payment to him of part of the death dues (isizi) and fines imposed for offences against the chief, collected by the district chief, by the obligation to fight with the paramount in time of war and to attend the annual first fruits festival at his great place.

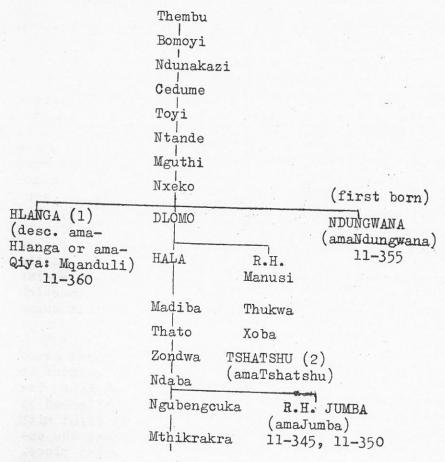
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Today much of this has fallen into disuse but the Paramount is still consulted on all matters of importance. For instance none of the above-mentioned district chiefs would accept or even discuss the adoption of the Bantu Education Act until SABATA had formally given his approval. They in their turn are consulted in matters of succession to the chieftainship and, in 1955, all their subjects were ordered to contribute towards a tribal levy to buy an official "Thembu" car for the Paramount and build administrative offices at his great place.

18 In order to make Thembu tribal structure clearer a skeleton genealogy showing the relationship of the various 'sub-tribes' to the ruling group is appended:-



- Notes: (1) Capitals denote a chief under whom a new tribal group split off or after whom it is named.
  - (2) The Tshatshu chief, Maphasa, aided the amaRarabe in the war against the Cape Colony in 1846-7. The tribe "was reduced to utter destitution" and was placed by Sir George Cathcart in the so-called Tambookie Location, Glen Grey district (see F. Brownlee, the Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records, (1923) p.22 sqq.)

These Thembu sub-tribes will be discussed more fully in connection with their respective districts.

19 The early history of the abaThembu is lost in the remote past and today tribesmen have no knowledge of it. It is certain, however, that the Thembu were one of the first tribes to enter the country now known as the Cape Province. Bryant (p. 242) considers that they were probably the first, their arrival ante-dating that of the Xhosa, and mentions the influence of Bushman customs, language and blood on this Nguni people.

The earliest home of the tribe was in what is now Zululand and by 1620 (Soga p. 467) there were several sections of Thembu in existence, one occupying the sources of the Ntsele River with another near the Qudeni Mountains. This latter

branch is still in Natal (see para. 104). About the middle of the 17th century the Ntsele tribe began to move slowly south and in 1688 the survivors of the wreck "Stavenisse" encountered them, probably in the neighbourhood of the Mthamvuna River in Pondoland. Two names are recorded, viz. 'Temboes' and 'Matimbas', possibly referring to two groups of the same tribe. Other clans were as far south as the Bashee River (Mbashe) by c.1650 as a battle for supremacy was fought at the Msana stream between the two chiefs DLOMO and HLANGA about this time. Presentday Thembu maintain that they came south with the Xhosa under HALA but Soga (p.468) argues that the migration was considerably earlier.

It appears that for almost three centuries the tribe has been concentrated along the banks of the Bashee. The graves of the chiefs THATO, ZONDWA and NDABA are at Mkuthu, Darabe and Mthentu respectively, all within a few miles of the Bashee, and since MTHIKRAKRA's time the Great Place has been at Bumbane, its present site. In 1836 Capt. A.F. Gardiner wrote as follows (A. F. Gardiner, "Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa" London 1836.):- "Crossed the Bashee, ... at about four; and in half an hour more reached Ferdana's village" (p.250). He found it dirty, with no exterior fences and the cattle folds small and not always in the centre. He continues, "... we were shortly after received into a hut belonging to the widow of the late chief Gubinuka, or Vosani, as he is frequently called. Baadi (the Incosi-case) was his mother: and it is her grandson, still a minor under the guardianship of Ferdana, who will eventually succeed to the government" (p.251). He records the tribal name " .... the Mahallas (ama-Hala) the Amatembu tribe among whom we are now ..." (p.258).

Although the Hala chiefs exercised authority over the whole of what is now the district of Umtata, the present day close settlement of the area is a comparatively recent development. In the first half of the 19th century, when the Thembu were repeatedly

subjected to raids from Ngwane, Bhaca, Xesibe, Mpondo and Mpondomise, the flat treeless plains were avoided and the people preferred to build their homesteads in the more broken country near the It is only since about 1850 that the Bashee.(1) pattern of settlement as it is today began to form with the advent of foreign groups who sought refuge under the Thembu chiefs. Thus it is that the Hala tribe under SABATA includes numerous alien groups, particularly of Mfengu, many of whom have their own headmen. Today 11 out of the 31 locations are predominantly Mfengu and there are also groups of Xhosa and Mpondomise.

It was to the aforementioned raids, particularly those by the Mpondo, that European settlement in the district owes its genesis. In c.1869 the chief NGANGELIZWE became alarmed at the frequency of border raids between his tribe and the amaMpondo across the Mthatha River. He thereupon made 35 grants of land on the right bank of the river to certain Europeans against payment of an annual quitrent of £6. Among those who obtained farms in this way were Calverley, W. Hart, Sharpley, Hawkes and Tempe Hart, but some of the land holders forfeited their rights, through failing to take possession when the Government took over the land

"One general remark is applicable to the whole of the above tribes. The limits of their respective territories are not clearly defined, and hence their "Borderers" are frequently intermingled; which has been the occasion of many feuds, and in some instances has invlolved whole tribes".

<sup>(1)</sup> of Rev. H.H. Dugmore, in "Compendium of Kaffir Laws and customs" (1906) p. 8 (written c.1846) "The Abatembu formerly occupied the whole of the country between the Bashee and the Umtata; but in consequence of the repeated formidable inroads of the Amampondo and the Amabaca (the tribes of Faku and Ncapai), nearly the whole tribe has migrated to the country watered by the upper branches of the Kei. A few of the inferior clans have been left near the mouth of the Bashee; but nearly the entire territory formerly inhabited by this tribe is abandoned to desolation".

and surveyed it. The Mpondo chief, Nqwiliso, made similar allotments on the left bank of the Mthatha to Europeans among whom were W.T. Strachan, Matthews, Saunders, Usher, A. Owen, R.T. James and White who had a trading store at what is now Norwood. This buffer strip between Thembu and Mpondo became the site of the present town of Umtata. NGANGELIZWE also allowed Europeans to settle on Slang River (Elliot).

In 1875 there were only three houses but in the following year Maj. J.F. Boyes was appointed magistrate with his headquarters on the Cicira. June, 1876, Henry Callaway, first Bishop of St. John's, bought Calverley's holding and erected his wood and iron pro-Cathedral on what is now the Mission. He had been promised by John X. Merriman, then Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, that the proposed township would be established where he located his mission but the magistracy was not moved from Cicira to its present site until February, 1879. In 1882 the land was formally purchased from NGANGELIZWE by Government and a township proclaimed. In December, 1884, it consisted of 140 buildings, many, however, of iron, and had a European population of 490 persons. European population of Umtata and district is today just over 3,000 and it is the seat of the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories.

25 For this reason Umtata occupies a central position in the administration of the Transkeian Territories. It is the headquarters of the United Transkeian Territories General Council (Bunga), which meets in session once a year, and of the Agricultural and Engineering sections of the Native Affairs Department. In order to provide a historical framework a chronological table of important events in the district has been compiled.

3

- c.1650 Battle of Msana between HLANGA and DLOMO.
- 1687 First European reference to abaThembu. Wreck of "Stavenisse".
- c.1780-1800 NGUBENGCUKA @ Vusani born.
- 1828 Invasion by the amaNgwane. Battle of Mbholo-mpo.
- 1830-4 Thembu attacked by Bhaca under Madzikane.
  Battle of Gqutyini.
- 1845 Treaty between Sir Peregrine Maitland and MTHIKRAKRA.
- c.1850 Death of MTHIKRAKRA. NGANGELIZWE a minor.

  JOYI regent.
- 1860 War with Mpondomise chief Mditshwa.
- 1863 NGANGELIZWE circumcised and installed as chief.
- 1866, May NGANGELIZWE married Sarili's daughter as Great Wife.
- 1866 DALINDYEBO born.
- 1871 E.B. Chalmers appointed Resident with Ngangelizwe.
- 1872, 30 Sept. amaGcaleka under Sarili and Sigcawu invade Tembuland.
- 1873, May W. Wright succeedes E. B. Chalmers as Resident.
- 1875 War of Nongxokozelo (with amaGcaleka).
- 1875, 10 Dec. NGANGELIZWE becomes a British subject.
- 1876 Maj. J.F. Boyes appointed Magistrate. Ngangelizwe recognized as Paramount Chief.
- 1876 Bishop Callaway appointed first Bishop of St John's.
- 1877 Thembu assisted Government against amaGcale-ka.

- 1878 A.H.B. Stanford appointed Magistrate.
- 1879 Hut tax first levied in Tembuland.
- 1879 Magistracy moved from Cicira to present site.
- 1880 Hope's War.
- 1882 Appointment of Tembuland Commission.
- 1882 Municipality of Umtata constituted.
- 1884, 31 Dec. Death of NGANGELIZWE. DALINDYEBO 18 years old.
- 1885 Tembuland annexed to Cape Colony.
- 1885, 26 Aug. Magistracy constituted and boundaries defined.
- 1885 DALINDYEBO installed as chief.
- 1902 Birth of JONGILIZWE.
- 1906 Demarcation of location boundaries.
- 1920, 22 April Death of DALINDYEBO.
- 1920, 1 Oct. SILIMELA appointed regent.
- 1924, 1 Oct. JONGILIZWE @ Sampu installed as chief.
- 1928, 6 July Death of JONGILIZWE.
- 1928, 7 July JONGINTABA (David Dalindyebo) regent.
- 1928, 25 Nov. Sabata born.
- 1942, 19 Aug. Death of JONGINTABA.
- 1943, 8 Jan. DABULAMANZI regent.
- 1954, 30 June SABATA @ JONGUHLANGA installed as chief.
- 1955, I2 Aug. Death of DABULAMANZI.
- 27 The following is a list of magistrates of the Umtata district:-

1878	A.H.B. Stanford		C.J. Warner W.T. Welsh
	W.T. Brownlee (Busobengwe) W.P. Leary	1920-22 1922-28	(Zamuxolo) T.W.C. Norton J.M. Young (Zithulele)

1929 1929–31 1931–35 1935 1935–36 1936–39 1939–41 1942	W.J. Davidson R.D. Barry E.G. Lonsdale R. Fyfe King H.E.F. White W.J.G. Mears (Mlungisi) E.F. Owen V.M. de Villiers (Jongilanga)	1943 1944-5 1945-6 1946-48 1948	J. Addison W.E. Clark L.J. Philip J.J. Yates (Jongizizwe) H.F. Marsberg A.C. Bates (Sobhuza)
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# 8. Numbers and distribution of the Native population

The population figures for the Umtata district have been extracted from the as yet unpublished returns of the 1951 Census and are presented here by kind permission of the Director of Census and Statistics. The data were collected according to subenumerator districts which, in practice, coincide with location boundaries, and these figures have also been used to compile the distribution map. The figures for 1951, however, are lower than those of the 1946 Census and therefore appear to be unreliable. A large number of males are away from home at any one time, and it is possible that a number of persons were not counted by the enumerators. Certain adjustments are therefore necessary in any attempt to arrive at a true estimate of the population.

