



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

ETHNOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. VII

HISTORY OF MATIWANE
AND THE
AMANGWANE TRIBE

as told by *Msebenzi*

to his kinsman Albert Hlongwane

*Edited and supplemented by Archive Documents
and other material*

BY

N. J. VAN WARMELO

GOVERNMENT ETHNOLOGIST

7/6

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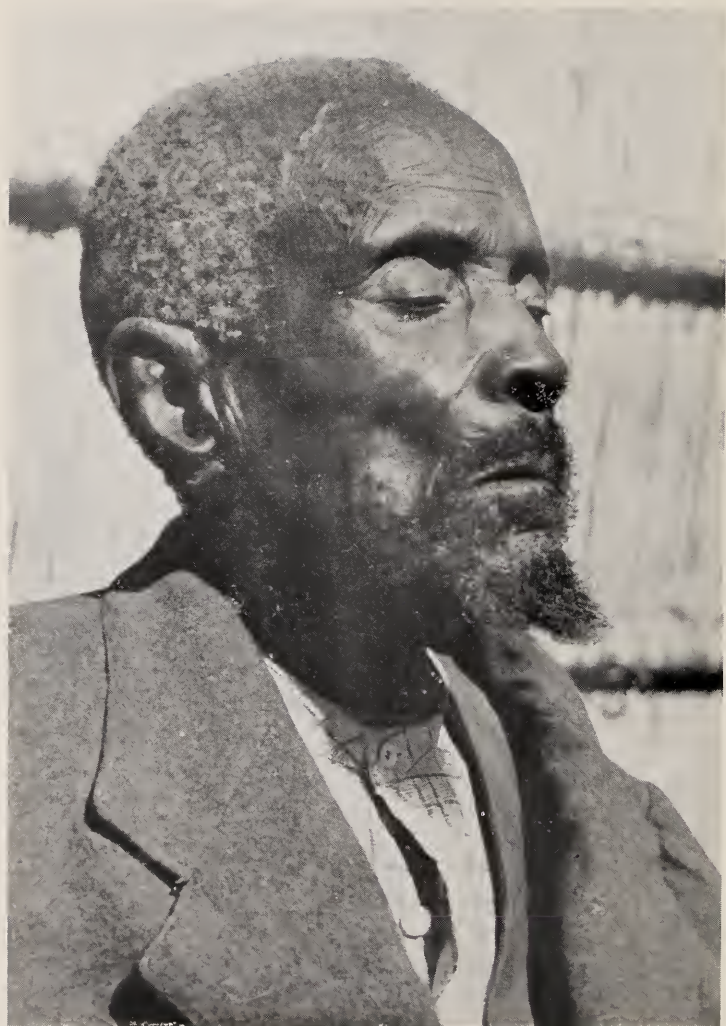


PLATE I

Mse lenzi
unfo kaMacingwane kaMatirane

frontispiece



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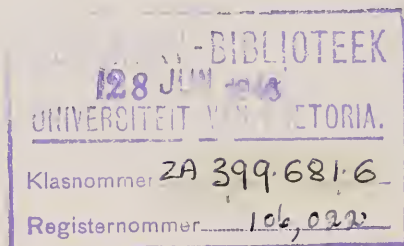
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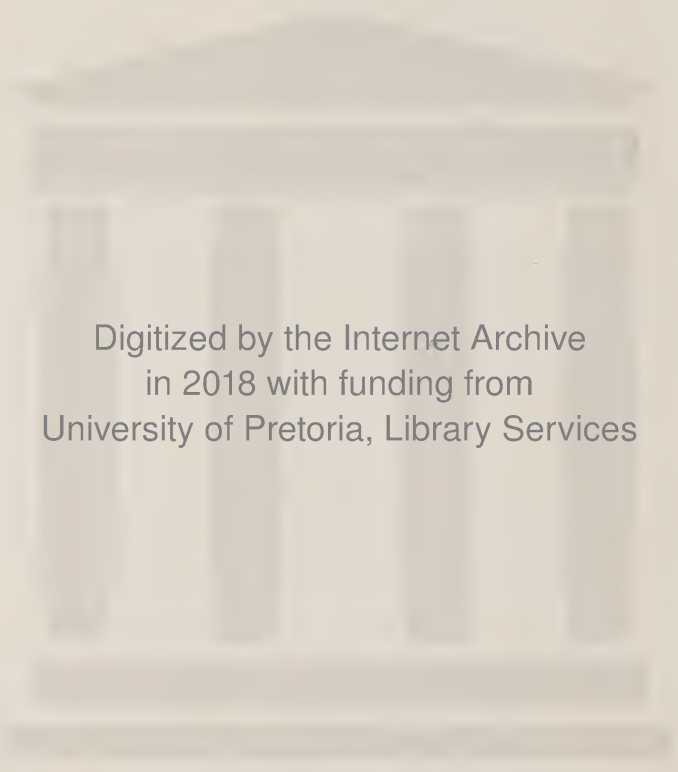
MISEBENZI

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CHAPTER 1

The *amaNgwane* and how their history came to be written

Athi uMgoru kaNdindane, "Uma benibulele beniyini, nxa senifelwe inkosi yenu?" (And *Mgoru* asked them, "Had they killed you, what would that have mattered, once your chief was lost to you?")

i The *amaNgwane* are a Zulu-speaking tribe resident in a reserve under the Mont-aux-Sources in Bergville district, Natal. Numbering about 30,000 souls, they form one of the largest tribes in the province. A great, an eventful, a spectacular career did they have during the first half of the past century, and many proud memories of those stirring times still linger amongst them.

ii The quotation above is taken from the narrative of their history which is reproduced in this book. It sums up, to my mind, the admirable sentiment of loyalty and devotion which pervades the whole tale, and makes interesting what would otherwise be merely a record of bloodshed and plunder.

The *amaNgwane* have played a not inconsiderable part in the earlier history of this country, a part which is briefly referred to in the more reliable works on South African history, but which deserves to be better known, as the following outline will show.

iii Around the year 1800 the *amaNgwane* were still living peacefully on the White Mfoloji in Northern Natal. They were an independent tribe; the ancestry of their chiefs cannot be connected up with that of any other royal family we know. Their chief was *Matiwane*, a remarkable man, whose name has since become a by-word from Zululand to the Cape. The tribe was attacked by *Shaka* around the year 1818¹ and moved southwards to the Mont-aux-Sources. They routed the *Hlubi* in battle, but soon after, fearing an attack from *Shaka*, they followed them over the Drakensberg into Basutoland, where they commenced operations amongst the South-Sotho tribes dwelling there. It should be realised that once a large tribe had been disturbed and was on the march, it had no food supplies for any length of time and not even the seed corn with which to start making gardens again, let alone the wherewithal to tide over the time till the next crop. So the *amaNgwane*, like all other tribes in a similar predicament, continued to live on plunder.

iv They fought many battles, amongst others with the *Hlubi* and also with the *amaNdebele* of *Mzilikazi*, besides making an abortive attack on Moshesh's stronghold of Thaba Bosiu. Then they moved down across the Orange River into Tembuland. In 1828 it so happened that just at the time when the

¹ according to Bryant ("Olden Times in Zululand and Natal", 1929, p. 136) *Shaka* did this as the vassal of *Dingiswayo*.

amaNgwane re-commenced their raids on the Thembu, *Shaka* was plundering Pondoland. The government feared that there might be a great influx of refugees into the Colony, with disastrous consequences. Thus it came about that, after a preliminary encounter in which Major Dundas took part, a mixed force of regulars, burghers and Hottentots under Lt. Col. Somerset attacked *Matiwane* at *Mbholompo* near where Umtata now stands, on 28th August, 1828. The *amaNgwane* were defeated and scattered. *Matiwane* with a small following went back to Zululand, and was murdered by *Dingane* soon after.

v Though the great days of the tribe had ended with the defeat at *Mbholompo*, the narrative gains rather than loses interest from there onwards. It is impossible not to admire the courage, resource and devotion of the men who now march with their chief to what seems certain death at the hands of *Dingane*, and when *Matiwane* is slain, flee with his youthful heir *Zikhali* to Swaziland, save him from death at *Sobhuza's* court, again seek refuge in Zululand, plot for freedom with *Mpande* and finally, when opportunity offers, make a dash with him for the safety of Natal and the Mont-aux-Sources.

vi Thus was the heir to the throne saved and, with him, the very life of the tribe. For had *Matiwane's* house come to an end, the tribe, which was much scattered at the time, would have ceased to exist. But now, with *Zikhali* established in a country of his own, thousands of tribesmen began to re-assemble from every corner of the land. As far afield as Grahamstown were the chief's messengers actually sent to announce to the scattered *amaNgwane* that *Matiwane's* son and heir had come into his own again, and to invite or coerce them to return.

vii The tribe has never been moved since those times; dwelling far away from the scene as it did, it was spared the tribulations of the Zulu War and the rebellion, and has lived as peacefully as the warlike and pugnacious nature of its members has permitted, ever since.

viii The *amaNgwane* are thus a tribe of historical interest and importance. They were the first Zulu-speaking tribe to meet Europeans in open battle and did so within the lifetime of *Shaka*, and almost of the confines of the Cape Colony, as it was then. The battle that was fought and the way they conducted themselves are equally worthy of note. Besides several native versions of it, we are fortunate in also having the report written by Lt. Col. Somerset shortly after the battle and now preserved in the State Archives in Cape Town.

ix As regards purely native history, the consequences of the *amaNgwane* migrations were tremendous. It is they who attacked the *Hlubi* of *Mpangazitha* and drove them into Basutoland. It is they who, together with the *Hlubi*, turned that country upside-down and brought about the chaos out of which the new Basutoland of Moshesh was to arise.

x The wanderings of *Matiwane* and *Zikhali* lead us through a great part of South-eastern Africa and especially to the Zulu court of *Dingane* and that of

the Swazi king *Sobhuza*. The battle with the *maKholokoe* of the chief *Wetse*, after whom *Witzieshoek* is named, marks the end of the eventful sequence of the wars of this tribe.

xi Considerable interest also attaches to the origin of the manuscript containing the narrative of Ngwane history reproduced in this book.

Matiwane's second son *Macingwane* became regent after *Zikhali's* death. He had a son named *Msebenzi*, who was early recognised as a poet and a lad gifted in many ways. According to the custom of royal houses, he was therefore handed over to an old bard, *Siyikiyiki*, for instruction in the traditional poetry and history of the tribe, and was permitted to smoke hemp to a certain extent, a practice forbidden to other chief's sons.² He proved to be a good pupil and acquired in time a great reputation as a reciter of *izi bongo* (praises) and as a repository of tradition. His fine character, which also made a lasting impression on myself, earned him great standing in the tribe.

However, the day came when an accusation of witchcraft, though never very seriously pressed, made him leave his country and resolve never to return. He settled near Butha Buthe in Basutoland and intends staying there till the end.

xii A number of years ago he visited his brother's son, the Rev. Albert Hlongwane, who is acting *inkosana* of the *Siphaheni* royal kraal and lives near it on the Berlin Mission station Hoffenthal, which is situated within the *ama-Ngwane* reserve. The old man (he was born ca. 1850³) was then still very active mentally, and Albert Hlongwane, who had always been passionately interested in the affairs of his people, suddenly had the inspiration that he must take down in writing what the old man had to tell and so save their tribal history from oblivion.

xiii This he did, forgetting all other work and using every means he had to keep his informant going. He wrote morning, noon, and night, even by lamp-light. Day after day, the old man's words were laboriously written down as he dictated. Zulu is a slow language to write and no abbreviations whatever were used. Thus a great deal of patience and toil were expended, and thus did this remarkable manuscript originate.

xiv I must emphasize that the text is a verbatim report of what *Msebenzi* said, not a paraphrase by Albert Hlongwane of what he heard. This was proved to me often enough in going through the MS. with him, for not only were many passages obscure to him, but there were words and phrases he did not know at all. Especially was this the case with the *izi bongo* of the chiefs, of which only the smaller part was ever completely intelligible. Experience with such praises

² in the whole of South Africa, hemp smoking is commonly resorted to as a preliminary to the reciting of poetry. Cf. in the text §60.

³ near where the homestead stands on the farm now called Rivulet. The date is fixed by the fact that he was approximately 18 years old when Glöckner founded Hoffenthal in 1868.

elsewhere leads one to regard it as normal that no more than a third should usually be understood by others than the trained reciters of poetry themselves.

xv In order to clear up such difficulties in the text, to get the meaning of the *izibongo* and to obtain additional information, especially for the genealogy, I took Albert Hlongwane with me to Butha Buthe in March 1937 to see the old man. I camped there for several days and got as much as possible, but it was plain that he was getting old and that the answering of questions fatigued him very much. He is but another instance of valuable informants being approached too late, for it is quite certain that in his prime he would have been a veritable well of information which is now lost for good. And that information was valuable. The whole first story about *Masumpa*, for instance, was extracted from *Msebenzi* at Butha Buthe, and it was told merely by way of explanation of the first line of the *izibongo* of that chief. It was quite plain that many other anecdotes and data might have been similarly obtained from him years ago when he was younger and more active.

xvi Undoubtedly this *Msebenzi* was a gifted person. His tale proclaims it everywhere. Bearing in mind how difficult it must be to dictate a coherent story at the snail's pace of longhand writing in Zulu, one is astonished by the naturalness and freshness of the narrative, but above all by the effective use of dialogue. I do not remember ever having seen anything in the vernacular that shows with equal vividness and vigour how the native tells a tale. Wherever possible a dialogue is made to describe what happened, in other words, everything is dramatised, and the narrator himself acts each part in turn. *Msebenzi* had the further advantage of being able to quote poetry generously and aptly to enliven the tale, in fact one often cannot escape the impression that he was thinking in terms of his poetry all the time and merely weaving the narrative around it.

xvii It is told in the text how, after the defeat at *Mbholompo*, part of the tribe remained in the Cape under several members of the royal house to whom they gave allegiance. These people lost their independence, but not their tribal cohesion. In order to ascertain what traditions were still known amongst the descendants of these *amaNgwane*, I visited the more important sections myself and the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei was good enough to get statements from others through the resident magistrates, all of which assistance is gratefully acknowledged. These larger sections of the *amaNgwane* are all found in districts adjoining or near Umtata. They have all adopted Xhosa language and custom; exactly how much of their custom still survives I cannot say. But of their traditions there is some part left, though largely in the memory of old men, and probably lost to the younger generation.

xviii The battlefield of *Mbholompo* near Umtata was also visited, and I must thank the magistrate Mr. W. G. Mears for his assistance in that connection, but it is difficult to visualise from the available information exactly what happened. These matters are dealt with in the chapters following the text.

xix A small but independent section of the tribe occupies a location in Bulwer district under chief *Vasha*, also a descendent of *Masumpa*. This tribe deserves more attention than I have been able to give it, but see my remarks in Chapter 28.

xx With the exception of the Swazis, whom I was not able to consult, this exhausts the list of native sources of information I have tapped. It now remains to mention the European sources available.

xxi By far the most interesting are the papers dealing with the invasion of the *amaNgwane* into Tembuland in 1827 and 1828, and especially the reports of Major Dundas and Lt. Col. Somerset. All these are in the Archives in Cape Town. There are very few items of original information in any printed sources, excepting Ellenberger's "History of the Basuto", 1912, an invaluable and excellent work, which only contains flights of fancy in the first chapter. Bryant on the other hand ("Olden Times in Zululand and Natal", 1929) mixes fact and fancy throughout a book which is, in spite of that, indispensable.

xxii The earliest information about *Zikhali's* tribe in the Archives in Maritzburg dates from 1852 and the subsequent papers I could find are not of much importance. It would appear that many documents of value have been lost or mislaid. Only one other file is of interest, viz. that on the murder of Moncrieff and the trial of *Ngazana*. These papers are also in the Archives in Maritzburg.

xxiii The information given in the genealogy is more detailed than strictly necessary to an understanding of the text, but this matter is of great interest to the tribe itself, and moreover throws a very instructive light on the family affairs and organisation of the dynasty of one of the biggest tribes in Natal.

xxiv It is a pleasure to recall the generous assistance given by officials of the Department and of the Archives and the many kindnesses of Rev. C. Schumann of Emmaus and Rev. O. Brüggemann of Rosenstein. Without Albert Hlongwane's unflinching interest the manuscript would of course never have seen the light.

CHAPTER 2

Story of *Masumpa*

1 The first chief of the *amaNgwane*¹ that we know was *Ngwadi*, who lived on the White Mfolozi,² but who his son was we do not know. The next chief of whom we know is *Nsele*, the father of *Ndungunya*. It is the latter who begat *Tshani*.

2 *Tshani* had no son in the hut of his great house, but he got a son by his sister-in-law who was staying with (probably the great wife) her sister. This girl reported to her (sister's) mother-in-law, *Tshani*'s mother, "Madam, see this has happened to me", referring to her condition. *Tshani*'s mother asked her, "Where did you get this?"

"Madam, from my brother-in-law".

Thereupon the chief's mother said it were best for the girl to return to her parents' home, and every now and then she sent over a goat, unknown to the tribe, for only she knew, and those of the *Mdluli* clan who were the "spoon-holders"³ of the chief.

3 Some time went on until suddenly one day a runner arrived with the message,

"Madam, I am to say that the girl has born a child."

"What sort of child?"

"It is a boy, madam."

"Hide it well for me, you *Nana*⁴ men, people of *Lamula*; let there be entire and complete secrecy about this."

4 Now by this time *Mabhengwane*, a brother of *Tshani*, was the chief, and the latter's house moved into the background because there was no heir, and so *Mabhengwane* officiated at the *umkhosi* (first fruits ceremony), because he was now the chief.

5 Then one day there suddenly appeared a runner with the message, "Madam, I am to report that the lad has attained puberty." Forthwith the *Mdluli* men who were "spoon-holders" were sent to him to doctor him. And so he grew up more and more.

6 Then one day there was announced the brewing of the beer for the first fruits ceremony, and the warriors assembled. And on the day of the feast there appeared a member of the *Mdluli* clan, he arose in the twilight or early morning and sat him down in the middle of the cattle kraal, but he had the lad hidden under his cloak all the time. The people asked one another apart, "That man who sits there all the time in the cattle kraal for such a long time,

Indaba kaMasumpa

1 *Inkosi yokuqala yamaNgwane esiyaziyo nguNgwadi, eyayakhé eMfolozi emhlophe, kodwa indodana yakhe asiyazi. Inkosi yesibili kwakunguNsele, wazala uNdungunya, nguye owazala uTshani.*

2 *uTshani waengenamntwana, ngisho kundlunkulu, umntwana waze wamthola kumlamu wakhe owayehlala kwadadewabo. Intombazana le yazibika kuminazala unina kaTshani yathi, "Nkosi nanku sengiwelelwe yilokhu", esho isisu, abesethi unina kaTshani, "Ukuthathaphi?" ithi, "Nkosi, ngikuthole kumkhwenyethu", wayesethi intombazana kuhle icele ithi isayokwethekela ekhaya kubo, unina wenkosi ahlale njalo ethumela izimbuzi, amaNgwane engazi lutho, kwaziwa nguye naba-kwaMdluli (abaphathi 'nkezo) kuphela.*

3 *Kwahamba isikhathi kwase kuthi qatha isigijimi sithi,*
"Nkosi ngizobika intombazana isibelethe."
"Kumuntu muni?"
"Kungumfana, nkosi."
"Ngifihleleni njalo nina bakwaNana bakwaLamula, kuthuleke kuthi du nya."

4 *Lapho-ke sekubusa uMabhengwane umfowabo Tshani, umuzi sewubuyela emuva kumfowabo ngoba engazalanga, uMabhengwane usedlala nomkhosi ukuba esenguyena nkosi.*

5 *Qatha sekufika isigijimi sabika sathi, "Nkosi ngizobika ukuthi sekuthombile". Kwase kuthunyelwa abakwaMdluli abaphathi benkezo ukuba bayokulungisa. Kwakhula njalo-ke.*

6 *Kwase kumenyezela utshwala bomkhosi, babuthwa-ke. Kwathi ngelanga lomkhosi kwase kuvela indoda yakwaMdluli ivuka ekuseni kuseluvivi, yase ihlala*

¹ the genealogies given by Bryant and informants belonging to other sections are referred to in §451.

² I found no one who knew where the tribe had lived before being dislodged by *Shaka*. All informants say, "On the White Mfolozi," as if that were accurate enough. We may note what Bryant has to say, though he does not disclose his sources: "Masumpa's emaNgwaneni clan was of the Ntungwa-Nguni breed, akin to the neighbouring Mabasos and Khumalos, and occupied the country from about the esiKhaleni seNgoniyama (Lion's Neck), above kwaNtabankulu mount, away inland towards the Transvaal (Suthu) border, about Wakkerstroom." ("Olden Times in Zululand and Natal," 1929, p. 137).

³ members of this family are the traditional guardians, even today, of the king's person amongst the *amaNgwane*. They prepare and anoint him with the medicines which endow him with the magic qualities without which no chief could withstand the machinations of his enemies, or remain what he is, viz. the centre and the source of the strength and welfare of his tribe.

⁴ apparently the same as *Mdtuti*.

what is he doing ? ” But he just sat there, until eventually the mass of warriors came up from the river and entered the cattle kraal. Then *Mabhengwane* came forward, he being now the chief, and intoned the ritual song with all his men. But when he got to the very song itself, there was suddenly one who whistled loudly. Immediately the singing stopped, upon which the *Mdluli* man produced the lad and said, “ *MaNgwane*, come forward and consider this lad, as to whose son he might be.”

