



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA



Department of Native Affairs

Ethnological Publications No. 36

THE TRIBES OF WILLOWVALE DISTRICT

by

W. D. HAMMOND-TOOKE.

Price 

Eastern Cape

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTER, PRETORIA
C.P.-S.1279367—1956-7—800.

C O N T E N T S

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

	Para.	Page
1 Boundaries	1	5
2 Extent	2	5
3 Control	3	5
4 Communications	5	6
5 Geography	7	6
6 Early and present inhabitants	12	8
7 Chronological table of district events	22	14
8 Numbers and distribution of the Native population. Tables 1 and 2..	23	16
9 Farms and agricultural statistics ..	27	21
10 Missions and education	29	21
11 Health	38	24
12 Sources	42	26
THE AMAGCALEKA	44	27
Bibliography	159	80
Index	-	83
Map		

1 Boundaries

1 The district of Willowvale forms one of the constituent districts of what is known as the Transkei Proper, a historically determined area which includes the districts of Kentani, Butterworth, Idutywa, Nqamakwe and Tsomo. In 1878 three territories, which since 1865 had been under the guidance of British Residents although governed by their own chiefs according to tribal custom, were united to form the Chief Magistracy of the Transkei. These were the areas known as Fingoland (the present Butterworth, Nqamakwe and Tsomo), Gcalekaland (Willowvale and Kentani) and the Idutywa Reserve. The annexation of Gcalekaland to the Cape Colony was mooted in the Cape Parliament in 1878 but it was not until 26.8.1885 that it was finally effected, by Proc. No. 140 of 1885. The area was included in the Transkei by Proc.No.53 of 1891 and the district boundaries were demarcated by Proc. No. 56 of 1891, dated 11.2.1891. During the period from 1878 to its annexation in 1885 Gcalekaland was treated as part of the Chief Magistracy but the Governor of the Cape Colony held a separate commission as Governor of Gcalekaland. The district was divided into locations by G.N.338 of 1916.

2 Extent

2 The Willowvale district, as defined above, covers an area of 537 sq.miles. The entire area is Native Reserve with the exception of the village commonage and one Native privately-owned farm, Mbo-kothwana, of 458 mgn 300 sq.rds, situated near the coast at the mouth of the Qhora River. There are no Trust farms in the district.

3 Control

3 Although the territory known as Gcalekaland was formally annexed in 1885, it was annexed by conquest in 1878 and the first magistrate assumed duty on 2.1.1879. Previous to this the Cape Government had been represented with the amaGcaleka by

Residents. A court of the Resident Magistrate was established under the provisions of the annexing proclamation and by Proc. No. 53 of 1891, and the limits of the district for judicial purposes were defined by Proc. No. 56 of 1891.

4 Since 1929 the Magistrate has also held the office of Native Commissioner in terms of G.N. 299 of 1928. The district was graded as a First Grade station on 1st August, 1935, and promoted to Senior Grade from January, 1951.

4 Communications

5 Willowvale lies between the district of Idutywa and the coast and is reached by a good Provincial road from the latter village. The district lies in the very broken country that descends from the central plateau to the sea but, generally speaking, communications are good and almost every part of the district can be easily reached by fairly good roads, maintained by the local district council. Practically all locations are served by Native buses running between them and Willowvale village.

6 There is no railway, the nearest railhead being at Idutywa, 19 miles distant. Freight is carried between Idutywa and Willowvale by buses of the South African Railways Road Motor Transport Services.

5 Geography

7 Willowvale is a coastal district. It is bounded in the south by the Qhora River and the district of Kentani, in the west by Idutywa, in the north by the Bashee River (Mbashe) and the district of Elliotdale, while its eastern boundary is formed by the Indian Ocean. Altitudes vary from sea level to 2,347 feet (Fort Malan) and the climate is mild with considerable precipitation during the summer months. The whole district is well watered by numerous streams which flow into the five main perennial rivers viz. Qhora, Qwaninga, Shixini, Nqabara and Bashee.

8 In the extreme west and south-west the country is undulating but becomes very broken nearer the coast, being carved by streams into a tumble of hills, escarpments and spurs. The whole area falls naturally into four distinct sections, divided from one another by the above-mentioned five rivers. The country is mainly grassland and indigenous forests clothe the kloofs and valleys, while along the coast sourveld and typical coastal bush are found. The dense Dwesa forest (5,911 mgn), the largest in the district, stretches for approximately eight miles between the Bashee and Nqabara Rivers, and the district is generally well forested, 11,085 mgn being forest reserve. Forests are under the control of a European forester and two armed Native forest guards and a European foreman is stationed at Dwesa. The main forest groups are Dwesa, Willowvale Plantation, Sebeni, Bojeni, Nduku and Ngwane.

9 There are no mountains affecting precipitation but the steady rise from sea level ensures a good rainfall throughout the district.

10 No minerals are mined but prospecting for titanium has been carried out at the coast. It occurs in small quantities but transport costs make development uneconomical.

11 The following figures taken from the publication "Rainfall Normals" of the Meteorological Office, Department of Irrigation, (1939) show the monthly distribution of rain in inches at a few important stations (up to 1935). It will be noted that rain station 4152 (Ngunduzi) is situated in the Kentani district but it is included here to give a more general picture of climatic conditions. It lies close to the Willowvale boundary and is representative of the drier flats that adjoin the Idutywa district. There is a steady increase in rainfall towards the coast.

INTRODUCTION

RAINFALL

No. of rain station	4157	4152	4166	4181
Altitude in feet	1,930	1,900	500	123
Period of years to 1935	45-47	7-8	9	7
Oct.	4.75	4.43	4.42	4.62
Nov.	4.51	5.46	5.20	4.99
Dec.	5.18	4.21	4.24	4.81
Jan.	5.12	4.04	3.62	3.87
Feb.	4.74	3.69	3.85	3.62
March	5.30	5.77	6.20	5.39
April	2.78	1.40	2.28	3.39
May	1.70	1.12	2.19	3.09
June	1.25	0.99	2.20	3.58
July	1.24	2.95	3.24	4.78
Aug.	1.39	1.45	1.96	2.11
Sept.	3.39	3.46	3.74	4.18
Annual total	41.35	38.97	43.14	48.43
Days	101	881	105	124

Key to rain station numbers: 4157 : Willowvale(west central); 4152 : Ngunduza(south-west); 4166 : Ugadla (south-east); 4181 : Bashee (north-east).

6 Early and present inhabitants

12 Although no rockpaintings have been found, the earliest inhabitants of the district were probably Bushmen who roamed the country in nomadic bands living on the game which abounded. As late as 1870 buffalo were found in the Dwesa and Manubie

forests and hippopotami at the mouth of the Bashee (D.B. Hook, "With Sword and Statute", 1906 p.121). The Gcaleka, in common with the other Xhosa tribes, have adopted the typical Bush custom of amputating one or more of the joints of the little finger (ingqithi) and the presence of click consonants in isiXhosa would seem to point to a lengthy contact at an early period with either Bushmen or Hottentots. Considerable midden deposits of shellfish are found at many places along the coast, indicating the former presence of Strandlooper groups.

13 At present the district is occupied by an independent tribe, the amaGcaleka, the senior branch of a number of related tribes called collectively amaXhosa. Originally the Xhosa formed a single tribe, but the fissiparous tendency inherent in the institution of great house and righthand house has caused splitting to take place and the Xhosa are now divided into a number of independent sections, each however recognizing the overriding paramountcy of the Gcaleka chief. The Xhosa tribal complex was the southernmost of all the Cape Nguni tribes and, at one time, occupied an extensive area including what is today known as Fingoland, Emigrant Tembuland and the district of Queenstown. Since the cattle-killing episode of 1856-7, however, they have lost much of their original territory and the main tribal sections are today distributed as follows:-

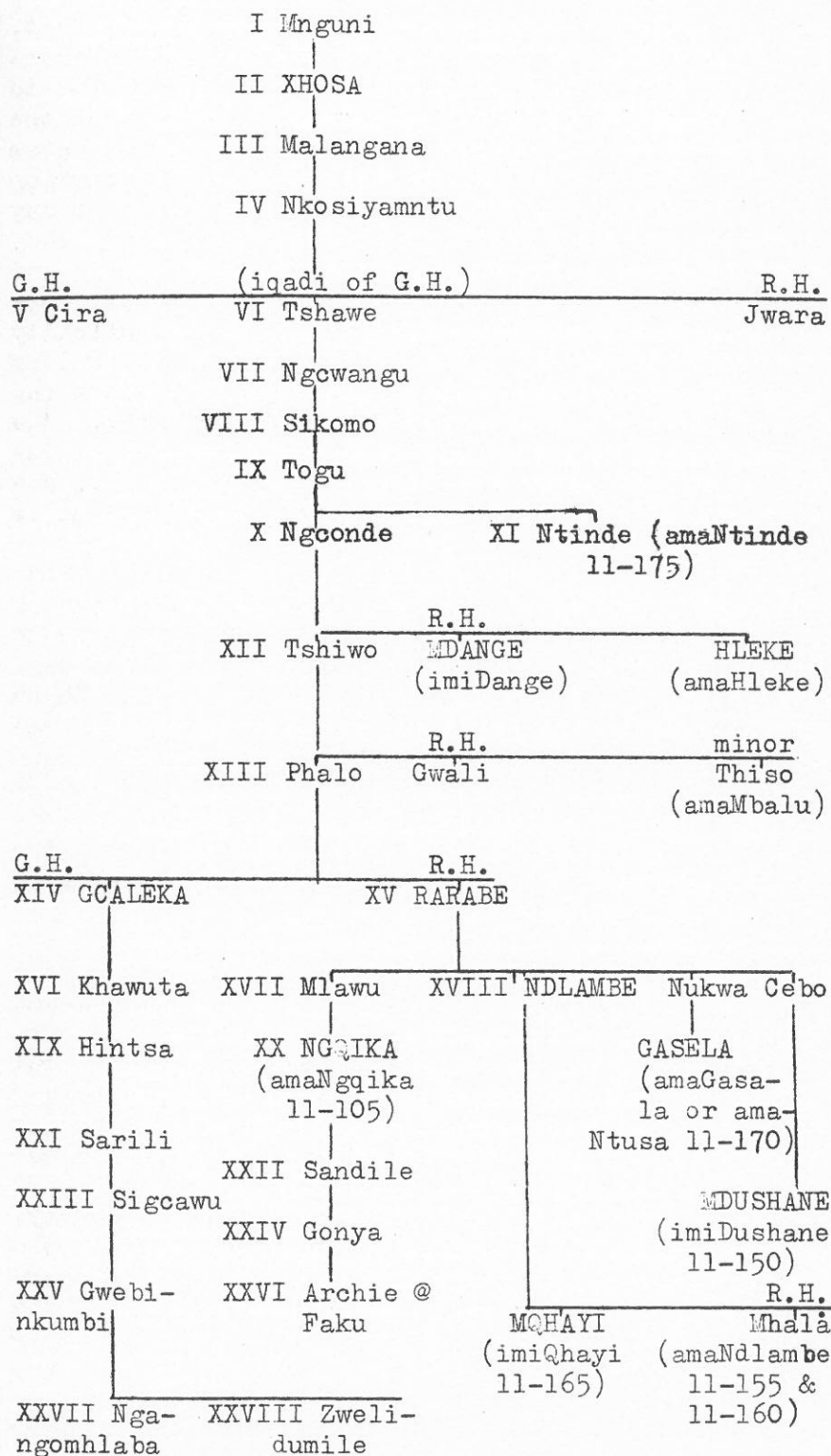
Index No.	Name	Main concentration	Chief
11-085	amaGcaleka	Willowvale & Idutywa	Zwelidumile Sigcawu
11-105	amaNgqika (amaRarabe)	Kentani	Archie Sandile
11-150	imiDushane	King William's Town	Nofikile Siwane (regentess)
11-155	amaNdlambe	East London	Ngwenyati Makinana

Index No.	Name	Main concentration	Chief
11-160	amaNdlambe	Idutywa	no recog. chief
11-165	imiQhayi	King William's Town	Nonayiti Jali (regentess)
11-170	amaGasela	King William's Town	Mabikwe Toise
11-175	amaNtinde	King William's Town	W. Tshatshu
11-180	amaMbalu	Tsolo	no recog. chief
11-185	amaGqunukhwebe	Middledrift	Siseko Khama

14 The above classification follows "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa" by Dr. N.J. van Warmelo, Ethnol. Publ. No.5, 1935, and does not include the numerous scattered groups of Xhosa in the Ciskei, living mostly on European farms, and groups such as the two Gcaleka locations in the St. Marks district which are under headmen. The Gqunukhwebe tribe is of foreign origin and thus does not find a place in the Xhosa genealogies.

15 In order to make the above classification clearer, a skeleton genealogical chart showing the relationship of the various "sub-tribes" to the ruling group now follows:

Note: Capitals denote chiefs under whom a tribal group split off from the parent tribe or after whom it is named. A more detailed table will be found in J.H. Soga's "The South-Eastern Bantu", p. 80, and below in Section 7 (Skeleton genealogy of the chiefs). G.H. means "Great House", R.H. means "Right-hand House".



16 Today allegiance to the paramount does not, in practice, mean more than lip service, but formerly it was well-defined and marked by the payment to him, on the part of minor chiefs, of part of the death dues(isizi) and of fines imposed for offences against the chief. There was also the obligation to fight for the paramount in time of war. Today these customs are no longer observed and indeed, according to J.H. Soga ("The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs", 1931), tribes such as the amaGwali, amaNtinde, imiDange and amaMbalu became practically independent at an early date owing to their long separation from the main Xhosa branch "admitting only a nominal connection with the Gcalekas, the royal house, or with the right-hand house, the Rarabes, called later the Gaikas"(Ngqikas)(p.23). His summing up of the political inter-relationships is specific: "The various groups of the Ama-Xosa are a unity only in respect of a common stock and tribal sentiment, but not in the sense of control" (p.26). The Gcaleka themselves say that no appeals lie to the court of the paramount from the court of, say, the Ngqika chief and that the chiefs of other Xhosa sections do not take their cue from the Gcaleka chief. "They come together as brothers" and sometimes meet to discuss family matters. The unravelling of the exact relationships, as they exist today, of the Xhosa tribes to one another and to the amaGcaleka will have to await further research in the groups themselves.

17 The Gcaleka tribe inhabiting the Willowvale district is not homogeneous in ethnic composition and includes many groups of non-Xhosa descent, mainly 'Mfengu' (i.e. Zizi, Bhele and Hlubi), but also Ntlangvini, Bhaca and Sotho, who are mainly settled in the northern half of the district, across the Shixini River. Eight predominantly non-Gcaleka locations in this area have been recently (1955) placed under the control of a Hlubi chief's deputy, R.W. Soshankane, headman of Loc. 31 Nqabara, who exercises civil jurisdiction over them. This arrangement is purely one of convenience, so that the various non-Gcaleka groups may have a court at their disposal which is able to apply 'Mfengu' law, and

does not detract in any way from the allegiance due to the Gcaleka chief. Soshankana is a member of Chief Zwelidumile's council. At the time of writing no cases had yet been heard by Soshankana but informants stated that cases arising between Gcaleka resident in his area of jurisdiction would be heard at the chief's court and not by him.

18 Besides the Native inhabitants there are about 300 Europeans in the district, mostly traders. Europeans first settled in the area in c.1839, when Beecham Wood was founded between the mouths of the Nqabara and Shixini by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The Rev. Horatio Pearse took up residence in 1841, but the station must have been abandoned in 1858 after the cattle killing episode (Nongqawuse) had denuded the country of its population.

19 No other Europeans lived in the area until c.1860, when Fort Bowker was established between the Nqabara and Bashee Rivers in order to keep the Gcaleka, who had been driven over the Bashee after the cattle killing, from recrossing it. It was garrisoned by men of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police (F.A.M.P.) and named after Col.J.H.Bowker (for a description of Forts Bowker, Malan and Beecham Wood, all situated in the Willowvale district, see B.Holt, "Old Forts of the Transkei", *Africana Notes and News* (1955) 11:6 pp 197-200). Sometime between 1860-70 the Malan Mission was founded and in 1877, during the Ninth Kaffir War, Fort Malan was built about seven miles away by the F.A.M.P., taking its name from the mission.

20 Originally the whole of what is now the Willowvale district was known as the Malan Division, a temporary name given to it by Capt. Blyth, after the Gcaleka War (1877-8) and prior to the appointment of a permanent magistrate. Maj.D.B.Hook acted as magistrate for a short period with his headquarters at Fort Malan. In 1878 a police camp was established on the site of the present magistracy and on 2.1.1879 Mr. F.N. Streatfeild, the first magis-

trate, took up residence. Willowvale was originally intended by Sir George Grey for European settlement, this being strongly advocated by Sir Walter Currie in 1861, but Wodehouse, Grey's successor, was ordered by the Colonial Office to abandon the scheme.

21 On his appointment Streatfeild surveyed the district and decided on the present site of the village, an area known by the Natives as Gatyana, after a prominent tribesman who lived nearby. He describes the first house as a "grass hut about 10 feet in diameter" (F.N. Streatfeild, "Reminiscences of an Old 'Un", 1911, p.177) but a residency, costing £500, was built by 1881 (p.222). A wattle and daub hut, erected on the site of what is now the Old Court House, served as a court room. The post office was built c.1895 and the present administrative offices were completed in 1925. It is stated that the name "Willowvale" is derived from the former presence of a number of willows which grew in the valley behind the Old Residency. Trading stations in the district were first established at Weza, Mahasana and Badi.