29 According to the 1951 Census the Native population of the district totalled 58,044 persons and the figures at previous censuses were as follows:-

Year	urban	rural .	males	females	total Natives	total (all races)
1921 1936 1946 1951	1,607 2,710 3,928 5,324	44,028 45,557 54,196 52,720	21,042 25,342 25,301	27, 225 32, 782 32, 743	45,635 48,267 58,124 58,044	48,320 51,737 62,143 62,408

In his "Language Map of South Africa" (Ethnol. Publ. No. 27, 1952, paras. 10-12) Dr. N.J. van Warmelo has shewn that the masculinity ratio of the speakers of Xhosa is c.48.4% of total population, a ratio not differing much from that of other South African Bantu groups. By using this factor one may compute the total population of a district, including male absentees, if it is assumed that the total female population was counted. Inasmuch as few females leave Umtata district at all, the census figure of 32,743 females indicates a total population of  $32,743 \div 51.6 \times 100 = 63,400$  persons, which differs from the census total of 58,044 by c.5,300-5,400 men who may therefore be presumed to be away at work. These form c.11-12% of the whole Native population of the district. In view of the abrupt change in trend between the census figures for 1946 and 1951, which may reasonably be ascribed either to imperfect census-taking or to mass emigration, it would be a matter of guess-work to estimate the population at the present time. On the foregoing figures the density of population for the rural area would be about 100 persons per square mile.

Relevant statistical material is presented in the following tables:-

Table No.1 Distribution of population over the land.

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

Censu area numbe		Tribe	Total	Male	Female
01-12	Umtata Urban	Mixed	3,230	1,971	1,259
013	Umtata New & Old Location	Mixed	1,209	550	659
014.	Ncambedlana Township & Allotments	Mixed urban	885	430	455
	TOTAL URBAN		5,324	2,951	2,373
	Location No.:				
800	22 Qweqwe	Mf. & Mp.	713	304	409
801	l Ncise	Mfengu.	1,403	580	823
802	2 Khambi	Mfengu	1,478	636	842
803	3 Upper Ncise	Mp. & Mf.	2,940	1,271	1,669
804	4 Thabase	Jumba	3,075	1,311	1,764
805	9 Mbholompo	Mfengu	755	340	415
806.	7 Mputi	Hala	2,010	802	1,208
807	6 Baziya	Mfengu	2,833	1,215	1,618
808	30 Baziya Miss.	Mixed	369	159	210
809	8 Sigubudu	Mp.	752	315	437
810	5 UpperThabase	Mf. & Hala	1,390	587	803
811	23 Mpeko	Hala	2,425	1,028	1,397
812	24 Sikhobeni	Hala & Mf.	1,967	814	1,153
813	29A Xongora	Hala	3,031	1,290	1,741
814	28 Ngquqa	Hala	2,677	1,168	1,509
815	27 Gxwalibomvu	Mfengu	201	93	108
816	26 Msana	Hala & Mf.	513	195	318
817	25 Rune	Mfengu	435	173	262
818	17 Mthentu	Mfengu	2,270	950	1,320
819	19 UpperMthentu	Mfengu	482	204	278

Census area number		escription	Tribe	Total	Male	Female
820	18	Ngqunge	Xhosa(?)	805	333	4 <b>7</b> 2
821	31	Tyalara Farm (Reserve)	Hala	78 633	36 263	
822	15	Mvuzo	Hala & Gc	612	239	373
823	16	Sithebe	Hala & Gc	2,236	894	1,342
824	14	Cacadu	Hala	742	297	445
825	13	Chanti	Hala	207	74	i33
826	20	Qunu	Hala	2,287	980	1,307
827	1.2-	Mpunzana	Hala	1,112	459	653
828	21	Xwili	Mf. & Gc.	3,889	1,645	2,244
829	29	Mqekezweni	Hala & Mf	3,280	1,388	1,892
830	10	Zimbane	Mfengu	3,246	1,382	1,864
831	11	Qokolweni	Qiya, Mp. & Mfengu	630	266	364
		rop.farms of Mun. Area	Mixed	738	345	423
1	Vat	ist .priv.owned ropean fram	Mixed	197 22 24	84 9 13	113 13 11
		scellaneous, estruction gar	Mixed	233	208	25
Ţ	ron	AL RURAL		52,720	22,350	30,370
Ţ	ron	'AL URBAN		5,324	2,951	2,373
(	GR/	ND TOTAL		58,044	25,301	32,743

Abbreviations: Mf. - Mfengu Mp. - Mpondomise Gc. - Gcaleka

# TABLE NO.2. DISTRICT OF UMTATA. SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF POPULATION IN RELATION TO LAND AND STOCK.

Estimate of population present in district (with absentees)	64,000
Taxpayers (Aug. 1955).	17,013
Area of district in morgen	191,104
Area in sq. miles.	632
Cattle units 1)	88,998
Population per sq. mile (rural)	100
Cattle units per 100 of population	147
Cattle units per sq. mile	140
Overstocking (at 3 mgn per cattle unit)	40%

1) A cattle unit consists of one bovine or equine, or 5 small stock.

#### 19. Farms and agricultural statistics

- 32 At present the whole of the Umtata district consists of Native reserve with the exception of 29 European-owned farms, 13 farms purchased by the South African Native Trust from Europeans and four farms owned by Natives (three purchased from the Trust).
- Practically all the European owned farms in the district lie to the west of Umtata town. There are 29 farms, totalling 8,403 mgn 352 sq. rds in extent. The land is not Released Area in terms of the First Schedule to Act No. 18 of 1936, being held freehold or, in some cases, under a quitrent system. The Department is pursuing a policy of acquiring farms that border on Native areas as opportunity arises.
- 34 Of the four Native-owned farms in the district (total extent 4,633 mgn 373 sq. rds), three have been bought from the Trust while Tyalara Farm (4,231 mgn 300 sq. rds) has always been the property of the Paramount Chief.

- 35 The 13 farms acquired by the Native Trust have a total area of 5,929 mgn 499 sq. rds and are utilized for grazing and settlement (see para.36).
- Of the thirteen farms taken over by the Trust, four, viz. Highbury, Tyumbu, Orange Grove and Silverton have been settled, the latter three forming one combined settlement scheme. At present all the other Trust farms are used for grazing and the fattening of stock preparatory to the quarterly sales held at Jersey Farm, and cattle are allowed access to the grazing for this purpose at a charge of 3d per month per head.
- The Orange Grove settlement, taken over by 37. the Trust in 1947, is the largest at present and is settled by 57 families, most of whom pay a quitrent of £1.10. per annum. There are two types of settlement, open and close, the latter consisting of 11 families whose heads work in town in Government and other employment. These pay £1 per annum and do not own lands, whereas the other 46 families own fields of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 acres. The plots are roughly surveyed and are held under a certificate of ownership. In addition to these lands, used mainly for maize, each family owns two vegetable plots situated in fertile alluvium and irrigated from the Umtata River. Those who do not own lands are allowed 6 plots, and a certain amount of maize is grown on the  $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre residential sites. A fairly large variety of vegetables is grown on the plots and sold to Europeans in Umitata. Potatoes and cabbages are the only vegetable crops extensively used for home consumption. The settlement lies on the banks of the Umtata and, besides enjoying an unlimited water supply, has good soil, consisting of loam and silt. In addition to private tillage a limited amount of lucerne is grown by the demonstrator for the Trust bulls.
- Part of the area is reserved for grazing and each family is allowed 5 head of cattle free of charge with the payment of 2/6 for each beast above that number. At present there are 292 cattle on the farm, including calves.

- The population of Orange Grove (and Highbury see para. 40) is mainly mixed Thembu and Mfengu from the surrounding district, a large number being formerly landless peasants from Noise and Msana. The settlement has a school and is under the control of a Trust demonstrator.
- The farm Highbury is settled under similar conditions. It is divided into 54 one-acre sites. Both settlements are governed by the Betterment Area Proclamation (Proc. No. 116 of 1949) and rents are determined in accordance with Regulation 92 of 1949 (Government Gazette of 14th April, 1949). According to the 1950 Agricultural Census the total area under tillage on Trust farms in the district was 20 morgen of which 3 morgen was under vegetables. There were also 105 citrus trees, 1,874 deciduous fruit trees and 30 sub-tropical type trees. 26 pockets of potatoes were obtained from 1 morgen of ground. Apart from cattle there were 15 horses, 22 pigs and 312 units of poultry.
- 41 The Native-owned farms in the district are used mainly for grazing and the cultivation of maize.

#### 10. Umtata urban location

42 Ngangelizwe, the municipal sub-economic and home-ownership township is situated c.l2 miles southeast of Umtata town. It is divided into three sections, viz. the old Location (to be demolished in the near future), Ngangelizwe (est. c.1934), consisting of 1, 2 and 3-roomed concrete houses, and New Look (est. 1950), a site-and-service scheme where tenants build their own homes. At present there are at Ngangelizwe 70 two-roomed cottages let at a rental of 18/- per month, 64 single-room cottages at 11/per month and 34 three-roomed houses at £1. 10. 0 The latter type is sub-economic. A per month. departure has been made at New Look and sites with service only are provided. Here the traditional type of rondavel of Kimberley brick is built (a maximum of three per stand) with a flat-roofed kitchen and lavatory. New Look has 411 sites while the condemned Old Location has 100, and rents are 7/- and 5/- per month respectively. Lighting is confined to street lighting but water and sanitation are articulated to each stand. The Municipality supplies windows, doors and asbestos roofing for the kitchen, the costs being recovered at a rate of 10/- per month from the tenants. The majority of stands are 60 by 80 feet in extent.