7 Thereupon the semi-circle approached and stood several ranks deep on account of the numbers, and came quite near in order to see this lad.

Nomshizolo, son of *Lamula* of the *Nana* clan had called those of the *Mhlungwini-Ndaba* section aside (and told them what to do) and so now, when the tribesmen gathered round to see the boy he said, “ Sir, this lad resembles *Tshani* even down to his little toe, except that he is a bit smaller. Otherwise we might say : since *Tshani* is dead, when did he come to life again ? ”

8 Thereupon those *Mdluli* men again asked them, “ All you, *maNgwane*, do you really see that he looks like *Tshani* ? ” and all the *amaNgwane* assented.

Then they asked *Mabhengwane* himself, “ And you, sir, do you also see that this lad resembles *Tshani* ? ” and the chief admitted that it was not a question of his resembling *Tshani* exactly, he was just different by being smaller.

9 *Mabhengwane* had barely made this admission when the order was given to the *Mhlungwini* to beat those people of *Ndungunya* (*Mabhengwane* and his brothers) and they beat them all and drove *Mabhengwane* away, and set up *Masumpa*,

“ who stood behind him like a wizard ”

and they chased them with their sticks and they fled streaking for safety as hard as they could go. And then they smashed the pots containing the bad beer, leaving only that which was good, so that they might be praised in the line :—

“ they are the pot-smashers of *Tshani* ”

namely those men of the *Ndaba* clan. *Masumpa*⁵ thus became

“ the broad track on one side at *Mkhalweni* ”

that is, the village of *Mabhengwane*.

⁵ Little or nothing is known about this chief, and we may therefore quote the following :

“ *Masumpa* himself had been a notorious filibuster in his days, and on one excursion of his had so permanently damaged and demoralized the Suthu baFukeng, that, after finding shelter for a time among the friendly baMlayiyane near Fouriesburg, they decided to turn gipsy and rove in bands about the country with women, children and stock, thriving on crime ” (Bryant, “ Olden Times in Zululand and Natal,” 1929, p. 136-7).

“ *Masopha*, father of *Matuoane*, had raided the Bafokeng of *Mabula* and also *Moshesh*. The Bafokeng, on this occasion, were driven from their homes.”

(Ellenberger, “ History of the Basuto,” 1912, p. 122).

esibayeni ngaphakathi, kanti ifihle umfana lo ngaphansi kwesiphuku sayo. Abantu babuzana bodwa bathi, “Leyandoda eyiloku ihlezi esibayeni isikhathi esingaka isebenzani?” Yahlala njalo kwaze kwakhuphuka umkhosi emfuleni. Ungene-ke umkhosi, aphume-ke uMabhengwane phela ngoba useyinkosi, esehlaba umgubho womkhosi kanye namabutho akhe. Uthe afika kongubho, kwase kwela mvelivelayo esithi tswi ehlabi ikhwela. Kwathi nyu ukhlabela, yase lendoda yakwaMdluli isimveza lomfana seyithi, “MaNgwane, ake nisondele nizofanisa lomfana ukuba kungaba ngokabani”.

7 Wasondela umkhumbi waze waphindana ngenxa yobuningi wasondela eduzane uzobona lomfana.

uNomshizolo kaLamula wakwaNana usememe abaseMhlungwini bakwaNdaba ngasese, athe uma amaNgwane ambone umfana athi, “Nkosi lomfana ufana noTshani ngisho nozwane lwakhe, into-nje yena yikuba emfishane; ngabe sithi loku uTshani selafa usebuye wavuka nini na?”

8 Babuye babuze futhi laba bakwaMdluli bathi “Nonke maNgwane niyabona ngempela yini ukuthi ufana noTshani na?” Avume wonke amaNgwane. Bese bebuzo kuyo inkosi uMabhengwane bathi, “Nkosi nawe uyabona ukuba lomfana ufana noTshani ngempela na?” Ihle ithi inkosi akusikho nokuthi uyafana noTshani kumila wahluke ngobufishane kuphela.

9 Wenele avume nje uMabhengwane kwase kuthiwa abaseMhlungwini ababashaye lababakwaNdungunya, sebebashaya bonke bemxosha uMabhengwane, sekumiswa yena-ke uMasumpa

“o bemela njengomthakathi”

babaqule njalo ngemishiza babaleke bathi bhe. Basebebulala nezimbiza zotshwala obubi, bashiya obumnandi bodwa, ukuba bazoba

“ngamabulala'imbiza zakoTshani”

ngabakwaNdaba-ke labo. Yiko-ke azoba

“ngumzila useceleni eMkhabelweni”

kaMabhengwane.

yikuthi umuzi

Praises of *Masumpa*

- 10 *Masumpa* who stood behind him like a sorcerer¹
 Who goes past (passes by) a beast, which thereupon does strange things.
 It bewitched *Mgunyana*,² but left *Matshane*.²
 He was the praises that end very soon, like the *jadu* dance held at *Ceba's*.³
 The broad track is on one side at *Mkhabelweni*.⁴
- 11 The *isompo*⁵ of *Tshani* that ate up the doctor's cattle,
 Of *Ndokose*,⁶ son of *Mzingane*.⁶
Masumpa, the white-flanked black beast.⁷
 They struck this beast,⁸ but their sticks were already broken,
 It was struck by the sons of *Ndungunya* and of *Nsele*.
- 12 The *isibhene*⁹ which is as big as the chiefs of old.
 That which whisks about¹⁰ the tails of wild animals,
 The huge¹¹ buffalo of *Tshani*,
 Elephant with the single tusk to stab the others in the side,¹²
 The bent thing that devoured the lion's cubs.¹³
- 13 It ate up *Nomageda*,¹⁴ it ate *Mhoho*.¹⁴
 The.....(meaning unknown) that is marvelled at,
 Opener of the hut,¹⁵ so that the swallows might enter,
 That they could enter, the swallows with a white spot on the wings.¹⁶
- 14 In the year when there died *Masumpa's* mother and *Tshani*,
 He ate no medicines made from a beast,
 He ate those made from the ear of the lion.¹⁷
 The lion, thatch-remover even with its nose.¹⁸
 The hut, which he set right by unthatching, he now rethatches again.¹⁹
 The elephant of *Tshani*,
 With the single tusk to stab the others in the side.

¹ se. behind his uncle *Mabhengwane*, who was quite unaware that there was an heir, who stood behind him watching and waiting for his time to come, just like an evil-doer would.

² unknown persons.

³ refers to some incident now forgotten.

⁴ the track left by his men while chasing *Mabhengwane* just went straight through the veld, away from the recognised cattle path. *Mkhabelweni* was his father's kraal.

⁵ a word of unknown meaning. The sense of the whole line is not clear.

⁶ unknown persons.

⁷ *inzinzinini*, meaning unknown.

⁸ the other claimants to the chieftainship all opposed *Masumpa*, but they lost.

⁹ *isibhene*, meaning unknown.

¹⁰ *ishandu*, meaning unknown, but *Msebenzi* thinks it means something that waves or whisks about its tail or something similar.

Izibongo zikaMasumpa

- 10 *uMasumpa obemela njengomthakathi,
Waphambana nenkomo izawulumba.
Yalumb' uMgunyana yamshiya uMatshane.
U bezibongo guga njengejadu eliqanjwe kwaCeba.
Umzila useceleni emKhabelweni.*
- 11 *Isompo likaTshani elidl' inkomo zenyanga,
EzaboNdokose kaMzingane.
Inkomo eliwaba inzinzinini.
Bayishaya imizaca yaphukile,
Ishaywe ngabantwana bakaNdungunya nabakaNsele.*
- 12 *Isibhene esingamakhosi amandulo.
Ishandu lingamashoba enyamazane,
Inyathi ezigodo kaTshani,
Indlovu eluphondo lunye lokuhlaba ezinye emakhondweni,
Ingwegwe eyadl' amazinyane engwenyama.*
- 13 *Yadl' uNomageda, yadl' uMhofo.
uNhlungu nonhlungu ubatshazwayo,
Uvul' indlu kungen' izinkonjane,
Kuze kungene nezibwaba busemaphikweni.*
- 14 *Nyakana kufa uNoMasumpa noTshani,
Amakhubalo kawadlanga ngankomo,
Wawadla ngendlebe yengonyama.
Ngonyama fuzizindlu nangesiphumulo.
Eyuicola ukufuza ibuye iyifulele.
Indlovu kaTshani,
Eliphondo lunye lokuhlaba ezinye emakhondweni.*

¹¹ *isigodo* something large, massive and bulky.

¹² *amakhondo* small intestines; to be stabbed here is of course fatal.

¹³ he took everything, even to the children of *Mabhenwane*, who had been the lion (i.e. chief) up to that time.

¹⁴ persons unknown.

¹⁵ he opened the door (to the chieftainship) which had been shut to him by the usurper.

¹⁶ *iWaba* which in §11 refers to a beast (*Masumpa*), is here appropriately used again of the swallows, the females of which also have a white spot on the wings, *Masumpa* being thus cleverly indicated.

¹⁷ he took what he required from the cattle of *Mabhenwane*.

¹⁸ the lion, which is so intent on getting at the inmates of a hut that it tears off the thatch even with its nose.

¹⁹ *Masumpa* first made everything "nice" again (*-cola*) by violently disturbing the established state of affairs and driving out the usurper and then re-establishing equilibrium by becoming chief himself.

CHAPTER 3

Matiwane and Senzangakhona

15 *Matiwane*, the chief of the *Ngwane*, was an independent sovereign who was not under the rule of *Shaka*. *Zwide* also, the son of *Langa*, of the *Nxumalo* tribe, was also not under *Shaka*'s rule. So also *Mthethwa*, of *Nyambose*,¹ viz. *Dingiswayo* the son of *Jobe*. They were chiefs, of whom one day perhaps *Matiwane* might flee and on another day they would be the ones to run away. *Senzangakhona*, on the other hand, was not a chief. Had he been one, *Matiwane* would have killed him, but he could not do so, because *Senzangakhona* was an indigent nobody, and so he did not take anything from him.

Shaka's youth

16 *Shaka* obtained the chieftainship through his cunning, he obtained it at his mother's home, the *Nxumalo* tribe of *Zwide*, son of *Langa*. *Shaka*'s mother *Nandi* was installed by the whole Zulu tribe to be the mother of the future king. This was very bitter to the other wives of *Senzangakhona*, that *Nandi* should be thus exalted, so those other wives whispered to the herd-boys that if they should find an opportunity of coming on *Shaka* alone, they should strangle him. But *Senzangakhona* had already observed that they had designs on his son *Shaka*, so he took him away and hid him at his mother's place with *Zwide*, the son of *Langa*. He grew up to be a young man while living there with his mother's people, and took part in a great deal of fighting. His praise-name gained in battle was

"the *indimindwane*² that devours marrow".

Senzangakhona visits his son

17 One day *Senzangakhona* said to his people the Zulus, "I would like to go to see my son *Shaka*, because I no longer know him."

So he went on a visit to see his son, but there they merely continually slaughtered cattle for him. When two weeks had gone by in this way, he summoned the local induna, and said, "Please tell the chief that I now want to return home. So many days have gone by and I have not yet seen my son." The induna returned and told him, "The chief says you are right, he will show you your son tomorrow."

18 That evening (probably whilst sitting before his door) he suddenly had water poured over him from over the hut. He exclaimed, "Ishu, what is this pouring over me?" They replied, "Sir, it is just water," and at that same moment they heard somebody come down with a thud from the top of the hut (on the other side) and make off.³

19 Next morning *Zwide* had decided to let *Senzangakhona* see his son, and the old man was called.

"Today you will see your son, brother-in-law, for the warriors will dance their war dance today and you also will see them."

uMatiwane noSenzangakhona

15 *uMatiwane inkosi yamaNzwane wayeyinkosi izibuselayo ingekho phansi kombuso kaShaka. NoZwide kaLanga kwaNxumalo naye wayengekho phansi kombuso kaShaka. NoMthethwa kaNyambose, uDingiswayo kaJobe. Yilawo-ke amakhosi obekuthi ngelinye ilanga kubaleke uMatiwane, kuthi ngelinye kubaleke wona. uSenzangakhona kwakungesiye inkosi. Ngabe uMatiwane wambulala ukuba wayeyinkosi, kepha uMatiwane wahluleka ukumbulala ngoba elihobe angeze adla lutho lwakhe.*

uShaka ngesikhathi sobufana bakhe

16 *uShaka ubukhosi wabuthola ngokuhlakanipha kwakhe, wabuthola ekhabonina khona kwaNxumalo kwaZwide kaLanga. Unina kaShaka uNandi wabekwa nguZulu wonke ukuba abe lizala'nkosi. Kwaba buhlungu kulana amanye amakhosikazi kaSenzangakhona ukuba sekubekwe uNandi, ayesethi amanye amakhosikazi kaSenzangakhona banyenyeza kubafana ukuthi uma bengathola ithuba baze bathi bangamthola ihlane bamkhame uShaka. Kanti uSenzangakhona usebonile ukuthi bayamzingela uShaka lo, wayesemthatha eyomfilha ekhabonina kuZwide kaLanga, waze waba insizwa eh'ala khona ekhabonina wahlabana kakhulu empini. Izi'bongo zakhe zokuhlabana kwakhe*

“yindimindwane edla unkantsha”.

uSenzangakhona evakashela indodana yakhe

17 *Wayesethi uSenzangakhona kumaZulu, “Ngifuna-ke ngiyobona umntanami uShaka ngoba angisamazi”.*

Wahamba-ke waya kwethekela eyobona umntanakhe, waze eyilokhu ehlatshiswa izinkomo nje, kwaze kwaphela amasonto ama'bili ayi'bize-ke induna yakhona, athi, “Akhe utsele inkosi ukuthi sengithanda ukuphindela emuva. Kwaze kwaphela izinsuku ezingaka ngingambonanga umntanami na?” Iyabuya induna isithi, “Ithe inkosi uqinisile, isiyokutshenisa yena kusasa”.

18 *Kuthe kusihlwa wezwa esethelwa ngamanzi ehla phezu kwendlu, waze wathi, “Ishu, ngithelwa yini?”, bathi, “Nkosi uthelwa ngamanzi impela,” bezwa umuntu esithi gqithi ephuma khona phezulu wayesebaleka.*

19 *Kwasa-ke kusasa wathi uZwide ngizamshenisa uSenzangakhona umntanakhe namhlanje, wayesebizwa.*

“Namhlanje uzombona umntanakho, mkhwenyana, azogiya amaqawe namhlanje, nawe uzwabona.”

¹ this is a common *isithakazelo* of the *Mthethwa*.

² meaning unknown.

³ presumably this was a magical means of depriving the old man of the virtues of chieftainship.

So the warriors danced their war dance, they came forward to dance out of the ranks, and when they were all there dancing, there issued forth "the *indimindwane* that devours marrow" and *Senzangakhona* and his men suddenly heard the vociferous praising of "the *indimindwane* that devours marrow", though they did not see the dancer himself, until suddenly the young man appeared and jumped clean over his father, for it was he, *Shaka* himself.

20 "There he is, sir," said *Zwide* to him, "that is your son." At this the old man was seized with terrible fear and forthwith took his departure, but that which went home was merely an empty shell, and he had barely got there when he died.⁴

Shaka becomes chief

21 It came to the ears of *Zwide*, son of *Langa*, that *Senzangakhona* was dead, and straightway he ordered his men to arm. He now treated *Shaka* in a manner befitting the chieftainship which he was about to confer upon him. At the place where he washed *Shaka* (with the medicines required to fortify his chieftainship) a mist hung over the hill until sun-rise and there was a great snake in that pool.⁵ So the warriors armed.

22. It is said that the witchdoctor whom *Zwide* had given to *Shaka* had an ear the size of a shield.⁶ So they took *Shaka* to his tribe and installed him in his chieftainship and everything was fine when *Shaka*, as first chief of the Zulus, ascended the throne.


Thereafter his witchdoctor, the one with the ear as big as a shield, would upon occasion say, "Chief, people are coming to you (to attack you), they will be coming from such and such a quarter", pointing there with his finger as the case might be. Then they would hear the order "To arms", the doctor having already heard that the enemy was coming, and so they would arm in time and would be able to deal a smashing blow.

23 And furthermore, whenever *Shaka* attacked he used to run full tilt until he was in the midst of the enemy, and his men were each given a single spear, there was to be no second one. That was considered cowardice; and the neighbouring tribes feared him henceforth. Whenever they wanted to steal on him unawares his witchdoctor would already have heard of it with that huge ear of his, and so *Shaka* in his turn would creep upon them stealthily, attack them and finish them before they expected any evil.

Shaka attacks Matiwane who settles at Ntenjwa

24 The matter that brought about the expulsion of *Matiwane*, son of *Masumpa*, from his country on the White Mfolozi was the following: *Shaka* now saw that all the tribes feared him, so he summoned his mother's tribe of *Zwide*, son of *Langa*, and he summoned that of *Dingiswago*, son of *Jobe*, the *Mthethwa* of *Nyambo*,⁷ he himself being the fourth, and said to them,

King Chaka of the Zooloes
send to King George for presents
of Elephants teeth and want
in return Cows tail Medicine
Large dogs Macassar Oil &c

Chaka's Mark
written by him


Tracing of a faint pencilled note (now in the Cape Archives), dated "Port Natal Sept. 10th 1828" and addressed by Lt. Farewell to Major Dundas, Landdrost of Albany, and sent overland by the hand of John Cane. It was received 11th Oct. 1828. It reads: "King Chaka of the Zooloes send to King George for presents of Elephants teeth and want in return Cows tails Medicine Large dogs Macassar Oil etc." and on the reverse: Chaka's Mark written by him"

Agiye-ke amaqawe egiyela ngaphambili, kuthiwa athi uba agiye aphelele, yavela "iNdimindwane edla umkantsha," nabo abakwaSenzangakhona bezwa nje sekuhaza izibongo kuthiwa "iNdimindwane edla umkantsha," bengamboni ogiyayo, yabonakala insizwa seyeqa phezu kukayise, kanti sokunguye uShaka.

20 *Wathi uZwide, "Nango-ke, nkosi, yiyo indodana yakho leyo", wayesedabuka uvalo khona lapho, uyahamba esevalelisa sekunane sekuhamba ikhasi nje. Wenela ukufika ekhaya wayesefa.*

uShaka, ukubekwa kwakhe ebukhosini

21 *Wezwa uZwide kaLanga ukuthi usefile uSenzangakhona, wayesethi, "Ayihlome". Usemphethe ngobukhosi lobu amnika bonu. Lapho eyomgeza khona uShaka, kume inkungu kulesosizi ba kuze kukhwele ilanga, kukhona inyoka enkulu kulesosizi ba. Yahloma-ke.*

22 *Kuthiwa inyanga uZwide ayinika uShaka, indlebe yayo yayingangehawu. Basebemukisa khona ebukhosini bakhe, kwakuhle kwadela kwayikhona kubekwa inkosi yokuqala kwaZulu uShaka.*

Yase ithi inyanga kaShaka, le enendlebe engangehawu, "Nkosi, bakhona abeza kuwe, fazovela khona ngapha", yasho yakhomba ngomunwe, njalo njalo; bayezwa sekuthiwa, "Ayihlome", seyizwile ukuthi bayeza ngapha, nempela ihlome, iyobadikadika.

23 *Athi uma eya kubo agijime, ngeikhulu ijubane eyongena phakathi kwayo, amabutho akhe emkwe umkhonto ngamunye, ungabi bikho umkhonto wesibili, kubugwala lokho, zamesaba manje izizwe. Uma bethi bafuna ukumnyonyobela ibisizwa inyanga yakhe ngalelihwandakazi lendlebe yayo, uShaka ebanyonyobela yena abagwaze ababhuge, bengananzele.*

uShaka ehlasela uMatiwane

24 *Into-ke eyahitha uMatiwane kaMasumpa ezweni lakhe eMfolozi-emhlophe, wayesebona manje uShaka ukuthi izizwe zonke ziyamesaba, wayesemema khona ekhabonina kuZwide kaLanga, wamema uDingiswayo kaJobe, wamema uMthethwa kaNyambose, kwanguye wesine, wathi,*

⁴ By jumping over his father, *Shaka* robbed the latter of all the magical properties by virtue of which he was a chief. The old man knew this and realised that his days were numbered. Since there was nothing (of a magical nature) left in him he is likened to an empty husk or shell. The magical significance of jumping over someone else, or over a ferocious animal, when killed, is well illustrated in the anecdote relating the dilemma *Dingane* was in when *Zikhali* had killed the lion, see §195.

⁵ *Zwide* is here confused with *Dingiswayo*, as in the earlier references to him.

⁶ enabling him to hear exceptionally well.

⁷ the narrator apparently is not aware that the *Mthethwa* tribe was that of *Dingiswayo*, *Nyambose* being the *isithakazeto* of the *isibongo* (clan-name) *Mthethwa*.

“ It is time that together we fell upon that little fly and drove it hence,” meaning *Matiwane*, “ so that when we have driven him out, we four can divide up his country between ourselves.”

In consequence, wherever *Matiwane* now sought a way to escape, he found they barred the way to him on all sides, because those chiefs had formerly always been accustomed to fight, each one for himself, just like *Matiwane*. Thus it was that this time they ousted him utterly.

25 So he fled and came hither to the Tugela River under the Drakensberg, and settled at *Ntenjwa*,⁸ and his own head kraal there he called *eSinyondweni*. He occupied all the ground east of *Zimbulwane*,⁹ right up to the place known today as *Matiwane*,¹⁰ and stayed there.