7 Chronological table of district events:

- | | | |
|----|----------------|---|
| 22 | 1835, 12th May | Death of HINTSA at Nqabara River |
| | 1835 | "Emancipation" of the amaMfengu (Fingoes) |
| | 1839 | Beecham Wood founded |
| | 1856-7 | "Nongqawuse" cattle killing episode |
| | 1858 | SARILI driven across the Bashee |
| | c.1860 | Fort Bowker built |
| | 1864 | SARILI allowed to return to the district |
| | 1872 | Thembu-Gcaleka War(NongxokoZelo) |
| | 1877-8 | Gcaleka(Ninth Kaffir)War. Battles at Gwadana, Lusizi, Ibeka and Kentani. Fort Malan established |
| | 1878 | Gcalekaland divided into the districts of Willowvale and Kentani |
| | 1879, 2nd Jan. | F.N. Streatfeild (Nxalo, Vul'indlela) appointed as first magistrate |

1884, Oct.	M.W.Liefeldt(Nofeleti) appointed magistrate
1885	Annexation of Gcalekaland to the Cape Colony
1887, 14th Nov.	Wreck of the "Idomene" off Qhora Mouth
1908	W.T. Hargreaves (Hagile) apptd. magistrate
1911	A.S. Leary apptd. magistrate
1921	Death of GWEBINKUMBI
1923	Locusts appeared in small swarms
1924, 23rd Jan.	Installation of NGANGOMHLABA as chief
1928, 12th March	Death of Headman Manxiwa (Lindinxwa)
1929, May	First Native Agricultural Show held (for the combined districts of Willowvale and Idutywa)
1929, Sept.	First dam for drinking water conservation built at Rora Bush
1933, 2nd June	Death of NGANGOMHLABA
1933, June	Installation of ZWELIDUMILE as chief
1933, 17th July	Village Management Board established
1934	Locust invasion
1937	Fyfe-King bridge over the Bashee opened.

The following is a list of magistrates of the district (since 1913):

1913- 28	D.S. Campbell
1929-31	R.Fyfe-King (Mnyamezeli)
1931-37	C.R. Norton
1937-40	L.M. Shepstone
1940-41	M.L.C.Liefeldt (Actg.)
1941-43	A.G. Strachan
1943-46	J.K.H. Guest
1946-51	A.M.Blakeway (Ndlelamnyama)
1951-55	J.Hen-Boisen (Zanemvula)
1955-	W.J.M. Norton.

8 Numbers and distribution of the Native population

23 The population figures for the district of Willowvale 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. Although in most Transkeian districts the 1951 Census figures are generally lower than those for 1946, the census-taking in Willowvale seems to have been more accurate, only the figures for males showing a decrease. This is to be expected, as large numbers of men are away from the district at any one time, working at the main labour centres of the Union. The gross increase of the Native population of only 746 persons, however, seems to indicate that there has been error in the census-taking itself. The average national increase is c.2% per annum and on this basis one would expect a population in 1951 of at least 68,852 persons. Unfortunately there is no method of estimating the percentage of error in the census-taking and recourse must be had to other techniques if an approximation to the true population figure is to be made.

24. The following gives the population figures of the district at previous censuses:-

Year	Urban	Rural	Males	Females	Total Natives	Total all races
1921	-	42,377	19,078	23,299	42,377	42,735
1936	217	55,345	22,357	33,205	55,562	56,046
1946	271	62,322	25,972	36,621	62,593	62,929
1951	300	63,039	25,551	37,339	63,339	63,648

25 One approach to the problem of population estimation is through the use of masculinity ratios. In his "Language Map of South Africa" (Ethnol. Publ. No. 27, 1952, paras. 10-2) Dr. N.J. van Warmelo has shown that the masculinity ratio of the Xhosa-speaking peoples is c.48.4%. With this ratio as a

basis it is possible to calculate the population of a district fairly accurately as long as the number of females is known. Generally speaking Native women in the Transkei do not leave their homes for any length of time and it is probable that the figure of 37,339 females given in the census represents more or less the actual position. If 37,339 represents 51.6% of the population, the total population should be c.72,362. The number of males is therefore 35,023 of which only 25,551 were enumerated, the balance of 9,472 or 13.1% of the total Native population being away from home at the time of the census. The density is 134 persons per sq. mile.

26 Relevant statistical material is presented in the following tables:-

Table No. 1 : Distribution of population over district (1951 Census).

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

Attention is also drawn to the distribution map.

TABLE NO.1. DISTRICT OF WILLOWVALE
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Census area number	Description	Tribe	Total	Male	Female
001	Willowvale Urban	Mixed	285	190	95
	Miscellaneous, Mixed construction gangs, etc.		15	12	3
	TOTAL URBAN		300	202	98

Location No.:

801	1	Cafuthweni	Gcaleka	2,110	814	1,296
802	2	Busila	Gcaleka	1,628	667	961
803	3	Ngqaqini	Gcaleka	1,398	560	838
804	4	Ngoma	Gcaleka	744	295	449
805	5	Mhlanhlane	Gcaleka	1,864	721	1,143
806	6	Dadamba	Gcaleka	2,359	922	1,437
807	7	Nkanga	Gcaleka	688	276	412
808	8	Nkonkwana	Gcaleka	567	220	347
809	9	Nqadu	Gcaleka	1,923	767	1,156
810	10	Ntlabane	Gcaleka	2,313	927	1,386
811	11	Ncedana	Gcaleka	547	232	315
812	12	Weza	Zizi, few Gc.	887	357	530
813	13	Nxanxashe	Gcaleka	521	214	307
814	14	Kwanyana	Gcaleka	784	305	479
815	15	Qwaninga	Gcaleka	2,114	849	1,265
816	16	Sebeni	Gcaleka	812	305	507
817	17	Nakazana	Zizi & Bhele	364	147	217
818	18	Ngxutyana	Gcaleka	580	236	344
819	19	Bonxa	Bhele	2,044	834	1,210
820	20	Mbozi	Bhele	1,259	496	763
821	21	Shixini	Gc.few Mf.	2,657	1,054	1,603
822	22	Jujura	Gc.few Mf.	1,590	610	980
823	23	Qakazana	Ntlang. & Gcaleka	2,402	913	1,489
824	24	Nkelekete	Maduna (Sotho)	973	404	569

INTRODUCTION

19

Census area number	Description Location No.	Tribe	Total	Male	Female
826	26 Xonyeni	Zizi	1,044	431	613
827	27 Ntlahlane	Gcaleka	1,357	558	799
828	28 Ntshatshongo	Zizi	3,968	1,642	2,326
829	29 Gwadu	Zizi	889	367	522
830	30B Nqabarana	Zizi	3,193	1,344	1,849
831	30A Nqabarana)	Zizi	3,917	1,605	2,312
	31 Nqabara)	Hlubi			
832	32 Mfula	Bhaca	664	263	401
833	33 Bikana	Gcaleka	1,568	606	962
834	34 Mndundu	Bhele	1,997	759	1,238
835	35 Ramra	Mfengu	1,356	520	836
836	36 Mbangcolo	Zizi	1,640	680	960
837	37 Ntsimbakazi	Zizi	1,041	441	600
838	38 Msendu	Ntlangwini	2,689	1,073	1,616
839	39 Mendu	Zizi	4,382	1,742	2,640
800	Mbokothwana (Native-owned farm).		15	6	9
	Miscellaneous, construction gangs		191	187	4
TOTAL RURAL			63,039	25,349	37,690
TOTAL URBAN			300	202	98
GRAND TOTAL			63,339	25,551	37,788

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

Estimate of population	72,000
Taxpayers (Dec. 1955)	c.23,000
Area of district in morgen	162,378
Area in sq. miles	537
Cattle units 1)	98,566
Population per sq. mile (rural)	134
Cattle units per 100 of population	137
Cattle units per sq. mile	183
Overstocking (at 3 mgn per cattle unit)	83%

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

9 Farms and agricultural statistics

27 The whole of the district of Willowvale is Native reserve with the exception of the village and its commonage and one privately-owned Native farm, Mbokothwana, of 458 mgn 300 sq.rds, situated near the coast between the mouths of the Qhora and Juru-ra rivers. This farm is used mainly for grazing and the cultivation of maize. There are no Trust farms in the district.

28 The details of Native agriculture will be treated under the section on the tribes inhabiting the district (see below).

10 Missions and Education

29 The first mission work in the district was begun in 1841 when Beecham Wood was established by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It was founded by the Rev. Horatio Pearse as one of three new Wesleyan stations financed with money donated at the Centenary Celebrations of the founding of Methodism held in October, 1839 (the others were Shawbury, at the Great Place of the Bhaca chief Ncapayi, and Imvani, south of Queenstown). The mission was named after the Rev. John Beecham, General Secretary of the Society in 1835, and appears to have been abandoned c.1856-7 after the whole of the district had been depopulated by the "Cattle Killing Delusion" (see below). The work was never resumed and today there is no sign of the original station. A grave, said by the Natives to be that of a white preacher who was tortured and killed by the Gcaleka, lies near the spot but there are no records of any clergyman having been killed in the area.

30 Mission work among the amaGcaleka, however, was begun earlier, when the Butterworth Mission was founded by the Rev. William Shaw at HINTSA's kraal. Shaw ("The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa", 1860, p. 478) describes the site thus: "My

first interview with this Chief (HINTSA), as already stated, was in April, 1825. On our arrival we had an opportunity of surveying the "royal residence". It was situated among some singular rocks of globular trap-stone, and commanded a view of a beautiful valley, comprising an extensive flat of rich alluvial soil, bounded by a meandering stream called by the Kaffirs Gcuwa, or Ghoowa, which, in a round-about course, gave the valley a circular form. The kraal consisted of some thirty huts of the usual size and appearance". The village of Butterworth today occupies this site and is called by the Natives eGcuwa. Shaw's visit was of a preliminary nature and the mission was not established until 1827. "Hintsa did not, however, formally recognize the Missionaries till some months afterwards, when on August the 9th, 1827, with great Kaffir ceremony, he sent to the Station one of his brothers and a company of Counsellors, mostly old men, (Counsellors of Kauta, his father,)." (p. 485). The Rev. W.J. Shrewsbury was the first missionary with HINTSA.

31 It appears that the Gcaleka were on the whole indifferent to the work of the mission but great progress was made in evangelizing the amaMfengu (Fingo). These people were the remnants of a number of tribes which had been broken and scattered by the disruptive wars of the Zulu ascendancy in Natal and the depredations of the amaNgwane chief, Matiwane, and had sought sanctuary under the Gcaleka chiefs. Their position in Gcaleka society appears to have been distinctly inferior and they welcomed the ministrations of the missionary at Butterworth, particularly those of Shrewsbury's successor, the Rev. John Ayliff. Butterworth in effect became a Fingo mission, a fact which eventually made HINTSA antagonistic to the work.

32 In 1876 the Malan Mission was established in the north-western part of the district. It was founded by Maj. C.H. Malan, Officer Commanding the 75th Regiment (The Stirlingshires), who intended it as an interdenominational mission to the Gcaleka. He retired from the army in 1876 and personally carried on the work assisted by Messrs Noble and

Clark. Malan Mission was later taken over by the United Free Church of Scotland.

33 Since the 1880's other missions have commenced work in the district. Most mission work is still in the hands of the Methodist church which has 43 registered church sites, while the other churches working in the district are the United Free Church of Scotland, which is represented by the associated Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) and the African Presbyterian Church.

34 Statistics of the churches and outstations in the district are as follows (registered sites only):

Methodist Church of S. Africa	43
Bantu Presbyterian Church	27
Church of the Province of S. Africa	13
African Presbyterian Church	9
	<hr/> 92

This figure does not include purely Native churches not recognized by the Government.

35 Willowvale is fairly well off for schools. In 1953 there were 63 primary schools and two secondary schools, Fort Malan and Nqabara, with a total enrolment of 8,228. The figure today (1955) is probably in the region of 8,500. Of this number 350 pupils attend the two high schools. In addition to these aided schools there are four unaided private schools. The number of teachers employed in the Government schools is 202, 96 male teachers and 106 female, all certificated. There are no industrial schools. The average attendance is estimated at between 70% and 80% of the total enrolment.

36 School feeding is organized through a central school feeding committee at Umtata but from 1956 this function will probably be taken over by the local school board. This latter body came into being on 1st April, 1955, under the provisions of the

Bantu Education Act (Act No. 47 of 1953) and, according to the Inspector of Schools, is fulfilling its functions very satisfactorily. The composition of the school board is as follows: a chairman and vice-chairman nominated by the chief, four parent members nominated from the various school committees, two members nominated by the Native Commissioner and two members appointed to represent special, e.g. religious, interests. The present school board consists of three headmen, two ministers of religion, one housewife, the chief and his secretary and two peasant farmers. The appointment of a woman to the board is an interesting development in Bantu social life: she is described as probably the most outstanding member of the board.

37 Although most children attend school at one time or another the great majority of children never go further than Standard I. Pagan parents, in particular, are reluctant to allow their children to attend for any length of time as boys are needed for herding and girls to assist their mothers in the home. Two sessions of 3 hours each are held a day, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon, and the average class contains 30-40 children. The size of class-room is a limiting factor in this respect, most consisting of mud-and-thatch rondavels. The standard of these buildings is fairly good, however, and in general there is an increasing desire for education and co-operation on the part of the parents. At present there is one school for every 1,113 persons, of all ages.

11 H e a l t h

38 Generally speaking the health of the district is good and there is a 2% per annum natural increase despite the fact that infantile mortality is high. The coastal districts of the Transkei show specific environmental features which differentiate them from the districts lying further inland. There is relatively little frost, there is no lack of water and the climate is generally warmer than in the uplands. The Natives thus have greater access to milk at

certain times of the year; probably in the rainy season only c.30% of the population is without milk. On the other hand overstocking and overpopulation mean that large numbers never see milk in the dry winters, and commercial dried milk is becoming increasingly popular with Native mothers.

39 The incidence of tuberculosis is probably in the region of just over 2%. A mass X-ray and tuberculin survey conducted in 1953-4 in Umtata and surrounding districts yielded a 2.3% incidence (F.J. Wiles and C.J. Rabie, "Tuberculin and X-ray surveys in the Transkei" S.A.Med.J. 29:37 (1955) p.868). Bilharzia is not common and where it occurs seems to have been imported. There is a small focus at Jujura, 6 to 10 miles from the coast, probably introduced from Natal. Amoebic dysentery is common and is possibly on the increase. Typhus is endemic and cases are concealed by the Natives; it tends to become prevalent in winter. The increasing use of D.D.T. and other insecticides are important factors in its control but there was an outbreak in 1954. Cancer is uncommon but cases of it in the uterus, lip and tongue have been diagnosed in the last few years. There is not much cirrhosis of the liver. The venereal disease position has improved rapidly during the last few years due to the use of the new anti-biotics. Eye diseases are comparatively common, particularly cataract, phlyctenular keratitis and glaucoma in the older age-group.

40 The main health hazard is chronic malnutrition. The amount of milk generally available appears to have decreased in the last few years and the bones of the younger generation do not exhibit the hard structure of those of the older. Sometimes sheep and goats are milked to supplement the supply. There is also a general shortage of protein in the diet. Meat is rarely available and beans are expensive. It is contrary to custom to eat eggs and these are therefore sold to the traders in large quantities.

41 There has been a marked lessening of opposition to hospitalization, a phenomenon which is

general throughout the Transkei, but there are no hospital facilities in the Willowvale district. The nearest hospitals are at Butterworth (40 miles away) and Umtata (70 miles). There are three doctors resident in the district, viz. the District Surgeon and his assistant and a fully-qualified Native doctor, and all operate clinics at various points which are visited by them at least once a week. Clinics have also been established by doctors from the adjoining district of Idutywa.

12 Bibliography and Sources

42 A select bibliography of items dealing with the amaGcaleka and the district of Willowvale will be found at the end.

43 The material presented here was collected during field investigations in the district in August, 1955. For general district information I would like to express my thanks to the following persons: the Magistrate and staff, Willowvale, particularly Mr C.T. van Rooyen, Dr.M. Mills, Mr Pritchard, Agricultural Officer, and Mr S. Hack, the Representative of the Recruiting Corporation. I should also like to place on record my indebtedness to Mr L.L. Wood of Badi whose assistance, particularly in matters historical, was invaluable.

1 District:

44 Willowvale, Transkei, Cape Province. The tribe is under the administrative control of the Magistrate, Willowvale.

2 Name of tribe:

45 The amaGcaleka tribe of the amaXhosa. This tribe is No. 11-085 in "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa" by N.J. van Warmelo, 1935. Members of the tribe are also resident in the Idutywa, Elliotdale (3 locations) and Kentani (5 locations) districts. The amaGcaleka are the ruling branch of a number of related tribes e.g. amaNgqika, amaNdlambe, imiDushane, imiQhayi and amaNtinde, and its chief is recognized as paramount over them.

3 Chief:

46 ZWELIDUMILE BUNGENI SIGCAWU, born in 1902 and installed as chief on 2.6.33. Civil jurisdiction in respect of the whole district was conferred on him on 16.6.36 and criminal jurisdiction on 18.10.51. This latter jurisdiction, however, is only in respect of the purely Gcaleka locations in the district, viz. Locations Nos 1-11, 13-16, 18, 21, 22, 27 and 33. ZWELIDUMILE has passed Standard IV but cannot speak, read or write either official language. He does not belong to any church. Residential address: Ngadu Great Place, Ngadu Location No 9, Willowvale. Postal address: c/o Malan Mission, P.O. Willowvale. Isiduko: Tshawe.

4 Language:

47 isiXhosa is spoken throughout the district. According to the 1946 Census returns 4,174 persons had a knowledge of English and 82 understood Afrikaans. No other Native languages are spoken.

5 Land and strength of population :

48 This tribe occupies the entire district with the exception of the village and commonage of Willowvale. The topography, climate and population figures have been dealt with in the Introduction (sections 5 and 8). Some doubt exists as to whether the non-Gcaleka elements in the district are in fact part of the Gcaleka tribe. Although there is evidence that some of these groups find Gcaleka domination irksome and look forward to closer union with the Mfengu in Idutywa and the other Fingoland districts or even to complete independence, there is no doubt that, at the present time, they form part of the Gcaleka tribe. All acknowledge Chief ZWELIDUMILE as their chief and, in many cases, refer to themselves as "Gcaleka". Non-Gcaleka headmen are called to be present at tribal meetings. As we have seen a Mfengu "chief's deputy" has been placed over eight of these "Fingo" locations. This ethnically mixed Mfengu group was settled in its present territory by the Cape Government after the Gcaleka War of 1877-8 to form a buffer strip between the exiled SARILI and the main body of Gcaleka. They never, therefore, formally submitted themselves as subjects to the Gcaleka, as far as is known, although subsequent developments have tended to absorb them into the tribe. They were sojourners in the land of the Gcaleka and therefore, ipso facto, Gcaleka.