The inhabitants of the urban location number 3,037 persons, made up as follows:-

Males		921
Females		939
Children	(male)	573
Children		604
		3,037

The population is mixed but Thembu, Mpondo and Bhaca predominate with only a few Mfengu and Sotho. Tenancy is restricted to persons employed in the urban area at wages not exceeding £15 per month. Registered sub-tenants are permitted at 2/- per month per person and at present there are 546 of these in the location. Visitors are allowed to remain for 14 days.

- The location is controlled by a Location Committee and a European Superintendent who is assisted by two location headmen. There is also a Native Advisory Board of six members, four elected by the residents and two nominated by the Municipal Council. They hold office for a year and meet monthly to discuss location matters. A town councillor is chairman with the Superintendent vice-chairman ex officio.
- The location is served by a clinic run by the Union Health Department. A Departmental doctor visits it three to four times a week while a European nursing sister comes daily. There is a permanent staff of two Native nurses. Health is generally good.
- 46 In the township seven denominations are represented chief of which are the Dutch Reformed

Church, Roman Catholic and the Church of the Province of South Africa. There are two schools, one Roman Catholic and the other Anglican. The Umtata Rotary club is planning to build a hall to serve as a recreation centre and there is a football field and tennis court. The Mlungiseli Native Association concerns itself with the betterment of local conditions. There is also a Bantu Social Club.

The location is well served by shops. There are three general dealers' businesses, two eating houses, a butchery and a dairy, all run by Natives who rent the premises for £1 a month. Most families own one or two cows which are grazed on the Umtata commonage, and keep a few fowls. The stands are big enough for the cultivation of small patches of maize or vegetables. The average income is estimated at about £7 per month per family.

As it is so close to the reserve, living in the location does not necessitate a departure from tribal custom on the part of its inhabitants. Boys, however, mostly return to the country for circumcision, but some are done by doctors in town. Ikhazi is still given and marriages are conducted as in the tribal area. At Ncambedlana, to the north of the town, there is a settlement of Native smallholders who pay rates to the Umtata municipality and own their land on the same basis as Europeans. Here a centre has been built so that boys can be circumcised by a European doctor. There appears to be a strong tendency for the more educated in the district to leave the rural locations and settle either in Ncambedlana or Ngangelizwe so as to be nearer to town. This might explain the very high percentage of pagans living in the district.

49 Crime in the location is practically nonexistent and illegal brewing negligible probably owing to the fact that home-brewing is allowed. There are no police on the location staff.

## 11. Missions and Education

50 Although the first church in the district was the Anglican, established in 1876 by Bishop Callaway, mission work among the Thembu goes back to 1830 with the establishment of Clerkebury (Engcobo district), a few miles west of the Bashee, by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. NGUBENGCUKA had promised that if a missionary were sent to him he would be well received, and when Clarkebury was established as the fifth link in the 'chain' of mission stations founded by the Rev. William Shaw, no objections were made by the Thembu. The site was selected by the Rev. Richard Haddy who was accompanied by a catechist (later the Rev. J.C. Warner) and, although not actually in the Umtata district, this mission has had a far-reaching influence on the tribe. Clarkebury was NGUBENGCUKA's mission. He never became a Christian, however, and was buried in the traditional way at the gate of his cattle kraal and all traces of the grave were trampled out by his herds to prevent molestation by witches. Although NGUBENGCUKA's successors persecuted the Christians, the mission has continued to exert its influence and today SABATA is a member of the Methodist church. In the same year (1830) the sixth 'link' was forged by the founding of Buntingville among the amaMpondo, c.7 miles east of what is now Umtata, and it seems likely that mission work round this centre extended to the Thembu in Umtata district. In any event, in the 1870's many of the European children of Umtata received their education from the missionary at . Buntingville.

In 1876 Bishop Callaway came to the Transkei from Springvale in Natal. After contemplating the establishment of his diocese at St Andrew's, Lusikisiki, he came to Umtata and set up his wood and iron pro-cathedral, which he had brought with him, on the banks of the Mthatha. The cathedral was rebuilt in c.1910. From the original mission developed St John's College, an educational centre consisting of a high school of 210 boys and a teacher training college of 78. In addition a practising school

(primary) is maintained to provide practical training. At present this latter has 150 pupils but the number is being reduced as it is felt that children should rather go to the location school nearer their homes. The College has six European and ten Native teachers. The affiliated college of St Bede's, Umtata, trains Native clergy for the whole Union. Both the trade school and agricultural department have recently been given up.

Other churches working in the district are the Roman Catholic, Moravian, Free Church of Scotland, Presbyterian Church of S. Africa, Dutch Reformed Church and others. The Dutch Reformed Church is a comparative new-comer but has an industrial school, de Coligny, near Umtata. Figures in respect of church membership are difficult to obtain but the Methodist Church in Umtata district, has 2,110 full members, 1,152 on trial, and 2,716 juniors while the Anglican (C.P.S.A.) has 1,216 baptized members, 1,075 communicants and a Mother' Union with between 90-100 members.

53 The following is a list of missions in the district with their outstations:-

Name of Church	No. of stations
Methodist Church of S. Africa	33
Moravian Mission	14
Church of the Province of S.A.	14
Presbyterian Church	12
United Free Church of Scotland	12
Dutch Reformed Church Mission	1
Roman Catholic Church	2
Free Church of Scotland	1
S.A. Baptist Missionary Society	1
Ethiopian Church of S.A.	2
Bantu Presbyterian Church	2
African Native Mission	5
African Methodist Episcopal	2
Miscellaneous	2
	104

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In addition there are about 80 non-authorized church sites, the great majority of which will probably be registered shortly. The above total does not include those purely Native churches which are not recognized by the Government. These latter form a small but important section of the religious picture in Umtata, being evidence of an awakening nationalism on the part of the Bantu. In fact the Thembu provided one of the first churches formed on national lines. In 1884 a certain Thile, an ordained minister of Methodist Church, founded a "Thembu National Church" with the chief NGANGELIZWE as its titular head, and since that time other sects have begun to operate in the district. Adherents of these separatist bodies, however, are a small minority when compared with the membership of the European-controlled churches. Another manifestation of Thembu national feeling is the "Thembu Catholic Church" which was "always causing trouble" in the and 1930's.

Umtata is fairly well off for schools, there 54 being 55 primary schools in the district. There is only one high school, however, viz. St John's College (Anglican), but the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Cicira offers a high school class in preparation for the teachers training course. Native teachers are trained at Cicira (40 students and 6 Native teachers, all State-aided) and at St John's (see para. 51). The total number of pupils in the district is c.8,000 (11.8% of the population), considerably less than in Mount Frere for instance, and one gets the general impression that Umtata is not as advanced educationally as such districts as Qumbu, Tsolo and Mount Frere. The number of schools does not take into account private schools but it would seem that there is, on an average, one school for every 1,030 persons of all ages. A school feeding scheme is operated through a Central Feeding Committee with headquarters at Umtata

55 There is a distinct correlation between the number of schools and the number of "dressed people", and the large number of pagans in the district (estimated at c.60% of the population) is striking.

It is difficult to gauge just what this criterion of being dressed means in terms of social change. Not all dressed people are Christians and there is not always a break from traditional custom and social life. It would seem to indicate, however, an initial break with conservatism, representing a tendency gathering momentum rather than a cultural fait accompli. In general "dressed people" are more open to contact influences.

#### 12. Health

- Umtata, as the capital of the Transkeian Territories, is the chief centre for medical services. It has two hospitals, the Sir Henry Elliot Hospital and the Tembuland Tuberculosis Hospital, as well as being a centre of the Union Health Department.
- The Sir Henry Elliot Provincial Hospital was established in 1916 and caters for both Europeans and Natives. It has 38 European beds, 215 for Natives (of which 35 are reserved for tuberculotics) and 22 children's beds. It is staffed by seven resident doctors and a European nursing staff of 41 (including 17 nursing aids) and also enjoys the services of seven honorary physicians. On the Native side 13 Native staff nurses, two midwives and 94 Non-European student nurses are employed. Two dentists (part-time) provide free dental treatment to Natives and there is an X-ray plant and full theatre facilities. In 1954 the number of Non-European cases dealt with were as follows:medical, 11,000; surgical, 2,000; maternity, 1,300; while 19,000 outpatients received treatment (limited to 60 per day).
- The Thembuland Hospital is a Government institution under the control of the Union Health Department. It has 120 beds and is staffed by two European doctors, four European nurses and 23 Non-European nurse aids. The hospital is fully equipped with X-ray and other facilities and 60-80 patients are screened per week. These come from all over the Transkei and are referred by local, mission and Departmental doctors. There has been a marked change

within the last five years on the part of the Native population to the treatment of tuberculosis. While before c.1950 the authorities received very little co-operation and patients were reluctant to remain for treatment, today there are waiting lists in all hospitals and patients will remain as long as they can. This is directly due to the effectiveness of new antibiotics which have increased the average of are antibiotics which have increased the average of are pulmonary but T.B. of the bones and joints is fairly common.

The Health Department operates 4 clinics in the district and the District Surgeon runs a private clinic at Mqekezweni. The health position shows considerable malnutrition, with a correlated high infant mortality rate, respiratory diseases, inbilibraria and enteritis. Skin diseases are frequently met with as are venereal diseases, brought in from the labour centres. Conjuntivitis and corneal ulcers are the main eye diseases but there is not much are the main eye diseases but there is not much within the last few years there has been a marked increase in the willingness of the people to attend increase in the willingness of the people to attend clinics and hospitals and health, particularly in the vicinity of the urban area, is improving the vicinity of the urban area, is improving.