Shaka attacks other chiefs

26 *Shaka* now turned against those other three chiefs whom he had summoned ; he gave his warriors one spear each and told them he was not to see even one of them going about armed with two spears. He began by attacking his mother's people, the tribe of *Zwide*, son of *Langa*, and when he was in sight of their army he ran in amongst them with great speed, and his whole army followed suit without waiting to cast their spears, instead of which they engaged in a hand to hand fight. Big-Ear had already told him where they had been stationed and so he was able to surround the men of his mother's tribe before daylight and slaughter them. He had previously taught his warriors the war-songs of his mother's tribe. So that now when the Zulus approached the *Ndwandwe*s' homes the latter thought these were their own men returning, because they heard their own war-song being sung, just like the *amaNgwane* tribe when they sing the war-song of *Matiwane*, which runs,

“ We strive for cattle only, and for land ”.

And so they were startled when suddenly this “ *indimindwane* that feeds on marrow ” burst upon them and you heard the warriors shout aloud their war cry “ *Yehehee !* ”

27 And so he scattered the tribe of *Zwide*, son of *Langa*, and after that *Mzilikazi*, son of *Mashobane* of the *Khumalo*, and *Dingiswayo*, son of *Jobe*, and *Mthethwa* of *Nyambose* and *Ngodongwane* and *Dlengezela* of the *Luyengwe* clan and the *Mbatheni* clan. All this great kingdom fell into his grasp, and when the chiefs fled, the royal plumes fell and were taken by *Shaka*, and even today they are still there. In the end all the tribes acknowledged *Shaka* as the king.

Matiwane, again attacked, moves to Zizi country

28 *Shaka* now heard that *Matiwane* had settled down over yonder, and gave the word, “ To arms,” and had him driven out from where he had made his new home. So *Matiwane* packed up everything anew and planned to fall upon and scatter all the *Zizi*, who were living just under the Drakensberg.

“Kuhle lempungana siyihlanganyele, siyixoshe lapha” esho uMatiwane, “Sothi singamzoshu uMatiwane, bese sabelana so bane ilizwe leli”.

Wabathe ucinga ngapha, bamvalela nza zonke, ngoba lana amakhosi wona abelwa ngawodwa njengoMatiwane, bamsusa-ke nempela.

25 Wayesebaleka weza khona lapha oThukela phansi koNdi, wakha eNtenjwa, umuzi wakhe igama larwo eSinyondweni. Wakha wakhawula ngeZimbulwane kwaza kwaba nalapho kuthiwa khona eMatiwane, wahlala-ke.

uShaka uhlasela amanye amakhosi

26 Manje uShaka wawavukela lana amakhosi amathathu ayewamemile wawahlasela, amabutho akhe wawanika umkhonto ngamunye, wathi angalingi ambone noyedwa ophethe imikhonto ngambili. Wahle waqala khona ekhahonina kuye uZwide kaLanga, athi esayibona impi agjijime ngejubane aze angene phakathi kwabo, yonke impi yenze njalo, ingalibali kuciba, kepha ibagwaze amahlanze. uNlebenkulu lo amtshela nalapho bengenise khona, athi “Balapha,” abavimbezela kusemnyamana bona abekhahonina abagwaze. Impi eselayifundisa amahubo ekhahonina, besebecabanga ukuthi ngabakubo, bezwa ihubo lakubo, njengama-Ngwane nxa ehuba ihubo likaMatiwane, elithi,

“Sibang’ inkomo nje, sibang’ ilizwe”.

Bethuka isitheleka “indimindwane edla umkantsha,” uzwe indoda isikhalela phezulu isithi yehehe!

27 Wamchitha uZwide kaLanga, wamchitha uMzilikazi kaMashobane wakwaKhumalo, wamchitha uDingiswayo kaJobe, wamchitha uMthethwa kaNyambose, oNgodongwane, oDlengzela waseLuyengweni wasemaMbathe. Wabuthola-ke bonke lobubukhosi obungaka, athi uma amakhosi ebaleka, kuhambe kuwa izinsi ba zamakhosi, azithathe uShaka, namanje zisekhona. Kwase kusala izizwe esezimvuma uShaka ukuthi nguyena inkosi.

uMatiwane ehlaselwa futhi, wesuka waya eMaZizini

28 Wezwa uShaka ukuthi uMatiwane wakhle ngapha, wayesetna, “Ayibome,” yamsusa futhi lapha abesakhe khona. Wayesekhukhula njalo uMatiwane, wayegonde ukuchitha wonke amaZizi, ayakhe lapha phansi koLundi. Kodwa amaZizi anomusa, akazange azidle izinkomo zikaMagangana. uMagangana wamahlala

⁸ a hill east of Bergville.

⁹ a hill east of Ladysmith.

¹⁰ on the main railway line near Ladysmith.

But the *Zizi* proved good-natured and so he did not seize all the cattle of *Magangana* (the chief of the *Zizi*). For *Magangana* prevailed upon him, (softened his heart), because he ran away from him and climbed up into the mountains and just left the cattle standing about everywhere. *Magangana*, when *Matiwane* tried to pursue him, shouted to him, "Why are you coming up to me here, do you then devour people? In what way is a man then to tender his submission to you? Have I not already submitted to you, and said you were my chief, and are not the cattle down there in the open veld, what then do you want from me? Do you devour men then? Do not cross the river by that ford down below, because there are eroediles there".

29 There were however some of *Matiwane's* men who had slain some of the *Hlubi* and whilst they were praising themselves about an enemy slain in battle, they heard a shout from up on the mountainside: "That one is telling lies, he (the dead man) was stabbed by that other there with the white shield." *Matiwane* was struck by this and said, "Hawu, my people, do you see these people how kind-hearted they are? They that should have just left us to be eaten by eroediles, tell us which ford to take, and afterwards stop strife between us when we were quarreling about the honours of war, one saying that the enemy was stabbed by him, whereupon they intervened and said that one is telling lies, he was stabbed by that man with the white shield. It is not right that we should seize their cattle. Go and pick out the fat ones only. Go you, So-and-so, and call *Magangana*, ask him to come here, and let the fat cattle be counted".

Matiwane and Magangana

30 So *Magangana* came, and was asked to bring his eldest son, but they deceived *Matiwane* in this and gave him *Bhayibhayi*, whilst concealing *Sidinane*.

"You see, *Magangana*," *Matiwane* said to him, "This son of yours, that you have pointed out to me I shall take with me," and then to his own regiment, the *uShigi*, he said, "Here is *Magangana's* son *Bhayibhayi*. This son of yours I am going to take with me, *Magangana*, but you must not think that together with me he will now be lost to you. I am doing this (viz. pushing further on) because *Shaka* once already has attacked me and we fought him, and now I am retiring in order to be further removed from *Shaka*, that he may not get at me while still well fed, it were better that he reach me when hungry. I shall climb over the mountains and get to the top and settle there, but you must not think that I am making off with your son, and when you have anything to say you must let me know by messenger".

ngoba wayesuka ambalekele ayokhwela entabeni, izinkomo aziyeke nje zigwale indawo zonke. uMagangana athi uma uMatwane efuna ukumlandela, athi, “Uyangaphi kimi, kanti udla abantu yini wena? Kanti umuntu angakhonza kuwe ngokwenzenjani? Lokhu sengikhonzile kuwe, ngathi sevuyinkosi yami, lokhu nanzo izinkomo esihlanjeni, kimi lapha ufunani? Kanti udla abantu yini? Ungaveli ngalelo elingenzansi izubuko, ngoba linezingwenya.”

29 Kwayilapho sebekhona asebeke babagwaza. Sebezwa khona laphaya entabeni, nxa sebabonga lona osegwaziwe bathi, “Unamanga lowo, ugwazwe yiloya osihlangu esimhlophe”. uMatwane aklabeke athi, “Hawu, maNgwane, niyababona abantu abanomusa kangaka nje na? abebefanele ukusiyekelela sidliwe zingwenya, kepha basilayela izubuko, babuye basilamule nempini, sibanga impi, athi omunye lo ugwazwe yimi, athi lo ugwazwe yimi, bathi unamanga lowo ugwazwe yiloya owesihlangu esimhlophe. Akufanele sizidle izinkomo zabo. Hambani niyokketha ezenyama kuphela. Hamba wena Sibanibani uyombiza uMagangana, uthi akeze lapha, nezenyama zibalwe”.

uMatwane noMagangane

30 Afike-ke uMagangana, kuthiwe akaboza nomntanakhe omkhulu, kanti bayamkhohlisa bamnike uBhayibhayi, bamfihla uSidinane.

Athi uMatwane, “Uyabona-ke Magangana, lomntanakho ongikhombisa yena ngizohamba naye.” Abesethi ebuthweni lakhe uShiyi, “Lushiyi, nango-ke umntwana kaMagangana uBhayibhayi. Lomntwana engizohamba naye, Magangana, ungasho wena ukuthi ngilahleka naye, nami ngenzela ngoba useleke wafika laphaya uShaka, sahwa naye, ngenzela ukuba ngiqhele, ngiqhelelane noShaka, angafiki kimi esasuthi, kuhle afike kimi eselambile. Ngizothi ngingakhuphuka ngikhuphukele lapha ngaphezulu, bese ngakha, ungacabangi ukuthi ngibaleka nomntanakho, nawe uma kukhona okukhulumayo uzangitshela”.

CHAPTER 4

Matiwane arrives in Basutoland

31 And so he departed. He sent his scouts on in advance and they returned to report to *Matiwane*, "Sir, we found two chiefs fighting with one another. The one is on top of a mountain¹ and the other has taken possession of his grain baskets and has surrounded the mountain on which he is entrenched. This one down below is waiting to see whether he can starve him out and make him come down from his mountain". Then said *Gungunyathi* (*Matiwane*) to them, "Go and find me some food there, my children".

32 So off went an impi of *Matiwane* and made straight for that spot. Our leaders had not yet heard the dispute, but when they arrived they did not bother to ask why those two had quarrelled. Actually it was *Sigonyela* (*Sekonyêla*) who was down below and in possession of the grain baskets, and his tribe the *abaDlongwa* (*baTlôkwa*), and it was *Mshweshwe* (*Moshesh*) who was on top of the mountain. They simply arrived and the spear did its work, without enquiries as to what was the matter, and so *Sigonyela* ran away. *Mshweshwe* sent down a headman of his with ten oxen, to tender homage to his chief and to enquire where he came from, and to offer him some food. And the induna said further, "*Mshweshwe* could no longer relieve himself in any way, there was no opening left him. But you, sir, where do you come from? We are hated here by all the tribes and *Mshweshwe* begs you to take him under your aimpit".

33 "What is his name?" asked *Matiwane*, and the induna replied, "Sir, it is *Mshweshwe*".

Matiwane then said to the induna, "Thank *Mshweshwe* for this food, and ask him to come down to me here tomorrow with some of his people."

The next morning that same induna announced him, "*Mshweshwe* has now arrived according to your invitation".

Matiwane then addressed him, "You see, *Mshweshwe*, since I hear that you are on bad terms with all the tribes, I would like to go with you, so that we may find a place to settle, further on".

Mshweshwe located at *Thaba-bosiu*

34 So they marched on with *Mshweshwe* and when they arrived at *Thaba-bosiu* he said to his men, "Go and find out how many avenues of approach this mountain has got." They inspected it carefully and returned and told him, "There is only that one place where one can get up. And that entrance is very narrow and each man would have to go up with his own shield, they could not pass their shields from the one to the other".

35 Then *Matiwane* said to *Mshweshwe*, "It were best that you removed from *Butha-Buthe*, because I hear that you are a dog that is hated by the others; I put you on this mountain, where you will be able to have your back to the wall. When a dog is attacked by others it always gets cover for its hindquarters, so that the other dogs have to come from in front and both sides".

uMatiwane efika eLusuthu

31 *Nembala ahambe-ke. Wathumela izinhlozi phambili, zabuya zathi kuMatiwane, "Nkosi, sifumanise amakhosi amabili elwa, enye iphezulu entabeni, enye seyathatha izilulu zayo yakakela intaba epezu kwayo, lena inkosi esentabeni. Ithi lena enye khona soke sibone ukuthi akayikuze alambe, ehle laphaya entabeni". Washo uGungunyathi wathi, "Akengifumanise ukudla lapho, bantwabami".*

32 *Yasuka impi kaMatiwane isifanga khona. Amakhosi akithi ayengakathethi icala, athi nje efika akabe esabuza ukuthi nixabene ngani? Kanti ngu-Sigonyela lona ongaphansi wezilulu ngabaDlongwa, kanti nguMshweshwe lona ophozulu entabeni. Uyafika selidla² unina, engasabuzanga ukuthi kwenzenjani, abaleke-ke uSigonyela. uMshweshwe wathumela induna yakhe nezinkabi ezilishumi. Wathi uyakubingelela inkosi yakhe, ingabe uwela ngaphi na? uthi nanku ukudla akupha kona. Yathi futhi induna, "uMshweshwe ubengasakwazi ukunya, engasakwazi nokuyachama. Zombili lezintunja zingasekho kuye. Ingaba nkosi uwela ngaphi na? Siyaliwa lapha yiziziwe, uthi nkosi Mshweshwe mngenise ekhwapheni kuwe".*

33 *"Igama lakhe ungubani na?" sekubuzwa uMatiwane. Yathi induna, "Nkosi, nguMshweshwe." uMatiwane wathi enduneni, "Uze ungibongele lokukudla kukaMshweshwe, uze uthi kuye kusasa aze ehle eze lapha kimi, nabantu banga bi bangaki".*

Induna leyo yase imbika ithi, "Selefikile uMshweshwe, njengokumbiza kwakho".

Ahla athi uMatiwane, "Uyabona-ke Mshweshwe, njengofa ngigezwa ukuthi waliwa yizizwe zonke, ngifuna ukuhamba nawe, syohlola ngaphambili".

uMshweshwe wabekwa eNtaba-busuku

34 *Bahamba-ke noMshweshwe, bathi nxa bese eNtaba-busuku, athi emabuthweni, "Ake nibone lentaba ukuba inezintuba ezingaki na?" Bayihlola babuya, bathi, "Intuba yayo, nkosi, yiyo le kuphela. Intutshanyana yakhona yincane, nezinhlangu abantu bangeze bazinikezelana".*

35 *Wayesethi uMatiwane kuMshweshwe, "Kukle uthuthe laphaya eButha-Buthe, njengalokhu ngiyakuzwa ukuthi uyinja eyaliwa ngezinye; ngikubeka kulentaba, lapho uzafihla khona iqolo. Inja uma yaliwa ngezinye iyaye ifihle iqolo, khona zizathi izinja zifuna ukulwa nayo, zivele nganzanye ngaphambili".*

¹ Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto," 1912) describes the siege of Butha-Buthe mountain by the baTlökwa, but says that Moshesh called in the "Zulus of Sepetja, the clan of brigands and cannibals" to relieve him by attacking the besiegers, and that he thereby gained time to occupy Thaba Bosiu. No mention is made of *Matiwane* in this connection, he having (acc. to p. 154) established himself at Senyotong by this time. The following passage on p. 110 is also of interest:—

"About two years after he settled at Butha-Buthe," said the late chief Nehemiah Moshesh in his notes, "my father was attacked by night by the Amangwane of Matuoane, son of Masopha. They took the cattle of my father and his people to the number of about 2,000 head, but they did not touch those of Mokhachane (Moshesh's father) and his other sons who remained at Menkhoaneng. They took only those which were at Butha-Buthe. It was at this time that Masopha and Makhobalo were born."

² *sc. iGaga* spear. An idiomatic expression.

Matiwane settles down in Basutoland

36 And so *Gungunyathi* occupied the country from *Mgwadleni* (Mekuatling) right up to Bethlehem and he said to *Mshweshwe*, "You I locate here in the mountains, for I see that you like to be amongst them, because you are a coward". And so he occupied all the country from the Caledon up to *Ngolanyama* (Viervoet) at *Zeze's*, the place of many pumpkins.

Mshweshwe suspected of evil intentions

37 They lived in peace with *Mshweshwe*, who considered himself *Matiwane's* vassal, but when he visited him, he always used to stand for a long time before he sat down. The *amaNgcwane* took exception to this and said to their chief *Matiwane*, "Now do you see that *mSuthu* of yours, why does he always stand over you for such a long time? He stands whilst you are seated,³ why does he always do that?" The chief replied, "Get out, those *Suthu* know nothing". Nevertheless the *amaNgcwane* continued to disapprove strongly of this. It was a bitter grievance with them, and more than one of them said to *Matiwane*, "Chief, please have that *mSuthu* of yours killed," but he refused, saying, "As for me, I cannot kill a man who has done no harm". *Mshweshwe* always spoke very humbly. He was like the antbear which puts its tongue into an anthep and then, when it is covered with ants, suddenly draws it out and lets it disappear into its stomach.

Shaka's war parties in Basutoland

38 After a time *Shaka* (i.e. his regiments) eventually arrived in Basutoland⁴ and the scouts saw him coming and reported that he had occupied such and such a place. *Matiwane* ordered, "Attack him before dawn, and when the *Shiyi* regiment gets near to them, let them rouse them and shout to them, 'Arise, we are here already.' You also know that we do not wish to catch you by surprise." Then they attacked in the early dawn, before the sun had risen. There was none that desired to flee, but many royal feathers had already fallen to *Shaka*.⁵ However at noon the Zulu army retired, for the Zulus were very hungry, and *Matiwane* put them to flight because they were faint with hunger.⁶

³ the intention to acquire a magical ascendancy or work some sort of evil is implied by such behaviour.

⁴ acc. to Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto, 1912, p. 176) this was in 1826.

⁵ the meaning of this is not clear. To me it suggests that *Shaka's* warriors had the advantage of more victories to their name, cf. §27, but to Albert Hlongwane the passage suggests that this time all did not go well with *Shaka's* men.

⁶ Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto," 1912, p. 177-8) has the following information about the Zulu attack on *Matiwane*:—

"The Zulus crossed the Caledon at Maseru Drift, in search of the cattle of the Amangwane, which were then scattered about in various herds from Masite and Makhoarane and on to Kolo, Mafeteng, Thabana Morena, Siloe, and even farther south, Matuane himself being at Ngope Khubelu (Blasball Spruit).

The Zulus halted at Qeme, passed on to Masite and Thabana Morena, and attacked the Amangwane at Likhocle. They were not very numerous, but their discipline and valour were of a high order, and they easily defeated the Amangwane, who fled towards

uMatiwane wahlala wakha eLusuthu

36 *Walakha-ke uGungunyathi, walisusela eMgwadleni, waza wakhawula nge-Bethlehem, athi, "Wena Mshweshwe ngikubeka lupha ezintabeni, ngoba ngiyabona ukuthi uthanda ezintabeni, ngoba uligwala". Walakha-ke yena alisusa phezu komfula uMhugwana, aze alikhawulise eNgolanyama, kwaZeze elinamathanga amaningi.*

uMshweshwe waeabangelwa ububi

37 *Bahlala-ke noMshweshwe, ahlale ezakukhonza kuMatiwane, athi uma efika, eme njalo isikhathi eside engahlalanga phansi. AmaNgwane akusola lokho, athi enkosini uMatiwane, "Imbala nje uyabona lomSuthu wakho, yini ukuba akumele isikhathi esingaka yena? Ukumele wena uhlezi phansi, kuyini khona lokhu akwenzayo na?" Ithi inkosi, "Sukani, abeSuthu abazi lutho". Cha amaNgwane akusole impela lokho, abenesihononondwane kube yilowo nalowo athi, "Nkosi, akabulawe lomSuthu wakho," ale uMatiwane, athi, "Mina angikwazi ukubulala umuntu engenze lutho". uMshweshwe alubeke phansi ulimi lwakhe, alingise isambane sona sithi singathi bhodlo esidulini, sibeke ulimi lwaso kuthi uma kuqaqele ubuhlwa olimini siluhole lugenxe lonke esiswini.*

Impi zikaShaka zifika eLusuthu

38 *Ahle afike uShaka khona eLusuthu, zimbone izinhlozi zithi uShaka ungenise ekuthinithini, athi, "Nibomngenela una kubheje enzansi," kusho uMatiwane. Kuthi ngapha kungenise khona uShiyi, lufike lubaruse, luthi, "Vukani, sesifikile, niycazazi nani, usithandi ukuninyenyela". Yabambana khona ukuthatha kokusa, nxa kubheje enzansi. Akubangabikho owathanda ukubaleka, kepha ngakuShaka zaziningi izinsiba zamakhosi ezawela phezu kwakhe. Kwabe uyasuka uZulu ilanga lisebuthwalambiza, nempela belambile, wabaxosha ngoba bagebile.*

the Caledon. Matuoane crossed the river in haste, and camped on the spot where later the mission of Beersheba was erected. During this time the Zulus ravaged the country as far as the Cornet Spruit, where it joins the Orange. They even went as far as Mata-teng (Hangklip), and, crossing the Orange River, arrived at the Rock of Khiba. From there they returned slowly. Hearing of their approach, the Amangwane retired on the Modder River, but Matuoane, being near Thaba Ntso, collected his forces around him. Hearing that the Zulus were taking all the cattle, the Ushee Regiment remonstrated with Matuoane, saying, "Shall so small an army take our property?" But Matuoane knew his enemy, and dared not resist. Moloya, a man of the Ushee, gives the following account of his regiment's experiences:—

"When we arrived at Kolonyama (Vier Voet), our regiment proposed to attack the Zulus, but the regiment of the White Shields (the married men) refused to join, and went elsewhere to capture cattle. But they did not escape defeat; for the first regiment of the Zulus fell upon them and put them to flight, while we, soldiers of the Ushee, were fighting near Ladybrand against the rest of the Zulus. We were very weary, having fought all day; but on our return, we encountered the first regiment of the Zulus, who had defeated our White Shields, near the reed bed between Modderpoort and Ladybrand. We joined battle with them, and Dingaan received a spear-thrust in the chest. Well was it for us that they were as weary as we, and we sank upon the ground for very weariness, being able to slay no more, and cursed each other as we sat there. At last the Zulus struggled to their feet and staggered off like drunken men, driving the cattle before them, and we had not the strength left to stop them."