6 Migrations and affinities of tribe :

49 The early history of the amaXhosa, of which the Gcaleka are the senior branch, is obscured by the mists of the past. According to their historian, J.H. Soga ("The South-Eastern Bantu", p.81)(1), the tribe was originally called the abeNguni and is of the same stock as the amaMbayi and amaNzimela of Natal. It appears that a slow migration from further north was terminated at about the beginning of the 16th century by their entrance into Natal. Later they moved south and by about 1620 are said to have been living on the upper reaches of the Umzimvubu

(1) Unless otherwise indicated the references are to "The South-Eastern Bantu".

River (Soga, p. 91). During the latter half of the same century the Xhosa moved towards the mouth of the Umzimvubu and settled on the west bank, probably under the chief VIII SIKOMO. Here they came into contact with the survivors of the wreck of the "Stavenisse" who reported that the chief at that time (1686) was IX TOGU. The sites of the graves of the chiefs give some idea of tribal movements at this period. According to Soga (pp 102 and 114) TOGU was buried at Qokama in Ngqeleni district, SIKOMO at Cunge, VII NGCWANGU near the Umzimvubu and XII TSHIWO at Ngcwanguba, south-west of the Mthatha River.

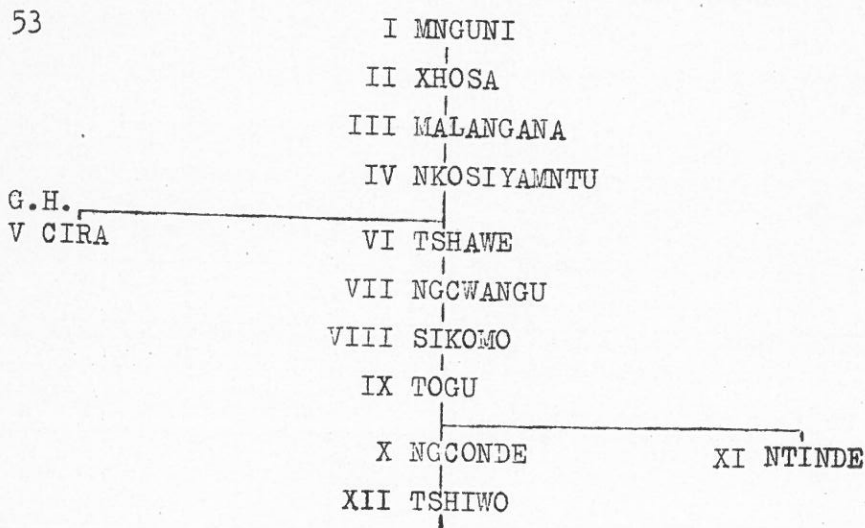
50 From the time of XII PHALO the tribe spread rapidly south of the Umzimvubu. After his death it split into two sections under his sons, XIV GCALEKA of the Great House, and XV RARABE of the Right-hand House, and subsequent history has seen further subdivision of the Rarabe section into amaNdlambe, amaNgqika, amaGasela, imiDushane and imiQhayi. By the beginning of the 19th century the various Xhosa groups had driven the Hottentots out of the bushy krantzes on either side of the Kei River and had occupied the country as far south as the Fish River and westwards to what is now Somerset East. The senior branch, the amaGcaleka, do not seem to have ever settled across the Kei as a tribe but GCALEKA had kraals at Izeli and Msuze in the Ciskei. Generally speaking they occupied the entire area of the territory now called Gcalekaland and Fingoland.

51 In 1857, because of the cattle killing episode, large tracts of Gcaleka territory became depopulated and were settled by the Cape Government with Mfengu. This area now comprises the districts of Butterworth, Idutywa, Ngamakwe and Tsomo. After the Gcaleka War of 1877-8 large numbers of Ngqika settled in the Kentani district and today the once powerful Gcaleka are practically confined to the Willowvale district. Their history is treated in more detail in Section 8 below.

52 Despite their reduction in numbers the Gca-

leka are acknowledged by all the Xhosa tribes in the Transkei and Ciskei as the senior branch of the Xhosa tribal complex. The Xhosa were the people against whom the Cape colonists fought in the long series of "Kafir Wars" and they have long enjoyed the reputation of being brave and redoubtable warriors. The language of the Ngqika section was adopted by the early missionaries as the basis for the written form of isiXhosa and is now taught in all the schools of the Transkei. To quote Dr. N.J. van Warmelo ("Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa", Ethnol. Publ. No.5, p.60)"..... without being able to share the extravagant partisanship which some authors display for the Xosa, one must nevertheless wonder at the remarkable powers of expansion that Xosa language and custom have proved to possess, inasmuch that both have secured a footing far beyond the boundaries of the Xosa country". The prestige that years of warfare has helped to build up is reflected in the pride of the people that they are Gcaleka and in the fact that many non-Xhosa groups, especially the Thembu, are at pains to try and prove relationship with them.

7 Skeleton genealogy of the chiefs:



XIV GCALEKA	R.H. XV RARABE (amaNgqika, amaNdlambe, etc. see para. 15)		
XVI KHAWUTA	iqadi of G.H. Faku		
XIX HINTSA	iqadi of G.H. Ntini Botomane Ngqongqo- ngqongo Ndumiso (KENTANI)	R.H. Buru Maphasa Xhoxho Mabobothi (amaNtso- nyana) (KENTANI)	Khaba Nzabele Sibozo Dimanda Griffiths (amaZithembu) (KENTANI)
XXI SARILI	R.H. Ncaphayi Dumalisile Dwayi	ixhiba Lindinxhiwa @ Manxiwa	
	G.H. Dweba Bishop Bangilizwe	iqadi Machine Malungu	R.H. Matumbu Mgcone- zulu
XXIII SIGCAWU	Dalisile	R.H. Mcothama	
XXV GWEBINKUMBI	Xelinkunzi Khalakhulu	Daliza	Razukile Gaveni Kefile
XXVII NGANGO- LEHLABA	XXVIII ZWELIDUMILE	Sithubeni (KENTANI)	(KENTANI)
G.H. Cornelius	R.H. male		

8 History and genealogies of the chiefs:

54 Practically nothing is known of the early Xhosa chiefs. The most important episode in their early history was the usurpation of the chieftainship, on the death of IV NKOSIYAMNTU, by VI TSHAWWE, his son of the iqadi of the Great House. Soga (p. 103) states that it was the custom, during times of national danger, to kill off all the sons of a chief, with the exception of the heir, to obviate internal dissension due to rival claims. Tradition relates that TSHAWWE's mother fled with him to her own people, but, on his reaching manhood, he returned to the tribe where his brother V CIRA had succeeded his father as chief. Relations between the two men became strained and culminated in an open breach. CIRA was supported by Jwara of the right-hand house and TSHAWWE enlisted the aid of the amaRudulu clan of the Mpondomise. TSHAWWE seized the chieftainship and his descendants have ever since formed the ruling house of the Xhosa.

55 The above incident took place while the Xhosa were settled near the headwaters of the Umzimvubu, probably in the early years of the 17th century. Somewhere about 1660-70 (Soga, p.109) the Xhosa recommenced their slow southward migration, this time towards the mouth of the Umzimvubu. Tradition relates that this move took place during the chieftainship of VIII SIKOMO; by 1686 the tribe was settled probably in what are now the districts of St John's, Ngqeleni, Libode and Mqanduli. In that year the survivors of the "Stavenisse" passed through their territory and were kindly received by IX TOGU, SIKOMO's successor. Soga considers that this meeting took place towards the end of TOGU's reign. He was succeeded (1695?) by his son of the Great House, X NGCONDE, and it was during the latter's reign that the amaNtinde section broke away and became semi-independent.

56 NGCONDE's heir was XII TSHIWO. His reign appears to have been uneventful and he died c.1700 leaving his infant son XIII PHALO under the regency

and guardianship of Mdange, TSHIWO's brother in the right-hand house. By this time the tribe had extended its territory until its southern boundary was formed by the Kei River.

57 It is with PHALO that tradition merges with recorded history and becomes more certain. He was the last chief to reign over the Xhosa as a whole. After his death the tribe split into its two great sections, the amaGcaleka and the amaRarabe. PHALO's position was not unchallenged. During his long minority the position of Gwali, TSHIWO's eldest son and heir in the right-hand house, had become a serious threat. Supported by his uncle Ntinde of Togu's left-hand house and head of the semi-independent amaNtinde clan, Gwali planned a coup d'état, but, realizing that the people under the regent Mdange were not prepared to support him, he decided to flee before a punitive army could be organized. Gwali and Ntinde, with their followers and the newly-formed amaGqunukhwebe, fled south, crossed the Bashee, Kei and Keiskamma Rivers and finally settled temporarily on the banks of the Fish River. In 1715 the regent, Mdange, organized an expedition to punish the fugitives. The Xhosa forces defeated the amaGwali and their Hottentot allies under Hintsati near the Fish River and returned home with a large number of captured cattle. The amaNtinde and amaGqunukhwebe had apparently settled between the Buffalo and Kei Rivers and thus escaped a clash with Mdange's forces. Soga (p.123) states that Mdange was so impressed with the country lying across the Kei that on PHALO's accession to the chieftainship he obtained permission to settle his followers there. They have been since known as the imiDange.

58 By 1736 PHALO had taken over the chieftainship and was living on the banks of the Thongwana stream between the Gcuwa and Kei Rivers. Other informants state, however, that the Great Place was at Ntlambe, near the present village of Butterworth and between it and Kentani. PHALO appears to have been a humane and well-loved chief but something of a weakling. Tradition relates that his heir, XIV GCALEKA, intrigued against him, hoping to usurp the

chieftainship while the latter was still a comparatively young man, and the tribe was split into two sections, the majority favouring GCALEKA. PHALO was supported by his favourite son, XV RARABE, of the right-hand house and considerably older than GCALEKA, and although, according to Soga, GCALEKA was defeated in the ensuing battle, PHALO and RARABE decided to move west of the Kei River. To all intents and purposes RARABE assumed the chieftainship of this section: PHALO ceased to take an active part in tribal life and died c.1775, and was buried at his old kraal at the Thongwana, in Gcaleka country.

59 The history of the Rarabe section and its various offshoots will be dealt with in connection with the districts (practically all in the Ciskei) in which they eventually settled. From about the middle of the 18th century the Gcaleka tribe began its independent existence and the following details refer specifically to it.

60 Soga (p.140) is of the opinion that XIV GCALEKA was born in c.1730, although it must be borne in mind that all such early dates are tentative unless supported by contemporary documents. He does not appear to have been a very satisfactory chief and enjoyed a wide reputation as a diviner, a distinctly unusual calling for a chief. His prowess in this direction is still remembered by present-day Gcaleka and survives in an interesting ceremony which is still a vital element in their culture. GCALEKA is supposed to have been initiated as a diviner at the Ngxingxolo stream, in what is today a farm adjoining Mooiplaas Location, East London district.

61 GCALEKA's Great Place was at the Msuze, on the upper reaches of the Ngxingxolo. Generally speaking, however, the amaGcaleka as a tribe remained to the east of the Kei River but occupied the country northwards as far as the Indwe River.

62 Of GCALEKA's heir, XVI KHAWUTA, little is known except that his period of chieftainship was uneventful and that it lasted (according to Soga, p. 145) from 1792 to 1820. Present day Gcaleka do not

remember all his wives and issue but his great wife was Nobutho, daughter of the Thembu chief, Tshatshu.

63 KHAWUTA was succeeded by his son in the great house, XIX HINTSA. At the time of KHAWUTA's death HINTSA was still a minor and Nqoko, of the amaMbede, one of the minor qadis of the great house, was made regent. It was probably during the early years of Nqoko's regency that the people who became known as the amaMfengu or "Fingoes" first entered Gcaleka-land and sought asylum under the Gcaleka chiefs. The name amaMfengu means "wanderers" and was applied by the Xhosa to the remnants of a number of tribes which had been broken and scattered by the armies of the Zulu king, Tshaka, and, a little later, by the amaNgwane under their chief Matiwane. Most of the refugees belonged to the great complex of related but independent tribes of which the Hlubi, Bhele, Zizi, Tolo and Khuze were the main branches. They were allowed to settle among the Gcaleka where, according to some writers, their status deteriorated to that of slaves. Capt. J.E. Alexander described the Fingoes in 1835 as follows ("Note on the Fingoes", J.Roy.Geogr.Soc. 5 (1835) pp 318-9, footnote to J.W.D. Moodie, "Ten Years in South Africa", idem pp 314-24):-

64 "The men of the Fingoes have woolly hair - round noses - thickish lips, straight and muscular limbs, and average five feet eight inches in height. Their dress consists of dressed ox-hide, worn with the hair inwards, rude sandals on their feet, and a skin (penis) sheath like the other tribes; - their ornaments are bead ear-rings, tufts of jackal's tails on their heads, bead necklaces, generally blue and white, brass rings on their arms, and a belt of small brass rings, strung on leather, round their waist. The women wear a small turban of skin or cloth, not to defend the head from the sun, but to enable them the better to carry burdens, a petticoat of hide, a skin breast cover, ornamented with beads, and some of them the Kafir (Xhosa) female kaross or mantle of hide, from which depends behind a flap covered with brass buttons; beneath the petticoat is worn a small triangular apron, ornamented with beads;

they also wear bead necklaces and brass bracelets." "...men labour in the fields as well as the women". "The huts of the Fingoes are hemispheres of boughs covered with grass - their food curdled milk and millet". Alexander comments that they were "living in a state of abject slavery under the AmaKosa chiefs" (p. 318) but see Soga's refutation of this ("The South-Eastern Bantu" pp 179-86). The following extract from a letter from the Rev. J. Read to T. Fairbairn, dated 11th Sept 1835, also rejects the charge of slavery:-

65 "Mr McDiarmid conceives it nonsense what is said of the slavery of the Fingoes. They were only under the same laws as the Caffirs. But perhaps the laws with respect to them, as in the Colony with the Hottentots, be more rigidly put in force. They were received kindly into Caffreland having scarcely any property. They now left it (in 1835, see below) with 20,000 head of cattle. They had the free use of the country to sow corn etc. and the time was their own. They were allowed to accumulate property, but according to the law could not remove it without permission of the chiefs under whom they sorted."

66 Alexander lists the names of the chiefs of the Mfengu resident in Gcalekaland at this period (the modern spelling is given in brackets):- "The following are the names of persons among the Fingoes who held the rank of chief in Hintza's country:-

1. Umslambisa (Mhlambiso) of the Amaslubi (amaHlubi)
2. Matomela of the Amakelidwani (amaReledwane)
3. Jokwene (Njokweni) of the AmaZisi (amaZizi)
4. Umkwenkwezi of the Amabili (amaBhele)
5. Ucwana of the Amagobizembi (a Hlubi offshoot)
6. Uhliso of the Amasekunene (a Hlubi offshoot)
7. Umkwali of the Abaswawo (abaShwawu, Bryant p.270 and Soga p.185)
8. Unomtshatsho of the Amantozake (abakwaNtozakhe, see Bryant p.561, today known as amaZotsho)
9. Umkuzangwe of the Abayimani (unidentified)

He mentions that Mkhwenkwezi, the Bhele chief, was the only Christian and resided near Butterworth,

Mhlambiso of the Hlubi lived at "Esixwonxweni" (Nqamakwe district, but cannot now be located) as did Matomela and his Reledwane, a Hlubi clan. The Zizi, Sekunene and Shwawu all lived "near Butterworth" while the abakwaNtozakhe were settled on the Shixini River, Willowvale district, and the abaYimani at "Etutuka" (Thuthura) in the Kentani district. As a final comment on the status of these tribes under the Gcaleka, Alexander states:—"When a Kaffir wanted a kaross or mantle, he waited until he saw a Fingo making one for himself, and when he was ready, seized it (p.319)".

67 In 1818 the ill-feeling that had long existed between the Ndlambe and Ngqika sections of the amaRarabe came to a head over a grazing dispute. Gcaleka herdsmen were also involved and Nqoko, the regent, sent an army against the offender, NGQIKA. The Gcaleka and Ngqika armies met near Hoho mountain, a part of the Amathole range, and the Gcaleka were forced to retreat over the Kei, being driven back as far as the Dwesa forest in the Willowvale district. Large numbers of cattle were captured and the young HINTSA, fearing treachery although called to a parley by NGQIKA, fled.

68 Anxious to avenge this defeat the Gcaleka entered into an alliance with XVIII NDLAMBE against NGQIKA and were supported in this by the rest of the Xhosa tribal group, viz. the amaNtinde, amaMbalu, imiDange and amaGqunukhwebe. A fierce battle was fought on the Amalinde plains at Debe Nek and the amaNgqika, under the command of Maqoma, right-hand son of NGQIKA, were totally defeated. This episode is described in detail by Soga (pp 157-66).

69 Soga implies that sometime between 1820-30 HINTSA assumed the chieftainship of the amaGcaleka. His great place was described by Sir Harry Smith as "near the mission station of Butterworth" and it was here that William Shaw established his mission to the Gcaleka. There appears to be some discrepancy in the records, however, as to the date of the beginning of HINTSA's reign. Soga states (p.158) that at the battle of Amalinde in 1818 Nqoko was regent

over the tribe, but when Col. Richard Collins visited the Gcaleka in March, 1809, he describes HINTSA as "their principal chief" (quoted in Sutherland, "Original Matter Contained in Lieut.-Colonel Sutherland's Memoir on the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjemans, of South Africa", Cape Town, 1847, pp 280-8). He describes meeting BOOKOO (Buru) "a brother of HINZA, and his principal chief" who was about 24 years old at the time. Buru, the progenitor of the amaNtsonyana clan, today concentrated in Kentani district, continued to play an important role in tribal affairs even after HINTSA's death. Theal ("The Rise of South Africa, p.316) refers to a treaty entered into by the Cape Government with XXI SARILI and Buru in 1847, and it was Buru who was in charge of the army which murdered the five British officers at Moordenaars Kop (Sihotha) on 13th November, 1846.

70 Later Collins rode to HINTSA's kraal where he found about 50 men seated before the chief's hut. "HINZA was not among them, but he soon came out.... they addressed him without rising, by a salutation, consisting of the words 'aan HINZA', the Kaffer manner of saluting a chief.." (p.284). "HINZA has not the slightest natural resemblance to BOOKOO, and they are rendered still more unlike by the former's not using ochre, thereby preserving his dark colour. His person is tall and stout, his eyes are large, but directed to every thing except to the person to whom he is speaking, and his whole manner indicated an absent and fidgetty disposition; his dress did not differ from that of his vassals; he is younger than BOOKOO, but it was settled at his mother's marriage, that her children should succeed to the government in preference to those of the other wives..." Sir Harry Smith, who met HINTSA in 1835, commented on his appearance as follows: "... in rode the Great Chief, a very good-looking fellow, and his face, though black, the very image of poor dear George IV." ("Autobiography", p.743). HINTSA was probably about twenty years old at the time of Collins' visit and the date of his accession to the chieftainship would thus appear to be between 1807-9.