#### 13. Sources

below. The material presented here is based on fieldwork conducted in the district in May and June, 1955. I am particularly indebted for information and assistance to: Rev. H.W.Rist, Rev. R.Thompson, the Very Rev. C.C.Stewart, Dean of Umtata, Dr. F.J. Wiles, Mr. G.W. Wolfsardt, Senior Agricultural Officer, and the Magistrate and staff, Umtata.

of The literature on the history of Umtata district is scattered but covers the subject fairly adequately. Scientific literature on the Thembu, however, is extremely meagre and not much description is contained in the accounts of early travellers in the district. A bibliography of sources consulted will be found at the end of the book.

#### 1 District:

Umtata, Tembuland, Cape Province. The tribe is controlled administratively by the Magistrate of Umtata.

#### 2 Name of tribe:

The amaHala or amaDlomo tribe of the abaThembu. This tribe is No. 11-330 in "A Preliminary
Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa" by N.J.
van Warmelo (1935). Members of the tribe are also
settled in the Elliotdale and Idutywa districts.
The tribe is the ruling branch of a number of related tribes, e.g. amaHala, amaHlanga (the senjor
section), amaJumba and amaNdungwana (see paras. 15-18)
and its chief is recognized as paramount over them.

#### 3 Chief:

JONGUHLANGA SABATA DALINDYEBO, born 25.11.28 and installed with criminal and civil jurisdiction on 30.6.54. He attended school at the Clarkebury Mission Institution but left before the Junior Certificate examination. He is a member of the Methodist Church, can read and write and speaks English fluently. His official title is "Chief of the Thembu tribe resident in the districts comprising the area known as Tembuland, including Emigrant Tembuland and Bomvanaland". Residence: Bumbane, Tyalara Farm, P.O. Bityi, Umtata. Isiduko: Dlomo.

#### 4 Language:

- The only Native language spoken in the district is isiXhosa. There is very little dialectal variation between the Xhosa spoken in Tembuland and Standard Xhosa, the slight differences between the two forms being practically confined to the intonation of a few words.
- 5 Land and strength of population: 66 The Hala tribe occupies the whole district with the exception of the Trust farms, Europeanowned farms and the urban area of Umtata. The subjects of land, topography, climate and popu-

lation figures have been dealt with in the Introduction (paras. 3, 7-12, 22, 28-31). The composition of the tribe is not pure Thembu, there being considerable groups of Mfengu and smaller enclaves of Xesibe, Mpondomise and Xhosa, and an attempt is made in Table I to indicate roughly the ethnic composition of the locations. The district figures do not, however, give the total population of the tribe under SABATA as one section lives in Elliotdale (Loc. 41) and another across the Bashee in Idutywa. The following figures, therefore, must be added to the total:-

amaHala in Elliotdale (headman: Meligqili Mthikrakra)

3,727

amaHala in Idutywa

722

Total 4,449

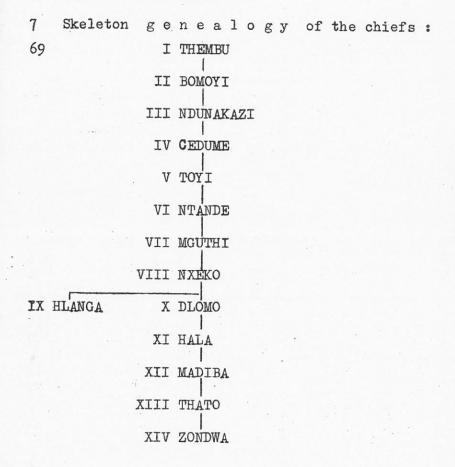
This makes the total tribal membership c.72,449 persons. The Idutywa group, however, although acknowledging that they are of Thembu stock, maintain that they owe allegiance to the Gcaleka chief in Willowvale district. Further research is necessary.

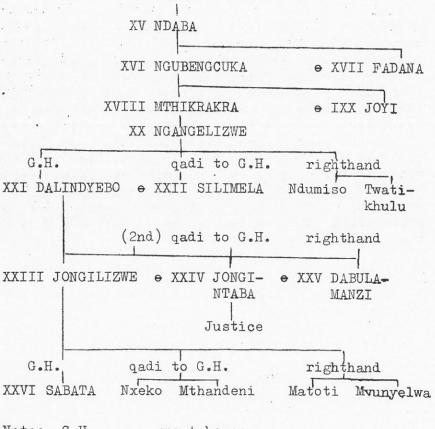
## 6 Migrations and affinities of tribe :

67 The tribe has occupied more or less its present area for nearly three centuries and the details of the migration from Natal are no longer remembered (paras. 20-2). The original settlement in Umtata seems to have been made in the south of the district, in the broken country on both sides of the Bashee, the flat country between the Bashee and Mthatha being slowly occupied as the danger of enemy raids was removed.

The tribe is the only one in the district and enjoys the status of senior tribe in the Thembu complex. Although Thembu do not have the reputation among their neighbours of being great warriors, they are looked up to as a powerful and numerous people and their status is enhanced by the fact that the

capital of the Transkei is situated in their territory. Girls of the royal family are much sought after as wives for non-Thembu chiefs. There appears to be a strong tendency for the Thembu to identify themselves with the Xhosa group of tribes, although they have always been independent of one another. Apart from related tribes which have split off from the parent stem within historical times (para.18), the Hala do not seem to have affinities with any other tribe, except, perhaps, with the Thembu tribe resident at Qudeni, Natal. In recognition of the seniority of the tribe, SABATA is greeted first at inter-tribal meetings and after him Diliqili Bacela, the Qiya chief at Mqanduli.





Note: G.H. = great house e = regents.

## 8 History and genealogies of the chiefs:

Nothing is known by present day Hala of the chiefs prior to VIII NXEKO and it is difficult to obtain with certainty even the order of chiefs further back than XV NDABA. The most important episode in their early history was the great battle for the chieftainship between IX HLANGA and X DLOMO which took place, according to Soga, in c.1650. Informants state that HLANGA and DLOMO were full brothers, HLANGA being the elder and heir to the chieftainship. DLOMO was the more popular, however, because he possessed in greater measure the chiefly attribute of generosity. NXEKO noticed this preference on the part of his people and sent DLOMO away to the cattle posts until HLANGA's position could

be established. Many of the younger men of the tribe, however, joined DLOMO and his position became a serious threat to his father and brother. NXEKO and HLANGA, assisted by the amandungwana, attacked him, but the Ndungwana were secretly in league with DLOMO and treacherously fell upon their supposed allies in the rear, contributing to their complete defeat. HLANGA's army was driven across the Bashee to Bolothwa in Idutywa district and DLOMO was proclaimed chief over the Thembu. HLANGA's descendants are today settled in the Mqanduli district and call themselves amaHlanga or, more commonly, amaQiya. There is one Qiya group in the Umtata district today, viz. at Qokolweni (Loc. 11) under a Qiya headman recognized by the tribe (but not by the Administration) as a sub-chief. Because of his great bravery Chief Sangoni's grandfather was brought from the Engcobo district by NGUBENGCUKA and placed at Qokolweni, on the south bank of the Mthatha River, a few miles east of the town, to be a buffer between the Hala and the Mpondo on the north bank.

The amaHala of Umtata district are thus the ruling section of the Thembu group of tribes, the next senior being the amaQiya (amaHlanga) who are, in fact, the true senior branch. Soga states that NXEKO's grave is at Msana, a tributary of the Bashee, and that of HLANGA is at Nkanga, in the Willowvale district (the Qiya occupied the country between the Bashee and Kei Rivers for a time).

It is said that XIV ZONDWA died while his father was still chief and the choice of successor lay between his three sons. Tradition relates that it was on the advice of the Xhosa chief Rarabe that XV NDABA was chosen. Be that as it may, in c.1786 NDABA contracted to marry one of Rarabe's daughters but sent only a hundred head of cattle as ikhazi. Rarabe considered this an insult and entered Tembuland with an impi, routing the Hala and capturing large numbers of cattle. Rarabe met his death in this raid, being killed at the Xuka river (Engcobo district, just west of Loc. 28, Ngquqa, Umtata). Soga (p.131) considers that NDABA's action was intended

as revenge for Rarabe's assistance to the amaNdungwana in a quarrel between them and the Hala. Gardiner (p.251) states that the name of NDABA's great wife was Baadi (Bhede): she was the daughter of Rarabe.

73 NDABA's heir VUSANI @ NGUBENGCUKA was born between 1780 and 1800. It was during his reign that the Hala were attacked by the amaQwathi, a Xesibe clan, (see para. 16) and also by the notorious ama-Ngwane (Mfecane), a Natal tribe which had fled from the region of the White Mfolosi under their chief Matiwane on being attacked by Tshaka. They had already scattered the Hlubi and South Sotho tribes in the region of what is now Basutoland and in 1828 extended their plundering to the Thembu. NGUBENGCUKA appealed to the Cape Government for assistance and troops under Lt.Col. Somerset were sent to his aid. A battle took place at Mbholompo, north-west of Umtata, on the 28th August, 1828, and the amaNgwane were defeated and scattered (a detailed account of the history of the amaNgwane and of this battle will be found in, N.J. van Warmelo, "History of Matiwane and the AmaNgwane Tribe," Ethnol. Publ. No.7, Native Affairs Department 1938). Shortly after this the Thembu were attacked by the Bhaca under their chief Madzikane but, with the assistance of the Qwathi, this attack was repulsed and Madzikane was killed at Gqutyini Forest in Engcobo district. This battle took place between 1830-4.

74 It would seem that NGUBENGCUKA died about 1834 as Gardiner visited the Hala in 1835 and found the tribe under the regency of XVII FADANA, NGUBENGCUKA being dead. It is extremely difficult to obtain details of the wives and issue of NGUBENGCUKA. Informants give the following:-

Nonesi, (great wife) da. of Faku, chief of the amaMpondo

no issue.

- 2 ? Right hand
  - a Mnqangeni m. desc. headmen in Engcobo
  - b and others, including IXX JOYI.

It is stated that NGUBENGCUKA placed a woman in the Great House when it was ascertained that Nonesi was barren, and a son, MTHIKRAKRA, was 'born on the thighs of Nonesi of the Great House (ukuzalela emathangeni)'.