Many warriors of both sides fell on that day, and, for years afterwards, the Basuto used to pick up fragments of weapons among little piles of human bones.

After this sanguinary battle Matuoane retired across the Caledon to his headquarters at Senyotong".

Matiwane's stratagem

39 Those women who had no children that they were still suckling had to leave them behind with those women who were still suckling, and those (former) women were the army which he took along. They rolled up their skirts to above the knees, and he had shields cut for all of them. This regiment of his he placed in position some distance away and so they stood in rows, doing nothing. Then the battle was fought, and they sang the war-song of *Matiwane* :

“ We strive for cattle only, and for land, *hayi ho ho.* ”

40 When *Shaka's* warriors saw this regiment in the distance they were struck by fear and terror, and so the army of the Zulus broke in flight because they thought, “ If that army over there on the hill is as big as this one opposing us, we can never gain the victory,” and so off they went. On the field where the battle was fought, the rotund pumpkins grew in profusion, (on account of the great number slain), for they went on stabbing until they were stopped by darkness. By that time the army of *Shaka* was overcome by hunger, and they were being killed hungry as they were (and unable to offer much resistance), and so finally *Matiwane's* warriors shouted to them, “ Come again another time, and then we will show you that we are fighting in earnest ”.

41 When *Shaka* heard that his army was defeated and that So-and-So and So-and-So had been killed, he was struck with fear, and was not going to make another attack soon. He discussed the matter with the commander of the impi,

“ Did you say, So-and-So, that another division which had not yet fought at all was drawn up under the hill, a force as big as that which caused you to retire ? ”

“ Yes, just so.”

“ Then,” said *Shaka*, “ it is clear that *Matiwane* has pressed other tribes into his service, for he never used to have so many people.” Actually, of course, they were all women.

Machinations of Mshweshwe

42 *Mshweshwe* in the meantime was having karosses made, to send to *Matiwane* in token of submission, but he himself knew best what he had done with those karosses (i.e. he probably had them doctored to do the recipient harm) and he also sent snuff and cow-tails, all as tribute. But he had done certain things also to that snuff, which he intended should be used by the great ones of the *amaNgwane*.

Amacebo kaMatiwane

39 Lababafazi abangena bantwana abangasamunyisi, bazobashiya kula ba abasamunyisa, yiyo-ke impi yakhe azohamba nayo abafazi laba. Bavunule bakhawulise enhla kwamadolo, bonke abasikele amahawu, alikhweze lelobutho lakhe libe libanga kude laphaya, libe ngamaviyo njalo limi nje. Bayakwa lapha bona bayagubha basho lona ihubo likaMatiwane :

“Sibang’ inkomo nje, sibang’ izwe, hayi ho ho”.

40 Bathi ukuba abakwaShaka bali bone leliya butho bashaywe lualo, bange-
nelwa kwesaba, yanquzuka ya baleka eyakwaZulu, njengoba “Na yona leya esenta-
beni ingangayo le elwa nathi, phinde singenise,” yaduma ya baleka. Kwathi
lapho kade ilwela khona, kwahlanza amathanga adunuselana, kwathi ukuba isuke
bayigwaza njalo, baze bahlulwa ngumnyama, kuyilapho impi kaShaka seyine-
phango, begwazwa belambile, yathi impi kaMatiwane, “Nize nibuye futhi, sizo-
nikhombisa ukuthi siyalwa impela manje”.

41 Kwathi ukuba uShaka ezwe ukuthi impi yonakele kusale oBanibani, uShaka
washaywa lualo, wesaba, akaze abuyela masinyane. Wathi uShaka kumlawuli
wempi,

“Uthini Sibanibani, uthi ibingakalwi ibiqhinqe phansi kwentaba ingangale
enixoshile na?”

“Yebo, kunjalo.”

Athi uShaka, “Kusobala ukuthi uMatiwane zikhona izizwe azithumba,
ngoba wayengena bo abantu abangako,” kanti ngabafazi.

Ubuqili bukaMshweshwe

42 uMshweshwe wabe eyilokhu ethunga amaxaba, ayokhonza ngawo kuMati-
wane, kanti yena uyakwazi akwenzile kulawomaxaba, wamukisa ugwayi nama-
shoba, konke lokhu kuyothela; kanti kukhona izinto azenzile nakuwo ugwayi lo
ozobhenywa zikhulu zamaNgwane.

Two regiments sent South to reconnoitre⁷

43 *Shaka* in the meantime had vanished completely. *Matiwane* summoned a meeting and addressed them, “*MaNgwane*, this is what I have summoned you for, my children ; it is to tell you that I am sending the *Shiyi* and *Nsimbi* regiments on in front, to spy out what the land is like”.

They marched on and on, those two regiments, until two months had passed. Then in the third they returned, bringing with them very large ears of millet and maize and these they flung down before the chief, and reported,

44 “Chief, that country before us is well watered. Behold the food it produces, it is a country of acacias and mimosa, a country with huge dark forests.” And they told him further, “We went on and on until we came to a river of which we could not see the end.”

So the chief said, “Run boy, and tell my elder brother *Hawana*, the first-born of *Masumpa*, that the *Shiyi* and *Nsimbi* regiments have returned. Ask him to come and see the things that they have brought, millet and maize, and tell him they report that the country is well watered”.

Hawana provokes *Matiwane*

45 But *Hawana*, when he got the message said, “That yonder ! Yonder where ? We have marched enough, we are not going anywhere else. We have built, we are settled here. Has he by any chance eaten of a sheep’s lung, this young fellow ? It is he who has been sent to destroy us”.

When the chief enquired from the messenger, “Well, what did my brother say, boy ?”, the lad said things he had not been instructed to tell, he simply spoke spontaneously, and tactlessly blurted out, “He said, sir, that you must have eaten of the lung of a sheep”.⁸

46 The chief flew into a terrible rage at this.⁹ “To whom do you say a thing like this ? Was it not I that mustered the *amaNgwane*, to fight against *Mthi-*

⁷ Ellenberger (“History of the Basuto,” 1912, p. 178-9) states: “Matuoane retired across the Caledon to his headquarters at Senyotong, and there, out of the fragments of the White Shields and other regiments, he formed the regiment of Insimbi (‘iron’), which, together with the Ushee, he sent, two months later, to raid the Tembus of Cape Colony, the chief Jozana being in command of the expedition. A large number of cattle were taken for commissariat, which gave the expedition the appearance of a migration. Molya, before quoted, gave the following account of it to Mr. J. M. Orpen :

“We passed Kolo, and the country between that mountain and the Orange River, which we crossed, and arrived in the highlands of Barkly East. From there we descended on Kubuneuku, the grandfather of Gangalizwe. The Tembus and their cattle were spread over a wide country. We had sent out our spies, and we commenced killing our cattle. The spies returned. They hurried us. But the Tembus had already seen where we had slept. They fled. We chased them three days. The fourth day at sunset we saw the back end of their flying troops of cattle entering the bush, where Tsomo and Kiba join. But it was only part. The general said we must return. On the second day of our return march we began to fall and die of hunger. None were lean, but they sat or lay down to die. They cried to those passing, ‘Greet the chief for us ; we die here by his orders.’ Every day men fell out and died ; it was n the

Amabutho amabili athunyelwa ukuhlola izwe

43 *uShaka wajokola njalo. Wayibutha imbizo uMatiwane wathi, "MaNgwane, nanku enginibizela khona, bantwabami, nginibizele ukuba nginitshele ukuthi ngisathumele uShiyi neNsimbi, ke bayohlola ngaphambili ukuba izwe linjani ngaphambili"*.

Ahamba lamabutho kwaza kwaphela izinganga ezimbili. Kwathi ngeyesithathu afika lamabutho. Afika nezikhwebu ezikhulu kakhulu zamabele nombila, akuthinsila phambi kwenkosi, athi,

44 "Nkosi, izwe lisemanzini, bheka ukudla kwakhona, lizwe lomunga nomtholo, ilizwe elinamahlathi amakhulu amnyama." Athi, "Siyе safika emfuleni, esingawazi okuze kuphele amehlo, singawuboni lapho ukhawula khona".

Ihle ithi inkosi, "Gijima mfana, uyotshela umnewethu uHawana, inqabutho kaMasumpa, uthi lufikile uShiyi neNsimbi, uthi akazobona izinto abazithwele, amabele nombila, bathi izwe lisemanzini".

uHawana wacanukisa uMatiwane

45 Athi uHawana, "Lilé, lilé kuphi, kade sihamba, thina asisayi ndawo, sakhé sakhile lapha. Wadla iphaphu lemvu yini kanti lomfana, yilowo-ke owathunywa owabulala izwe lakithi".

Kuthe nxa inkosi ibuza ukuthi, "Ufike wathini umnewethu mfana na?", waye wakhuluma into angamthumanga, wayemane ezithethela nje yedwa, ahla athi bhadla ngembaba athi, "Uthe nkosi kanti wadla iphaphu lemvu".

46 *Inkosi ithukuthele ithelwe ngamanzi, ithi, "Ukusho kubani lokho, ingani amaNgwane ngawabutha lapha ngawabuthela uMthimkhulu kaBhungane Hadebe,*

month of May (1827). The Ushee had seven cattle left before we killed them all; these were kept for the son of the chief. One morning near Kraai River we came upon five men driving thirty head of cattle. That was a help; each company took one, and so famished were we that nothing but the bones were left. On interrogating the men, we learned that they had stolen these cattle from the Whites.

"We continued our journey, men dying of hunger every day, until finally we rejoined Matuoane at Qeme. He considered that we had done what was wanted and had spied out the land; but soon after he saw that those who had taken part in the expedition began to die in a mysterious manner, only those who had been near the son of the chief, and had had occasionally a bit of meat, were not affected by this strange sickness.

"Matuoane went to the village of his mother, and sent us to recuperate near Berca, where Luka now lives. We went, leaving many dying men behind us. We were dying, we said, from a disease which we had caught in the country we had just come from, and for that reason the chief would not allow us to go to our homes or mix with other people. We remained by ourselves until June 1827. We were supplied with beer, and fat oxen were sent us to kill, and we had to bathe every day. Matuoane came to see us, for at that moment there was peace in the land".

⁸ This was believed to turn warriors into cowards.

⁹ lit: as if cold water had been poured over him; a figurative expression.

mkhulu, son of *Bhungane Hadebe*, when I thought to attack *Mpangazitha*? He was too strong for you, was *Mpangazitha*, and repeatedly you ran away.

The Angry-talker who frightens, like the heavens above
 The bushbuck of *Mayi*¹⁰ and *Dlomo*, which stabs as it dashes along.
 The cattle that rush down a dangerous place
*Mahogwe*¹¹ is bitter (i.e. fierce in battle) like the *shongwe*¹² plant
 He, the river full of grinding stones that are slippery
 The young reebuck of *Mashiya*.¹³

47 To whom do you say that I have eaten the lung of a sheep; when have I done such a thing? Did I not ask you whether you were beaten or not? And you confessed that you were, 'Yes, chief, we are beaten,' and all the regiments agreed that it was so. But then it was that I decided to fight in spite of your admission of defeat, and resolved to try conclusions with *Mpangazitha*."

War with the *Hlubi* of *Mpangazitha* recalled¹⁴

48 Now at that time there was *Zulu*,¹⁵ son of *Mafu*, the medicine-man who had doctored the army of *Mpangazitha*. He pointed to the level plain and said to the chief,

"Fill all this with cattle to reward me, for behold, you have overcome *Matiwane*." But the chief refused to pay him so many cattle.

49 Now this clever fellow, *Matiwane*, learned that the doctor had fallen out with *Mpangazitha* and said to himself that now was the time for him to fight, for he had by this time secured the services of the *Hlubi* medicine-man who was now with him. And he, *Zulu* the son of *Mafu*, said, "Let there be sent, two young men to fetch him, the 'Angry talker like the heavens above'."

50 And then he prepared his medicine saying, "There they (sc. the youths) are, *Hadebe*," and he said laughing to *Matiwane*, "Come chief, and look," and as *Matiwane* stared at the medicine he saw *Mpangazitha* inside. Then the doctor asked those two youths, that were to be sent, as to *Mpangazitha*'s neck-ring, namely as to which of the rings (which he showed them) his resembled

¹⁰ in the *izibongo*: *Mashiya*.

¹¹ in the *izibongo*: *uHogo*, meaning unknown.

¹² a small plant with milky sap and very bitter.

¹³ the foregoing lines of poetry are taken from the *izibongo* of *Matiwane*, having been those of *Mpangazitha* whom he slew and whose praises he assumed to himself as explained there.

¹⁴ Whether designedly or by accident, the narrator has here struck a true epic chord by taking advantage of *Matiwane*'s rage at the imputation of cowardice to make him relate at length the story of the defeat of the *Hlubi* of *Mpangazitha*, an important episode left out of the earlier narrative. To heighten the effect and prepare the listener for something heroic, he lets *Matiwane* recite some of the praise poetry about *Mpangazitha*, to suggest how formidable a foe he was to overcome.

ngathi ngibanga kuMpangazitha. Wanikhulela uMpangazitha, kwasa nabaleka, kwasa nabaleka.

*Umqaqambi ongatizutu eliphezulu,
Imbabala kaMayi noDtomu egweb' igijima,
Unkomo zekha ngobuwotokohlo.
Mahogwe uyababa njengeshongwe,
Omtambo ombokodo zibushelezi,
Isizkumo senzata sikaMashiya.*

47 Ukusho kubani lokho ukuthi wadla iphaphu lemvu, ngalidla nini iphaphu lemvu, angibuzanga yini kini ngathi senahlulekile yini mabandla na? Navuma nathi senahlulekile, kunjalo nkosi, avuma wonke amabandla, athi impela nkosi sahlulekile, mina-ke yikhona ngizakulwa, noma nihi nina senahlulekile, kwayikhona mina ngizakulwa noMpangazitha”.

uMatiwane noMpangazitha

48 Kwayilapho uZulu kaMafu, eyinyanga esusa impi yamaHlubi, yathi inyanga yempi kuMpangazitha, yakhomba isihlambo yathi,

“Thela lapha kugwale lesisihlambo izinkomo, ngoba nangu uselemahlule uMatiwane.” Wala uMpangazitha wathi angeze aze akhiphe izinkomo eziningi kangaka.

49 Kanti iqili leli selizwile ukuthi inyanga le seyixabene noMpangazitha, lisho nje ukuthi, “Mina-ke yikhona ngizakulwa,” ngoba eseyithathile inyanga yasema-Hluthshini, seyinkakuye. uZulu kaMafu wathi, “Makufunwe abafuna babe babili, bamlande yena uMqaqambi ongalizulu eliphezulu”.

50 Wayesesiphehla-ke isithundu, wathi, “Nampo-ke, Hadebe,” wayehleka ethi kuMatiwane, “Nkosi akuzobona,” abathe ukulunguza uMatiwane esithundwini, wambona phakathi uMpangazitha; wayesebuza ithusi lakhe kula babafana abebethunywe wathi, ithusi lakhe lifana naliphi kulawamathusi. Bathi, “Lifana

¹⁵ This is evidently the man referred to in the following passage quoted from Ellenberger. “History of the Basuto,” 1912, p. 177, though it is improbable that Dingane was with the Zulu army.

“They must have passed by Sekonyela at Yoalaboholo without molesting him, probably thinking the adventure too hazardous, for they went straight to Hlohloane where some of Matuoane’s adherents were living, under Zulu or Zulunga, son of Mafu of the clan of Mahaula. This Zulu was Matuoane’s doctor, and an influential man. Dingaan attacked him in February 1827. He fled on to the mountain, ignorant of the strength which was opposed to him, and tried to stem the attack by rolling down stones on the stormers, killing two of them. The men of Chaka shouted, “You may have these two dead, but make the most of the night, for that is all that protects you,” and spent the rest of the daylight in examining the approaches to the mountain. Next morning the attack was delivered in loose formation, in order to avoid loss by the stones and boulders showered upon them. But, forming near the summit and shouting a war-song, the Zulus rushed the place, killing Zulunga and all his people.”

most.¹⁶ They said, "*Mfangazitha's* resembles this one," and they were instructed by the doctor to take it with them and to exchange it for the chief's own. They had also to take a length of rope and upon arrival to singe it in a small fire they were to make in the cattle kraal. "You will recognise him when he speaks." So they went in amongst the warriors and found meat being eaten, and they joined them and said, "It isn't horse, my brother, cut me off a portion".

51 Presently they went past where the warriors were sitting and entered the private sleeping quarters and there also found eating going on and there also joined in, for by now the people were quite bewitched so that they could not see they were strangers, and thus they remained until it was evening and people went to bed. All the people of *Mfangazitha* including the warriors of his bodyguard slept a deep sleep, and so then they entered his private hut and found *Mfangazitha* himself fast asleep and, seeing they had been accustomed to be sent there often (and so knew their way about), they found him with his head pillowed on that wife who was *Kheswa's* daughter. They took away from him his brass neck-ring and put in its stead that of *Matiwane* which they had been given by the doctor, and when they turned their eyes upwards they noticed the *umncwado*¹⁷ of the chief covered by a basket and so they took that also. All this they did in the darkness and when they got outside, made straight for the main courtyard with their little firesticks, (they kindled a fire) and singed their bit of rope according to the instructions of the medicine-man.

52 When they had done this, they fled, whereupon straightway *Mfangazitha* began to feel the rope pulling him¹⁸ and woke with a start; he rushed out of his hut and saw the little fire and shouted, "Who kindled this fire to burn down the kraal?" And to his bodyguard he shouted, "For being fast asleep like this, I feel like killing the lot of you; what might it be you were guarding?" Whilst they were listening to him as he said this, that fire went out.

53 "Know that tomorrow I shall report this matter to the assembly, and the men will bring you here and you will all be killed, and new ones put in office", for his heart swelled up in rage as he thought of *Matiwane* whom he had been wont to put to flight every time.¹⁹

"I shall kill you off by sending you against him this very morning."

In the morning he had it made known that all the men should go to the gateway and he sent his indunas to announce to all the warriors:

"I desire that when the sun rises the whole army shall be assembled."

As for that brass neck-ring, it was quite dark (i.e. unknown) to him, and he did not notice that it was not his own. And so he armed, did the "Angry talker like heavens above".

54 But *Matiwane* had already heard that he was coming, and he also prepared for battle, for he had foreseen what time they would arrive, and could

naleli," yathi inyanga, "Hambani nalo lelithusi, ningiphathele lelo elakhe, nimpfake leli yena. Thathani nansi intambo, lentambo niyofike nibase umlilo omncane esibayeni nijihashule. Niyakumuzwa ukukhuluma kwakhe." Baya-ke nempela emabuthweni, bafike kudliwa izinyama nje, nabo bafike benze njalo, bathi, "Ayihashi wethu, ngisikele".

51 Badlule lapha emabuthweni bangene ngaphakathi esigodhweni, na khona bafumanise kudliwa, na khona babe phakathi nabo badle, sebefingekile bengasababoni nokuthi akusibo abakubo, bahlale njalo kuze kuhlwe kuze kulalwe. Bonke abantu bakwaMpangazitha nawo amabutho alinde inkosi balale ubuthongo obesabekayo base bengena endlini, bamfumanise esebuthongweni obukhulu kakhulu uMpangazitha, benjalo nje ngabantu abavama ukuthunywa khona njalo, bamfumanise eqamele kokaKheswa, bese belikhipha ithusi lakhe, bafaka leli likaMatiwane abalinike yinyanga, bathi ukubuyisa amehlo ngasenhla, bafumanise umncwado wenkosi usitshekelwe ngembenge, bafike bawuthathe bahambe nawo bahambe njalo khona ubusuku, benele ukuphuma bese begonda enkundleni bephethe izitshana base beyihashula intanjana le njengokusho kwenyanga.

52 Benele ukuyihashula lentanjana basebebaleka njalo, ahle ayizwe intambo leyo uMpangazitha ukuthi lentambo iyamdonsa, aphaphame aphumele phandle awufone lomlilwana, amemeze athi, "Ngubani lona obase lomlilo ofuna ukushisa umuzi na?" athi emabuthweni akhe, "Nilele nje ngahle nginibulale nonke, kanti nahuseni?" Kanti bayamuzwa nxa ekhuluma kanjalo, kwayilapho lomlilo usucima.

53 "Nize nazi ukuba kusasa ngizozibika emadodeni, anilethe lapha nizobulawa nonke, kubekwe abasha", yase ithi lukuluku inhliziyo yakhe ukuthukuthela esekhumbula uMatiwane aloku amrosha zonke izinsuku.

"Ngizoke ngiyonichitha ngaye khona kusasa lokhu."

Ekuseni usememezela ukuthi umphakathi awuye ngasesangweni, esethumela zinduna ukuba zimemezele wonke amabutho:

"Ngifuna ukuba lithi liphuma ilanga impi ibisi iphelele kusasa lokhu."

Nethusi leli sekuthe kukha akatiboni ukuthi akusilo elakhe, yabe iyahloma njalo kuMqaqambi ongatzulu eliphezulu.