71 In connection with the political organization at that time (1809) Collins has the following to say (Sutherland, op.cit. p.287): "..... the Kaffers are themselves unacquainted with the number of their population; and it is impossible for a stranger to know it. But that they guessed that this tribe consisted of about 10,000 souls. They were all under the absolute control of HINZA, but divided among a number of subordinate chiefs: of these the principal is BOOKOO, already mentioned; two uncles of HINZA, named WEIHELA and ODESSA, and his cousins OOTELONIE, OSAMPA, ONOHESLE, OOVOOKONIE, OOBONIE, OFADAVA, OONAMBA, and OMALACHE".

72 Although HINTSA was chief of the senior tribe of the Xhosa group of tribes and, as such, the Paramount Chief of all the Xhosa, his effectual authority did not extend to any of the non-Gcaleka tribes. "By courtesy, matters affecting Xosa customs might occasionally be referred to the chief of the older branch, especially when a question of precedent was involved, but that did not prevent the Right-Hand House from following its own line of conduct, irrespective of what that precedent might be, should it choose to do so. Laws promulgated by the court of the Gaikas were not subject to interference by the Gcaleka chief. The latter's authority in such matters was in reality a cipher.. Hintsa had no authority over the Gaikas". (Soga ppl89-90). A failure to appreciate this point contributed to the death of HINTSA. A long series of clashes between the colonists and the Xhosa over the "neutral territory" between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers culminated, in 1834, in the Sixth Kafir War. The tribes involved were the amaNdlambe under Mhala, a section of the amaNgqika under Tyali, the amaJingqi under Maqoma, the imiDange under Botomane and the amaMbalu under Nqeno(Eno). The Gcaleka were not actively involved, although it is probable that their country across the Kei was used as a place of safety for captured cattle. The Xhosa were eventually beaten and confined to the Amathole mountains by the Colonial troops and Sir Harry Smith crossed the Kei to recover the stolen cattle ("Autobiography" p. 390) in April, 1835. Receiving no satisfactory reply to his

messages to HINTSA, Smith crossed the Tsomo River and marched on Butterworth where he burnt HINTSA's kraal. The chief thereupon "came into our camp with his son and court, a humble suppliant for peace and mercy" ("Autobiography" p. 392). What followed is well known. HINTSA was shot while attempting to escape and his body was buried on the banks of the Nqabara Stream a little above the Mbangcolo drift. This happened on 12th May, 1835. Peace was concluded at Fort Willshire in the September of that year, and a deputation was sent to XXI SARILI, the heir of HINTSA, who had succeeded to the chieftainship.

73 The Mfengu, who had been living among the Gcaleka, immediately claimed the protection of the Government and 16,000 were removed and settled in the Peddie district. It is stated that 30,000 head of Gcaleka cattle were driven off by them and this has given rise to the antagonism between the two groups of people which still exists today.

74 Little is remembered of the wives of HINTSA but his great wife was Nomsa, daughter of Gambushe, chief of the Tshezi section of the amaBomvana. His main son in the great house was XXI SARILI, in the right-hand house, Ncaphayi, and Manxiwa @ Lindinxiswa in the ixhiba house. He apparently had a large number of wives. Smith ("Autobiography" p.750) states, "Hintza talked much about his fifteen queens. They have increased five lately. At first he acknowledged to only ten".

75 XXI SARILI was "a very fine young man about nineteen or twenty" ("Autobiography" p.744) at the time of his father's death and he immediately succeeded to the chieftainship. HINTSA's treaty with Sir Benjamin D'Urban was ratified by him, although in practice it remained a dead letter. Of the 50,000 head of cattle demanded from the Gcaleka as compensation only 3,000 were actually paid owing to an outbreak of cattle sickness. A scheme to remove a number of Rarabe tribes across the Kei and settle them between the Kei and Bashee Rivers was never put into effect. (These tribes were the amaNdlambe under

Mhala, the amaJingqi under Maqoma, the imiDushane under Siyolo, the amaMbalu and amaNgcangathelo). In effect SARILI was released from all indemnities contained in the treaty.

76 SARILI's reign was long and eventful. In 1854 he waged war against the Thembu under Ngubengcuka because of a boundary dispute and completely defeated them. In 1856-7 occurred the famous "National Suicide of the amaXhosa" or "Nongqawuse" during which the Xhosa tribes slaughtered their stock and destroyed their grain in the hope that these would be magically replenished and the dead resurrected so that the White Man would be swept into the sea. The day set for this miracle was 18th February, 1857. The prophetess, Nongqawuse, lived in what is today the district of Kentani and received her supernatural messages from spirits said to have resided in a pool in the Gxara stream, near the mouth of the Kei. Not all the Xhosa slaughtered their cattle and the people were divided into the amathamba, or believers, and the amagogotya, or sceptics. Spurred on by SARILI, all the Gcaleka, with the exception of the amaMbede section under their chief, Sigidi, slaughtered their cattle and thousands perished. Large stretches of country were denuded of population and the Gcaleka ceased to occupy effectively the entire area lying towards the Tsomo and Indwe Rivers. This area was later settled with Mfengu and became the present day Fingoland.

77 The Cape Government suspected that SARILI had instigated the killing in an attempt to render his people desperate so that they would attack the Colony, and the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police (F.A.M.P.) were directed by Sir George Grey to expel him from his territory. They were assisted by 1,000 Thembu under the regent Joyi, and a "party of frontier Natives under Col. Gawler" (Brownlee, p.5). According to Maj. D.B. Hook, skirmishes with scattered groups of Gcaleka took place near the Dwesa Forest ("With Sword and Statute", 1906, p.72), and SARILI fled across the Bashee, taking refuge in the broken country on the Elliotdale side (Ncihana, Mcelwana and Sholora locations). Nongqawuse was arrested at

the main drift of the Bashee by Fynn and secretly removed to Cape Town, and in 1863 the F.A.M.P. were moved north to Butterworth, to prevent SARILI re-occupying his country.

78 While in exile in the Elliotdale district SARILI directed another skirmish against the Thembu (1858) and captured the regent, Joyi. This raid was occasioned by the theft of some Gcaleka horses. During this time the scattered remnants of the Gcaleka tribe were slowly returning and rallying round him. Sir Walter Currie, quoted in the "Report and Proceedings of the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Annexation of the Transkeian Territory", July 1861, Cape Town, gave evidence as follows:- "When I left Kreli (Sarili) first of all he had not 500 men with him, and now he has at least 3,000. I saw 2,000 myself at one meeting while I was with him, and they were coming in to him from every quarter. There was not a single road I travelled in which I did not meet dozens of Gcaleka Kafirs wandering back, both from the West and the East, from our own country (Cape Colony), and from Faku's people (Mpondo), and from Moshesh's, each driving a beast or a few goats. Kreli will naturally collect them all, and then he will fall back to his old position, the present boundary line of the Kei. This will bring him into conjunction with Sandilla (Sandile, Ngqika chief) and Unta (Anta), which will unsettle them immediately" (p.10). "His country (Kreli's) has always been held in reserve to back up all these Kafir wars, and all the stolen property has been carried there time after time". It is clear that the Cape Government looked upon SARILI as the cause of most of the frontier unrest at this time and considered him a dangerous menace to the peace of the country. In 1864 there was a scare that SARILI was about to attack the police and in August of that year the British Government ordered the evacuation of the territory beyond the Kei.

79 In October, 1864 the Cape Government agreed to allow the Gcaleka to return to their former territory, "from the sea to the great wagon-road between the Kei and the Bashee Rivers" (Hook, p.143).

The F.A.M.P. watched their re-entry as they arrived from Bomvanaland in twos and threes, carrying their meagre possessions. "There was not a home or hut left. They had been away seven years labouring in servitude and bondage. Families had been separated and lost; scattered and dispersed all over the Colony and in Kaffirland.. Now in 1865 the Galeka Chief Kreli summoned his people to return to the land.... where the grass was many feet high and the "kraals" choked with rank weeds. Game had increased in numbers.... To me it was wonderful how the natives at first managed to subsist; still more where the cattle came from which were soon visible on the land... The natives returned to their old homes..." (Hook, op.cit. pp.143-5)

80 So greatly had the tribe been depleted that it now occupied only a small portion of its former territory, the area which was from that time to be known as Gcalekaland (the districts of Willowvale and Kentani). SARILI was offered an allowance of £100 per annum "as long as he should conduct himself in a friendly manner". The rest of the territory formerly occupied by the Gcaleka was settled with Thembu and Mfengu. In July 1865 William Fynn was appointed Resident with SARILI but Gcalekaland was not annexed to the Colony and the Gcaleka remained independent. In May, 1873, W. Fynn was succeeded as Resident by J. Ayliff who remained in office until March, 1876, when Col. Eustace assumed duty.

81 During this period the Gcaleka fought two campaigns against the neighbouring Thembu, both provoked by the Thembu chief Ngangelizwe's treatment of his Gcaleka great wife Novili, daughter of SARILI, and her personal maid Nongxokozelo. In 1870 Novili returned home 'maimed and covered in wounds' (Brownlee, p.28) and the Gcaleka routed the Thembu in a punitive expedition. In 1875 Nongxokozelo was murdered on Ngangelizwe's orders, and the resulting battle with the Gcaleka (described in detail in Soga, pp 248-54, 484-6) was the immediate cause of the application by the Thembu to be taken over by the Cape Government.

82 The increasing power of SARILI was reflected in a general feeling of unrest in the frontier districts of the Colony. Arms were being introduced, mainly from Natal, and the strength of the Gcaleka was estimated at c.12,000 fighting men. The districts of Willowvale and Kentani were now too small for the rapidly increasing tribe and on the 3rd August, 1877, the expected explosion took place. The immediate cause was a quarrel at a beerdrink, held at the kraal of a Mfengu named Ngcayechibi, which ended in a faction fight between Gcaleka and Mfengu. One Gcaleka was killed and within a few days four Gcaleka impis crossed into Fingoland. The F.A.M.P. were sent to the scene and battles were fought at Gwadana, Ibeka, Lusizi and Kentani (7th February, 1878). The Gcaleka were finally defeated and SARILI and his followers once more took refuge across the Bashee. Thus ended the 9th Kaffir, or Gcaleka War, details of which will be found in Brownlee, pp 10-3 and Soga, pp 254-67). During the military operations a proclamation was issued on 5th October, 1877, by the Governor Sir Bartle Frere, by which SARILI was deposed from the chieftainship.

83 When SARILI crossed into Bomvanaland with his followers and stock he was granted asylum by Gwadiiso, the Khonjwayo chief, whose followers occupied a strip of country along the coast between the Mthatha and Mngazi Rivers. Gwadiiso was connected by marriage to SARILI, having married one of the latter's daughters. SARILI was cordially received and his Gcaleka were scattered throughout western Pondoland, a few even crossing the Mzimvubu River into eastern Pondoland. SARILI remained here for about a year, until he found that the presence of his followers was causing resentment among the Mpondo. He thereupon again moved south-westwards into Bomvanaland and, until 1883, when he was pardoned, lived with a few followers in hand-to-mouth fashion "in the bush". In 1883 he built a Great Place "in the rugged part of the Bashee Valley below the Ncehana, where he now is" (Cape of Good Hope: Ministerial Department of Native Affairs. "Location of the Gcaleka Chief Kreli in Bomvanaland" 1886 p.7). The Cape Government still feared that if he were

settled in Willowvale SARILI would use it as a base for operations against the Colony and he was confined to the Elliotdale bank of the Bashee where "he has 2 to 3000 men with him, also a number of Tembu, Pondomise, and other rebel chiefs and people who have joined Kreli" (op.cit.p.6). The Chief Magistrate of that time suggested strengthening the garrison at Forts Malan and Bowker with 50 Cape Mounted Riflemen to prevent SARILI linking up with the Gcaleka who had returned to their homes in Willowvale. "The majority of the Gcaleka people have surrendered, and are located in the Willowvale District, under Lindisiwe (Lindinxwiwa), a younger brother of Kreli, Maki, a Councillor of his, Botman, also a Councillor and other Headmen. The number thus relocated is estimated at twenty-five thousand" (op.cit.p.8). F.N. Streatfeild, who became the first magistrate in 1879, comments as follows:- "Soon after our arrival at Willow Vale the Galekas, who had promised to be good and settle down peacefully, were allowed to return to their own country. They came at first in very small parties of a dozen or so, and in abject fear, and with trembling limbs. These I located, as far as possible in the situations they desired.

84 I obtained the sanction of the Government to feed them, for they were at the point of starvation. They were, of course, all registered, and used to come to me at stated intervals to have Indian corn served to them...I ended by having almost the whole Galeka tribe under me....I should have had poor old Kreli the paramount Galeka chief, and the last remnant of the tribe, about 400, who were with him, as well" ("Reminiscences of an Old 'Un" London, 1911 p.194).

85 The Bomvana were becoming discontented as the Gcaleka resident among them were not subject to hut tax. On 23.5.85 Mtoto, SARILI's "second son" was sent to plead for a grant of land and on 6.7.85 a meeting took place between the Chief Magistrate of Tembuland and SARILI at Xuba, in Bomvanaland, at which the latter asked that his position be regularized. On 12.7.85 a temporary boundary line was

drawn between the Bomvana and Gcaleka relegating to the latter the present day locations of Ncihana, Mcelwana and Sholora. It was specified that SARILI was now a British subject under the Colonial Government and that his people would have to pay hut tax.

86 Despite assurances that he was now pardoned SARILI greatly feared arrest and deportation to Robben Island (Streathfield, op.cit.p.195) and he remained at Sholora until his death in 1892 (not 1902 as stated in Soga, p.240).

87 Between 1835-57 SARILI's Great Place was at Hohitha in the present district of St Marks. After the Cattle Killing he resided at Sholora until 1865, when he returned to Gcalekaland and settled at Holala, Kentani, on the banks of the Qhora River. His final Great Place was at Sholora, where he is buried. His most important cattle posts were at Ngce-ngane (Kentani) and Mhlahlane, Jujura and Busila (Willowvale).

88 SARILI had the following wives and issue:-

1 Bayo, (umsul'udaka) da. of Gemu of amaGwali clan (see Soga, "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs" p.104)

- a Gobanedolo m
- b Ntsukumbini m
- c Somakhwabe m

2 Nohuthe, (Great house) da. of Ngubengcuka, Thembu chief. Died at Hohitha c.1856

- a SIGCAWU m Chief
- b Dalisile m died fairly young
- c Nogqoloza f
- d Yakupha f

3 Nondwe, (right-hand house) da. of Nyila, a minor Thembu chief

- a Mcothama m d. 1930, desc. are headmen at Qhora B Location (No. 9), Kentani
- b Shiya m
- c 5 daughters

4 Noswi, (iqadi) da. of Peme, a Xhosa commoner

- a Mtoto m
- b Bulana m
- c Qondova m
- d Novili f ma. Ngangelizwe, Thembu chief
- e Nothengiso f
- f Bengxeshe

5 Nongwentle, (iqadi) da. of a minor Thembu chief

- a Bhulukhwe f

Note: The above five wives were married while the Great Place was at Hohitha.

6 Nojaji, (iqadi) da. of Diko, Mpondomise chief

- a Sonwabo m
- and others

7 Nohalite, (iqadi) da. of Mdunyelwa, chief of the amaHegebe

Note: The above two wives were married while SARILI was in Bomvanaland.

8 Nohani, (iqadi) da. of Lumko, Thembu sub-chief
issue unknown: no sons

9 ? da. of minor chief of amaGcina

- a Xalisile m

Note: These two wives were married while the Great Place was at Holela, Kentani.

89 When XXIII SIGCAWU succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of his father in 1892 he was already middle-aged. He remained at Sholora until his death in 1902, and was buried there. He had a number of wives of which the following are remembered:-

1 Nolothe, (iqadi) da. of Nogemane, a Khonjwayo petty chief

- a Nogcele f never married
- b Xabadiya f never married

Note: As there was no male issue Nolothe was substituted by (2) under the ukuvusa amabele custom. She was therefore probably not an iqadi wife but the original great wife.

- 2 Nobede, (great house) da. of Holomise, a Hegebe of the Mqanduli district
 - a Salukaphathwa @ GWEBINKUMBI m chief
 - b Lima f md Fekexe, a Gcaleka commoner of the Giqwa clan
 - c Noya f md Zwelibanzi, chief of the Tshezi section of the amaBomvana
- 3 Nogqili, (righthand house) da. of a Thembu chief and niece of Ngangelizwe
 - a Xelinkunzi m headman at Bojeni, Willowvale
 - b Mandleni m not headman
- 4 ? (qadi of great house) da. of Gitywa of the Tshezi tribe
 - a Daliza m regent
 - b ? f died

90 SIGCAWU was succeeded by his son of the great house, XKV Salakuphathwa @ GWEBINKUMBI. At first GWEBINKUMBI continued to reside at Sholora but at the beginning of 1906 he was permitted to return to the Willowvale district, where the great bulk of his tribe were living. In April, 1907, he applied to be given a location and, on the 14th June, it was decided that he should be headman over "that portion of his Great-Uncle Lindinxiwa's Location situated between the Qwaninga River to its junction with the Nqadu to the Location beacon No.5 on the main road from Willowvale to Idutywa, thence along said road to its junction with the Fort Bowker road at Taleni station, thence along the Fort Bowker road to where it crosses the Qwaninga Drift opposite the Qwaninga (Reeve's), Lindinxiwa retaining that portion of the Location east of the said main road to Idutywa to the Shixeni" (official correspondence). This area lies south-west of the village of Willowvale.