As stated above (para. 50) NGUBENGCUKA was the first chief to permit missionaries to work among the Thembu. Tradition relates how the Rev. R. Haddy was received by the chief, two head of cattle being slaughtered for him. The skins of these cattle were buried in the inkundla of the Great Place and, on being asked why, NGUBENGCUKA said "I want this thing (Christianity) to remain forever here at home". That was when the word of God took root among the Thembu. A seminary was founded at Emgwali (Clarkebury)...."
(M. Nkopo, M.S. Al3/2/23 in Ethnological Section, Pretoria).

XVIII MTHIKRAKRA was born in c.1820 and was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tribe being ruled by the regent XVII FADANA. The regency of FADANA could not have been of long duration as little is remembered about him and by 1845 MTHIKRA-KRA was already established as chief. The latter concluded a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland whereby the Government agreed to pay the contracting chiefs (the Tshatshu chief Maphasa was also included) the sum of £100 per annum, either in money or goods, as long as they remained faithful allies of Her Majesty (F. Brownlee p.22). It is related by Theal (History of South Africa, 1834-54 p. 21) that "he (FADANA) declared that he was ready to give all the assistance in his power, and would place his warriors at the disposal of a British officer of the Government" during the sixth Kaffir War (1835).

77 Generally speaking the regency of Fadana and the chieftainship of MTHIKRAKRA were peaceful and uneventful, the latter dying c.1850 leaving the tribe under his uncle' IXX JOYI and his mother Nonesi, a woman of considerable character.

- 78 The only wives of MTHIKRAKRA who are today remembered are the following:-
- l Nothasi, (great wife) da. of Myeki, Mpondomise chief
  - a NGANGELIZWE @ QEYA m Chief
  - b Siqungathi m desc. at Nquqa in St Mark's district
  - c Sonjaja m desc. at Julukuqu, Umtata
  - d Kazekha f ma. Sigidi, Gcaleka chief of Idutywa district
  - e Naniwe f ma. Mditshwa, Mpondomise chief
  - f Sakathana f ma. Nqwiliso Ndamase, Mpondo chief
- 2 Nosara, (righthand) da. of Gxaba, Gcaleka head
  - a Mathanzima m desc. Hala chiefs at St
  - h Duli m dose had
- b Duli m desc. headmen at Qamatha Basin and Magwala locations
  - c Ngqame m headman at Qamatha Poort
  - d Mnguni m no male issue
- 3 ? (qadi of great house)
  - a Mfanta m desc. in Glen Grey district
  - . b and others

Note: Generally speaking the Thembu only remember the wives and issue in their direct line of descent. Thus it is hoped that further information as to the name and issue of wife 3, and perhaps of other wives, will be obtained when the districts of St Mark's and Glen Grey are studied.

79 On MTHIKRAKRA's death at Quluqu (Engcobo) XX NGANGELIZWE was still a minor and IXX JOYI, a younger brother of MTHIKRAKRA, was appointed regent. JOYI first had his Great Place at the Rode and then moved to the Tsitsa (Soga p.479). It is difficult to discover why he moved so far north as it is unlikely that the tribe ever extended as far as the Tsitsa: in any event it is recorded that he came into conflict with the Hlubi (under Ludidi?) who

objected to coming under his control. They were defeated and left the area. All this time the young NGANGELIZWE remained at the Great Place at Tyalara.

- 80 The Hala did not participate in the cattle killing delusion of 1856 when the Xhosa tribes slaughtered their stock on the supernatural promise that the dead would arise and assist them in sweeping the Europeans into the sea. Tradition states that JOYI insisted that a diviner of his own tribe should consult the spirits and a man called Mbombo was called. He said that he did not see people rising from the dead but rather people who were terribly emaciated, and the Thembu resolved not to join the Xhosa.
- 81 After the amaNgwane raids of the 1820's a number of Thembu clans led by the amaTshatshu moved away from the danger zone and settled in what is today the Queenstown district. In c.1850 Nonesi took up residence among these so-called Emigrant Thembu acting as chief over some of the clans (Borwnlee p.22) but after the war of 1851-2 she returned to the Hala with her adherents. During this war Maphasa, the Tshatshu chief, joined the Gcaleka chief, Sarili, against the Cape Government, was severely beaten and his tribe broken and scattered. The Thembu remnants were placed in a tract of land known as the Tambookie Location and Nonesi was invited to return and was appointed by Sir George Cathcart as headman over the location. The history of this section will be treated in more detail when the relevant district is described.
- 83 In 1860 war broke out between the Hala and the Mpondomise under Mditshwa (Gqirana) the uncle of the notorious Mhlontlo, murderer in 1880 of Hamilton Hope, magistrate at Qumbu. Prior to this Mhlontlo and Mditshwa had quarrelled over the Mpondomise chieftainship and Mditshwa was forced to remove his section of the tribe. He accordingly crossed the Mthatha and established himself at Zimbane and Cicira just south of what is now Umtata town. Cattle raiding and faction fighting took place between the Hala and Mpondomise and JOYI attacked

Mditshwa's Great Place at Zimbane. A battle ensued and the Hala were driven back to Qunu. At the same time the amaNqabe, amaHegebe and amaXesibe were concentrating on the Bashee to come to JOYI's assistance, but when they reached Zimbane they found that the Mpondomise had retired to Tsolo. This section of the Mpondomise is still established there.

Shortly afterwards, in 1863, QEYA, heir of 84 MTHIKRAKRA, was circumcised and installed as chief, assuming the tribal name of NGANGELIZWE. Brownlee (p.28) states that as a mark of friendship the Colonial authorities presented him with the sum of £50 with a promised allowance of a further £52 per annum. The old councillors of MTHIKRAKRA and the ex-regent JOYI cautioned NGANGELIZWE to keep on good terms with the Colonial Government as the Thembu were threatened in the south by the Gcaleka under the young chief Sigcawu and the Mpondo across the Mthatha. The powerful Qwathi tribe, tributary to the Hala, was also a threat to NGANGELIZWE, its chief, Dalisile, being disinclined to submit to the control of the Paramount. NGANGELIZWE therefore followed a policy of settling alien groups, particularly Mfengu, in the open country between the Bashee and Mthatha, particularly a large Mfengu clan under Menziwe which he placed on the east bank of the To this day the locations bordering on the Bashee. Bashee are predominantly Mfengu e.g. Loc.17 Mthentu; Loc.19 Upper Mthentu; Loc. 25 Rune and Loc.27 Gxwalibomvu. It was in pursuit of this policy that land was granted to Europeans along the Mthatha River (paras 23, 24).

85 The most important of NGANGELIZWE's wives, with their issue, were the following:-

- Novili, (great wife) da. of Sarili, Gcaleka chief.
  - a Soka f never married
  - b DALINDYEBO m chief b. 1866
  - c Namnawe f died young
  - d Mrazuli m desc. in Umtata district
  - e Landile @ Mkwento m desc. headmen at Sithebe (Location 16).

- 2 Nosepisi (righthand) da. of Thembu commoner
  - a Ndumiso m headman (chief) at Mpheko, Umta-
  - b ? f married a Mpondomise
  - c Twatikhulu m desc. at Rara Loc. Mganduli
  - d Mpondombini m desc. at Mpeko, Umtata.
- Nomfikwane, (minor qadi to great house) da. of Mkhontwana, a Thembu councillor
  - a Maphaphu f never married
  - b Nompu f living at Mangweni, Umtata
- 4 Nobadyi, (qadi of great house) da. of Sarili, Gcaleka chief
  - a XXII SILIMELA m chief at Quluqu, Engcobo district. Regent for XXIII JONGI-LIZ/E, 1.10.20 to 1.10.24
  - b ? m no issue
- 5 ? (qadi to righthand)
  - a Majingo m desc. headmen at Mvezo Loc.
  - b Mqadi m desc. at Mqekezweni

NGANGELIZWE's marriage with his great wife, Nomkafulo or Novili, took place in May, 1866. She was the daughter of the Paramount Chief of the Xhosa but NGANGELIZWE's treatment of her was so brutal that in 1870 she returned to her people "maimed and covered in wounds" (Brownlee p. 28). NGANGELIZWE immediately applied to the High Commissioner for an officer to reside with him to protect him from Sarili's vengeance and in February, 1871, Mr. E.B. Chalmers was appointed Resident with him. submitted his complaint to the Government and in March of that year a Commission consisting of Chalmers and W. Fynn, Resident with Sarili, fined NGANGELIZWE forty head of cattle. The Gcaleka were not satisfied, however, and on 30th September, 1872, Sarili and Sigcawu crossed the Bashee and completely defeated the Hala. It was only through the intervention of Rev. P. Hargreaves, the missionary at Clarkebury, that NGANGELIZWE was allowed to escape.

87 NGANGELIZWE thereupon offered to cede his whole country to the British Government, but, on the appointment of a Commission in November, 1872, he withdrew his offer saying that some of his chiefs, notably Dalisile of the Qwathi, were opposed to it. NGANGELIZWE's hand was forced, however, by further trouble with the Gcaleka due to his murder of Novili's maid, Nongxokozela, in 1875 (a very full description of this incident and the ensuing battle will be found in Soga pp.248-54, 484-6. Also in Brownlee pp.30-1). On the 28th October, 1875, terms of cession, drawn up by the Rev. P. Hargreaves, were discussed at a meeting at Clarkebury at which all the Thembu chiefs were present with the exception of Dalisile. At Emjanyana on the 10th December Com. Bowker announced that the country was officially taken over. At this meeting Dalisile agreed to come in on condition that his people should have a magistrate of their own and be kept separate from the Thembu. At first NGANGELIZWE was not recognized as chief, but soon it was realized that this was unrealistic and, at the end of 1876, he was officially recognized as Paramount chief of the Thembu. He assisted the Government in the war with Sarili in 1877, when Dalisile and the Qwathi were deeply implicated, and also during Hope's War in 1880. On 31st December, 1884, NGANGELIZWE died and was succeeded by his heir, XXI DALINDYEBO, a youth of eighteen years of age.

- 88 DALINDYEBO was an outstanding personality and under him the Thembu were governed wisely and well. He had the following wives and issue:-
- 1 ? (first qadi of great house) da. of Nqeku of Xongora Location

no issue. She quarrelled with the chief and left him.