54 Wayesezwile noMatiwane ukuthi uyeza. Wahloma noMatiwane sebesibonile nesikhathi abazofika ngaso, nokulinganisa ukuthi manje basekuthini.

¹⁶ evidently these were young men of Mpangazitha's tribe or such as knew him well.

¹⁷ the loss of this article to an ordinary man is enough to send him and all his relatives especially the womenfolk, in a frantic search all over the countryside to recover it before it can fall into the hands of an evildoer. The loss of the chief's umncwado is therefore nothing less than a national calamity.

¹⁸ in a magical sense of course.

¹⁹ he knew that this magic must be the work of *Matiwane* and he feared he might have gained an advantage over him.

estimate that by this time they ought to be at such and such a place. *Matiwane* arrayed his men on a small hill in such a way that they did not appear to be numerous, whilst he himself ascended to the summit and others also climbed up, handing their spears to one another as they did so. While they were still handing their spears to one another, the "Angry-talker" appeared on the scene, and an *imbongi* was heard reciting the praises of the "Angry-talker like the heavens above".

55 Then *Gungunyathi* arose and spoke to his men and asked, "Where in that crowd is the Angry-talker himself?", and they told him, "He is in the midst of those dogs, wearing a small red goatskin kaross, that's him." Thereupon *Matiwane* gave the word to the *Shiyi* regiment, telling them, "Make for that place where the dogs are." After that he sent other regiments into the fray as he thought fit. In a brief space of time and at the first onslaught, he was already down, was the "Angry-talker like the heavens above," and (they slew so many that) the soil produced numerous pumpkins (later on), and over the corpse of the chief the *amaNgwane* and the *Hlubi* joined in battle all in a great turmoil. They tried to keep up courage for they thought it would be as always, and that the *Hlubi* would drive them off as usual, but this time it was different and the *Hlubi* army retreated from the field. The *amaNgwane* took the corpse of the "Angry-talker", and it seemed that the war was over, for some now submitted to *Matiwane* whilst others fled. But the former remained subject to him only for two years, it only seemed as if they had submitted.²⁰

56 Then in the third year the *Hlubi* conspired together, "Since we are a minority under the great ones of the *Ngwane* and their headmen, let each one of us on a certain day slay his local induna, all on the same day," and in truth the day they had selected arrived, and they told one another, "At such and such an hour we will attack them", and so all of a sudden at the appointed hour they became men indeed, even like white men (in courage). And a messenger announced everywhere that all the great ones of the *amaNgwane* had been massacred by the *Hlubi*. This was made known throughout the land, whereupon the *Hlubi* ran off and joined their tribesmen elsewhere. This is what was done by the *Hlubi*.

Matiwane has *Hawana* slain

57 So *Matiwane* was much enraged at the words of his brother *Hawana*, the father of *Sikunyana*, who had said that he had eaten of the lung of a sheep.

"Go and slay him, for he has grossly insulted me."

²⁰ Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto," 1912, p. 154-5) quotes a certain *Moloya* as under. The reference to *Sidinane* is probably an error, *Magangane's* son being meant, cf. §317. By *Izize* is meant the *iziChwe* regiment.

"As for us *Amangwane*," says *Moloya*, "we went from Senyotong to fight *Phakalira*. At first we were repulsed, and many of us were killed. It was humiliating to us to be repulsed by those who at one time were our servants, so we went over to *Mekuatling*, and there we fought them without ceasing for over three months. We attacked *Phakalira* three times from our new base, but were beaten back each time.

uMatiwane wayithethela entatshaneni eneanyana nje, namaButho engabonakali ukuthi maningi, wakhwela phezu kwayo, abanye bemukele imikhonto bakhwela phezulu, bathe besayamukela imikhonto, waqhamuka uMqaqambi, yase izwakala imbongi isimbonga uMqaqambi ongalizulu eliphezulu.

55 *Wayesesukuma uGungunyathi wayithetha wabuzo wathi, " Ukuphi yena uMqaqambi kulesiyasixuku na?" bathi, " Uphakathi kwaleziya zinja, nango embethe utwayana olubomvana lwembuzana, nguye-ke lowo". uMatiwane wanikela uShiyi, wathi oShiyini, " Qondani khona lapho ezinjeni". Wawafaka-ke amanye njengokubona kwakhe. Kuthiwa akuthathanga isikhathi, yathi isahlangana nje wayesephansi, yena uMqaqambi ongalizulu eliphezulu, bathi lahlanza ithanga izidumbu kubangwa isidumbu senkosi, kwahlangana maNgwane maHlubi kwanjeya. Bathi bazama ukuqiniseka bethi kuzoba njengasemihleni, ethi amaHlubi azoyisusa njengasemihleni, kanti akusenjalo, yasuka eyamaHlubi. AmaNgwane asithatha isidumbu sikaMqaqambi, yangathi iyaphela khona lapho, abanye base bekhonza kuMatiwane, abanye babuleka. Bakhonza iminyaka emibili kuphela, kungathi bakhonzile.*

56 *Kuthe ngonyaka wesithathu amaHlubi aceba ieebo ukuthi, " Njengoba manje sesiphelele phansi kwezikhulu zamaNgwane namakhosana akhona, kubothi ngelanga elithile kube yilowo agwaze uyise wakhe langa linye," nempela lafika lelolanga abalingumile, batshelana nesikhathi ukuthi, " Sibaqale ngesikhathi esiyikuthi," nembala kwathi mbo ngaso sona lesosikhathi abalingumile, baba ngamadoda impela balingisa abelungu. Umuntu wavela izindawo zonke ukuthi izikhulu zamaNgwane amaHlubi aziqedile, kwamenzelwa izwe lonke, base bebaleka beya kwabakubo; kwaba njalo-ke okwenziwa ngamaHlubi.*

uMatiwane ebulala uHawana

57 *Kulapho uMatiwane ethukuthelela izwi lomnewabo, nxa ethi wadla iphaphu lemvu uHawana, uyise kaSikunyana.*

" Hambani niyombulala, usengidelele kakhulu."

In March 1825 we attacked him for the last time, or, rather, it was Phakalira who attacked us. He recaptured all the cattle we had taken from him. At this time Matuoane had only a small number of soldiers with him—these were the unmarried men who formed his bodyguard, Ushee, and the principal regiment; the rest of his force including all the married men, had gone foraging. The Mahlubi attacked us in the afternoon in such numbers as to cover the country. They burned the village of the Ushee at Mekuatlung. We were so few that we could do little to help ourselves, so we waited and watched until our foragers, who had heard the alarm, came to our aid. We were then three regiments strong—namely, the Ushee, the Izize, and the young Insimbi. We fell upon the Mahlubi there near the rock which stands in the valley between Mekuatlung and Lishuane. We drove them before us in their bands against the rock. Suddenly we heard a rallying cry indicating where the chief was, and immediately flung ourselves upon him. He was slain there. The ground was black with the Mahlubi dead. We returned to our dwellings, drank some beer, and from that time the Mahlubi were again out servants."

Mahlomaholo, the son of Phakalira, however, declined to come under the yoke of the slayer of his father. He therefore left the country with a good number of the survivors, and joined Moslekatse north of the Vaal. Setenane, another son of Phakalira, went back to Chaka, who had him killed.

The impi went and fought him for two days, and killed him on the third. And at this time when he slew his brother *Hawana* he had already killed *Madi-lika* previously, the younger brother of *Hawana*.

Mshweshwe solicits aid from *Shaka*

58 *Matiwane* now sent messengers to *Thaba-bosiu* to *Mshweshwe*, and when they arrived he had cattle slaughtered for them and whilst they were still cooking the meat they filled their hemp-pipes and praised their chief *Gungunyathi* (i.e. *Matiwane*). Now *Mshweshwe* had heard that there were some of the *amaNgwane* who said that he should be killed, but that *Matiwane* had refused, and so *Mshweshwe* had secretly sent emissaries to *Shaka*²¹ with the message :

59 “ Sir, a certain chief has arrived here, namely *Matiwane*, who wants to kill me. I pray you to come and defend me.”

So there at *Mshweshwe*'s place were the *Ngwane* ambassadors, who now began to recite his (*Matiwane*'s) praises :—

“ Our royal bird with the red wings
With the red beak and the red eyes
Who went together with *Bheje* his younger brother.”

60 Now *Shaka*'s messengers (had arrived there and were sitting on the other side of the fence) and heard them and said, “ Ha! But those are *amaNgwane*. Fill up the hemp-pipe, boy.” And so they in turn began to praise (their chief *Shaka*) as follows :—

“ *Shaka* who *shaka*'s (unknown) himself
The precipice of stones of *Nkandla*
To shelter the elephants when the rain threatens
The Feather-devour-all at *Nkandla*
Which gobbled up all the *amaPhela* (a regiment) of *Zwide* son of *Langa*.”

61 Thus the *amaNgwane* discovered that *Mshweshwe* had sent for help from *Shaka* in Zululand. And they fled without having touched that meat, and reached *Matiwane* without even having taken leave from *Mshweshwe*. They reported,

“ At the place of that *mSuthu* of yours to whom you sent us we found matters very bad. We bring you back no word about the matter you sent

²¹ Cf. Ellenberger “History of the Basuto,” 1912, p. 171-2) :—

“ Matuoane was really growing jealous of Moshesh's increasing power, and was only waiting for a suitable opportunity to put an end to this Mosothoana (“little Mosuto”) who owned so many fine herds of stock.

Moshesh was too shrewd not to see how things were shaping ; indeed, some of the many Basuto who were living with Matuoane kept him very well informed of what was going on in the court of the latter. So, driven thereto by a sense of the danger threatening him, Moshesh decided to place himself under the protection of a greater than Matuoane. He accordingly decided to tender his submission to Chaka, the terrible son of Senzagaona, and the only power of which Matuoane stood in awe. With this end in view he took council with his friend Mofeli, chief of the Mahlapo clan, as to what kind of presents would be most acceptable to Chaka. Mofeli suggested

Yaya-ke impela, yalwa izinsuku ezimbili, yambulala ngolwesikhahlu. Kulhe mhlana ebulala umnewabo uHawana, wayesebulala uMadilika owelama uHawana.

Mshweshwe ecela usizo kuShaka

58 *Wayeselhumela amanxusa eNtaba-busuku kuMshweshwe, athi uba afike kuye wawahlabisa inkomo, balhe uma besayiphekile base becobela igudu, sebefonga uGungunyathi, kanti uMshweshwe usezwile ukuthi akhona amaNgwane athi, " Bulawa wena Mshweshwe," kwala uMatiwane, kanti uMshweshwe usenyenise amanxusa akhe aya kuShaka ukuthi,*

59 *" Nkosi, ikhona inkosi eyafika lapha, uMatiwane, ufuna ukungibulala, uze ungilamulele."*

Nampo-ke uma bemusho :

*" iGwalagwala lakithi elimadol' abomvu,
Ubhej' amehlo wabhej' umlomo,
Wayeya ngoBheje omelamayo."*

60 *Bezwa abakwaShaka bathi, " Ha ! ngamaNgwane lawo, licobele mfana."*
Bamusho :

*" uShaka ozishakayo,²²
uSiwokokhlo singamatshe aseNkandla
okuphephela izindloru nxa liphendule.
uSiBagojela ngapha kweNkandla,
lugojela ludle amaphela kaZwide kaLanga."*

61 *Ezwa amaNgwane ukuthi uMshweshwe useleyolanda uShaka kwaZulu. Abaleka amaNgwane engasayidlanga nenyama leyo, alhe uba ayofika kuMatiwane ababange besavalelisa kuMshweshwe, bathi,*

" Lapho ubusihume khona kulowo mSulhu wakho, sifumanise indaba ebolile ; asifiki nendaba obusihume zona, sifika nendaba ebolile, silhe uma

ostrich plumes, the feathers of the crane and the finch, and otter and jackal skins' Moshesh at once set about obtaining these commodities, giving cattle in exchange, and when a great quantity had been collected, he sent them to Chaka, by the hands of his faithful messenger, Khoho, and others, with a message of submission and a prayer to be taken ' under the wings ' of the great Zulu chief.

The messengers, according to instructions, passed by Mofeli's place in order that the latter might assist them with his advice, and send two of his men to introduce the mission to Chaka.

Chaka received the mission most favourably, and, addressing his people, said, "To-day I have received as my subject a Mosuto called Moshesh, who dwells on a mountain. Never more shall I make war against him." Addressing the messengers, he said, "Say to Moshesh, that when he sees my armies, he must collect his flocks and herds at the foot of his mountain, and my people will pass them by." Moreover, Chaka sent fifty head of cattle to Moshesh by the hands of Khoho, and told him to return without delay to fetch a hundred more, which he had taken from Faku, and which he desired to present to Moshesh.

Rumours of this act of diplomacy did not fail to reach Matuoane—indeed, some of his people had seen emissaries of Chaka at Thaba Bosiu—but he did not cease his exacting s, which in the end proved his undoing, as we shall see later on."

²² in the *izibongo* of Shaka given by Bryant ("Olden days in Zululand and Natal", 1929) I find p. 663 line 9 : *uSishaya-kasishayeki* ; and p. 664, line 33 : *ulusiba-gojela ngalaphaya kweNkandla, lugojela njalo, ludla amadoda. Sixhokolo esinga'matshe aseNkandla, aphephela izindloru uba liphendule.*

us in, but only bad news. When we filled our hemp-pipe in order to praise you, we heard *Shaka's* praises being recited on the other side of the fence. That *mSuthu* of yours about whom we spoke to you all these days, where are our lies now? We asked you: What does that *mSuthu* mean by continually standing over you? And we told you that he must have done something (evil). Now we shall see what you have to say about this *mSuthu* of yours".

"But, *maNgwane*, when he has fetched *Shaka* what do you think he will do? Let him fetch him, and when he has brought him we will fight him."

Mshweshwe attacked against *Matiwane's* will²³

62 This remark an induna of the *amaNgwane* broadcasted to all the great ones and princes of the tribe and these immediately gave the order: "To arms, for *Matiwane* is now out of hand; his father is now that *Mshweshwe*." They directed that the impi should assemble at (*Matiwane's*) *Nobadina* kraal. But he on his part sent a messenger:

"Run, you, and tell *Mshweshwe* that they are coming to kill him, they have overcome me (i.e. my opposition). Let him kill them and finish them".

63 So the impi set out and did not meet with the messenger, who had been told to go by night and had taken another road. Their intention was to attack just before dawn. And so the impi went, but *Mshweshwe* was waiting for it knowing when it would arrive.

64 Now on that hill of *Thaba-bosiu* there was only one narrow entrance, with a rampart of stones across it at the top, and seeing that there was only this one entrance, they were going to attempt the first rampart and throw down the defenders with it, then they would climb up to the next higher up and so on until they came to the last one. However, when they assaulted the first rampart, the *abeSuthu* rolled down the boulders which struck them on the knees, it killed the *amaNgwane* and they all fell dead, those who went in front. For there was but this one entrance and since the *abeSuthu* were light and active, they had barely finished rolling down rocks on them when they would come down to finish off the wounded, then they rolled down the second rampart and this reduced the *amaNgwane's* strength, for the stones struck them in the chest and stomach, upon which the *abeSuthu* again came down and clubbed the remaining *amaNgwane* to death, those who were saying, "These are dogs" (to keep up their courage). Then finally the third rampart was

²³ Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto," 1912, p. 181) states:—

"While the Amangwane were campaigning against Moselekatse and Mahlomaholo, another army of them went to attack Moshesh. It is said that this was against the wish of Matuoane, and he is reported to have said that Moshesh was his friend and subject, and had never done him a wrong: why then should he be killed? But the general Moselane answered and said, "How can we leave him in possession of all that cattle?" so the attack was arranged, and was made in July, 1827.

sicobela igudu sibongela wena, sesizwa sekubongela uShaka ngapha ngasohlangothini. LomSuthu wakho esibathe sikutshela ngaye zonke izinsuku, aphi-ke amanga ethu, sibathe wenzani lomSuthu ukuba afike akumele zonke izinsuku, sithi ikhona into ayenzayo. Khona sizoke sibone ukuthi uzothini ngalomSuthu wakho."

"Kepha nina maNgwane nithi khona emlandile uShaka uzakwenzani? Akamlande nje, uma emlanda sizohlangu naye."

amaNgwane ehlasela uMshweshwe engavumanga uMatiwane

62 *Induna yamaNgwane ilihlanyele lelozwi kuzozonke izikhulu zamaNgwane nabantwa benkosi, bahle bathi abantwa benkosi nezikhulu, "Ayihlome, kanti useshingile; uyise wakhe sekunguMshweshwe lowo." Baye bayithethela khona kwabo kwaNobadina, abese ethumela umuntu ethi,*

"Gijima, Sibanibanyana, uyotshela uMshweshwe, uthi nampo bezakukulalala, sebengahtule, aze ababulale abaqinise."

63 *Bayaqale beya lo obethunyiwe usephambana nabo ngoba kuthiwe ahambe ubusuku esehamba ngenye indlela. Babegonde ukuyifaka nxa ku bheje enzansi. Yathi yaya impi, kanti uMshweshwe useyilindele ukuthi iyofika nini.*

64 *Njengoba kulentaba Ntaba-busuku intuba yinye, kukhona umthangala wamatshe waze wafika phezulu laphaya, kuze kuthi njengoba yinye intuba, bazothinta umthangala wokuqala babadlizele ngawo, besebenyuka beya komunye engaphezulu, njalo njalo kuze kube kowokugeina. Kwathi ngomthangala wokuqala uma bevudiliza ufike ubashaye emadolweni, ushaya amaNgwane, bese belala phansi bonke, laba abaphambili; ngoba yinye intuba, kunjalo nje balula abe-Suthu benela ukubagidlizele ngamatshe bese behla bawaqedele, bese begidliza owesibili, owesibili wake washaya phansi amandla awo, wasuka usushaya esifubeni nesiswini, kwasekuyehla njalo okungabeSuthu, sekwaqonqa amaNgwane masinyane abathe, "Yinja leyo." Kwase kweqa njalo kuya kowesithathu.*

Matuoane's army was composed of six divisions when it left Senyotong, four of which went over the Berea plateau, and descended into the valley of the Phuthiatsana, some near Boyate, some by way of Thupa Kubu, and some by Pelea. All these passed the night on the right bank of the river at these points, and next morning, young girls followed them with pots of beer for the warriors.

The two other divisions went round by Qeme and Qhuqhu, in order to attack Mohale at Korokoro.

It is said that Matuoane, disapproving of the whole thing, sent secretly to warn Moshesh; but, if he did, the message was never delivered, as it was only at dawn on the following morning, when he saw his enemies, that Moshesh became aware of the attack, and raised the alarm. Immediately there was a great tumult, people rushing about in wild confusion. Moshesh himself hastened to the plateau and shouted the alarm cry there, and on the edge of the rocks where all might hear it."

attacked. At this third barrier not one survived, everyone was killed. The cry, "This is a dog" was no longer heard, they weakened and so they finally retired. There was not one left to shout, "This is a dog." They occupied themselves with assisting their wounded and went off.²⁴

Matiwane and the beaten army

65 They now sent messengers to the chief, "Tell him that the army has come to grief and say that So-and-So and So-and-So have died." When this tale was told and it was reported who had fallen, only the names of princes and men of rank were mentioned, for commoners were not counted. And the chief asked in sorrow, "Are So-and-So dead?"

"Yes, sir, it is even so; they no longer live."

"By whom was this impi called out", the chief then asked in anger, "Go and tell them to come here; I shall slay them all".

66 The impi came and *Matiwane* addressed them, "Stand forward, So-and-So" and further, "Let them stand in two sections, one only of commoners and the other only of princes and men of rank".

"Yes, sir, they are now standing as you have ordered."

And *Gungunyathi* came forth and found that the two groups were equal, namely that of the princes and indunas and that of the commoners; and he looked and looked and saw that the two horns of the army were equal in size, and asked, "I demand of you, indunas and princes, who is it that called out this impi? For I hear that So-and-So, the son of So-and-So, and others, are dead".

67 They replied, "It was called out by us, but as to those that you enquire about they were killed by you, by you yourself. For we told you often, that that *mSuthu* of yours should be killed, for we perceived that he was an evil-doer. But you refused. We did not sleep on those jackal karosses (presented by *Mshweshwe*) which you put on, and those rolls of tobacco of which we said: don't use the tobacco of *Mshweshwe*, you did use it, though we did not. And though you repeated that we were your fathers, nevertheless you deceived us. For your father is *Mshweshwe*, and what we say is no longer heeded, only *Mshweshwe*'s words are listened to. Kill us then, for when we did this we knew that it would result in your killing us and we are prepared for it, we don't care".

68 And the indunas spoke in the same strain. They said, "As for you, what hinders us from killing you? Do you then think that amongst the sons of *Masumpa* you are the only one, that we cannot make another son of *Masumpa*

²⁴Ellenberger's version (p. 182, 183) of the attack is that those *amaNgwane* who had come by way of *Thupa Kubu* refrained from crossing the *Phuthiatsane* on seeing *Makume*, *Phcu* and *Motoboli*, sent by Moshesh, bewitching the ford with charms. So they crossed elsewhere and joined the others where the mission now stands. Another column went to *Makebe* and, crossing the plain, encamped at the foot of the mountain below

Kulowo owesithathu akusindanga noma munge, bafa bonke. Babathe, "Yinja leyo," bethi bayaya akwabe kusezwakala empini kwabenyelisa ngempela, yasuka eyamaNgwane. Lapho akwabe kusababikho othi "Yinja leyo", bayolamulela labo asebelimele babaleka.