91 GWEBINKUMBI was not satisfied with this arrangement, however, and in 1910 the magistrate wrote to the Chief Magistrate as follows:- "Gwebinkumbi says that I used as an inducement to him to leave Elliotdale and come to Willowvale an offer of the

Ntlabane Location. The correspondence in yours and the N.A. offices will prove that I was at all times strongly opposed to the young chief coming into my district at all, as I knew that his coming would lead to trouble with Lindinxiwa, and I only reluctantly consented to receive him on probation when.. Col.Stanford (Chief Magistrate) owing to the unanimous prayer of the Gcalekas (including Lindinxiwa) urged me not to oppose the wishes of the tribe any longer.....

92 On Gwebinkumbi's arrival I collected and consulted the tribe as to where he should reside. The Gcalekas at first urged that he be placed on the Qora, but owing to the proximity of Fingo locations I would not agree to their wish and ultimately it was decided to give him the Jujura, the place where his grandfather, the paramount chief Kreli, had grown up and where he was circumcised, the place where his grandmother, the chieftainess Mkolezu, lived and is now buried, the residence of many of the principal chiefs and councillors of the nation such as Naima, Mthikrakra, Ngubo, Runeyi, Nani and others of the royal house of Hintsa, and the present abode of Gwebinkumbi's own brother, Xelinkunzi, etc. However, after a short residence at Jujura, Gwebinkumbi.....removed to Ntlabane.. To this Lindinxiwa strongly objected.... Gwebinkumbi's excuse was that he could not live in the tick-infested Jujura.."

93 Gwebinkumbi was offered, and occupied, other areas in the Willowvale district, eventually settling at the Nqadu. His reason for wanting to move from Jujura was, apart from the tick-infestation, that he "thought it inadvisable that his heir be born among the graves of his forefathers". In 1911, on the death of Lindinxiwa, GWEBINKUMBI applied to be recognized as the chief of the Gcaleka but his request was not acceded to. He died on 30.5.21 of typhus. He had the following wives and issue:-

1 Nohefile, (great house) da. of Langa, a Bomvana chief of the Tshezi clan

a Mpisekhaya @ NGANGOMHLABA m Chief

b Bungeni @ ZWELIDUMILE m Chief

- c Sithubeni m res. in Ncihana Loc., Elliotdale
- d Nonini f md Fayayo Ncetywayo, sub-headman at Nqadu
- 2 Noqumra, (righthand house) da. of Mgudlwa of the Thembu royal house (Dlomo)
 - a Nombathalala f md Monco, a Thembu of the Gcunu clan
 - b Mkajo f md Lali, Gcaleka commoner of Gqwa-shu clan resident at Nxanxashe
- 3 Nondamsi, (iqadi of great house) da. of Cophela, a Gcaleka commoner of the Mqinebe clan
 - a Ngubezulu @ Mlingo m headman of Qhora A Location, Kentani
- 4 Nogoli, (iqadi) da. of ?
 - a Ntimfa f ma. Sileyi, a Gcaleka commoner of the Jiliba clan, res. at Nkonkwana, Willowvale

94 At the time of the death of his father the heir, XXVII NGANGOMHLABA, was still a minor and his uncle, Daliza, acted as regent from 1.8.21 to 31.12.23. In 1922 NGANGOMHLABA was circumcised and assumed the headmanship of Nqadu location on 1.1.24. At this time he was not recognized as a chief by the Department. He married his first wife by Christian rites but when it was found that she was childless he married two others according to Native custom. All three were childless.

- 1 Nophikile, (great house) da. of Balizulu of Thembu royal clan
 - no issue
- 2 Nqamakhwe, da. of Siyabalala of the amaNdungwana
 - no issue
- 3 Nolungile, da. of Sindezama Ntantala, Gcaleka commoner of the Sukwini clan
 - no issue

95 NGANGOMHLABA died on 2.6.33 and, as he had

left no heir, his younger brother by the same mother XXVIII ZWELIDUMILE, assumed duty as chief and headman in July of that year. In 1937 ZWELIDUMILE applied to have the headmanship of Nqadu location divorced from the chieftainship and on 9.9.37 this was acceded to. In December, 1937, he was informed that "there is no objection of the use by him of the title of Paramount Chief of the Gcalekas". Thus the chieftainship, made famous by the exploits of HINTSA and SARILI, was restored to the Gcaleka.

ZWELIDUMILE has the following wives and issue:

- 1 Nodarabe, da. of Mangwatha, Gcaleka commoner of the Mkhwayi clan
 - a MZIKAYISE @ Cornelius m born c.1927, married at school at Thuthura, Kentani
- 2 Nohombile, da. of Thokwe, Gcaleka commoner of Mkhwayi clan
 - a Nontombazana f at home
 - b Madondendleni m still young
- 3 Nowinile, da. of Notshizela, a Mfengu of the Dlangamandla clan
 - no issue

MZIKAYISE, the probable heir to the Gcaleka chieftainship, married in 1953 and has the following family (the chief has not yet (1956) nominated which wife is to be accorded the status of tribal wife and bearer of the heir):

- 1 Nozamile, da. of Ntanda, a Thembu commoner of the clan
 - a f still an infant and not yet named

96 A list of chiefs and the dates of their reigns is appended for reference. Chronology before 1800 is speculative and it is doubtful whether the dates given by Soga for chiefs before HINTSA are at all accurate.

HINTSA	c.1808 - 12.5.1835
SARILI	1835 - 1892
SIGCAWU	1892 - 1902

GWEBINKUMBI	1902 - 1921
DALIZA (regent)	1.8.1921 - 31.12.1923
NGANGOMHLABA	1.1.1924 - 2.6.1933
ZWELIDUMILE	2.6.1933

9 R e g i m e n t s :

97 Unlike some Nguni tribes, e.g. the Zulu and Swazi, the Gcaleka do not have a system of age regiments, but initiation into full tribal membership is marked by the circumcision of all youths at puberty. Circumcision is a very old Xhosa culture element and some writers consider that its practice among the Thembu, Mfengu and Bomvana is due to borrowing from the Xhosa.

98 The rites are not conducted on a tribal scale. A prominent man in a neighbourhood will take the initiative and build a bee-hive shaped lodge (ithonto, iphempe, isuthu) for his son, and the other boys living in the area who are due for initiation will make use of it. The "owner" of the lodge is called umnin'isuthu (or umnin'isisusa: Soga, "AmaXosa", p.249) and it is at his kraal that all the feasts in connection with the initiation will be held. If possible the ceremony should take place when a son of the chief is ready to be circumcised. Circumcision takes place at the beginning of winter, after the harvest, and the boys are secluded for from 4-6 months. The operation is performed by specialists and the prepuces buried in an anthill. Various food taboos are observed and dances (imithshilo) are held periodically at which the typical khwetha costume of conical grass mask (ixonxo) and grass skirt (umhlambi) are worn. At the end of winter, usually by about August, the initiates (abakhwetha) dance a final umtshilo, wash the white clay from their bodies at the nearest stream and are given new blankets to symbolize their new status. The ithonto and the sheepskin karosses worn during the seclusion period are burnt. The initiates are now amakrwala, newly initiated adults, and are free to take a full part in tribal life. Today among Christians the operation is performed by European doctors so that the sexual license and instruction,

prevalent in the lodges, is avoided. A full description of Gcaleka initiation will be found in J. H. Soga, "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs", Lovedale, 1931, Chapter XII.

99 The attainment of puberty among girls is also socially recognized by a ceremony called intonjane (ukuthomba, to bud, to menstruate for the first time). The girl is secluded in a hut at her father's homestead for two periods of about ten days each, separated from each other by a couple of days. A mat screen (umkhusane) partitions off the back of the hut and the floor is strewn with rushes and grass. During the seclusion period the girl observes certain food taboos e.g. no salt or amasi (sour milk) must be taken. Various killings are made. On the first day a sheep or goat called ingenendlwini is slaughtered; later the inkomo eyomgqungqo is killed for the women who have assembled to dance the umngqungqo dance for the girl, while on the tenth day the umtshato (inkomo eyokutshata) or marriage beast is sacrificed as a propitiation to the ancestral spirits. On the final day the grass and rushes are publicly burnt and the end of the seclusion period is marked by the killing of the inkomo yokutshiswa kokhuko, the beast of the burning of the mat, and a spectacular mens' dance (umdulo). It sometimes happens that the ceremony is not performed on the attainment of physical maturity: subsequent sickness will then be attributed to the neglect of the custom which will then be performed, even after the marriage of the girl.

10 P o l i t i c a l o r g a n i z a t i o n :

100 At the head of the tribe is the chief (inkosi enkulu or ukumkani, "king"). The Gcaleka chief is recognized as the paramount chief of all the tribes belonging to the Xhosa complex although, in practice, this does not mean that he can interfere in their internal affairs. As head of the royal Tshawe clan he should be consulted on matters affecting the royal family (whose members are chiefs over the various Xhosa tribes). Today the effective jurisdiction of the Gcaleka chief is confined to the

district of Willowvale although tribesmen living in contiguous districts, e.g. Idutywa, Elliotdale and Kentani, acknowledge him as their chief. For instance the Gcaleka living in the three Elliotdale locations of Ncihana, Mcelwana and Sholora are charged with the custody of the graves of SARILI and SIGCAWU. Administratively, however, they fall in the territory of Bomvanaland and are under the immediate control of the Magistrate of Elliotdale.

101 The heir to the chieftainship can only be borne by the chief's great wife who is seldom if ever the wife married first. The wife married first is called the umsul'udaka (the washer-off of the mud i.e. of childhood) and her firstborn son is called ivelatanci (the first to appear). She is not necessarily a woman of high rank or royal blood and is usually chosen from among the daughters of the chief's councillors or friends. The great wife is usually married fairly late in life and should be a non-Xhosa of royal blood (women of the Thembu royal house are much favoured in this respect). Her ikhazzi cattle are contributed by the tribe as a whole and her position is publicly accepted and declared as such by the full ibandla (tribal gathering). The chief reason for this late marrying of the great wife is generally stated to be the protection of the heir. There are five principal houses of a chief, viz. the great house, right-hand house, iqadi to the great house, iqadi to the right-hand house and the left-hand house, and failing issue in any of the main houses, a son from the minor house affiliated to that house will succeed as heir. "Seldom, if ever, is a substituted heir taken from the right-hand house, as this house is almost on an equal footing with the royal house, having legislative authority within its own bounds, though such legislation comes under review, on occasion, of the court of the principal or royal house, and is de facto as well as de jure independent or practically so of the royal house. As a measure of security the right-hand house remains under the aegis of the great house, until such time as it is sufficiently strong to establish itself as a fully independent tribe. When it has accomplished this a metamorphosis takes place

in the character of the principal family of this house, which now becomes royal, thus sealing its independence". (Soga, "AmaXosa: Life and Customs", p.49). The above explains clearly the structure of the Xhosa chieftainship and the inherent tendency to split which is a feature of it.

102 The Gcaleka do not have the custom of *ngena* (levirate) and a widow is expected to consort with strangers and thereby raise up seed to her dead husband. As long as she remains at the great place her children will be regarded as legitimate and can inherit in the usual way.

103 Today the chief receives a Government subsidy and is no longer given the *isizi* (death dues) or part of the harvest as formerly. Early travellers report that certain spoils of the chase were the prerogative of the chief. L. Alberti ("De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika", 1810, p.158) states that the tusks, ears and tail of an elephant were given to a chief and that the elephant's tail was suspended from a pole at the entrance to his cattle kraal. Both Rose ("Four Years in Southern Africa", 1829, p.79) and J. Brownlee ("Account of the Amakosae, or Southern Caffres" in "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa" by G. Thompson, 1827, p.374) confirm this, the latter for HINTSA's kraal. Rose (op. cit.) mentions also "the breast of the hippopotamus ... being his right". Rose also mentions (p.87) that "the chief is generally distinguished from his followers by a carosse of tiger's skin, and by a narrow tasteful beaded band worn round the head..." Soga ("AmaXosa" p.31) refers to a necklace of red beads (*ubuhlalu*) being the only insignia of royalty worn by chiefs and Alberti states that "Alleen de Opperhoofden der Horden dragen Tijger-vellen..."

104 The death of a chief is followed by a mourning period of about a year during which all circumcision ceremonies are suspended. Alberti (p. 204) makes interesting observations on the burial ceremony: "The burial of a chief or his wife differs considerably from that of commoners. The chief remains lying in his hut until he is really dead (note:

commoners used to be abandoned in the veld when it was seen that they would not recover). The body is then wrapped in a cloak and buried by the councillors(Beambten)in the middle of the inkundla(Rechts-ban). Immediately a number of oxen are driven by the men into the place, and keep up the movement for a long time until the actual grave cannot be distinguished from the surrounding surface. Also these oxen, considered to be impure, are not killed". The grave is thereafter carefully guarded by a man termed incwaba (grave) who settles at the spot with his cattle. Giving evidence before the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Annexation of the Transkeian Territories(Report and Proceedings, Cape Town, 1861, p.18) Sir Walter Currie mentions that on the death of a Gcaleka chief one or two kraals were destroyed "to go with him". He states that this was still the custom in 1861 "unless the chief just before his death gives out what they call "a word", and which is now rather coming into practice, stating that no one is the cause of his death, but that he is dying from natural causes, and that no one is to suffer for it". He considers this change due to mission influence.

105 The chief is assisted in the government of the tribe by a number of councillors (amaphakathi). Their position is in the main hereditary and there is a tendency for members to be drawn from among the most influential families in the tribe, although in some cases a man of outstanding personality and sound judgement can rise to a position of authority. One of the chief's main councillors is a Mfengu, R. W. Soshankana. The councillors are always in attendance at the great place and deal with the day-to-day matters which come before the chief. They also comprise a court of law and hear appeals from the courts of the headmen. The position of the chief's secretary is today an extremely important one as all correspondence with the administration passes through his hands and his knowledge of European institutions is constantly drawn on. The present secretary, P. Mqikela, a Mfengu, is probably the most influential man in the tribe today. Matters affecting the royal family e.g. marriage and inheri-

tance, are discussed by a family council which includes the chief's brothers and uncles while matters affecting the whole tribe are brought before a general tribal meeting.

106 The Gcaleka army was organized on a clan basis into two large divisions, the Ntshinga and the Qauka, each under its own commander. The Ntshinga was, and is, composed mainly of royal clans while the Qauka is made up of commoners. Soga relates ("AmaXosa", p.102-4) how in June, 1927, the Ntshinga was deprived of its position as "supreme guide" in tribal affairs by NGANGOMHLABA, being held responsible for the evils that had befallen the tribe during the preceding century.

107 Local administration is carried on by headmen (izibonda) who are appointed by the Native Affairs Department. Each is in control of a location (ilali) of which there are 39 in the district. In 19 cases the headman is a Gcaleka and, of these, 12 bear the royal clan name, Tshawe. The ethnic origins of the other headmen are as follows:

Mfengu (Hlubi, Zizi, Bhele)	- 15
Mpondo	- 2
Bhaca	- 2
Sotho (completely Nguni in culture and considered as Mfengu)	- 1
	<hr/> 20 <hr/>

Apart from this there is no location inhabited by one ethnic group only and in some cases a non-Gcaleka headman is in authority over Gcaleka tribesmen. (For further details see Table I. "Number and distribution of Native population", above, in which an attempt is made to indicate roughly the ethnic composition of the various locations). Generally speaking the bulk of the purely Gcaleka locations is situated south of the Shixini River. Up to the present all these groups have considered themselves members of the Gcaleka tribe no matter what their ethnic origin (see Sect. 5). It is of course true that all the Mfengu were originally subject to the

Gcaleka, but after 1835 the great majority were moved to the Peddie district and the resettlement in Willowvale of the present "Mfengu" groups took place from there. It can therefore be claimed that there was no formal subjection to the Gcaleka chiefs.

108 Membership of the tribe may be attained in various ways viz. by birth, marriage, adoption and by a formal application for membership. A fee is levied on all male Natives from other districts desiring to take up residence in Willowvale. It is called inkabi and is usually an ox or its equivalent in money (£20): in practice £15 is usually accepted. Prospective immigrants must now approach the chief direct although formerly the matter was arranged through the headman of the location in which the man wished to settle. The levying of the inkabi, although an old Gcaleka custom, has been in abeyance until recently when it was revived in order to restrict the entry of further immigrants into the district.

109 Occasionally a tribal levy is imposed to finance tribal undertakings. Thus it was unanimously agreed by the ibandla that during 1945 each taxpayer should contribute the sum of 1/- in order to raise funds for building a tribal courthouse at the Great Place. There was apparently some difficulty in getting the money collected, however, and the courthouse has not yet been built.

110 Many of the former functions of the chief have fallen into disuse. He is no longer the tribal rainmaker and initiator of the annual feast of the first fruits (ulibo). His position is still, however, one of paramount importance and it is probable that much of his mystical power e.g. as religious head of the tribe, is still an effective element in the political structure (see sect. on Beliefs, below).

111 Up to the present the Willowvale district council operated apart from the traditional tribal political system and the district was divided into four electoral areas each electing a member to the

council. With the passing of the Bantu Authorities Act (Act No. 68 of 1951) a departure is being made from this system and administration will in future be based on a tribal framework.

11 S o c i a l :

112 The main social stratification is between members of the royal (Tshawe) clan and commoners. As we have seen twelve headmen in the district belong to this clan. Two other factors have a bearing on the question of stratification. One is the distinction between Gcaleka and non-Gcaleka, the other the thoroughgoing cleavage between Christian and pagan.

113 Twenty-five clans trace their descent from the chief XHOSA and are strictly ranked according to seniority. These form the hard core of the tribe and are grouped in the Ntshinga division. There are also a number of clans which are not Xhosa in origin but have been long incorporated into the tribal structure. Among them are the amaNdluntsha clans, comprising the amaCira, amaKwemnta, amaBamba and amaNkabane, who were originally true Xhosa clans but who have lost their chiefs. All these clans form the Qauka division. As we have seen, the tribe is not homogeneous, and apart from these Gcaleka groups there are numbers of Hlubi, Zizi, Bhele, Ntlangwini and Bhaca in the district, designated generally by the term "Mfengu". The fact that they tend to occupy a distinct portion of the tribal area has served to encourage the development of a feeling of common identity and interests, although they are considered, and consider themselves, members of the Gcaleka tribe. There does not appear to be any discrimination against them on the part of the Gcaleka proper and they enjoy free access to and representation on the chief's ibandla. The two groups are differentiated by differences in the details of customs. The skirts of Gcaleka girls are generally longer than those of the Mfengu and the latter are often decorated with beadwork, Mfengu youths alone wear the goatskin shinguards (umqathu), the skirts of Gcaleka women are edged with black braid while Mfengu

women prefer beadwork and the Mfengu skirt is joined at the side while the opening of the Gcaleka skirt is to the front. There are also differences in the details of girls initiation ceremonies and in burial customs between the two groups.