- 2 Nomgqata, da. of Mangqata, a Thembu a XXIV JONGINTABA @ DAVID m Regent
- 3 Nonayili, (iqadi to great house) da. of Lolo a Thembu commoner
  - a Noti f ma. a Mfengu headman at Tsitsa b Yukwane f ma. headman Mgudu at Zimbane, Umtata

- c Nonini f ma. headman at Cacadu, Umtata
- d Sihandiba m died in 1918.
- 4 Nokamile, (righthand) da. of Bomvana chief, Rune
  - a XXV DABULAMANZI m Regent 8.1.43 to 30.6.54
  - b Nomthokazi f ma. Qwegusha, a Thembu of Thabase
- 5 Nohajisi, (great house) da. of Bhaca chief Makhaula
  - a ? m died in youth
  - b Nomathokazi f ma. Ngqushwa, Mfengu headman at Peddie
  - c Gertie f ma. Mfengu at Mdikane, Umtata
  - d SAMPU @ JONGILIZWE m Paramount Chief, died 6.7.28
- 6 Noselemu, (iqadi to righthand) da. of Balibesa, Thembu of Mqanduli
  - a Novu f never married
- 7 Nopalamente, (ixhiba) da. of Mpondomise chief, Mhlontlo
  - a Nontla f ma. Dumalisile, Gcaleka headman of Willowvale district
- 8 Nobiya, (second qadi to righthand) da. of Mfengu commoner of Willowvale
  - a Meligqili m headman, Loc. 41, Elliotdale
  - b Sandovana @ Vulindaba m resides at Xongora
    - c Mcane m
    - d Dzane m res. at Tyalara
    - e Mantusi m res. at Tyalara
    - f Nonanzo f ma. Thembu commoner at Mganduli,

XXIII JONGILIZWE was born in 1902. DALINDYEBO has been described in official correspondence as an "exceptional chief" and he had an extremely long reign of thirty-six years. He died suddenly at his kraal at Matyengqina on 22.4.20 while on his way to Umtata to attend the session of the General Council.

89 At the death of his father XXIII JONGILIZWE was a minor and, although a section of the tribe wished XXIV JONGINTABA to be regent, the Department

finally appointed XXII SILIMELA to this post. His candidature was supported by the widow of the great house, Nohajisi. He acted until 1.10.24, when JO-NGILIZWE was officially installed as chief.

- 90 XXIII JONGILIZWE has the following wives and issue:-
- l Nonciba, (iqadi to the great house) da. of Phakamile Ngxishe, a Qiya of Mqanduli
  - a Nxeko m born 19.3.23, resides at Great Place, Bumbane
  - b Nompumelelo f ma. at Umtata
  - c Mthandeni m born 1.1.28, deceased
- Novothi, (great house) da. of Gwadiso Nogemane, Khonjwayo chief, Ngqeleni district
  - a Nompuchuko f unmarried, res. at Qokolweni
  - b SABATA m born 25.11.28, Paramount Chief
- Nokapa, (iqadi to righthand) da. of Samyala Rexe,
  Thembu commoner of Qunu, Umtata
  - a Nompenge f ma. at Ncise, Umtata
- 4 Noashiya @ No-asia, (righthand) da. of Petros Phoswa, Mfengu headman of Elliotdale
  - a Matoti m born 6.8.26
  - b Mvunyelwa m born 3.1.29

JONGILIZWE ruled for only four years, dying of enteric fever on 6.7.28 at the age of twenty-six years. He was described as "a most promising chief". On his death he had not yet married his great wife and the tribe was called together to establish the ranking of the four widows. It is customary for the great wife of a chief to be a non-Thembu and, if possible, of royal blood. Novothi (2), daughter of the Khonjwayo chief, was the only one who fulfilled these requirements and she was elected great wife with the other wives ranking as indicated above. Although at that time she had only borne a daughter to JONGI-LIZWE, she was pregnant and gave birth to SABATA in November, 1928. At this time the tribe decided to lay down the principles of future succession to the chieftainship and it is considered that this

document is important enough to quote in full:-

"Deputation from a meeting held at the Great Place, Monday, 23rd September, 1929: Thomas Phoswayo (Engcobo) stated that at the meeting held at the Great Place on the 21st Sept., 1929 the Thembus unanimously decided to nominate as follows:

Novothi - Great Wife of the late chief Jongilizwe

Nonciba - qadi of the Great House Noashiya - Righthand wife of the late Chief Jongilizwe

Nokapa - Ixiba wife

The Thembus further decided unanimously that the present children of the late Jongilizwe must not be divided by any illegitimate children 'picked up' by his widows, that is, if the heir of the Great House dies he will be succeeded by the heir of the qadi house and that the 'picked up' children - if any-of the Great House will not be entitled to succeed.

- 93 "The heir of the Great House is Sabata born on the 25th November, 1928. Should Sabata die or become incapacitated by any other good reason, Nxeko will succeed. Should he in his turn die or become incapacitated then his brother Mthandeni (since deceased) will succeed. Should he fail to succeed, then Matoti, son of the Righthand wife and next Mvunyelwa, brother of Matoti. In the event of all these nominated heirs not succeeding, the chieftainship to go back to the children of the late Chief Dalindyebo according to their rank. The Thembus desire this decision to be recorded ......
- 94 "Chief Regent David Dalindyebo desires this point of illegitimacy strongly to be emphasised as according to Native custom children born of the widows of the late Chief at the Great Place would be so considered."
- 95 SABATA's youth made a period of regency imperative. From JONGILIZWE's death until his death on 19.8.42 XXIV JONGINTABA (usually known as David

Dalindyebo) controlled the tribe, when he was succeeded by XXV DABULAMANZI. On 30.6.54 SABATA was installed as Paramount Chief and given the tribal name of JONGUHLANGA.

96 For reference purposes a list of chiefs and regents with their dates is appended: - (R indicates regent; dates refer to the period of their reigns)

NDABA	c.1756 - c.1800
NGUBENGCUKA	c.1800 - c.1834
FADANA R	c.1834 - c.1840
MTHIKRAKRA	c.1840 - 1850
JOYI R	1850 - 1863
NGANGELIZWE	1863 - 31.12.1884
DALINDYEBO	1885 - 22. 4.1920
SILIMELA R	1.10.20 - 1.10.24
JONGILIZWE	1.10.24 - 6. 7.28
JONGINTABA R	7. 7.28 - 19. 8.42
DABULAMANZI R	20. 8.42 - 30. 6.54
SABATA	30. 6.54 -

### 9 Regiments:

97 The Hala do not have a system of regiments but initiation into full tribal membership is marked by the circumcision of all youths at puberty. According to Beyer (Zietschrift für Ethnologie 58 (1926) p.260) this custom was taken over by the Thembu from the Xhosa and, although the rites appear to be an integral part of the South Nguni complex generally, there is certainly a remarkable similarity in the details of this custom in these two groups of tribes.

98 There are no tribal rites today, boys of a locality being circumcised together, but formerly youths had to wait until a son of the chief was circumcised, when all were operated on at about the same time, but not at the same place. Apparently this is still done in Mqanduli district. Usually nowadays a rich man will take the initiative and build a lodge (ithonto, iphempe, isuthu) for his son; other boys in the neighbourhood will then make use of it. Circumcision takes place at the begin-

ning of winter, usually in about May, and the beehive shaped lodges are often met with, built a little apart from the homesteads and sometimes surrounded by a circle of white flags (izithabathaba), lovetokens given by the girls.

3

99 After the operation, performed by specialists, the initiates (abakhwetha) live at the lodge and observe strict food taboos. Regular dances (imitshilo) are held periodically at which the typical khwetha costume of conical grass mask (ixonxo) and grass skirt (umhlambi) are worn and which are important social occasions in the life of the people. At about the end of August, after the crops are harvested, a final great umtshilo is held, the ithonto with the sheepskin karosses, worn by the boys during the seclusion period, and other appurtenances of childhood are burnt and the newlyfledged adults are given new blankets in recognition of their changed status. Detailed investigation shows that Thembu circumcision is identical with Xhosa custom described by J.H. Soga in "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs" Lovedale 1931 Chap. XII.

The attainment of puberty among girls is also recognized by a ceremony called intonjane in which the girl is secluded for two weeks in her hut behind a mat screen. She must observe certain food taboos, notably abstention from amasi (sour milk) and salt. Unlike the custom for boys, girls are initiated separately, each at her father's kraal. The seclusion period is divided into two parts. On the first day a sheep or goat called ingen'endlwini is slaughtered and on the tenth day the girl is brought out and a beast (umtshato) is killed. She is then secluded again in the hut for another ten days, when a further ingen endlwini is slaughtered. clusion ends with a ritual washing at the nearest stream. The Mfengu in the district do not have the seclusion period split in this manner.

10 Politi/cal organization:

At rhe head of the tribe is the chief (inkosi enkulu, often called umkumkani, "king"), in this case also the Paramount Chief of all the Thembu tribes. He is senior representative of the royal clan, Dlomo, and his succession is defined by custom. The heir can, generally speaking, only be borne by the great wife of the chief i.e. the wife for whom the lobola cattle are contributed by the tribe as a whole. She/is never the first wife married and is frequently married later in life, often for political reasons. The great wife of a Hala chief should . never be a Thembu (a daughter of the Qwathi chief would be acceptable, however) and should be of royal blood. It is stated by informants that the reason why the Mpondo never attacked the Thembu on a large scale is because NGUBENGCUKA's great wife, Nonesi, was the daughter of the Mpondo chief Faku. Apart from the great wife, a righthand wife is married and the remaining wives are ranked as qadi's under one or other of these two major houses. Succession goes from the great house to its supporting qadi houses and from the righthand house to its qadi houses: the righthand house is regarded in the nature of a separate sub-chieftainship and does not normally provide an heir for the great house. There is no custom of ukuvusa amabele and the chief can place any/child from another house in the great house as heir.