· Ukubuyela kwamabutho kuMatiwane

65 Base bethumela amanxusa enkosini, "Niyothi impi yonakele, nihi kusale obani nobani". Uma kushiwo njalo kuthiwa kusale obanibani, kushiwo abantwabenkosi nezikhulu, abantukazana ababalwa. Inkosi ibuze ngobuhlungu ukuthi, "Abasekho obani nobani?"

"Yebo nkosi, kunjalo abasekho."

Ihle ithi inkosi, "Leyompi ibikhishwe ngubani na?" isho isithukuthele. "Hamba ubatshele ukuthi ayize lapha, ngizobabulala bonke".

66 Ifike nembala, ithi uma ifika athi uMatiwane, "Phuma bani-bani", uthi "Ayime ngamaviyo imikhumbi emibili, ube wodwa awabafokazana, ube wodwa awabantwa benkosi nezinduna."

"Yebo nkosi, seyimi njengoba ushilo."

Waphuma uGungunyathi, athi uba aphume ayifumane ilingana yombili owabantwabenkosi nezinduna nabafokazana, wabheka wabheka, wabona ukuthi imikhumbi yombili iyalingana, wathi, "Ngiyabuza kini zinduna nabantwabenkosi, ukuthi lempi ngubani eyikhiphile? Njengoba sengizwa obani kabani nobani ukuthi abasekho."

67 Bathi, "Ikhishwe yithi, babulewe nguwe labo obabuzayo, nguwe luqobo lwakho; ngoba sibathe lomSuthu wakho akabulawe, ngoba thina siyabona ukuthi ngumthakathi. Wena wala naye. Thina asilalanga ngalawo marxhaba ezimpungushe owawembatha, nogwayi lona wezinkwa sabathe musa ukuwubhema ugwayi kaMshweshwe, wawubhema wena, thina asiwubhemanga. Kanti uloku uthi singoyihlo nje, kanti wena uyasikohlisa. Kanti uyihlo nguMshweshwe, okwethu ukukhuluma akusezwakali, sekuzwakala okukaMshweshwe kuphela. Si bulale, sihe sikwenza loku sasesikugondile ukuthi senza loku nje uzofike usibulale, sesi-bhensele khona nathi."

68 Nasezinduneni zasho njalo. Zathi, "Wena kuwe kwalani singekubulale, ucamanga uthi abantwa bakaMasumpa nguwe kuphela, singembeke omunye umnta kaMasumpa, uyasidelela, usulalela uMshweshwe kunathi," basho sebe-

Mokhachane's village. Moshesh now descended and together with his brothers Posholi and Makhabane and his friend Makara, led his people out to the attack. They went close to the amaNgwane, who sent a group forward, which was repulsed by the Mollo regiment under Mokoloko. The amaNgwane then charged and scattered the Mollo, and attacked the main body. Then Moshesh with his own Matlama regiment, up to now concealed, fell upon their flank. The fighting was furious for a time until the amaNgwane began to give way and retreated. They suffered many losses whilst retiring, as did also their other columns that had attacked the other approaches to the mountain. Two regiments had been sent to attack Mohale at Korokoro, but they also failed. Upon their return to Matiwane, he derided them for having attacked his subject against his will, and with so little success.

chief? You despise us, and listen more to *Mshweshwe* than to us," and speaking thus they glared at him, and he on his part saw that they were very angry. He bade the messenger shout, "Listen ye," put his finger in his mouth (as natives do when taking an oath) and said, "Take heed, don't do it again to-morrow." Then he chased them away and stinted their food (as punishment), saying, "From now on you will eat in your own kraals".

The *amaNgwane* trek on again²⁵

69 So they built houses again, but only for a short while, for he soon began to discuss the question with others saying, "No! *Shaka* (i.e. his army) when he gets here will still have food, it were better that we move on further to where he can only reach us when he is hungry. He shall not eat these cattle of mine", and he had it announced to the *amaNgwane* as follows: "Let us trek on again a little bit and advance further." So they moved on, and this time there was no longer anyone to question the order, for he had killed his brother *Hawana* who used to be the one he feared.

Madilika slain.

70 We now turn back again. When *Matiwane* had his brother *Hawana* slain he also slew *Madilika*, *Hawana's* brother. They threw a spear at him and he ran away with it still in his body, and bethought himself of *Mshweshwe* with whom he might hide and whilst he was going along the spear shaft shook about until at length his strength gave in and he could go on no further, so that just there where they had fought at *Thaba-bosiu* he died.

71 Now it so happened that a *mSuthu*, who was herding cattle before milking time, heard the animals bellowing excitedly and went straight to that spot to discover what the cattle were looking at, and when his eyes lit on it he stopped thunderstruck as he saw that it was a man. Then he looked carefully and exclaimed, "Ha! but this is the prince *Madilika*, *Hawana's* brother," and he hurried to the hill to announce to his chief *Mshweshwe* that he had heard the cattle bellowing because they saw the corpse, which was without doubt that of a man killed by *Matiwane*, for the rumour had reached them that he had been fighting with his brother *Hawana*. Now *Mshweshwe* asked,

"But who is this dead man with the spear shaft in him?"

The man who had seen him told him, "One of the royal house."

But he asked again, "Who is it?"

He replied, "*Madilika*, *Hawana's* brother."

Then said *Mshweshwe*, "Keep absolute silence about this."

72 Then they sent for some men who were told to bring axes and milkpails. And he himself went in his own person, saying to himself, "I have got *Matiwane* this time." And so on the place where the man had died they scraped up everything, even the very soil.²⁶

donse amehlo, naye wabona ukuthi sebethukuthele impela. Wayesememeza othunyiwe, wathi, "Lalelani", wayesefaka umunwe emlonyeni wathi, "Qaphelani, ningaphindi futhi ngomuso", wabaxosha wabancisha nokulla. Wathi, "Seniyodla emizini yenu".

amaNgwane adlulela phambili

69 Kwabuye kwakhiwa, kepha isikhashana, wahlala exoxa nabanye wathi, "Cha, uShaka ufika lapha esasuthi, kuhle sidlulele phambili, khona eyofika eselambile. Angeze ezidla lezi ezami", wayesememeza amaNgwane, ethi, "Ngithi ake sithi xaxa, siye ngaphambili." Yasuka-ke, kuyilapho kungasekho ongamphikisa, ngoba selabulala uHawana, obekunguyena abemesaba.

Ukubulawa kukaMadilika

70 Sisabuyela emuva. Kuthe mhlana uMatiwane ebulala umnewabo uHawana, wabulala uMadilika umfowabo uHawana, bamciba ngothi lomkhonto, wabaleka nawo njalo, wakhumbula emuva kuMshweshwe, ethi uyocasha kuMshweshwe, uthi lomkhonto luhambe lugogoza, waze wagogeka, wahluleka khona lapho, kwakuliwa khona entabeni iNtaba-busuku, wafela khona.

71 Wayesethuka uMsuthu eluse izinkomo ngenhlanzane, uthi uma alusile usezwa izinkomo sezibovula, waqonda khona ukuba ayobona ukuthi izinkomo zingabe zibonani, abathe gaga ethuke esebone ukuthi ngumuntu, athi ukusinga abathe, "Ha! kanti yinkosi, nguMadilika, owelama uHawana", wayesephuthuma njalo, eseya entabeni eseyobika enkosini kuMshweshwe, ukuthi uzwe izinkomo zibovula, kanti zibona umuntu, okusobala ukuthi ubulewe nguMatiwane, ngoba kuzwakele ukuthi ubelwa nomnewabo uHawana, ahle abuze uMshweshwe ukuthi, "Ngubani lowo ofileyo, enothi lomkhonto?"

Athi ombonileyo, "Yinkosi".

Athi, "Ngubani?"

Athi, "NguMadilika umfowabo kaHawana", wahle wathi uMshweshwe, "Thula uthi du."

72 Kwase kubizwa obanibani, kwathiwa abeze nezimbazo namathungwa Kwaya yena nyama yakhe, wathi nginfumanisile uMatiwane namhlanje. Kwathi esikhundleni lapho afela khona, bahwaya baze bahwayisisa nehlabathi.

²⁵ See Note 1 of next Chapter.

²⁶ all this they took away with them in order to work magic by it and with it, to encompass the destruction of *Matiwane*. This incident about *Madilika* is related by Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto" p. 170) as follows:—

"One of his minor chiefs, called Mateleka, incurred his displeasure by entering the house of one of his wives by night, and fearing the consequences, fled. Matuoane sent the slayers after him to kill him, and they found him in the valley of the Thupa Kubu and slew him there; but Matuoane, hearing that they had not buried him properly, sent them back to do so. When they got there, they were unable to find the body, and Moshesh was accused of having stolen it, in order to make medicine of it. He denied all knowledge of the matter, suggesting that it had been taken by cannibals or eaten by wild beasts. But his denial availed him nothing, and he remained under the accusation; which after all, according to A. Sekese, was not without some element of truth, for Moshesh, hearing that Matuoane was about to attack him, had indeed made use of certain parts of the body for the purpose stated—a practice which was common enough among the Basuto in those days."

CHAPTER 5

The *amaNgwane* trek on and reach *Mbholompo*

73 After this the *amaNgwane* and their chief *Matiwane* simply went on and on, making no halt until they reached *Mbholompo*.¹ When he reached the territory of other chiefs and found that they had crops standing, he attacked and conquered them, taking their grain, thus becoming

“The sluggard that seizes the grain of industrious ones.”

But whenever a chief had been vanquished and had made his submission, he would give him both grain and cattle; and would only pick out such beasts as were fat, so that not all were taken from anyone who had subjected himself. This he did to all chiefs, conquering each in turn and taking his cattle until he subjected himself. Then he would have the fat beasts picked out, and return the rest.

74 One mistake, however, he made, namely that he stayed two months with that (first?) chief instead of doing nothing for a whole year and then telling him to bring his eldest son, but demanded instead that he simply show him, and then when that chief immediately ran away² he said, “*MaNgwane*, that man would not allow me to serve him *amasì* with my hands, because he is a late castrated bull and still used to bellow (i.e. he is used to being independent and would not be able to accustom himself to being subject to another chief). But this one is still small, him I shall serve *amasì*, perhaps I shall feed him so that he will say even his father never fed him as well and so that he no longer remembers his father.” If he had remained inactive for a whole year, the country of the *amaXhosa* would still be ours even today.

Help against *Matiwane* sought in Grahamstown

75 Now, however, some of those people ran away to Grahamstown, for said they, “What sort of man is this, does he then devour men? Seeing that we allow him to take the cattle,” and so they decided, “Let us go and announce this to the English,” for these English had already crossed over long ago and got to Grahamstown before they arrived here (in Natal) by way of Durban.

¹ Ellenberger (“History of the Basuto”, 1912, p. 185-7) says that *Matiwane* lost many cattle in a raid by *Mzilikazi* in Jan. or Feb. 1828 and decided to go down into the Cape Colony because he realised that it was time for him to leave Basutoland where his prestige was much diminished. Moshesh however advised him to remain.

“The older men of his tribe also opposed the idea, saying, “There will be more war. We have been fortunate in conquering some, and establishing ourselves in the country; let us now be satisfied to live on grain. Chaka came and departed; Mose-

amaNgwane afika eMbolompo

73 *Kwakudlula kwawo njalo-ke amaNgwane noMatiwane, eseya eMbolompo. Uthe uba afike kwamanye amakhosi, awafunane elimile, uselwa nawo awanqube, athathe amabele, angaze abe*

“Ivula elidla amabele ezikhuthali.”

Ithi leyonkosi angayahlula ibisithi isiyakhonza, abese eyipha yena amabele nezinkomo, bese kukhethwa ezenyama zingabe zathathwa zonke kulowo osekhonzile, enze njalo kuwo wonke amakhosi, athi angayingqoba adle izinkomo, ibese iyakhonza njalo. Abese ethi akukhethwe ezenyama, amnikele zonke ezinye.

74 *Into ona ngayo, yikuba ahlale nayo izinyanga zibe mbili naleyonkosi, wayeka ukuba ake azibe noma unyaka, khona-ke engabe esethi kulowo, “Uboletha umntanakhomkhulu”, kepha athi, “Angamkhomba nje umntanakhomkhulu”, anele athi sululu nje, abesethi, “maNgwane, lomuntu angebe esavuma uma ngimkhangeza amasi ngezandla zami, ngoba uselinzahi useke wabhonga. Kepha lona osemucane, ngizomkhangeza, enzenye ngimkhangeze aze athi nobaba akazange angikhangeze kangaka, angabe esamazi noyise”, ukuba wayeke azibe nje nomnyaka ewodwa, ngabe ilizwe lamaXhosa ngelakithi nanamhlanje.*

abaThembu bacela usizo eHini

75 *Base bebaleka abanye bakhumbula eHini, ukuthi, “Kanti lomuntu unjani, yena kanti udla abantu yini? loku phela izinkomo siyamyeka uyazithatha”, bathi, “Asiyobikela amaNgisi”, kanti amaNgisi lawa aselawela kudala eza eHini engakezi lapha ukungena ngaseThekwini.*

lekatse did likewise, and, should he return, we can then consider what to do.” Peche,* the brother of the chief, also joined the opposition, advocating in preference submission to Moselekatse. Even the mother of Matuoane was by no means favourable, but after some thought she said, “We had better go, because he is sure to kill us all.”

So they trekked down over Makhaleng and Kubake (Mohale’s Hoek) across the Orange River, some at Phatlalla, others under Peche at the ford of Adam Kok, others again at the ford of Matateng.

Between Palmietfontein and Hohobeng the grass was very long that year and a disastrous veld fire ensued in which many people and stock perished.

The multitude crossed the Wittebergen Range, some by way of Nkoakhomo (Landean’s Nek), others by way of Blekana, and other passes. On the highlands of Barkly East many died from exposure in a blizzard.

From here they descended into Thembu territory and began to attack the inhabitants and raid their stock.

² the *amaNgwane* approved of the tactics followed with *Magangane*, viz. that immediately after conquering a chief they should demand a son as hostage and go off with him, in stead of living together with conquered chiefs, from whom there was always a good deal to fear.

* that is, *Bheje*, see § 107, about whom nothing further is known.

76 So they told them, "We have come to inform you, chiefs, that there is a chieftain come from down country, a man who devours men, and when a certain (chief) subjected himself to him, he told him to produce his son, whereupon he had the father killed, saying he would live with the son. We beg you sir, defend us and come and see this man that devours people."

Matiwane encounters first white men

77 So a commando was armed for war, a party of those English that rode on saddles with horns. When they arrived they demanded,

"Call *Matiwane*." They did not say, "Call the chief to us."

So they called him and an induna pointed him out to them, saying "This, my chiefs, is *Matiwane*."

Then the English asked him, "Have you not enough in the meat of cattle? Do you then also eat that of men?"

"How so, my chiefs?" he asked.

"We say so because people report that when they subject themselves to you, you kill them. The Government has told us to ask you what offence those people have committed."

78 To this *Matiwane* replied, "I kill them because when I ask them for food they refuse to give it me, and so I simply take it for myself by force."

"To this action of yours the Government replies that you must pay these people an indemnity of seven thousand head of cattle, for it does not appear that they have committed any crime."

79 The induna brought this message to the chief, "Chief, there is bad news (lit. an army is at our back). These folk demand that seven thousand head of cattle be produced and paid to those tribes as an indemnity."

Matiwane then replied that he would give an answer next day, and forthwith summoned together all the great ones of the *amaNgwane* and told them that he had been fined seven thousand head by the commando.

"But," said he, "I myself think this is far too much. Why did they, seeing they were powerless, refuse me food when I demanded it?" And he added, "As for me I don't see why I should comply and furthermore I don't know what sort of arms they have got."

Matiwane agrees to pay an indemnity

80 The *amaNgwane* remonstrated with him. "Do you see that shiny weapon (field gun) standing there, of which you can't see how they fight with it? Are you (merely) the equal in value of an ox? (i.e. are you not much more valuable than cattle?) For seeing that even *Shaka* did not get your cattle, as we refused to hand them over, they are still there in full strength. And

76 Bahle bathi, "Makhosi, sizozibika ikhona inkosi iphuma ngapha ngasezansi, idla abantu, ubathe uyakhonza lowo, ibisithi akamkhombise indodana, bese imbulala uyise, ibisithi izohlala nendodana. Sithi makhosi, silamuleleni, ake nizombona lomuntu odla abantu."

uMatiwane eqala ukuhlangana nabelungu

77 Yaseihloma inkumande, amaNgisi-ke lawo inkumande abanini balezizihlalo ezizimpondo. Bathi uba bafike bathi,

"Sibizeleni uMatiwane" bangeze fasho nokuthi, "Sibizeleni inkosi".

Bambize-ke ibatshenise induna ithi, "Nangu, makhosi, uMatiwane",

Athi amaNgisi, "Kanti wena awaneliswa yini yinyama yezinkomo kanti udla neyabantu yini?"

Ahla athi, "Ngani makhosi na?"

"Sisho ngoba abantu bathi uma bethi bayakhonza kuwe, bese uyaba bulala. Uthi-ke uHulumeni, asimbuzele ukuba lababantu boneni na?"

78 Ahle aphenidule uMatiwane ngokuthi, "Ngiba bulala ngoba ngithi uma ngicela ukudla ku bo ngesihle, bale nakho, ngize-ke mina ngizithathele ngamandla."

"Uthi-ke uHulumeni kuloku kwenza kwakho kuhle-ke lababantu ubahlawule ngezinkomo izinkulungwane eziyisikhombisa, ngo ba asibonakali isono sabo."

79 Ilumukise induna enkosini ukuthi, "Hayi nkosi siza nayo emhlané. Bathi lababantu: Khipha lezonkomo izinkulungwane eziyisikhombisa, uhlawule lababantu."

Wayesethi, "Amakhosi sengokhuluma nawo kusasa", ngoba usehle wamezeza khona njalo wabutha izikhulu zamaNgwane, wawatshela osekungunywe yinkumande izinkulungwane eziyisikhombisa.

"Kepha mina ngithi cha, ziningi kakhulu, babenzelani bona ukuba bathi bengenamandla ngicela ukudla bale nakho", athi, "Mina angikuboni lokho, futhi nomkhonto wabo angiwazi ukuthi unjani."

uMatiwane evuma ukukhipha inkomo

80 Ala amaNgwane amkhuza uMatiwane athi, "Uyawubona umkhonto wemi-hwakwane ongaboni nokuthi alwa kanjani ngawo na? Ungangenkomo yini?"

as to those chiefs on whose account you are now troubled, you picked from them only the fat cattle, and so there are many cattle-kraals still quite full. No, give them what they ask for, sir."

"Well, who is there that knows the country around Grahamstown? Call them all together and ask who they are."

They told him, "Sir, his name is *Mlotsha* of the *amaBhele*."

"Go and tell them that I agree and shall bring the cattle".

Mlotsha's treachery

81 So they picked four men besides *Mlotsha*, "You and you, go with *Mlotsha* and drive these cattle, and do not disregard his orders, for he is my deputy. Whoever shall disobey *Mlotsha* I shall kill."

So they drove those seven thousand head of cattle, and slept once on the road, before arriving in the country of the *amaBhele*, because, in fact, these people had been moved further and further off by *Matiwane*.

82 Then spoke *Mlotsha*, "You see, *maNqwane*, this is how a village (i.e. great wealth) is acquired. Will you do as I tell you?"

To this the men replied, "Of course, *Mbhele*, we would like to become rich but how can we do it? Seeing that we are simply marching along like this."

He told them, "Well, let us leave all these cattle with other people and return to the chief and say: Sir, we bring bad news; the order is that you must send another seven thousand head."

83 They replied, "Well, *Mbhele*, what can we say? Seeing that we were told that if we should ever dare to disobey you we would be slain, lest we disregard your orders. Be it done as you say, *Mbhele*."

So he begged from the man who was in charge of his fellow tribesmen there, that he, *Mlotsha*, might locate cattle amongst his people and when he had arranged the matter with him he promised him, "I shall give you a share also if you will bear witness for me to those people to whom I am going to entrust cattle of mine," and so then he divided them.

84 Then they returned; when the people saw him they exclaimed,

"Hawu, is this *Mlotsha* back again? Is it possible, *Mlotsha*, that you have come right from Grahamstown?" and the order was given, "Call him and those other men that went with him, so that *Matiwane* may hear the news soon."

"Good-day, *Mlotsha*."

"*Ndabezitha*! I have been running and hastening all the way."

"Do you now come right from there?"

"Yes, sir, just so."

"Tell me, my child, what did they say?"

Loku noShaka akazange azidle izinkomo zakho, sala nazo ziloku ziphelele. Nalawa makhosi obulawa ngawo wakhetha kuphela izinkomo zenyama zigewele izifayabaya. Cha! Banikele nkosi."

"Konje owazi ilizwe langaseHini ngubani? ake nibabuthe nibuze uku ba ngubani."

Base bethi, "Nkosi, nguMlotsha wasemaBheleni."

"Hambani nibatshela ukuthi ngiyavuma makhosi, ngizoziletha lezinkomo."

uMlotsha eba izinkomo

81 Kwakhethwa abantu abane ngaphandle kukaMlotsha: "Bani nobani, hambani noMlotsha niquhube lezinkomo, ningeze namdelela, uyimi. Umuntu omphikise inkani noMlotsha ngiyofike ngimbulale."

Baziqhube-ke lezinkulungwane eziyisikhombisa lezinkomo, balale kanye endleleni fase befika kwabakubo basemaBheleni, ngofa bayiloku bequshulwa nguye uMativane belo.