114 A feature of the Willowvale district is the comparatively high proportion of pagans (probably c.75%), most of the Christians being found among the Mfengu. Christians are expected to cut themselves off from traditional social activities such as beer-drinks, initiation ceremonies and dances, and tend to form a closed endogamous group. There is, however, close economic intergration since most Christians have pagan relatives and friends. The Christians, or "school people", are in the main the most progressive element in the tribe.

115 The birth of a child is accompanied by the typical Nguni cultural elements of the use of certain protective medicines by the mother and the killing of a sacrificial goat as thanksgiving to the ancestors. Every day for the first ten days of its life the child is passed through the smoke of a fire in which special herbs are burnt in order to ensure health. Twins are believed to be particularly susceptible to harm. Immediately after their birth the father plants two euphorbia trees (umhlontlo) at the side of the hut in which they were born. A special relationship is believed to exist between the twins and the two plants so that if a plant dies the twin it represents might also sicken and die. (For further details of this custom see J.H. Soga, "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs" pp. 292, 295-7, and D. Godfrey, article in "Sunday Times", Johannesburg, Febr. 22nd 1948).

116 Marriage is characterized by clan exogamy embracing the clans of both parents and of all four grandparents. Among commoners the first wife married is the great wife (indlunkulu) and the second wife ranks as the right-hand. Any other wives married subsequently rank as amaqadi (lit. rafters, supports) and are attached to one or other of the two main houses (a full description of Xhosa family structure

will be found in J. van Tromp, "Xhosa Law of Persons", p. 81-98). The theleka custom is observed whereby a man can impound his daughter until a further instalment of ikhazi cattle has been paid by her husband. There is thus no finality in the lobola transactions. Unlike the practice of most Cape tribes there is no marriage feast at the girl's kraal, both families contributing to that at the groom's home. The bride's people also give presents to the groom's family and it is usual for her to take from one to three cattle to her new home. Levirate is not practised and any children borne to a widow are regarded as legitimate heirs of the deceased husband, as long as she remains with his people. Apparently it was formerly more usual for the girl's people to open marriage negotiations.

117 The intonjane and abakhwetha initiation rites are described in paras. 97-99. Unlike the Mpondo, who only drink milk within the lineage, the Gcaleka do so in any lineage of the clan. Although still the ideal among pagans, polygamy is no longer extensively practised. It is difficult to estimate the number of polygamists or the stability of marriages but from civil court records extending over a two year period it appears that 25% of cases were in connection with adultery and seduction and 15% with "restoration of wife failing which restoration of dowry", the latter flowing mainly from the theleka custom.

118 Today a specific area of a location is set aside as a graveyard in most parts of the district but the burial of commoners was not formerly a Xhosa custom. L. Alberti describes graphically the reaction of society to a death ("De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika", 1810, p. 199):

119 "Zoodra men bij eenen Persoon uit de gemeene klasse de nadering des doods bespeurt, dan word hij uit zijne hut, op zekeren afstand van de woonplaats, in de schaduw van eenige geboomte gebracht, en aldaar op een leger van graszoden nedergelegd. Ter zijde des Stervenden wordt terstond vuur gemaakt en eene korf met water daarbij geplaatst. De Man en verdere

Bloedverwanten houden de stervende Vrouw geselschap, en deze wederkeerig haren Man in zoodanigen toestand. Naauwelijks onderscheiden zich de doodstuipen, of men giet den stervenden water over het gezicht, met oogmerk om hem, zo mogelijk, in het leven te rug te roepen. Blijft dit middel vruchteloos, en is men dadelijk wegens den daarop gevolgden dood overtuigd, alsdan verwijderd men zich oogenblikkelijk van het lijk, en laat zulks geheel aan de Wolven ten prooije (1), zonder hetzelve verder aan te roeren, of het een of ander van de kleeding en sieraden des Afgestorvenen mede te nemen. Behalve den Man of de Vrouw des stervenden, blijft niemand bij denzelven. Zoodra de overige Bloedverwanten slechts bespeuren, dat de zieke met den dood worstelt, verwijderen zij zich op zekeren afstand, en roepen, van tijd tot tijd, den eersten toe, om den toestand des stervenden te vernemen. Deze Bloedverwanten hebben ook, na den dood, niets anders te doen, dan zich, omdat zij eenigermate verontreinigd zijn, te waschen, en keeren alzoo tot hunne wonigen te rug."

120 (As soon as it is seen that death is approaching a person of the commoner class, he is taken from his hut and laid on a bed of grass sods in the shadow of a tree, some distance from the homestead. A fire is immediately made alongside the dying person and a basket of water is placed beside it. The husband and other blood relatives keep a dying woman company, and a wife does the same for her husband in similar circumstances. As soon as they see the death struggle water is thrown over the face of the dying person, with the view, if possible, of calling him back to life. If this proves fruitless and the people are certain that death has occurred, they immediately decamp, leaving the body a prey to the hyaenas (1) without touching the corpse or removing any of the clothing or ornaments of the

1) Ook uit hoofde van dit gebruik, dooden de Kaffers geene Wolven, en van hier derzelfer groot aantal op alle plaatsen, waar slechts Kaffers wonen. (Because of this custom the Kaffirs do not kill hyaenas, hence the great number of these creatures in all areas inhabited only by Kaffirs).

deceased. No one remains with the dying person except the husband or wife. As soon as the relatives see that a sick person is in his death throes, they withdraw some distance and call from time to time to the former to ask after the condition of the dying person. After the death these relatives have nothing more to do than to wash themselves, as they are to a certain extent impure. They then return to their homes.)

121 Alberti (p. 201) gives further interesting information on former death customs. On the death of her husband, the widow takes an ember from the fire and goes into the veld where she kindles a new fire. She is alone and no-one must approach her. The following night she returns to the kraal, sets fire to the hut in which she and her husband slept and returns to her "lonely place in the veld". She remains there a month, living on herbs and wild vegetables and after this period throws away her clothes, washes her entire body, scratches her breast, arms and legs with sharp stones, puts on a grass skirt and returns home at sundown. At her request she is given an ember with which to start a new fire near her former hut. She drinks sweet milk ritually to end her period of impurity. This milk is handled by an uncircumcized youth as it is defiling to adults, and the cow from which it is taken is never milked again or killed. It is impure and is allowed to die a natural death. The widow is temporarily accommodated in a roughly constructed hut until such time as her relatives (husband's relatives?) slaughter a beast, eat with her and give her the skin with which to make a new cloak. Once she has been given this she builds a new permanent hut for herself, helped by her neighbours, and resumes her place in the life of the community.

122 A widower follows a similar course of action but remains only a fortnight in the veld. A widower also takes some hair from the tail of an ox (henceforth considered impure), threads on it some copper rings and wears it as a necklace until the hair perishes. If an adult dies suddenly in his hut the entire homestead is considered impure and is aban-

done without delay, leaving the corpse undisturbed in the hut. Alberti states that even ripening crops at such a kraal are not used for food. If a child dies in a hut only that hut is abandoned, the impurity not extending to the rest of the homestead.

123 Since the advent of the missionaries these customs have been superseded by proper burial, usually, in the case of the owner of the kraal, at the gate of the cattle kraal. He is buried in a sitting position in a niche dug to one side of the grave and his personal belongings are placed in the grave with him. Today an increasing number are using coffins, obtainable at the trading stores.

12 B e l i e f s :

124 Among the pagans the indigenous ancestor cult is still practised with its propitiatory sacrifices at the crises in the life of the individual and tribe. Ritual killings (iidini) are made in time of sickness and cattle, sheep or goats are sacrificed at birth, initiation, marriage and death. The well-being of the tribe generally depends on the favour by which it is regarded by the spirits of the great tribal chiefs. Formerly the strengthening of the tribe and the army was effected through the annual feast of the first fruits (ulibo), but this rite is no longer performed today.

125 An important tribal rite is connected with the belief in the sacredness of a pool in the Ngxingxolo stream in the Ciskei. It is situated in a deep wooded kloof on the farm Welland, belonging to Mr A.C. Butt and adjoining Mooiplaas Location, East London district. It was here that the chief GCALEKA, was initiated as a diviner (a detailed account of this episode will be found in Soga, op.cit. pp. 142-5). Part of the initiation consisted of GCALEKA's descending into the pool and there conversing with the ancestral spirits, and it is related that on his death GCALEKA again descended into the pool and there disappeared from human ken. The Ngxingxolo stream is thus revered as an especially sacred place and local Natives will not drink from or wash in its waters. Those crossing greet the spirit with the salutation "Zinkosi!" ("Chiefs!").

126 Formerly every few years cattle from the chief's herd were driven to the Ngxingxolo by members of the Tshawe (royal) clan. The first beast

to enter the water and urinate was believed to be the one chosen by the spirits and it was immediately killed. The intsonyama (part of special ritual significance) and other special portions were thrown into the water as an offering and it is believed that if this rite is not performed the cattle will not increase nor the tribe prosper. The last time this rite was performed was in c.1928 when the farmer objected to the polluting of his water supply and forbade it. Administrative regulations controlling the movement of cattle have also made its observance difficult, but the urgent need for it again to be carried out was time and again impressed on me by the chief and prominent councillors. A quotation from a letter from the chief to the Magistrate, Willowvale, dated 9.11.45, will give some indication of its continued vitality in the Gcaleka system of beliefs:

127 "...kindly let the Magistrate of Komgha know that sometime at the end of November, I and the amaTshawe (people of my clan) shall be performing a sacrifice at a certain place called Ngxingxolo stream where the sacrifice was formerly performed by my forefathers as this must be done according to our custom.

128 "At the spot an ox will be slaughtered which ox will be brought from his district (Komgha) and the spleen to be eaten there with all the ox's flesh. Formerly cattle, with the said ox, were driven from the Chief's place to the Ngxingxolo stream. Seeing there is a lot of trouble for moving cattle to and fro..... I have decided not to drive cattle from my district but to buy one there". This request was not acceded to but there is a possibility that the Department may purchase the farm and again allow this important ceremony to take place.

129 Apart from the beliefs connected with the ancestor cult, Gcaleka religion was not highly developed. There appears to have been a vague belief in a supreme being called, originally, uMdali (the creator) but he was remote and not much interested in the affairs of his creatures. The current word

for God in isiXhosa is uThixo, apparently of Khoisan origin. All that Alberti could ascertain of their cosmological ideas is contained in the following passage (p.259):

130 Al wat men hieromtrent vernemen kan, bestaat in eene algemene, fabelachtige Volksmeening, welke ik alhier even zoo mededeel, als zij mij door de Kaffers zelve is verhaald geworden.

131 "In het Land, alwaar de Zon opgaat, bevond zich eene Aard-holte, waaruit de eerste Kaffers, en in het algemeen alle Horden, gelijk mede de eerste stam van alle Diersoorten, zijn voortgesproten. Op denzelfden tijd ontstonden Zon en Maan ter verlichtinge, en Boomen, Gras en alle andere Gewassen, tot voedsel van Menschen en Dieren".

132 Magic and witchcraft continue to play an important part in community life and there is little sign that belief in them is dying out. Most tribesmen use magic for protecting homes, stock and crops and, on occasion, to harm an enemy. Specialists in medicines(amaxhwele:herbalists)are met with throughout the district as are diviners(amagqira)who stand in a special relationship to the ancestral spirits and who diagnose illness and find lost articles. There are three types of diviner among the Gcaleka, viz. the isanusi(specialist consulted when the ordinary diviner fails), ixakazana(the more usual type) and the itola or war-doctor. Amagqira are easily distinguished by their white dress and beadwork or skin headdress.

133 Certain people are believed to be witches who send familiars to harm and kill their enemies. There are a number of these mythical beings e.g. Thikoloshé, imfene, ichanti, umamlambo, ingwenya and isithunzela, belief in which is common to all the Cape Nguni (further details will be found in M. Hunter, "Reaction to Conquest", 1936, Chap.VI and J.H.Soga, "The Ama-Xosa:Life and Customs", 1931, Chap.XI).

13 Churches and schools :

134 This subject has been dealt with in the Introduction (sect.10). Apart from certain Mfengu groups the tribe as a whole has not adopted Christianity to any great extent, although, with the increase in the number of children attending school envisaged by the Bantu Education Act, it is probable that fundamental Christian teaching will be diffused over a wider area than was formerly the case.

14 Mode of settlement :

135 This follows the typical Nguni pattern of scattered homesteads (imizi), each occupied by an individual family, sometimes polygamous, and often including an aged parent. The average umzi consists of three or four huts built in a row facing a cattle kraal (ubuhlanti) with perhaps a calf kraal (isibaya) next to it. Most imizi have their own garden next to the cattle kraal, planted round with aloes, in which early maize and pumpkins are planted for more immediate family use. Most huts today are of the rondavel type: the dome-roofed wattle and daub isithembiso is slowly disappearing but is fairly often seen towards the coast. The coastal people also tend to retain the circular type of cattle kraal and the semi-circular siting of the huts.

136 Formerly Xhosa huts were beehive-shaped. Le Vaillant ("Travels into the interior parts of Africa etc." Vol.II, 1796, Engl. trans. p.286) describes them as follows: "The Caffre huts, more spacious and higher than those of the Hottentots, have also a more regular form; it is absolutely that of a perfect hemisphere. The frames of them are constructed of wooden work, well put together and very solid, because it is intended to last a long time. This they afterwards cover, both within and without, with a kind of mud or plaster made of cow's dung and clay mixed together, and spread over it very smoothly The only opening which they have is so low and narrow, that the people must lie down on their bellies to enter it but as they use these huts only in the night-time, it is easier, on this ac-

count, to defend oneself either against animals, or the sudden attacks of an enemy. The floors of them are covered with the same substance as the walls; and in the centre is formed a circular hearth, surrounded by a border two or three inches in height, to contain the fire..... Around the hut, at the distance of five or six inches, they dig a small trench, about a foot and a half in depth, and as much in breadth, for the purpose of receiving the waters.. He states (p.293) that chief's villages consisted of twelve or fifteen huts at the most.

137 Imizi are grouped into certain localities which are separated by large stretches of grazing land. Each locality has its fields nearby, usually situated in a river valley.

15 Material culture :

138 The presence of trading stations in the district has meant a widespread distribution of goods of European manufacture. Practically all homesteads contain some articles bought at the store but among the pagans these are usually confined to one or two enamel basins, blankets, miscellaneous metal containers and the ubiquitous cooking pot. Grass sleeping mats, clay pots, woven grass beer strainers and carved wooden spoons, plates and pipes are found in most pagan homes. Among the "school people", however, the proportion of European-made goods is much larger. Most have iron bedsteads, tables and chairs, china or tinware and, among the more well-to-do, sewing machines, bicycles, harmoniums and gramophones. Generally speaking, however, the stores in the district do not carry the range of goods found in more Christianized areas. There is a tendency for a better class of stock to be carried in the predominantly Mfengu locations across the Shixini. Here, apart from the basic foodstuffs and blankets, one finds dress materials, face creams, shoes, watches, fountain pens, bicycle spares, imitation jewellery, etc. being sold. Ploughs and other agricultural implements are sold in both areas. The main form of transport, the indigenous wooden sledge, is

made by the Gcaleka themselves. Like the Thembu, the Gcaleka carve their own long-stemmed pipes and both men and women are inveterate smokers.

16 Tribal marks and dress :

139 Present day Gcaleka do not have any special tribal markings and this appears to have been always the case. H. Lichtenstein ("Travels in Southern Africa, etc.", 1812, Van Riebeeck Society Series, No. 10 p. 310) states that "Nur wenige Koossa findet man tattowirt, aber bei den ferneren Kafferstämmen kommt diese Sitte ziemlich häufig vor". H. Lichtenstein "Reisen im südlichen Africa" Berlin 1811, vol. 1, p. 407.5 "Very few of the Koossas are to be found tattooed, but among the more distant Caffre tribes this custom is not at all unfrequent". The custom of ingqithi (amputation of one or more joints of the little finger) is fairly common, however. It is performed on children as a therapeutic measure and is very probably of Bushman origin. Some of the Mfengu practise cicatrization of the face (chaza).

140 The former dress of the Xhosa is described by W. Paterson ("A Narrative of four journeys, etc", 1789, p. 93) as follows: "The cloathing of both sexes is nearly the same, consisting entirely of the hides of oxen, which are as pliant as cloth. The men wear tails of different animals tied round their thighs, pieces of brass in their hair, and large ivory rings on their arms; they are also adorned with the hair of Lions, and feathers fastened on their heads, and many other fantastical ornaments. When they are about nine years of age they undergo the operation of being circumcised, and afterwards wear a muzzle of leather which covers the extremity of the penis, and is suspended by a leathern thong from their middle. This covering is in general ornamented with beads and brass rings, which they purchase from the Hottentots for tobacco and Dacka (dagga: Indian hemp)."

141 Blankets have replaced skins in the dress of the Xhosa but among the pagans a man is still considered adequately dressed when clad only in a penis

sheath. Often a piece of cloth is worn round the loins in the form of a skirt on more formal occasions, and a blanket round the shoulders for warmth. There is an increasing tendency for pagan men to adopt European-type clothing. Both Gcaleka and Mfengu married women wear a long skirt (umbhaco). The Gcaleka skirt is made of kaffir sheeting, dyed red with ochre, and fastened round the body with the slit to the front. The bottom of the skirt is decorated with rows of black braid. The Mfengu women, on the other hand, sew the skirt together with the join to the side and are fond of decorating it with beadwork rather than braid. It is made from half a cotton blanket with a black strip near the edge and is also ochred. Skirts are secured with a leather belt or a bead-decorated band. Both sections wear a girdle called unomtishe, a breast cloth (incebetha) and a headcloth (iqhiya). The head is usually shaven: This is obligatory during pregnancy. Gcaleka and Mfengu girls wear ochred skirts and leave the breasts bare except when going to the store and in cold weather. The Gcaleka skirt tends to be considerably longer than the Mfengu and ~~the latter~~ type is decorated with beads. Coloured handkerchiefs are the universal headgear. All "school people" wear European-type clothes and some of the more sophisticated women, particularly teachers and the wives of clerks, dress very smartly and use cosmetics. These, however, form a very small minority.