102 The Thembu do not have the custom of ngena (1evirate) (despite the footnote to p. 117 in "The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa" ed. I. Schapera, 1937). They regard the custom as incest, but widows of a deceased chief may "pick up" children from strangers as long as they continue to reside at the Great Place. These children are regarded as belonging to the deceased and can inherit in the usual way. The tribe legislated specifically against this custom in 1929 in connection with the children of JONGILIZWE (see paras. 92-4)

103 The chief is assisted by a number of councillors (amaphakathi), able men chosen by the chief and members of the royal family. In many cases, however, the councillor is not formally chosen but gradually

attains his position through personality and loyalty. It is said that non-Thembu councillors are preferred as a Thembu might aspire to the chieftainship. Amaphakathi are not paid. They consider all matters brought before the chief, look after the welfare of the chief's wives and children and entertain visiting chiefs. They do not reside at the Great Place but are sent for when required. One of their number, called the "great councillor" (iphakathi elikhulu), acts for the chief when he is away from home. Owing to the fact that he has only recently been installed, SABATA has not yet chosen his councillors but is assisted by his brother Nxeko and a secretary, Nkosiyane, who was formerly a clerk in the Native Affairs Department. Apart from the duties enumerated above, informants state that if a husband must be chosen (hlolela) for the chief's daughter it is the amaphakathi who must visit the foreign chief and make all necessary arrangements. Matters affecting the royal family, e.g. marriage, ranking of chief's wives etc., are discussed by a family council which includes the chief's brothers and uncles and the chiefs of other Thembu tribes e.g. Mathanzima, Mgudlwa and Bazindlovu. (see paras. 15, 16).

104 Local administration is carried on by headmen (izibonda) who are in charge of the 31 Locations (iilali) into which the district is divided. In the majority of cases the family of the traditional headman has been confirmed in office while in others a headman was appointed for loyalty and assistance to the Administration e.g. the Mfengu headman Fodo was appointed over Loc. 1 Ncise for leading a number of his men against the rebels in the Mhlontlo Rebellion of 1880. This location is today under a Thembu headman, however. That the tribal composition is by no means homogeneous is shown by the fact that of the 31 locations only 15 are under Hala headmen (all of the royal clan, Dlomo) while the others are divided as follows: -

> Qiya (Hlanga) - 1 Mfengu - 9 Mpondo - 2

Mpondomise	_	2
Xesibe	-	1
Gcaleka	-	1
		16

In this heterogeneity of ethnic composition can be found an explanation for the fact that this tribe does not appear to exhibit the same solidarity as e.g. the Mpondo - although this point must not be unduly stressed. Particularly interesting is the case of the Mfengu clan under Menziwe (para.84) who refused to assist NGANGELIZWE during his quarrel with the Gcaleka in 1872 (para.86). A section of the Thembu in the district consider themselves Mfengui These are the abaThembu baseQudeni, presumably originally of the section of Thembu in Natal (see para. 20, also B. O. Sikosana, Native Teachers' Journal, Vo. XXXI No.4 (1952) pp. 244-7). They are scattered, have no headmen of their own, and conform to Mfengu custom. It is probable that they left Natal at the same time as the Mfengu clans and entered the Cape with them. Unlike the position among the Mpondo, among whom a beast has to be paid to the chief by foreigners wishing to settle in the tribe, among the Thembu only the permission of the chief is required.

105 At the head of a number of homesteads built in a certain locality (ummango) is a sub-headman (ibodi) who settles minor cases by arbitration and represents his people vis-à-vis the headman. These sub-headmen act as the amaphakathi of the headman and, with other adult members of the location, form his ibandla (council).

106 Formerly the duties of a chief included initiating the annual feast of the first fruits, the
doctoring of the seed before planting and the making
of rain. According to M. Nkopo (op.cit. para. 75),
"When there was drought a report was made to the
chief. He then called a meeting and by its decision
the people were sent to go to the rain-maker riding
oxen, and having spoken to them, he would answer the
chiefs messengers and make rain". Today these
customs have died out. Today no free labour is

called up by the chief to perform public works, its place being taken by a cash levy. Thus in 1955 a levy of 12/6 per taxpayer was imposed on all Thembus living under the jurisdiction of the chief (including Emigrant Tembuland and Bomvanaland), headmen contributing £1.5.0., in order to buy a "Thembu" car to enable the chief to visit his outlying subjects, build administrative offices at the Great Place and effect repairs to his residence. On the death of the chief mourning rites are observed for one year during which no circumcision ceremonies or festivities are permitted.

107 It is usual for the heir to the chieftainship to be brought up at the home of the mother's people. This is explained by the danger that exists that minor wives may try to harm the young heir and get one of their own sons placed in the Great House "In the olden days the birth of an heir was never made public"; "only one nurse was allowed in the hut" and "The country did not know when a chief was born". In SABATA's case he was brought up by the Jumba chief, Mgudlwa, as his mother was a member of the Khonjwayo (Mpondo) tribe who were 'too backward'.

108 As among the Mpondo "the chief has no mouth" i.e. all decisions, including judicial ones, are made by the councillors, the chief merely voicing the general opinion in his summing up.

109 The Umtata District Council operates apart from the tribal political system. The district is divided into four electoral areas, each electing a member, two are appointed by the Governor-General and the Paramount Chief is ex officio member. The two Government-appointed councillors are ex-Regent Dabulamanzi Dalindyebo and Headman Mhlabunzima Makhaula, while the elected members are as follows:-

Headman Mayize Sangoni William Memane Shadrach Bam Ntsiqova Phingeleli. Meetings under the chairmanship of the magistrate are held every two months and matters dealt with include the construction of roads, dipping tanks, bridges, Bunga personnel and other specially delegated matters.

#### ll Social:

The main social stratification is between members of the royal family (isiduko: Dlomo) and commoners. All the 15 Hala headmen in the district are members of this clan. As stated above the tribal composition is by no means homogeneous and it is estimated that at least 10 locations, mainly in the western and south-western parts of the district, are predominantly Mfengu. There is apparently no social discrimination against them and other non-Thembu groups on the part of the Hala proper but there is a consciousness of difference occasionally becoming overt in faction fights. This difference is emphasised by differences in custom. The Hala practise ingqithi (finger amputation), the Mfengu do not, Hala women decorate their skirts differently from Mfengu women, the Mfengu circumcise early in the morning and the Hala in the late afternoon and there are also slight differences in the intonjane rites and burial (the Thembu generally bury their dead in a sitting position, the Mfengu recumbent).

There is the typical cleavage on religious lines but a feature of the tribe is the comparatively large number of pagans (estimated by well-informed persons as 60% of the total) in practically all locations, with the exception of Qokolweni, Zimbane, Thabase, Msana and a few others, mainly Mfengu. This is attributed by informants to the fact that headmen are uneducated and also to the attraction of the urban area. 'School people' tend to leave the more outlying locations and settle in those nearer town, e.g. Zimbane and Qokolweni, and also in the urban location and the Ncambedlana allotments north of Umtata (part of the municipal area). Generally speaking there does not seem to be the phenomenon of rapid Christianization noted in some districts. Owing to their few wants, some of the richest men in the district are found among the pagans.

- 112 Birth is attended by the use of certain protective medicines by the mother and a sacrificial killing of a goat. The typical ceremony of passing the child through medicated smoke is observed as is the custom of planting two euphorbia trees in front of the hut in which twins were born.
- Marriage is characterized by clan exogamy 113 embracing the clans of both parents and all four grandparents, and a breach of these regulations is considered as incest. Initiation rites for males and females are noted in paras 97-100. Levirate is not practised, children born to a widow being regarded as legitimate children of the dead man. Polygamy is no longer widely practised and only a few men have three or four wives. Cattle for the ikhazi are contributed by the father but it is usual for a youth to go to the mines for a spell as soon as possible after initiation. Often a father will refuse to provide his son with stock until he has made an effort to earn money for himself. The theleka custom of impounding the wife until further lobola cattle are paid is also observed.
- Although usually a specific area is set aside as a graveyard by the tribesmen living in a locality, formerly, and apparently still in isolated cases today, the owner of the kraal is buried at the gate of the cattle kraal, which is then moved. He is buried in his blankets in a sitting position in a niche dug to one side of the grave and must face towards the hut "just as in life he sat at the door of the great hut and looked towards the cattle kraal". With him are buried a cob of maize, a bunch of kaffircorn, a bean and ground nut and all his personal belongings such as ornaments, mat and pipe. In his hand he holds a shortened spear, as if to strike. Today, particularly in surveyed locations, the kraalhead is buried in the garden.

#### 12 Beliefs:

Among the pagans ancestor worship is still a vital cult and the numerous sacrifices at the cardinal periods of birth, initiation, marriage and death are still performed. Ritual killings (iidini) are made

to placate the spirits in time of sickness. Although no longer performed, the annual ceremony of the first fruits (ulibo) was formerly an important harvest-regulating rite with the typical element of ukushwama or the spitting of the medicated greenstuffs to the east and west. Details are lacking but this was also probably associated, as among the Bhaca, with the strengthening of the chief and tribe.

116 The typical Nguni religious practitioner is found, viz, the igqira (diviner) who acts as a mediator between the living and the dead(amathongo). The generic term amagqira includes various classes e.g. the izanusi (or specialists resorted to when the ordinary diviner fails), the amaxakazana (or more usual type who diagnoses ordinary illnesses and locates lost objects, etc.) and the amatola or wardoctors who treat the army before battle. In addition there is the class of amaxhwele or herbalists, specialists in medicines and charms, who have no supernatural calling and do not divine.

117 There is still a strong belief in a whole system of familiars, notably Thikoloshe (Hili, Dziyana), possessed by men and women and sent to do harm, imfene, a mythical baboon, and others such as ichanti, umamlambo, ingwenya and isithunzela, a living corpse raised up by witches to harm an enemy. These beliefs are common to all the Cape Nguni, exhibiting remarkable uniformity over the whole area, and further détails will be found in M. Hunter, "Reaction to Conquest" 1936 Chap. VI and J.H. Soga, "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs" 1931 Chap. IX.

## 13 Churches and Schools:

118 This subject has been dealt with in paras. 50-55. It will be noted that Christianity does not appear to have had as much influence on social life as in some districts. It is considered that there is some correlation between number of dressed people and number of schools.

### 14 Mode of settlement:

119 This is typically South Nguni. The basic unit of settlement is the household (umzi) consisting of an individual family, sometimes polygamous and/or including perhaps an aged grandmother. Most imizi have their own garden (igadi) next to the cattle kraal with the fields some distance away near the fields of other households in the locality. Most huts are today of the rondavel type with conical roof and the dome-shaped type, fastened on with grass ropes, is disappearing. The huts of Christians usually have a white band painted round the outside walls. Although some traditional circular cattle kraals are met with, the majority are square, often being fenced with aloes. In the south-west they are sometimes made with split poles with the intenstices filled in with brushwood. Between the localities (groups of imizi) there are large stretches of grazing land and fields, the latter usually occupying the river valleys.