82 Abese ethi uMlotsha, "Niyabona, maNgwane, umuzi utholwa kunjje, ningakuvuma yini okungashiwo yimi na?"

Ahle athi lamadoda, "Au, Mbhele, siyawufuna umuzi ingabi singawuthola kanjani? njengoba siloku sahamba nje na?"

Wathi, "Cha, maNgwane, asizisise zonke lezinkomo besesi buyele enkosini siyothi: nkosi siza nayo emhlane, kuthiwa lethi futhi zona ezinkulungwane eziyisikhombisa futhi".

83 Ahle athi amadoda, "Kepha thina, Mbhele, singathini njengoba salaywa ngalo lelogama? kwathiwa uma sike sakudelela siyofike sibulawe size singakuphikisi. Akwenzive njalo, Mbhele".

Wayesecela ophethe lababantu bakubo, azo babela abasisele esekhulume waqeda nenkosi ephethe lababantu, wathi, "Nawe ngiyokuhlephulela uze ungifakazele kulaabantu, engibanika lezinkomo zami" wababela-ke.

84 Baphenduka-ke, sebebona, "Hawu, nguMlotsha lona? Kungaba sewuphuma khona lena eHini Mlotsha na?" Kwathiwa, "Mbizeni nalaba bantu abehambe nabo ukuze uMativane ezwe masingane."

"Sakubona Mlotsha."

"Ndabezitha! Hawu, ngiphange ngiphange."

"Usuphuma khona lena na?"

"Yebo, nkosi kunjalo."

"Phangisa-ke, mntanami, kuthiweni?"

“Hawu, sir, I have bad news, for they say you must add another seven thousand head. We told them that the chief had not heard about fourteen thousand head, but they said that we had to go back to fetch them, for the chief had not understood properly.”

85 The councillors urged him, “Yes, chief, let these be added to the others,” but he refused saying, “You *maNgwane*, did you not hear them when they demanded seven thousand from me?”

“Yes, sir, we heard it very well.”

“Well, how then am I to produce these? Let them come and take them for themselves.”

Second commando against *Matiwane*

86 The white men waited and waited, but no cattle came. Then messengers were sent to summon *Mlotsha* and the men who had gone with him, but they found the dough already dry on the grinding stone and only flies (not cattle) lowed in the cattle-kraal of *Mlotsha* (i.e. the village was absolutely deserted), and so also in those of the men that had gone with him. The Government waited and waited but nothing happened.

The commando got impatient and said, “But this chief *Matiwane* is slighting us.” Thus passed almost a year but the cattle did not appear.

87 “To arms!”, and off the commando went. It arrived with the message, “The Government ordered us to come to you, *Matiwane*, to ask why you have delayed so long in sending those seven thousand head of cattle that a year has almost passed? What really is your intention?”

“No, sirs, I have sent them already.”

The English replied, “We have not seen them.”

88 So then messengers were sent to summon *Mlotsha* together with those men that he had taken with him, but their kraals were found to be empty and the runners returned to report the same thing as before, that they had found only dogs left behind. Now the commando went to *Mlotsha*'s and when he and his people saw it they ran away and scattered.

Matiwane refuses to pay

89 The men said to *Matiwane*, “Chief, the cattle are there, they cover the whole plain, they are not worth yourself. You see now what has been done by those people of yours (viz. *Mlotsha* and his folk); and you see this commando which is threatening us now. What do you perceive things with? (i.e. have you no reason left), for behold your people (i.e. *Mlotsha* cum suis) have fled. Don't you realise that the cattle are with them? It seems to us that you are becoming foolish. We told you to leave alone those tobacco-rolls of *Mshweshwe* and not to use the snuff, for we always knew that he was an evil-doer. And we told

“Hawu, nkosi ngiza nayo, bathi nkosi kuhle wengeze futhi zona nkulungwane eziyisikhombisa futhi, sabathe inkosi ayizizwanga lezi ezishumi nane. Kwathiwa asizilande futhi, inkosi ayizwanga kahle.”

85 Athi amadoda, “Cha, nkosi akwengezwe,” yala inkosi yathi, “Nina maNgwane, anizwanga yini benquma nkulungwane eziyisikhombisa?”

Bathi, “Cha nkosi sezwa ngempela.”

Wathi, “Pho-ke ngingabuye ngizikhiphe kanjani? Sebomane bazozithathela bona.”

Abelungu bebuyela kuMatiwane

86 Balinda balinde abelungu, phinde izinkomo azifiki. Kwathungelwa ukuba kubizwe uMlotsha nalamadoda ayehambe nawo, bafumanisa itshe selome inhlama, sekukhala impukane emzini kaMlotsha, nasemizini yalawamadoda ayehambe nawo. Alindele uHulumende phinde.

Izamazame inkumande, ithi, “Kanti iyedelela lenkosi uMatiwane”, sekuze kuthande ukuphela umnyaka, izinkomo phinde azibonakali.

87 “Ayihlome”, ihanbe-ke inkumande. Ifike ithi, “Uthi uHulumeni asize kuwe Matiwane, ukuba lezinkomo nkulungwane eziyisikhombisa, wazilindela kangaka kwaze kwathanda ukuphela unyaka na? Kanti uqondeni?”

“Cha, makhosi, sengazithumela.”

Athi amaNgisi, “Asizibonanga”.

88 Kwase kuthungelwa ukuyobizwa uMlotsha kanye nalamadoda ayehambe nawo, kepha kwafunyaniswa imizi yabo isikhala impukane, zabuya izigijimi zabika zwilinye elokuthi bafumanise sekusele izinja zodwa. Kanti inkumande idlule kubo, bayibona bashaya bachitha.

uMatiwane ala ukuhlaula

89 Abathe amadoda, “Cha, nkosi, izinkomo zikhona, zigcwele lonke ihlanze, azingangawe. Uthi uyabona nje into eseyenziwe yilaba bantu bakho, futhi uyayibona nje inkumande ukuthi isisimele kabi nje na? Ukuzwa kwakho wena uzwa ngezinjani? njengoba nampa abantu bakho sebebalekile, awuboni ngani ukuba izinkomo zikubo na? Savela sasho sathi ubucopho bakho abusagcwele impela. Sathi yekela izinkwa lezi zogwayi kaMshweshwe ungazibhemi, simbona thina ukuthi ngumthakathi, sathi amachaba lana ezimpungushe abele izikhulu,

you to distribute those jackal-karosses amongst the great ones, but not to wear them yourself. But you disregarded us and wore them, and you took the tobacco, and so now there is no manhood left in you. Don't you see that the cattle (with which to pay the fine) are there with your people? It were better for you to take them and hand them over to the white men."

90 But no, *Matiwane* flatly refused with the words, "No, *maNgwane*, this I cannot do again: I have already paid, and it doesn't matter now what comes after." So he refused and that was the end of it.

"You have continually worried me, you white folk, now take the cattle yourself, for I with my own hands shall never give them to you," he said to the white men.

91 Scarcely had he spoken this when the English said, "He is getting insolent and ignores us, maintaining obstinately that he sent us the cattle, though he never did so." So they told him, "The Government thanks you for your reply; but the Government did not wish to destroy you".

"To destroy whom?" *Matiwane* replied in anger. Then suddenly there was a rustling as when locusts come (i.e. a muttering of disapproval amongst the English), for they passed the word to one another that he was not going to hand over the cattle willingly.

92 However, the night passed, and next morning the commando sent word, "We are others, and not those that were sent first. The Government told us to enquire from you whether this reply actually came from yourself, that the Government must come and take these cattle by force, and that you will never hand over those cattle that the Government demands."

To this *Gungunyathi* replied, "You have continually been nagging at me; I have no longer anything new to say, I have spoken, I have done." They said, "Very well, we have heard and we thank you."

Battle at *Mbholompo*³

93 Next morning early the white men were amongst the cattle to drive them away and the armies began fighting and came to grips. They carried on this warfare until a year had passed, and the white men were much reduced in numbers, nor any longer so numerous as when the war started, for they had been thinned out by the spear, and so when they went into the forests to recuperate, they were surprised to see how few they had become, and realised acutely: "the niggers are finishing us off."

³ Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto", 1912, p. 187-188) says: "The following is the story as related by a survivor . . . Suddenly one day the alarm was made that the white men were coming, and so it was. We were in three divisions, and the chief himself was advancing to direct the battle. He arrived during the night, and at dawn the battle began. For the first time we heard the thunder of cannon, and saw the white soldiers coming out of the forest. There were but thirty of them (commanded by Major Dundas. This was on July 24, 1828, at the source of the Umtata). The Tembus, however, were numerous. Only seven of our companies took part in the

ungawembathi wena. Wadlula wawembatha, nogwayi wawubhema, abusekho ubuntu kuwe. Awusaboni ngani ukuba lezinkomo zikubo lababantu bakho, kuhle ukhiphe izinkomo lezi wena uzinikele abelungu.”

90 *Cha! ale impela uMatiwane, athi, “Hayi, maNgwane, mina angisakwenzi lokho, sengazikhipha sekomane kube yini kanye.” Ale nazo aphethe.*

“Kade ningifundekele lemihwahwane, zithatheleni, mina ngezami izandla ngingeze nganinika.”

91 *Kwabe akasashongo emaNgisini ansondo athi, “Uyedelela ngempela, uqinisa ukuthi wasinika engasinikanga”, athi amaNgisi, “uHulumeni uyali bonga-ke lelolizwi lakho, kodwa uHulumeni ubengathandi ukukubulala”.*

Ahla athi uMatiwane, “Ukubulala bani?” esho ngenkani. Uthe esethuka kwase kuhaza nje kweza isikhonyane, ngoba ayesehlabelene umkhosi ukuthi akazikhiphi yena ngezandla zakhe.

92 *Ilale, kuthi ekuseni ithumele inkumande ukuthi, “Thina sesingabanye asisebona labo ababethunywe kuqala, uthi uHulumeni asizombuzela ukuthi uHulumeni ufuna ukuzwa ukuthi impela leligama lingaba liphuma emlonyeni wakho yini, ukuthi uHulumeni akazithathele yena, nokuthi wena uthi ungeze vazikhipha lezinkomo ezifuna nguHulumeni na?”*

Ahle athi uGungunyathi, “Kade ningiphikelele, mina angisenalo elinye ilizwi, sengikhulumile ngiqedile njalo.” Bathi, “Kulungile, sesizwile, siya bonga.”

Impi yaseMbhholompo

93 *Kwathi kusasa ekuseni sebephakathi kwazo sebezishaya, yase ithungelane-ke njalo impi, yalwa kwaza kwaphela unyaka, abelungu sebenciphile, bengasengangoba babengakho kuqala kwempi bancishiswa ngumkhonto, bathi uma bengene ehlathini bazihlalele, bayethuka sebenciphile abelungu, babone impela ukuthi ayasiqeda anakhafula.*

fight, and a large number of our cattle were taken. But that of the Ushee Regiment had not been touched. The Tembus went off with the cattle, and the white soldiers retired, whereupon we pursued the Tembus and recovered our cattle. Then we returned to our encampment, and began to build and to cultivate. We went forth from time to time and helped ourselves to the seed grain of the Tembus, hearing no word of the white men, as they had returned to their homes. But we were not allowed to rest for long before the British soldiers appeared again. One day at early dawn we heard the thunder of the cannons; of course at that time we knew not what it was. Then we saw a file of waggons, drawn by what we took to be hornless cattle, and also men riding on the like. We had never seen horses or mounted men before, and were sore amazed. Moreover, the country was black with Tembus, as though a cloud had obscured the sun and thrown its shadow on the ground. We formed line along one of the banks of the Umtata. The Tembus rushed upon our cattle, but we repulsed them. It was then that the white soldiers opened fire upon us. We knew not then what it was; we heard a terrific noise, and saw fire and smoke, and deadly burning things pierced and killed us where we stood. It was very terrible to us, as we had only our spears and shields, and could not reach the enemy, who killed us from a distance. Time after time we tried to charge, but our men were killed before they got near enough to strike. Having killed many of us, and taken nearly all our cattle, our enemies went off, leaving us in peace.

This battle took place on August 26, 1828, and the British commander was Colonel Somerset, who had with him a mixed force of Regulars and Volunteers”.

94 So they returned to the attack with a new stratagem, but they were not successful until two years had passed. Then in the third year the white men set fire to the bush. The forests burned, the country never having known fire before, the wood was dry and white. Then there were burnt even the very roots, and the army of the *amaNgwane* now weakened and commenced to retreat: they remained in hiding in the forests, they who had been wont to issue forth continually.

The *amaNgwane* scatter

95 While all this was happening, *Mphayise* had broken off a large section of the tribe and led it elsewhere. *Mphayise* the son of *Masumpa* sought sanctuary with *Faku*, chief of the *amaMpondo*. Then also *Nsimango*, son of *Masumpa*, was no longer there, having gone to subject himself to the chief of the *ama-Xhosa*. And *Khondlo*, son of *Masumpa*, was no longer there, for all those had broken off with sections of the *amaNgwane*, and so he also had sought safety with *Faku*, the chief of the *amaMpondo*. Thus while their kinsmen thought them dead because it seemed they had been destroyed by the fire, actually they had simply fled for safety with those princes who had been annoyed because *Matiwane* had opposed them when they told him, "Those cattle belong to your own people,⁴ we for our part are tired of fighting for nothing, so it were best for you to remain by yourself and fight your own battles."

He himself also realized now that they had been beaten; however, if the *amaNgwane* had sued for peace, they would have remained unharmed and would have settled down again, and nobody knows (what would have happened further); but as it was, they fled and became scattered.

Battle of *Mbholompo* recalled

96 Now this battle of his was retold again by *Somsewu* son of *Sonzica* (Theophilus Shepstone) who came to Oliviershoek, and the Magistrate made it known that all the *amaNgwane* must come to greet the gentleman who had arisen from the dead, and who went about with carts drawn by very many mules. The order was given that all the *amaNgwane* should assemble, that not one warrior should stay at home, and all should come wearing their cowtails. *Ngwadi* was now the chief. And so indeed it was done, and the *amaZizi* also came bringing *Simahla* with them, and he was given to *Ngwadi* (to be his subject) and the white men told him,

97 "We do not see, *Simahla*, that you are entitled to be a chief; you are a thistle,⁵ no more important than a scrap of paper," thus spoke Shepstone to him on the day when he was at Rosenstein.

"You think that a thistle that is whirled aloft by the wind and happens to land here will be taken and put in office? No, your chief is *Ncwadi*, son of *Zikhali*. We know *Simahla* by sight only", (i.e. we know nothing more about him).

94 Bayabuya sebeza nokunye, bahluleka impela kwaza kwaphela iminyaka emibili, kuthe ngowesithathu manje abelungu banyanyaza ihlathi ngomlilo, arutha amahlathi izwe lingazange lishe, izinkuni zakhona sezoma zaba mhlophe zathi qwa, kwaye kwasha ngisho nezimpande imbala, yenyela manje eyamaNgwane, yaqala manje ukuhlehla, basasebecasha emahlathini, ababe besavela.

Ukusabalala kwamaNgwane

95 Kanti kwenzeka loku nje, akasekho uMphayise usehlephule isizwe esikhulu, weqa naso. uMphayise kaMasumpa wayesehlela kuFaku, inkosi yamaMpondo. Kanti akasekho uNsimango kaMasumpa, usekhonze enkosini yamaXhosa. Kanti akasekho uKhondlo kaMasumpa, bonke labo bahlephuka nesizwe samaNgwane, naye uthukuze ikhanda kuye uFaku, inkosi yamaMpondo, baloku bethi abantu abasekho osongathi sebeqedwe ngumlilo nje, kanti sebeqe nala ba bantwa benkosi, sebecumulwe ngoba ebaphikelela inkani, bethi, "Izinkomo zikubo lababantu bakho, thina sesidiniwe ukulwela ize, kuhle asale ezilwela yedwa".

Abone naye manje ukuthi sahlulekile, kanti ukuba amaNgwane ayecele uzolo, ayeyosinda azakhele futhi, akwaze kwazi muntu, asale esebaleka nje esabalala.

Impi yaseMbhholompo ixoxwa futhi

96 Naleyompi yakhe yaxoxwa nguSomsewu kaSonzica, wafika kwaGwebu, yamemezela inkosi yasenkantolo, wathi amaNgwane aweze azobingelela nansi inkosi eyavuka ezidunjini, ihamba ngezingola zembongolo ziningi kakhulu impela, kwathiwa amaNgwane eze wonke, kungasali nalinye, eze ehlome amashoba wonke, sekubusa uNgwadi nje. Nempela kwabanjalo, kweza namaZizi, kanye noSimahla⁴ kumzukwana enikelwa naye uSimahla bathi abelungu,

97 "Ubukhosi bakho asibuboni wena Simahla, ulikhakhasi elifana nephepha nje", kusho yena uSomsewu khona mhla elapha kaGwebu,

"Ucabanga ukuthi ikhakhasi elisuka lena ngaphezulu liphephuke lize lifike lapha, uthi umuntu angabe esalithatha alibeke na? Cha, inkosi yakho nguNcwadi kaZikhali. Siyamazi uSimahla ngamehlo."

⁴ i.e. the subject tribes have enough cattle that we could take away and use to pay the indemnity.

⁵ acc. to Bryant: Berkheya sp.; acc. to Albert Hlongwane: a plant found in the mountains, the leaves of which, when dry and light, are carried great distances by a high wind.

98 Word was sent that all the heads of kraals who had prepared food should send it to *Ntandane Zwane's*, and so there arrived two oxen and two wethers, sent by the kraal heads who had had food cooked. The chief took those two oxen and sent them to Shepstone, and himself slaughtered oxen of his own people.

99 *Msembulukwana* was a follower of *Simahla*, at the time when they were still living on the Highveld, but when they arrived (here in Bergville district) he became a follower of *Makhwelela* (a Swazi headman, subject to the *amaNgwane* chief). To his (viz. *Msembulukwana's*) kraal *Simahla* had food brought and slaughtered a beast of his own, and next morning at sunrise the food was eaten. Then when it became hotter he, *Ngwadi*, gave the order, "To arms", and a runner was despatched to *Simahla* at *Msembulukwana's* with the same message. *Ngwadi* honoured *Simahla* with the choicest piece of meat.

100 Then the impi marched from where *Mbhuthumane* now lies and arrived at the kraal of *Mhobho* son of *Nongwaca* and halted at his gate, and formed a huge semi-circle, for it was in full strength and reinforced by sections from other localities.

Then he deployed his army, did *Ngwadi*, "the black one, (*izibongo* of unknown meaning)" and intoned the war-song of *Mativane* :

"We seek cattle, we seek land, *hayi ho ho!*"

The vanguard of this great army was composed of *amaZizi*. *Simahla* followed these *amaZizi* (under *Sidinane*) with his *Shabalala* Swazis, both of them wearing their cowtails. The *amaNgwane* wore cowtails and had war-shields, and the chief also was in full war-paint.

101 He stood in the midst of the *iziFulatheli* regiment of his father *Zikhali*, and the *Mdungandaba* regiment was added to the former and with these two he formed a huge semi-circle. Then Shepstone arrived wearing his black top hat and with him came *Gwebu* (Capt. Allison, the magistrate) and that other gentleman who had arisen from the dead, on the battlefield of *Mbholompo*, and who wanted to see the *amaNgwane* who had fought against him. He was wearing his war decorations all over his breast and he also wore a helmet with a white feather that glistened in the sun. He asked, "*Ncwadi*, does the *Shiyi* regiment still exist?"

"Yes, sir, it is still alive."

"Please let one man from those that we fought against at *Mbholompo* come forward."

102 So *Shomela*, the son of *Mgijima* stood forward and he asked him, "Who are you?" This he spoke himself (without an interpreter), but he spoke the Xhosa language.

"My name is *Shomela*, sir."

"Is the *Nsimbi* regiment still there?"

"It is, sir."



PLATE 3

The battle field of *Mbkolompo*

Top: A view across the Umtata River. *Centre*: Baziya Mountain on the left, Waka Forest, into which the amaNgwane fled, is straight beyond the knoll on the right. *Bottom*: A view East of Waka Forest.

98 Kwase kuthungelwe ukuthi bonke abanumzana abapheke kuzongeniswa kuNtandane wakwaZwane, kwafika izinkabi ezimbili nezintondolo ezimbili, eziphuma kubanumzana abaphekayo. Inkosi yona yaqube izinkabi ezimbili izimukisa kuSomsewu, yona yahlaba ezabantu bayo.

99 uMsombulukwana wayengumuntu kaSimahla, nxa besakhe ngaphezulu, wenela ukufika waphenduka wayeseba ngumuntu kaMakhwelela. uSimahla wangenisa kwakhe, wahlaba eyakhe, kwasa-ke kusasa, kwadliwa ekuseni ekuphumeni kwelanga. Lathi uba lifudumale, wathi, "Ayihlome", kwasekuthungelwe isigijimi esiya kuSimahla, khona kwaMsombulukwana ukuthi, "Ayihlome." uNgwadi wethulela uSimahla ngensoyama.

100 Yahamba-ke isuka lapho sekwakhe khona Mbhuthumane, yenele ukufika ngakwaMhobho kaNongwaca esangweni, yamisa lapho, yakha umkhumbi omkhulu impi, yaze yaphelele yonke, nevuka kwezinye izindawo.

Wayithukulula uNgwadi

"omnyama uMasaphokazi umaqala-ngezinemo,"

washo ihubo likaMatiwane :

"Sibang' inkomo nje, sibang' izwe, hayi ho ho!"