17 Cattle and pastoralism:

142 The Gcaleka have always been a pastoral people and agriculture has played a secondary part in their economic and social life. Cattle are all-important to them. They are the index of wealth and the means to sexual satisfaction (through marriage). They are also of vital importance in the ancestor cult. For these reasons the Gcaleka will not part with their cattle and their country is badly overstocked.

143 The cattle population consists mainly of scrub cattle with a few individuals of the old Nguni type. There are not many of the Afrikander type.

There are no milk schemes in the district and no bull camps. Formerly Afrikaner bulls, owned by the Trust, were loaned out for breeding purposes but this is now being discouraged and bulls are being sold by the Trust on a subsidized basis. Formerly the grazing was iqunde (rooigras) but this has been destroyed through overgrazing and much of the district is now sourveld. Willowvale is not a big sheep farming area and most of its sheep population are found in the west, on the flats bordering the Idutywa district. Lichtenstein (op.cit. p.334) states that at the beginning of last century the Xhosa kept no sheep. East of Willowvale village the country is more suitable for cattle rearing. Goats are not important economically but they are extensively used for ritual killings and in the lobola exchanges. Stock improvement is confined to castration and there is no culling of cattle.

144 According to the 1950 Agricultural Census the livestock position in the district was as follows:

Cows and heifers (1 year and over)	28,566
Calves (under 1 year)	2,364
Bulls (1 year and over)	1,015
Oxen (all ages)	28,641
TOTAL	60,586
Woolled sheep	98,493
Goats	71,428
Mules	21
Horses	3,241
Donkeys	734
Pigs	14,815
Poultry	52,801
Wool sold	194,266 lbs
Hides	12,222
Sheepskins	17,879
Goatskins	9,449

145 Most streams take their rise in the Idutywa district and are perennial so that the water supply is adequate. There are about 50 dams but no official boreholes. The district is very badly overstocked there being 98,566 cattle units (including small

stock and equines). This figure gives 183 cattle units per square mile in place of the optimum 100, with a resultant 83% overstocking. All attempts at culling are strenuously opposed. To control disease all stock are registered and anthrax inoculations are given yearly. The whole of the Transkei is divided into dipping areas under the control of dipping foremen and cattle are dipped every 7 days in summer and every 2 to 4 weeks in winter. The main stock diseases are East Coast Fever, gallsickness, "lamsiekte", calf paratyphoid and internal and external parasites. In 1954 goat scab and mange in horses occurred but, generally speaking, the condition of stock is good due to the well-watered state of the district.

146 ~~There is the typical Nguni cattle cult with~~ taboos against women working with cattle or even entering the cattle kraal. The yobulunga beast is given to a bride by her father on her marriage to provide milk for her at her new home. Most cattle owners have a favourite ox which is kept especially for its beauty. It is usually an ixaka (ox with down-curving horns). In some cases a newly-formed clan will take the name, not of its founder, but of his favourite ox. The following is a list of Gcaleka chiefs with the names of their favourite oxen:

<u>Chief</u>	<u>Ox</u>
GCALEKA	Qukuse
HINTSA	Mali
SARILI	Thiso
SIGCAWU	Zulu
GWEBINKUMBI	Holela
NGANGOMHLABA	Hoho

18 Agriculture :

147 The agricultural position in Willowvale, as a coastal district, differs markedly from that, in districts further inland. Its main climatic and environmental features include sourveld, forests, a warmer climate with less frost and less wind (which dries out the crops) than in the interior. The gener-

al topography makes the district as a whole unsuitable for agriculture. Owing to the broken nature of the country and the extreme steepness of the hills, lands tend to erode and become leached out and ploughing is rendered difficult. Crops do not do well in a belt extending about 5 miles inland from the sea, probably due to the sandy soil and the prevailing winds. The soil is generally loam with sandy loam towards the coast and the veld tends to be sour except on the borders of the Idutywa district.

148 J. Brownlee ("Account of the Amakosae or Southern Caffres", 1827, p.359) describes the primitive agricultural techniques practised by the Xhosa at the beginning of last century. He states that the chief crops were millet (*holcus sorghum*), maize, kidney beans, pumpkins and watermelons. The only implement used was a "sort of spade made of the nies-hout tree (sneezewood: *Pteroxylon utile*), in shape not unlike the broad end of an oar". This digging stick was about 2 feet long and the cultivator had thus to work in a sitting position. The grain was scattered on the surface of the ground and the soil turned to a depth of about 3 ins. Weeds and grass roots were spread over as a protection and removed after the shoots had appeared. The ground was then resown if necessary. W. Paterson (op.cit.p.94) mentions that they also "...cultivate several vegetables, which are not indigenous to their country, such as ~~Tobacco~~, ~~Watermelons~~, a small sort of Kidney-beans, and Hemp, none of which I found growing spontaneously" (noted Febr. 1779). H. Lichtenstein (op.cit.p.300) comments on the predominantly pastoral life of the Xhosa: "They (the Caffres) live chiefly upon flesh, and grow very little corn: a sort of millet, the Holcus Caffrorum, is their only sort. Milk is the principal article of food with them".

149 The position has changed today and crops, especially maize, are the chief source of foodstuffs, although the production of maize is insufficient for the needs of the district. The cultivation of kaffir-corn has decreased considerably in recent years,

probably due to the fact that many of the children are at school and thus not available to scare the birds from the crops, and to the fact that kaffir-corn does not thrive in the lowlands near the coast. Beans, pumpkins, squashes and marrows are planted among the maize and a few individuals grow oats, barley and vegetables. Near the coast bananas, oranges, pineapples and pawpaws are cultivated on a small scale and more tobacco is grown than, for instance, in the neighbouring district of Idutywa. The use of fertilizer is widespread. It is applied to the fields by means of planters and is mixed with manure to make it go further. Unlike the position in most other Transkeian districts, cowdung is not much used for fuel as the forests supply plenty of firewood. Planting is usually begun in about December.

150 The district is unsurveyed but each family owns usually only one field which averages 8-10 acres in extent. The average yield is c.1 bag per acre. Grass stripping is fairly extensively practised but there is no rotation of crops. Today there is little hoe cultivation, except in the gardens, and the cultivation of fields is done almost exclusively by ploughing. This is only about 3-4 inches deep. The hills are so steep that in many cases contour ploughing is almost forced on the peasant farmer, but there is no contouring in the flatter areas. Most families own a plough, and galvanized iron grain tanks are supplanting the traditional grain pit, especially in the Mfengu area. They are often installed in the store hut. In the coastal areas monkeys do a certain amount of damage to crops.

151 The following was the agricultural position when the Agricultural Census of 1951 was taken:

Total area used for growing all crops	27,341	mgn
Uncultivable	119,038	mgn
Total area lying fallow	15,048	mgn

<u>crop</u>	<u>yield</u>	<u>area under crop</u>
Wheat	nil	nil
Maize	63,334 bgs	26,354 mgn
Sorghum	798 bgs	299 mgn
Cow peas	1,913 bgs	583½ mgn
Beans	479 bgs	
Sweet potatoes	273 bgs	
	(120 lbs)	111½ mgn
Potatoes	261 pkts	
	(37½ lbs)	
Other vegetables		3 mgn
Tobacco		129 mgn
Citrus trees		1,410
Deciduous fruit trees		4,814

152 The census of agricultural implements showed the following:

Ploughs (1 furrow)	6,872
Harrows	481
Cultivators	2,929
Waggons and trolleys	96
Carts	19
Sledges	6,913
Planters	1,665
Mills	19
Sheep dipping tanks	30
Cattle dipping tanks	34

153 Six agricultural demonstrators are stationed in the district under the control of a Native Agricultural Officer stationed in Idutywa. Each demonstrator is responsible for six locations: he lives in each location for two years in turn but continues to keep a general supervisory eye on the other locations in his area. During the year 1954 there were 54 demonstration plots in the district, all under maize, with an average yield of six bags per acre. The average yield for the same number of owners' plots was $1\frac{1}{4}$ bags per acre. The Native Farmers' Association operates in the district. There are 15 men's associations with 202 members and 20 womens' with 275 members. The Native Agricultural Officer complains that "Natives do not make full use of their associations and invariably leave all the

organizing, etc., to the demonstrators, without whom the associations collapse".

19 E c o n o m i c s :

154 There is the typical Transkeian picture of heavy labour migration to the mines and larger urban areas and the district is considered by the Departmental Employment Bureau as one of the best labour areas in the Territories. The demand for labour usually exceeds the supply and practically all labourers applying for employment can be placed. In 1954 there was a record exodus from the district. Recruiting for the mines and sugar estates is carried on through various labour organizations, e.g. the Native Recruiting Corporation, which have 31 agents (mostly traders) operating in the district. These labour agents recruit mainly for the mines while the Labour Bureau, attached to the Magistrate's office, enables workseekers to find employment in other occupations. Mining appears to be the most common choice, followed by agriculture and industry. There is a distinct correlation between the number of pagans in a district and the popularity of the mines and, as we should expect, a higher percentage go to the mines from Willowvale than from such districts as Umtata and Mount Frere where the process of Christianization (and education) is further advanced. The Regional Employment Bureau estimates the number of Natives from the district in the three main occupations as follows (April, 1956):

Mines	4,835
Agriculture	381
Industry, etc.	97

155 Although it is not possible to assess accurately the total income of the district it is certain that a considerable sum flows into it annually from the earnings of migrant labourers and that most peasant farmers could not subsist without this added income. As in most districts the most popular work centre is in the Western Province, particularly the Cape Peninsula and the municipalities of Paarl, Stellenbosch, Wellington and Worcester.

156 There is limited scope for employment in the district itself, practically confined to service with traders as yardboys and assistants or to employment with attorneys, Government departments (Native Affairs, Forestry and the Police) and the Village Management Board. Natives are also employed as drivers and conductors on the Native buses. There is a small but growing middle class composed of clerks and teachers. In general the district appears to be prosperous and in 1952 the Magistrate reported that money was plentiful.

20 Health

157 This subject has been ~~discussed in the Intro-~~
duction (Sect. 11).

21 Sources :

158 The material used in this study was collected in the district during the month of August, 1955. Apart from official and other European sources much information was obtained from the Chief, his secretary and councillors, and other old men of the tribe. I would particularly single out Headman R.W. Sosha-nkana for special thanks for his whole-hearted co-operation.

159 The amaXhosa were the first group of Bantu tribes to come into contact with the European colonists and literature on them is very extensive dealing mainly, however, with the Ciskeian tribes e.g. Ngqika, Gqunukhwebe, Ndlambe and Mbalu, with whom the early wars were fought. The list of sources given below refers more especially to the Gcaleka and the districts of Willowvale and Kentani (Gcaleka-land), although some items deal with the Xhosa group as a whole and with the Mfengu, whose later history is intimately bound with that of the Gcaleka.

Alberti, L. "De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika" Amsterdam, 1810

Alexander, J.E. "Note on the Fingoes" J. Roy. Geogr. Soc. 5 (1835) pp 318-9

Anon. "The marriage of the Paramount Chief of the Goalekas" Blyths. Rev. 1:1 (1924) p. 12

Ayliff, J. and Whiteside, J. "History of the Abambo, generally known as 'Fingoes'" Butterworth, 1912

Bennie, W.G. "The Ciskei and Southern Transkei, Tribes" in Duggan-Cronin, A.M. "The Bantu Tribes of S. Africa" Vol. III, Sect. 1, Cambridge, 1939

Blohm, W. "Die Christliche Familien-Gemeinschaft im Xosa-Volkstum" Africa 6 (1933) pp 431-55

Blohm, W. "Das Opfer und dessen Sinn bei den Xosa in Südafrika" Arch. Anthrop. N.F. 23 (1933) pp 150-3

Blohm, W. "Schöpferische Kräfte in der Gesellschaft der Xosa-Gruppe" Arch. Anthrop. N. F. 23 (1933) pp 159-95

Bourquin, W. "Click-words which Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common" African Studies 10:2 (1951) pp 59-81

Brownlee, C. "Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History" Lovedale, 1896

Brownlee, F. "The Transkeian Native Territories: historical records" Lovedale, 1923

Brownlee, J. "Account of the Amakosae, or Southern Caffres" in Thompson, G. "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa" Vol. 2 London, 1827

Brownlee, W.T. "Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Hintsa and the Fingoes" The Critic 4:3 (1936) pp 157-63

- Bryant, A.T. "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal" Longmans, 1929
- Cape of Good Hope: "Report and Proceedings of the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Annexation of the Transkeian Territories" Cape Town, 1861
- Cape of Good Hope: Ministerial Dept. of Native Affairs "Location of the Gcaleka Chief Krelli in Bomvanaland" (G19-'86) Gov. Printer, 1886
- Cape of Good Hope: Dept. of Public Education "Educational Statistics 1952"
- Fleming, F. "A short account of a journey across the rivers of British Kaffraria, thence from the Great Kei to the Gwabaka (Nqabara) river, with a description and sketches of Fossil remains near the mouth of the Gwabaka" Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Vol. I, 1857, Add. Notes p. 511
- Holden, W.C. "The Past and Future of the Kafir Races" London, 1866
- Holt, B. "Old Forts of the Transkei" *Africana Notes and News* 11:6 (1955)
- Hook, D.B. "With Sword and Statute" 1906
- Kawa, R.P. "Ibali lama-Mfengu" Lovedale, 1929
- Kerr, T. "At Moseti's Bidding. A Tale of the Gcaleka War" London, 1904
- Kropf, A. "Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern im östlichen Südafrika nach seiner Geschichte, Eigenart, Verfassung und Religion" Berlin, 1889
- Lestrade, G.P. "Some notes on the political organization of certain Xhosa-speaking tribes in the Transkeian Territories" *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Afr.* 24 (1937) pp 281-301
- Le Vaillant "Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa. By the way of the Cape of Good Hope; in the years 1780, 81, 82, 83, 84, and 85" Vol. II, 1796
- Lichtenstein, H. "Travels in Southern Africa, in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806" 1812. Repl. in Van Riebeeck Society Series No. 10
- Maclean, J. (ed.) "A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs" Mount Coke, Wesleyan Mission Press, 1853
- Malan, C.H. "Rides in the Mission Field of South Africa between the Kei and the Bashee (Bashee) Rivers, Kaffraria" London, 1872

- McLaren, J. "The wit and wisdom of the Bantu as illustrated in their proverbial sayings" *S.Afr. J.Sc.* 14 (1917) pp 330-44
- McLaren, J. "Religious beliefs and superstitions of the Xosas: a study in philology" *S.Afr.J. Sc.* 15 (1918) pp 418-24
- McLaren, J. "Arts and crafts of the Xosas: a study based on philology" *S.Afr.J.Sc.* 15 (1918) pp 441-9
- Metereological Office, Dept. of Irrigation: "Rain-fall Normals" Pretoria, 1939
- Morgan, N. "An account of the Amakosae" *S.Afr.Quart. J.* 2 (1833-5)
- Nauhaus, C.T. "Familienleben, Heiratsgebräuche und Erbrecht der Kaffern" *Zeitschr.f.Ethnol.* 14 (1882) pp 198-212
- Nauhaus, C. "Die Beschneidung bei den Xosa" *Die Brücke* 7:1 (1929) *Wiss.Beil.* pp 1-6
- Parr, H.H. "A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars. Guadana to Isandhlwana" London, 1880
- Paterson, W. "A Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffres in the years 1777-8-9" London, 1789
- Rehme, P. "Das Recht der Ama-Xosa" *Z.vergl. Rechtswiss.* 10 (1892) pp 32-63
- Rose "Four Years in Southern Africa" 1829
- Ross, B.J. "Ama-bali em-fazwe zakwa-Xosa" Lovedale 1918
- Schweiger, A. "Der Ritus der Beschneidung unter den AmaXosa und AmaFingo in der Kaffraria" *Anthropos* 9 (1914) pp 53-65
- Shaw, William "The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa" London, 1860
- Smith, G.C.Moore (ed.) "The Autobiography of Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith" London, 1903
- Soga, J.H. "The South-Eastern Bantu" University of the Witwatersrand, 1930
- Soga, J. H. "The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs" Lovedale, 1932
- Soga, T. B. "Intlalo ka Xosa" Lovedale, 1937
- Streatfeild, F.N. "Kafirland: A Ten Months Campaign" London, 1879
- Streatfeild, F.N. "Reminiscences of an Old 'Un" London, 1911

- Thompson, H.Q.F. "On the amputation of a part of one of the fingers by certain Bantu tribes of South Africa" S.Afr.J.Sc. 22 (1925) pp 493-5
- van Tromp, J. "Xhosa Law of Persons" Juta, 1947
- van Warmelo, N. J. "Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa" Dept. of Native Affairs, Ethnol. Publ. Vol. 5 1936
- van Warmelo, N.J. "Language Map of South Africa" Ethnol. Publ. No. 27, 1952
- Walton, J. "South African peasant architecture. Nguni folk building" African Studies 8:2 (1949) pp 70-2
- Wiles, F.J. and Rabie, C.J. "Tuberculin and X-ray surveys in the Transkei" S. A. Med. J. 29:37 (1955) pp 866-8

I N D E X Numbers refer to paragraphs

83

1. SUBJECTS

- administrative offices 21
- Afrikaans 47
- agriculture 147-53
- agricultural implements 138, 151
- agricultural staff 153
- altitude 7
- amagogotya 76
- amakrwala 98
- amathamba 76
- ancestor cult 124, 129-31
- army 106
- Bantu Authorities Act 111
- birth 115
- burial 113, 118-20, 123
- burial (of chief) 104
- buses 5, 6
- Butterworth Mission 30
- cases 17, 72
- cattle 143-6
- cattle cult 146
- Cattle Killing (Nongqawuse) 13, 18, 19, 22, 51, 76, 77, 87
- cattle posts 87
- cattle types 143
- chief 46, 100
- chieftainship 69, 70, 72, 75, 82, 89, 95, 96, 101
- chief's deputy 17, 48, 105
- chief's (Mfengu) 66
- chief's secretary 105
- Christianity 112, 114, 134, 154 (see also, missions)
- circumcision 97-8
- clans 113, 117
- clicks 12
- climate 7, 147
- councillors 105
- crops 148-9, 151
- dams 145
- death (of chief) 104
- death customs 121-3
- demonstration plots 153
- disease 39-40
- district council 111
- diviner 125, 132
- dress 64, 113, 140-1
- economics 154-6
- employment 156
- Employment Bureau 154
- English 47
- ethnic composition 17, 48, 107, 113
- exogamy 116
- family council 105
- finer 16
- finger amputation (ingqithi) 12, 139
- first fruit festival (ulibo) 110, 124
- forests 8
- Frontier Armed and Mounted Police (F.A.M.P.) 19, 77-9, 82-3
- game (wild) 12, 79
- goats 143-4
- graves 100
- graves of chiefs 49
- grazing 143
- great place 30, 58, 61, 66, 69, 70, 87, 89, 93
- great wife 101
- harvest 103
- headmen 107
- health 38-41
- heir 101
- homesteads 135-7