### 15 Material culture:

120 In the homes of 'school people' there is a fairly high proportion of European-type furniture, crockery, pictures, etc., their number and quality varying with the wealth of the kraal-owner. In many cases the great hut only is furnished with these articles. The type of goods stocked by traders varies greatly, even within a location, a settlement of 'school people' necessitating a more varied stock. At one trading station, about 12 miles from Clarke-bury Mission Institution (Engcobo district) lace underwear, watches, hair oil, perfume and imitation pearl necklaces are in demand while another, in a backward area, carries mainly blankets and essential foodstuffs (tea, sugar, bread, etc.).

121 Generally speaking, however, the traditional culture remains to a large extent. Clay pots, wooden plates and spoons, grass mats and beerstrainers and the ubiquitous carved pipe are met with all over the district. Thembu men and women are inveterate smokers (whereas Bhaca women, for example, use snuff), while

snuff is also taken. The indigenous form of transport, the sledge, made from logs fixed as a triangular framework and drawn by oxen, is universally used.

#### 16 Tribal marks and dress:

There are no special tribal marks as such but most Hala scarify the chest and abdomen in the pattern of a cross, down the middle-line of the trunk and across the breasts. This has no significance. The custom of ingqithi (amputation of one or more joints of the little finger) is also fairly common (c.60%), as is the case among the Xhosa tribes, and is considered by Bryant as being proof of Bushman contact. Some Mfengu in the district chaza (alit the face). All these customs are associated with childhood and are performed to ensure good health.

123 Although pagan men are tending to adopt European clothing one still comes across a few who wear the traditional woollen blanket and penis sheath with, today, a short cloth skirt (formerly men's dress consisted of a penis sheath only), while a great number of women and girls adhere to tribal costume. Hala women wear cotton blankets stained with red ochre and edged with black braid. dress of a married woman consists of a long skirt (umbaco), a breast cloth (incebetha) and a piece of cloth (ighiya) wrapped round the head like a turban. lighiya of different colours have different names, a dark brown one, for instance, being known as uthe-Both women and girls kwane (hammerkop, a bird). shave the head. Girls wear a short skirt (decorated with beads and buttons among the Mfengu) and leave the breasts bare except when going to the store, when an ochred breast cloth is tied round the neck and allowed to hang down in front. Most of the red ochre (iron oxide) used is imported from Scotland, although a cheaper and inferior variety comes from Mossel Bay. The Hala mix the two. The traditional blanket used for ochreing is white with a black stripe but today these are not selling so well owing to the increase in price (£3 - £5, according to size). Among the "school people" the popular blue german print is also going out of fashion because of its expense. The use of yellow ochre on the face as a cosmetic is general among women and children.

## 17 Cattle and pastoralism:

124 The cattle population consists of scrub cattle with a fair admixture of Afrikander stock. Afrikander type is popular but there is an increasing demand for Brown Swiss, a dual purpose animal. There are no bull camps and the lending of bulls for breeding purposes is discouraged by the Administration, bulls rather being sold to Natives by the Trust under a subsidized scheme whereby the Native pays £17.10.0 and the Trust bears the balance of £12.10.0d. Sheep farming is an important economic activity and the district possesses the largest sheep population of any Transkeian district. As the average annual yield per sheep is c.9/- the total income from wool is considerable. Most traders act as wool-buying agents. Goats are not as important economically but they have great social and ritual value, being acceptable to the ancestral spirits for sacrificial purposes. They are also used in place of cattle in the lobola transactions and are, indeed, the "poor man's cattle". Most of the district has an average rainfall of 32 inches or less and is sweet veld and good for grazing.

125 According to the 1950 Agricultural Census the livestock statistics for the district were as follows:-

Cows and heifers (1 yr a Calves (under 1 yr) Bulls (1 yr and over) Oxen (all ages)	and over)	22,474 1,676 1,116 22,428
	Total	47,694
Wooled sheep Goats Mules Horses Donkeys Pigs Poultry		174,731 31,780 42 4,308 652 9,483 60,832

Wool sold	534,489 lbs
Hides	9,635
Sheepskins	17,525
Goatskins	3,579

Note: These figures refer to the district only and exclude Trust farms.

126 Water for the cattle and small stock is provided by 32 dams, 5 resevoirs and 4 boreholes with windmills, apart from the rivers and streams. The carrying capacity of the land is estimated as 3 morgen per cattle unit giving an optimum cattle population of 63,700 cattle units. The actual figure is 88, 998 cattle units in the district (inclusive of small stock). This means that there are 140 cattle units to the sq. mile instead of the ideal 100 - a very high percentage. To control disease all cattle are registered and it is considered that records are 90% to 95% accurate. The whole of the Transkei is divided into dipping tank areas (which do not necessarily coincide with location boundaries) under the control of dipping foremen. In the coastal districts cattle are dipped every 7 days in summer and every 2 to 4 weeks in winter. while in the inland districts this is done every two weeks in summer and once a month in winter. Umtata lies in the 7 day dipping area. The main stock diseases are East Coast fever (the whole Transkei is an infected area with a focus in the Libode district), gall sickness, lamsiekte, calf paratyphoid and internal and external parasites e.g. tape worm, nodula worm and hook worm. badly infected with these ground and tape worms which are often fatal, especially in winter. Inoculation against anthrax is done annually. There are no milk schemes in the district.

As among all Cape Nguni, working with the cattle is confined to men, women being prohibited from entering the cattle kraal because of ritual impurity (umlaza). On marriage a special beast called inkomo yobulunga, which will be used to provide milk at her new home, is given to the bride by her father. It marks a special relationship with the ancestral spirits.

# 18 Agriculture:

128 The following was the agricultural picture when the Agricultural Census of 1951 was taken (district excluding Trust lands):-

Total area used for growing all crops 46,387 mgn Uncultivatable (forest, mountain veld, etc.) 138,039 mgn

Crop	Yie	eld	Areas	under crop.
Wheat Winter cereals Maize Sorghum Peas Beans	nil 15 67,564 388 19 2,933	bags " " "	ur	nil 18 mgn 5,203 " 124 " 11 "
				among
			ma	aize
Sweet potatoes	64%	. " )		
Potatoes	(120 1 484 (37 <del>2</del>	pkts )	combined	56 mgn
Tobacco Citrus trees	?			134 "
Trees, deciduous	s-fruit	6,770		
Sub-tropical		162		

129 The census of agricultural implements showed the following:-

Ploughs (1 furrow)		6,312
" (2 furrows or more)		22
Harrows		1,030
Cultivators		5,709
Waggons and trolleys		311
Carts		65
Sledges		4,877
Planters		
Mills		2,306
	* .	.5
Sheep dipping tanks		38
Cattle " "		27
		- 1

Although essentially a pastoral people the Hala have always practised agriculture, their traditional crops being kaffir corn or sorghum (amabele), pumpkins (amathanga), beans and sweet reed (imfe). The staple crop of today is maize. In recent years there has been a marked decrease in the amount of kaffir corn grown. This is attributed by informants to the fact that since the introduction of schooling many of the children are away from home and it is impossible to keep the birds from the crops. kaffir corn is grown mainly for beer brewing. Tobacco has also been cultivated since before the arrival of Europeans (see M. Shaw, "Native pipes and smoking in South Africa", Annals of the South African Museum. Vol. XXIV, Part 5, p.277) and Bryant, in a footnote to page 8 states as follows:-

"It were interesting to note in this connection that the survivors of the Stavenisse, wrecked in Alexandra County (Lat.30-31), Natal, on the 16th Feb., 1686, inform us that the natives dwelling in the neighbourhood of the wreck "have tobacco and smoke it" (Bird, Annals of Natal, 1., 32), and that they are called "the Temboes"".

Five locations in the district have been 132 declared Betterment Areas and rehabilitation is in progress. Land cultivation is generally good and large quantities of fertilizer are used, although no rotation of crops is practised. The agricultural staff consists of one European Agricultural foreman, one Trust demonstrator (with two years training at an agricultural school) and 8 General Council demonstrators. It is estimated that the average yield is c.3 bags per morgen. Surplus grain is sold to traders who sell it back to the Natives in time of scarcity and the use of galvanized iron grain tanks (costing £35 each) is becoming more popular. grain in the pits (izisele) tends to ferment and becomes unfit for sale. More fencing material is also being bought in some areas, e.g. Gxwalibomvu, and is used to keep stock off the roads and out of gardens (but not fields). Fences are taken down after harvest. Ploughing is superficial, averaging about 6" deep.

#### 19 Economic:

133 Although there is only a limited market for labour in Umtata itself there is a considerable flow of labour into the area from the adjoining districts of Tsolo, Mqanduli, Ngqeleni and Libode. Many labourers prefer to obtain work nearer home than to go to the more distant labour centres. Main employers of labour are commerce (including traders in the district) Government Departments, Municipality, Provincial Roads Administriation and the building industry. Domestic work is also comparatively popular, being practically confined, however, to young boys under the age of 18 and women. Generally speaking, however, the great majority of men go for shorter or longer periods to the gold mines and large towns of the Cape Province and Reef where wages are higher. In June, 1955, the number of Natives of the district in such service (estimated by the Regional Employment Bureau) was:-

Mines		0				3,800
Farming					•	400
Industry,	etc				٥	3,500

Perhaps the most popular work centre is the Western Province, which is a "closed" area to outside labour and where wages are above the average.

134 In general labour is recruited through the Regional Labour Bureau of the Department but, in addition, there are 6 recruiting agencies chief of which is the Native Recruiting Corporation which recruits for the gold mines. There is practically no recruiting done by traders as is common in the coastal districts of the Transkei.

135 In general there appears to be little real poverty and money is fairly plentiful. Clerks, teachers and others in Government and municipal employ dress well and there is a growing Native middle class in and around the urban area. The total income for the period 1954-5 was £184,988. Trading stations are found throughout the area and bring articles of European manufacture to the most inaccessible locations. Buyers are laying increasing stress on quality and will often not accept a cheap

material. A large amount of tea is sold and it is interesting that only the best quality blends are in demand: recent increases in price have made little difference to sales. There is also a steady demand for beads.

20 Health:

This subject has been discussed at length in paras. 56-9.

21 Sources:

137 The material used in the above study was obtained in the district during the months of May and June, 1955. Apart from official and missionary sources much assistance was got from Chief M. Sangoni and other old men of the tribe.

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