- hospitals 41
 houses 101
 huts 64,135-6
 hut tax 85

 ibandla 101,109,113
 ikhazi 101,116
 imitshilo 98
 ingqithi 12,139
 initiation 97-9,113
 inkabi 108
 insignia of royalty 103
 intonjane 99
 isizi (death dues) 16,103
 isuthu 98
 ithonto 98
 ivelatanci 101

 jurisdiction 17,46,100

 labour 154
 levirate (ngena) 102,116
 local administration 107
 lodge 98

 magic 132-3
 magistracy 4
 magistrate 3,20,22,44,83,
 100
 Malan Division 20
 marriage 116-7
 material culture 138
 membership (of tribe) 108
 middens 12
 migrations 49-52, Sect.8
 minerals 10
 mining 154
 missions 29-34

 Native Farmers'
 Association 153
 Native-owned farm 2,27
 "neutral territory" 72
 Ninth Kaffir War 19,48,82

 ornaments 64
 overstocking 142,145
 oxen (royal) 146

 paramountcy 13,16,45,72,
 100
 pardon (of SARILI) 83,86
 ploughing 150
 political organization
 71,100-111
 population 18,23-6,71
 prerogatives of chief 103

 qadi wives 116

 rainfall 9,11,147
 rainmaking 110
 regency 56,57,63,67,69,
 94,96
 regiments 97
 Residents 1,3,80
 right-hand house 101
 ritual killings 99
 roads 5
 rockpaintings 12

 salutation 70
 scarification 139
 schools 35-7
 school boards 36
 school feeding 36
 settlement 135
 sheep 143-4
 Sixth Kaffir War 72
 slavery (Mfengu) 63-6
 social stratification 112
 soil 147
 sources 43,158
 spirits 76
 "Stavenisse" 49,55
 stock 65
 Strandloopers 12
 streams 7

- taboos 98,99
- teachers 35
- theleka 116
- topography 5,7,8,147
- trading 21
- trade goods 138
- traders 138
- tribal composition 45
- tribal levy 109
- tribal rite (Ngxingxolo)
60,125-8
- tribal sections 13-6,55,
72,75
- tribal splitting 57
- tribal territory 80
- twins 115
- ukuvusa amabele 89
- umsul'udaka 101
- village of Willowvale
(establishment) 21
- war 67,54,57,68,76-8,81
- water 145
- Wesleyan Methodist
Missionary Society 18,
69
- witchcraft 132-3
- Xhosa,isi 47,52
- X-ray survey 39

- Bamba, ama 113
 Bhaca, ama 17,29,107,113
 Bhele, ama 17,63,66,107, 113
 Bomvana, ama 74,85,97
 Bushmen 12
 Cira, ama 113
 Dange, imi 15,16,57,68,72
 Dushane, imi 13,15,45,50, 75
 Gasela, ama 13,15,50
 Gcaleka, ama 12,13,14,16, 19,29,30-2,44 et.sequ.
 Gqunukhwebe, ama 13,14, 57,68
 Gqwashu 93
 Gwali, ama 16,57,88
 Hegebe, ama 88,89
 Hlubi, ama 17,63,66,107, 113
 Hottentots 12,50,57,140
 Jingqi, ama 72,75
 Khonjwayo, ama 83,89
 Khuze, ama 63
 Kwemnta, ama 113
 Mbalu, ama 13,16,68,72,75
 Mbayi, ama 49
 Mbede, ama 63,76
 Mfengu, ama (Fingo) 17, 22,31,48,51,63-6,73,76, 80,82,97,107,113,114, 141,150
 Mpondo, ama 83,107,117
 Mpondomise, ama 54,83,88
 Mqinebe 93
 Ndlambe, ama 13,15,45,50, 67,72,75
 Ndluntsha, ama 113
 Ndungwana, ama 94
 Ngcangathelo, ama 75
 Ngqika, ama 13,15,16,45, 50,51,52,67,72
 Nguni, abe 49
 Ngwane, ama 31,63
 Nkabane, ama 113
 Ntinde, ama 13,15,16,45, 55,57,68
 Ntlangwini, abase 17,113
 Ntozake, abakwa 66
 Ntsonyana, ama 69
 Nzimela, ama 49
 Qhayi, imi 13,15,45,50
 Rarabe, ama 13,16,50,57, 59,75
 Reledwane, ama 66
 Rudulu, ama 54
 Shwawu, aba 66
 Sotho 17,107
 Sukwini, ama 94
 Thembu, aba 62,76-8,80, 81,83,88,89,97,138
 Tshezi, ama 74,93
 Xhosa, ama 12,13,14,16, 49,52,54,55,57,68,72
 Yimani, aba 66
 Zizi, ama 17,63,66,107, 113
 Zotsho, ama 66
 Zulu, ama 31,63,97

- Alberti, L. 104, 118-22,
 129-31
 Alexander, Capt. J. E. 63
 Anta (Unta) 78
 Archie @ Faku 15
 Ayliff, Rev. J. 31, 80

 Bangilizwe 53
 Bayo 88
 Bengxeshe 88
 Bhulukhwe 88
 Bishop 53
 Blakeway, A. M. 22
 Blyth, Capt. 20
 Botomane 53, 72
 Bowker, Col. J. H. 19
 Brownlee, F. 82
 Brownlee, J. 103, 148
 Bulana 88
 Buru 53, 69, 70, 71

 Campbell, D. S. 22
 Cebo 15
 V CIRA 15, 54
 Clark 32
 Collins, Col. R. 69-71
 Currie, Sir W. 20, 78, 104

 Dalisile 53, 88
 Daliza 89, 94, 96
 Dimanda 53
 Dumalisile 53
 Dweba 53

 Eustace, Col. 80

 Fairbairn, T. 64
 Faku 53, 78
 Fyfe-King, R. 22
 Fynn, W. 77, 80

 Gambushe 74
 Gaveni 53
 Gasela 15
 Gawler, Col. 77

 XIV GCALEKA 15, 50, 53, 58,
 60-2, 125
 Gemu 88
 Ginya 15
 Gobanedolo 88
 Grey, Sir George 77
 Griffiths 53
 Guest, J. K. H. 22
 Gwadiso 83
 Gwali 15, 57
 XXV GWEBINKUMBI @
 Salukaphathwa 15, 22, 53,
 89-93, 96

 Hack, S. 43
 Hargreaves, W. T. 22
 Hen-Boisen, J. 22
 XIX HINTSA 15, 22, 30, 31,
 53, 63, 67, 69-72, 74, 92,
 103
 Holomise 89
 Hook, Maj. D. B. 12, 20, 77
 Hunter, M. 133

 Jokweni (Njokweni) 66
 Joyi 78
 Jwara 15, 54

 Kaba 53
 Kefile 53
 Khalakhulu 53
 Khama, Siseko 13
 XVI KHAWUTA 15, 30, 53, 62,
 63

 Leary, A. S. 22
 Le Vaillant 136
 Lichtenstein, H. 139, 143,
 148
 Liefeldt, M. L. C. 22
 Liefeldt, M. W. 22
 Lima 89
 Lindinxiwa @ Manxiwa 53,
 74, 83, 90, 91, 93

- Mabikhwe Toise (Toyise) 13
 Mabobothi 53
 Machine 53
 Madondendleni 95
 Maki 83
 Malan, Maj. C.H. 32
 Malangana 15, 53
 Malungu 53
 Mandleni 89
 Manxiwa 22
 Maphasa 53
 Maqoma 68, 72
 Matiwane 31, 63
 Matumbu 53
 McDiarmid 65
 Moothama 88
 Mdange 15, 56, 57
 Mdushane 15
 Mgcenezulu 53
 Mhala 15, 72
 Mills, Dr M. 43
 Mkafo 93
 Mkolezu 92
 Mlawu 15
 Mlingo @ Ngubezulu 93
 I MNGUNI 15, 53
 Moshesh 78
 Mqhayi 15
 Mqikela, P. 105
 Mthikrakra 92
 Mtoto 85, 88
 Mzikayise @ Cornelius 95

 Nani 92
 Ncaphayi 29, 53, 74
 Ndlambe 15, 68
 Ndumiso 53
 Ngangelizwe 81, 89
 XXVII NGANGOMHLABA @
 Mpisekhaya 15, 22, 53,
 93-6, 106
 Ngcayechibi 82
 X NGCONDE 15, 53, 55-6
 VII NGCWANGU 15, 49, 53
 Ngqika 15, 67-8
 Ngqongqongqongo 53
 Ngubengcuka 88
 Ngubo 92
 IV NKOSIYAMNTU 15, 53, 54
 Nobede 89
 Noble 32
 Nobutho 62
 Nodarabe 95
 Nogcele 89
 Nogemane 89
 Nogoli 93
 Nogqoloza 88
 Nogqili 89
 Nohalite 88
 Nohani 88
 Nohefile 93
 Nohombile 95
 Nohute 88
 Nojaji 88
 Nolothe 89
 Nolungile 94
 Nombatalala 93
 Nondamsi 93
 Nondwe 88
 Nongqawuse 77
 Nongwentle 88
 Nongxokozelo 81
 Nonini 93
 Nontombazana 95
 Nophikile 94
 Noqumra 93
 Norton, C.R. 22
 Norton, W.J.M. 22
 Noswi 88
 Nothengiso 88
 Novili 81
 Nowinile 95
 Nova 89
 Nozamile 95
 Ngamakhwe 94
 Nqeno (Eno) 72
 Nqoko 63, 67, 69
 Ntimfa 93

Ntinde 15,53,57
 Ntini 53
 Ntsukumbini 88
 Nukwa 15
 Nyila 88
 Nzabela 53

Odessa 71
 Ofadava 71
 Omalache 71
 Onohesle 71
 Oobonie 71
 Oonamba 71
 Ootelonie 71
 Oovookonie 71
 Osampa 71

Paterson, W. 140,148
 Pearse, Rev. H. 18,29
 XIII PHALO 50,53,56,57
 Pritchard 43

Qondova 88

Rabie, C.J. 39
 XV RARABE 15,50,53,58
 Razukile 53
 Read, Rev. J. 64
 Rose 103
 Runeyi 92

Sandile 15,78
 Sandile, Archie 13
 XXI SARILI 15,22,48,53,
 69,72,74-5,77-88,92
 Shaw, Rev. W. 30,69
 Shepstone, L.M. 22
 Shiya 88
 Shrewsbury, W.J. 30
 Sibozo 53
 XXIII SIGCAWU 15,53,88-
 90,96
 VII SIKOMO 15,53,55
 Sithubeni 53,93

Siwane, Nofikile 13
 Siyabalala 94
 Smith, Sir H. 69,70,72
 Soga, J.H. 49,54,55,57,
 60,64,68-9,72,98,101,
 106,115,133
 Somakhwabe 88
 Sonwabo 88
 Soshankana, R.W. 17,105,
 158
 Strachan, A.G. 22
 Streatfeild, F.N. 20-2,83
 Theal 69
 Thiso 15
 IX TOGU 15,49,53,55,57
 Tshaka 63
 Tshatshu 13,62
 VI TSHAWE 15,53-4
 XII TSHIWO 15,49,53,55,57
 Tyali 72

Uhliso 66
 Umkuzangwe 66
 Umkwenkwezi 66
 Usambiso (Mhlambiso) 66
 Unomtshatsho 66

van Rooyen, C.T. 43
 van Tromp, J. 116

Welhela 71
 Wiles, F.J. 39
 Wood, L.L. 43

Xabadiya 89
 Xalisile 88
 Xelinkunzi 53,89,92
 II XHOSA 15,53,113
 Xhoxho 53

Yakupha 88
 XXVIII ZWELIDUMILE @
 Bungeni 13,15,17,22,46,
 48,53,93,95,96

- Amalinde 68,69
 Amathole Mountains 67,72
 Badi 21,43
 Bashee River (Mbashe) 75,
 77,79,82,83
 Beecham Wood 19,22,29
 Bojeni 8
 Bomvanaland 79,83,85,88,
 100
 Buffalo River 57
 Busila 87
 Butterworth 1,31,51,58,
 66,69,72
 Cape Peninsula 155
 Cunge 49
 Debe Nek 68
 Dwesa 8,12,67,77
 East London 13
 Elliotdale 45,78,91,100
 Emigrant Tembuland 13
 Esixwonxweni 66
 Fingoland 1,13,48,56,76,
 82
 Fish River 50,57,72
 Fort Bowker 19,22,83,90
 Fort Cox 72
 Fort Malan 7,19,22,32,35,
 83
 Gcalekaland 1,3,50,66,80,
 87
 Gcuwa 30,58
 Gwadana 22,82
 Gxara 76
 Hohitha 87,88
 Holela 87,88
 Ibeka 22,82
 Idutywa 1,5-7,11,13,22,
 41,45,48,51,153
 Idutywa Reserve 1
 Imvani 29
 Indwe River 61,76
 Jujura 27,39,66,87,92,93
 Kei River 50,56,58,61,67,
 72,75,76,78-9
 Keiskamma River 57,72
 Kentani 1,7,13,22,45,51,
 58,69,76,82
 King William's Town 13
 Libode 55
 Lusizi 22,82
 Mahasana 21
 Manubie 12
 Mbangcolo 72
 Mbashe River (Bashee) 7,
 8,11,12,14,22,57,75,77,
 79,82,83
 Mbokothwana 2,27
 Mcelwana 77,85,100
 Mhlahlane 87
 Middledrift 13
 Mngazi River 83
 Mooiplaas Location 60
 Moordenaars Kop 69
 Mount Frere 154
 Mqanduli 55
 Mthatha River 83
 Mzimvubu River 83
 Natal 49,82
 Ncehana 83,85,93,100
 Ncihana 77
 Nduku 8
 Ngcengane 87
 Ngcwanguba 49
 Ngqeleni 49,55
 Ngunduza 11

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ngwane 8 | Shawbury 29 |
| Ngxingxolo 60,61,124,126,128 | Shixini River 7,17,18,66,90,107,138 |
| Nkonkwana 93 | Sholora 77,85-7,89,90,100 |
| Nqabara River 7,8,17,18,22,35,72 | Somerset East 50 |
| Nqadu 46,90,93,94,95 | Stellenbosch 155 |
| Nqamakwe 1,51 | St Johns 55 |
| Ntlambe 58 | St Marks 14,87 |
| Ntlabane 91,92 | Taleni 90 |
| Nxanxashe 93 | Thongwana Stream 57-8,78 |
| | Thuthura 95 |
| Paarl 155 | Tsolo 13 |
| Peddie 73 | Tsomo 1,51 |
| Pondoland 83 | Tsomo River 72,76 |
| | |
| Qhora River 2,7,8,27,87,88,92,93 | Ugadla 11 |
| Qokama 49 | Umtata 41,154 |
| Queenstown 13,29 | Umzimvubu 49,50,55 |
| Qwaninga 7 | |
| Qwaninga River 80 | Welland 124 |
| | Weza 21 |
| Robben Island 86 | Worcester 155 |
| Rora Bush 22 | |
| | Xuba 85 |
| Sebeni 8 | |

ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS SERIES.

Obtainable post free from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Pretoria. Payment to be made when ordering.

1. Transvaal Ndebele Texts, 1930. 4s.
2. Kinship terminology of the South African Bantu, 1931. 4s
3. Contributions towards Venda history, religion and tribal ritual, 1945. 6s.
4. Marriage customs in Southern Natal, 1933. 4s.
5. A preliminary survey of the Bantu tribes of South Africa, 1935. 20s. (Out of print)
6. Tshivenda-English dictionary, 1937. 5s. (Out of print)
7. History of Matiwane and the Amangwane tribe, 1938. 7s. 6d.
8. The copper miners of Musina and the early history of the Zoutpansberg, 1940. 5s.
9. The izangoma diviners, 1941. 4s.

Nos. 10-16 are bound together, 1944. 3s. 6d.

10. The Ba Letswalo or Banarene.
11. The Bathlabine of Moxobôya.
12. The Bakoni ba Maake.
13. The Banarene of Sekôrôrô.
14. The Banarene of Mmutlana.
15. The Bakoni of Mametša.
16. The Batubatse of Mašišimela.

Nos. 17-22 are bound together, 1944. 4s.

17. The Bakgatla ba ga Mosêtlha.
18. The Ndebele of J. Kekana.
19. The Bahwaduba.
20. The tribes of Vryburg district.
21. A genealogy of the house of Sekhukhune.
22. History of Ha Makuya.

23. Venda law: (1 Betrothal, 1948. 14s.
Part (2 Married life, 1948. 12s. 6d.
(3 Divorce, 1948. 16s.
(4 Inheritance, 1949. 24s.

Ethnological Publications Series

24. Native names of industrial addresses, 1948. 3s.
25. The tribes of Barberton district, 1949. 9s.
26. Notes on the Kaokoveld (South West Africa) and its people, 1951. 9s.
27. Taalkaart van Suid-Afrika. Language map of South Africa, 1952. 3s.
28. The tribes of Rustenburg and Pilansberg districts, 1953. 10s.
29. Die Tlôkwa en Birwa van Noord Transvaal, 1953. 8s.
30. The tribes of Marico district, 1953. 9s. 6d.
31. Die stamme van die distrik Ventersdorp, 1954 6s.
32. The tribes of Mafeking district, 1955. 10s.
33. The tribes of Mount Frere district, 1956. 4s. 6d.
34. Die Stamme van die distrik Carolina, 1956.
35. The tribes of Umtata district, 1956. 3s. 6d.
36. The Tribes of Willowvale district, 1957.
37. Die stamme van die distrikte Lichtenburg en Delareyville, 1957. (In the Press)