Ikhala sekungamaZizi inkulu impi le. uSimahla wamlandelisa amaZizi ngenyuva abafake amashoba bobabili. AmaNgwane ehlome amashoba nezihlangu, nenkosi ihlomile.

101 Wangena eziFulathelini ebuthweni likayise likaZikhali, kwathathwa uMdungandaba, wathelwa eziFulathelini, wavusa zona, yakha omkhulu umkhumbi. Wafika u Somsewu ethwele umpantsha wakhe omnyama, behamba naye uGwebu kanye nalenkosi eyavuka ezidunjinini khona eMbholompo, ifuna ukubona lamaanNgwane ayembulala, isifake iziqu yazixanganisa, yona ithwele isigqoko senyoni esinephovela elinhlophe icwazimula ngempela. Wathi, "Ncwadi, lusekhona yini uShiyi?"

Wathi, "Yebo nkosi, lusekhona."

"Ake kuphume indoda ibenye kulawo esasilwa nawo eMbholompo."

102 Waphuma uShomela kaMgijima, wathi, "Ungubani ndoda?" esho ezikhulumela, kodwa ekhuluma isiXhosa.

"NginguShomela, nkosi".

"Isekhona yini iNsimbi?"

"Isekhona, nkosi".

“ Let all the *Nsimbi* regiment come forward and stand on one side, so that I can see how many they are.”

So they both came forward, the *Shiyi* and *Nsimbi* regiments, and he asked, “ You, *Shomela*, of what regiment are you ? ”

“ I belong to the *isiChwe*.”

“ Let that also come forward and stand over there.”

Then it was seen that now only a few were left, for only three or five in all came forward.

103 He said to *Shomela*, “ Tell your chief *Newadi* that here is one who arose from the dead at *Mbholompo*, who has come especially to see him, the grandson of *Matiwane*.”

Now *Bhayibhayi* also came forward, that chief who was covered with scars all over his body. We thought he was already dead, but there we saw him crawling into the camp.

“ *Shomela*, which was the regiment that appeared from the West ? ”

“ That was the *Nsimbi*, sir.”

“ Which regiment was it that came from the East ? ”

“ That was the *Shiyi* regiment, sir,”

Then he said, “ Those were the men that finished us, those that came from the East, until eventually we drove you off when the third year began.”

104 Then he asked the chief, “ *Newadi*, can you have the war-song sung for this gentleman, please.”

So the war-songs were sung as if the annual harvest festival were being celebrated. In front of the *amaZizi* stood *Hlazo*, an induna of the *Zizi*, and another stood in front of *Simahla*, so that they could look at the feet of these two when dancing (because, of course, the *Zizi* did not know the steps of the *Ngwane* war-dance). After this had gone on, the dancing was stopped.

105 Then two oxen were given with the words, “ This is food for you, eat with your children (i.e. your men), they are a present from the white chiefs.” That officer when he took his leave said,

“ Goodbye, I have now seen you, I wished very much to meet the grandson of him against whose people we fought, I am very glad.”

And Shepstone added, “ As for us, we were still youths at that time when they fought at *Mbholompo*.”

“Akuphume kuyo iNsimbi, iphume yonke ime laphaya, ukuze ngibone ukuthi basebangaki”.

Aphuma wona womabili uShiyi neNsimbi, wathi,

“Wena Shomela, ubutho lini na?”

“NgiyisiChwe.”

“Asiphume sona sime laphaya.”

Kwayilapho sefeyingcozana, kwavela abathathu noba abahlanu kuphela.

103 Wathi, “Shomela, tshela uNcwadi ukuthi nansi inkosi eyavuka ezidunjini eMbhholompo, ibafele yena ukuzobona umzukulu kaMatiwane.”

Waphuma noBhayibhayi, lenkosi iphele ngamanxeba wonke umzimba. Sasithi isifile kepha sayibona isigaga ngamadolo, iya ekamu.

“Shomela, kwakuyiliphi leliyabutho eliqhamuka ngesentshonalanga?”

“KwakuyiNsimbi, nkosi.”

“Kuyiliphi futshi elaqhamuka ngasempumalanga na?”

“KwakuLushiyi, nkosi.”

Ihle ithi, “Nampo-ke abantu abasigeda, abaqhamuka empumalanga, size sinizoshe sekuthwasa umnyaka wesithathu nje.”

104 “Ake ugubhele inkosi-ke, Ncwadi.”

Yashiwo-ke imigubho, kwabasongathi kugujwa unkhosi. Sekumi phambi kwamaZizi uHlazo, cyinduna yamaZizi, nomunye wema phambi kukaSimahla, ukuze babonele kubo ezinyaweni zabo ukugida. Kwathi kungagujwa kugujwe yangamuka.

105 Kwase kukhishwa izinkabi ezimbili, kuthiwa, “Nanko ukudla kwakho, dlana nabantwafakho, zivela emakhosini amhlophe.” Inkosi isiyakuwalelisa ithi,

“Uze usale kahle, isikubonile, ithandile ukuzobona isizukulwana salowo abafelwa nabo empini, ujabulile kakhulu.”

Ahla athi uSomsewu, “Thina sasizinsizwa ngalesosikhathi seMbhholompo.”

CHAPTER 6

Praises of *Matiwane*

- 106** The Supporter, like unto *Gasa*,¹ who props up the *U bombo*.
The father of girls through the begetting of daughters.
Matiwane, our royal bird² with the red knees
Red-eyed, and red on the lips
From drinking the blood of fighting men.
- 107** He went forth with *Bheje*, his younger brother ;
He goes on the hoof of the gnu that is startled,³
Our Sudden-ariser, that rushes out upon people even on the pastures.⁴
The morning-star that is seen by early risers,
It is seen by *Mqumbela*,⁵ son of *Mpekana*,
It is seen by *Khathazo*,⁵ the son of *Manatha*.
- 108** He was the five hard ox-thongs of *Sibhenya*,⁶
He who crosses over, supporting himself on a stick,
Going to the cattle of *Dungunyane*,⁵ son of *Khatha*,
Wearing *jojo* plumes on his head, he slew the warriors at the village of
Jojo's wife, at *Cokiseni*.⁷
- 109** Beast which runs full tilt, unmindful of danger,⁸
The male of strong desires,⁹ the Replyer-when-summoned,¹⁰
.....*
- The lightning that thunders even in the nooks of *Ntshosho's*,¹¹
The lightning-doctors¹² all see it flash.
He who goes forth at midday, for him they shield their eyes with their
hands.
- 110** He is called in one month and goes immediately, does *Matiwane*,¹³
Whereas the other little chiefs of his kin are called for years.
The *isihaya*¹⁴ that devours another of its kind,
For it devoured that of *Bheje*, son of *Mthanyelo*.
Remain then and be known by his name.¹⁵

¹ this ancestor of *Soshangane* lived on the southern extremity of the *U bombo* range.

² the feathers of the *igwalagwala* (acc. to Bryant, the Green Lousy Turacos corythaix) may only be worn by chiefs.

³ he does with the speed and the noise of a herd of startled gnu.

⁴ upon seeing cattle grazing he would immediately pounce upon them.

⁵ a person unknown.

⁶ a person unknown ; *Msebenzi* could not say what this line means.

Izibongo zikaMatiwane

- 106 *Umasekelenbana onjengoGasa osekel' uBomlo.
Usomntombi ngokuzala izintombi.
uMatiwane igwalagwala lakithi elimadol' abomvu.
Obheje amehlo wabhej' unlomo
Ngokuphuz' ingazi zamadoda.*
- 107 *Wayeya ngoBheje omelamayo ;
Ufika ngondo ngenkonkoni ivuka,
Isivukane sakithi, esavukel' abantu nasemadlelweni.
Indose ebonwe ngabavuki bokusa,
Ibonwe nguMqumbela kaMpekana,
Yabona nguKhathazo mntakaManatha.*
- 108 *Onqotho nhlani zenkabi kaSibhenya,
Osimelele ngenjongolo waza wawela,
Eya kwezikaDungunyane kaKhatha,
Wathwal' ujojo wadl' amadoda komkaJojo ngaseCokiseni.*
- 109 *Nkomo egade ngamandla ingancengi ukwaphuka,
Uhaladuna kaMabizw'-asabele,
Unganababuya ngantango bebesadanile.
Izulu lidum' ezigcawini zakwaNtshosho,
Abamemeli bonke bayayibona imibani.
Unsu kamini bamakhela imikhanya.*
- 110 *U bizeke nganyanganye wavuma uMatiwane,
Kanti amakhosana aronina, abizw' iminyakanyaka.
Isihaya sadl' esinye isihaya,
Ngoba sidle sikaBheje kaMthanyelo.
Sala mabizo ukufana nelakhe.*

⁷ name of a place unknown.

⁸ not caring whether it will come to grief and break its limbs.

⁹ i.e. Matiwane is full of strong desires to seize the cattle of other people.

¹⁰ i.e. he reacts quickly, is quick on the uptake.

* The meaning of this line cannot be explained at all.

¹¹ he makes things unsafe even in the safe places of the country of *Ntshosho*, whose country extended from *eLenge* hill to *eMankamane*, Helpmakaar. The present chief is *Nkanyezi*, see §466.

¹² whose office it is to keep off the lightning.

¹³ i.e. he doesn't delay till next month in coming; meaning: he is swift in acting upon provocation.

¹⁴ the informants maintain that *isihaya* is not a word but a proper name, but this does not render the meaning any clearer. There is very likely a play on names of persons unknown.

¹⁵ having slain *Bheje*, *Matiwane* is now himself called by that name by way of praise.

- 111 Our *inginginya*¹⁶ father of *Maliwase*.¹⁷
 Who just looks at a man for him to yield up a heifer,
 One without a heifer gives him his son,
 One without a son gives him the hoe that he works with.
- 112 Our butterfly with the scattered patches of colour,
 When I look at it, quickly it folds up its wings¹⁸ :
 It was like the blanket of his sister *Nomagenge*.
 He slew white men and red ones¹⁹
 The red ones were all his mother's clan, the *maNtshalini*,
 The white men are those whose ears are transparent in sunlight.
- 113 The little pot that they boiled above the *Mondlo*,²⁰ they boiled *Matiwane*,
 But the little pot boiled over, and made an end to the folk of *Nxumalo*.
 The ridge on the *Mondlo* is still tired,²¹
 It was no longer occupied by the troops of *Gwabini*.²²
 He who accompanies people as if they were wedding guests,²³
 He accompanied the *Ndwanwe* men that came forth to look at him,
 He accompanied *Shaka* of the *Mbelebeleni* kraal.
- 114 *Matiwane* put on his cow-tails, he put them all over his body,
 Thus he looked just like the chief of *Mashobane's*,²⁴
 He was slow about dressing, until they came and fetched him.
 If he were not found by the *Ndwanwe*,
 He would be found by the *Nxumalo*,²⁷
 He who was barked at by the dogs of the *Bhacas*.²⁸
- 115 The pumpkin plant that spread right up to *Khatha's*²⁹.
 The wind from the coast is troublesome to us.³⁰
 They say here here he is, *Matiwane*, before *Gwabini* has arrived.
 The Startler that eats even the babe unborn,
 Only those adults will escape who flee for their lives.
- 116 The *bhoqo* plant that is nice to eat in time of famine,
 Where we will eat and give to one another.³¹
 He who smashes down men like an elephant with its trunk,
 The Smasher-down of warriors at *Nongamulana's*.³²

¹⁶ a word of unknown meaning.

¹⁷ a person unknown.

¹⁸ i.e. in displeasure or anger at being watched.

¹⁹ i.e. natives.

²⁰ this is a little river in Zululand. They surrounded *Matiwane* and attacked him.

²¹ of the killing that took place there.

²² another name for *Matiwane*, whose men were also much reduced in number.

²³ he kept up with and pursued his fleeing enemies for a long distance.

²⁴ i.e. this chief's son, *Mzilikazi*.

- 111 *Inginginya yakithi uSomaliwase,
Okhangele umuntu adel' ithole,
Ongenathole wadel' umntanakhe,
Ongenamntwana wadel' ikhuba lakhe lokulima.*
- 112 *Uremvane lwakithi olumabala zibhaxa,
Ngi balubheke lwahwaqabala ;
Lwanjengengubo yodadewabo uNomagenge.
Odle abamhlophe waze wadla babomvu
A babomvu kwakungabasekhabonina emaNtshalini,
Sish' a bandlebe zikhany' ilanga.*
- 113 *Imbizana bayipheke phezu koMondlo, baphek' uMatiwane,
Yaphuphuma imbizana yamcish' uNxumalo.
Ukhalo luseMondlo lusadanile,
Lungasahlali amaqogo kaGwabini.
Usiphelekezel' a bantu njengabayeni,
Ngobaphelekezela uNdwandwe eza ngobuso,
Waphelekezel' uShaka waseMbelebeleni.*
- 114 *uMatiwane wafak' amashoba waze wawaphambanisa,
Kwanga yinkosi yakwaMashobana,
Ubhinca kade waze wafunyaniswa.
Engafunyaniswanga ngamaNdwandwe,
Uyakufunyaniswa ngamaNxumalo,
Unokhonkothwayo okhonkothwe yizinja zakwaBhaca.*
- 115 *Uphuzi lwenabele kwaKhatha ekhaya.
Umoya womzansi ungidinile.
Bathi nangu nangu uMatiwane, ngisho engakafiki uGwabini.
Ivuso elidl' umntwana esesiswini,
A badala bodwa abayosinda ngokuzibalekela.*
- 116 *Ubhogo mnanjana kudla kwendlala,
Khona siyokudla sikwamukana.
Ubhelekeqa a bantu ongamboko wendlovu,
Won' uBhelekeqa a bantu kuNongamulana.*

²⁷ these lines mean that he was slow in getting ready for battle, and his men rebuked him on account of the danger, for if the one enemy did not catch him unprepared, some other would.

²⁸ by all the tribes subject to the Bhacas.

²⁹ i.e. he attacked this chief, about whom nothing is known, even in his own home.

³⁰ words of the other chiefs to whom he is obnoxious.

³¹ in time of scarcity the people will all live on the cattle taken in war by *Matiwane*.

³² a person unknown.

- 117 Let us go away, for you have many enemies,
 Let us not go to Nguniland,³³ let us go to Ntungwa-land,³⁴
 Where people die of old age only.
 The Gnawer at a tree trunk,³⁵ that only the stump is left,
 Those that survive will curse their name.³⁶
- 118 The sluggard who eats the maize of the industrious,³⁷
 For he had also seized that of *Mpangazitha*, descendant of *Mlotsha*,
 He put him under that which rumbles,³⁸ *Mpangazitha* of *Mlotsha*.
 Him who was the Angry-talker like the heavens above,
 The bushbuck of *Mashiya*³⁹ and *Dlomo*³⁹ that stabs as it dashes along,
 The cattle that rush down a dangerous place,
*uHogo*⁴⁰ is bitter (i.e. fierce in battle) like the *shongwe*-plant,⁴¹
 He, the river full of grinding-stones that are slippery.
 The young reebuck of *Mashiya*,
 It is now done for, the young reebuck of the *Hlubi*,
 It is now ours, it is now that of *Masumpa*.⁴²
- 119 He slew *Sidlayi*⁴³ of the *amaMpembe*,⁴⁴
 He slew *Magadla*⁴³ of the *amaMpembe*,
 He slew *Zitha*⁴³ of the *amaMpembe*,
 He slew *Mpelehwane*⁴³ of the *amaMpembe*,
 He slew *okaZengeni*⁴⁵ of the chief's wives,
 He slew *okaKheswa*⁴⁶ amongst his queens,
 He slew *Nongazi* amongst the queens,
 He slew *Mthimkhulu*⁴⁷ son of *Bhungane*.
- 120 The Seizer-of-everything because of his seizing both the peanut and its
 husk.⁴⁸
 The rain which clears away and then covers the sky again,
 The Continuous-drizzler that is a rain of summer,⁴⁹
 Which even when it clears off keeps on raining.
 The Rapid-mover because of his quickly departing, *Matiwane* is like the
 womenfolk,⁵⁰
 But they have somewhere to go.

³³ Zululand.

³⁴ the informants do not know where this is.

³⁵ meaning his enemies.

³⁶ i.e. even the children of the survivors will remember this disaster and always wish to be revenged on the *amaNgwane*.

³⁷ this line is quoted §73.

³⁸ the earth, the soil; i.e. he slew him.

³⁹ these were ancestors of *Mpangazitha*.

⁴⁰ *uHogo* meaning unknown.

⁴¹ *ishongwe* a small plant with milky sap and very bitter.

- 117 *Hamba simuke wena bakwalayo,*
Singayi ebuNguni, siyokuya ebuNtungwa,
Lapho a bantu bafa kuluphala.
Ungedla 'muthi kosala iziphunzi,
Ezosala zibaloyisa.
- 118 *Ivila elidl' amabele ezikhuthali,*
Ngoba ladla kaMpangazitha kaMlotsha,
Wamfaka phansi koludumayo uMpangazitha kaMlotsha.
Umqaqambi ongalizulu eliphezulu,
Imbabala kaMashiyi noDlomo egweb' igijima,
Unkomo zehla ngobuwolokhlo,
Uhogo uyababa njengeshongwe,
Omlambo ombokodo zibushelezi.
Isixhumo senxala sikaMashiyi,
Sesiphelile isixumo senxala emaHlutshini,
Kwangesakithi, kwangesikaMasumpa.
- 119 *Wadl' uSidlayi, wasemaMpembeni,*
Wadl' uMagadla emaMpembeni,
Wadl' uZitha emaMpembeni,
Wadl' uMpelekwane emaMpembeni,
Wadl' okaZengeni kumakhosikazi,
Wadl' okaKheswa kumakhosikazi,
Wadl' uNongazi kumakhosazana,
Wadl' uMthimkhulu kaBhungane.
- 120 *Umashwabadelane ngokushwabadela indlumbu namakhasi.*
Uzulu liyasa liyasibekela,
Usitshananaza siyimvula yehlobo,
Yona kuyokusa itshananaza.
Usigaba ngokumuka, uMatiwane unjengamanina,
Wona enelizwe lokumukela.

⁴² i.e. the son of *Masumpa*, having overcome the *Hlubi* chief, now assumes his titles, the whole foregoing five lines being taken from the *izibongo* of *Mfangazitha*.

⁴³ a brother of *Mfangazitha*.

⁴⁴ *amaMpembe* are the *amaHlubi*.

⁴⁵ the chief wife of *Mfangazitha*.

⁴⁶ this wife is referred to in §51.

⁴⁷ *Mfangazitha's* father.

⁴⁸ he took not only *Mfangazitha's* life, but also his praise-names.

⁴⁹ *-tshananaza* rain a little continually and over a long period. i.e. *Matiwane* is one who is always fighting.

⁵⁰ who move off and go elsewhere quickly. *Matiwane* loves to be always on the march.

- 121 The Laugher-with-eyes⁵¹ of the *Nobadina* kraal,⁵²
 Who sees shields (of other tribes) and runs for his own,
 If he did not see his war-shield he would seize his dancing-shield,
 He bore a black one which became him well,
 And resembled the kaross of his sister *Nomagenge*.
- 122 He directed his army with his *ilunga*⁵³ shield at *Ndinaneni kwaNobadina*
 kraal,⁵⁴
 The army that was going out to eat up *Ngobe*⁵⁵ of the *Mdletsheni*.
 He destroyed *Mahlaphahlapha* ⁵⁶ son of *Nkwela* at *Mhlangeni*.⁵⁷
 He destroyed *Nonsukela*⁵⁸ who was armed with an adze, and his bellows
 rotted,
 He destroyed *Qunta*⁵⁹ at *Lenge* hill, (*Matiwane*) the spier-out for cattle
 from on high,
 Whereas other spies after cattle creep up stealthily,
 Going along in the shadows of the hills.
- 123 *Gwabini* who watches carefully Eastwards,
 Why *Matiwane* you must look Westward, where the sun sets,
 The sun went down in *Faku's* country of the *Mpondo*,
 It sets at *Mkhulwane's*⁶⁰ in his doorway in Pondoland.
 The Rejoicer-and-Whistler as the cattle go through the ford,
*Mwelase*⁶¹ who does not cross at the ford,
 He who crosses by the islands in the river,
 The lump⁶² of the *abeNtungwa* that makes others like him.
- 124 The forest to shelter those out in the open, and with families large and
 small.
 The rope of the dragged one,⁶³ *Ntshintshini*.⁶⁴
 The trail which is dangerous and difficult to follow. Follow it, ye
 wiseacres,
 It might be that of a cobra, it might be the trail of a lion.
 The large thing of . . .⁶⁵ seize those that are leaving,
 Though we be hated, yet he is held by no man, is *Gwabini*.
- 125 The Strutter,⁶⁶ who has vanquished other chiefs,

- *
- The pond in the courtyard of the *Nobadina* kraal,
 Who so wishes may wash his feet⁶⁷ there.

⁵¹ not with his whole face, i.e. he never laughs heartily, because he is of an angry disposition.

⁵² where he was born.

⁵³ his shield was made from the hide of an ox which had a white stripe around its body.

⁵⁴ name of the kraal in which he lived in Zululand before being driven out by *Shaka*.

⁵⁵ a chief unknown.

⁵⁶ a chief unknown.

⁵⁷ a place unknown.

- 121 *Inhleka ngamehlo akwaNobadina,
Umboni wesihlangu ayekwesakhe,
Wayengaboni isihlangu ayengqokweni,
Waphath' esimnyama samfanela,
Kwanga yingubo yodadewabo uNomagenge.*
- 122 *Wayithetha ngelunga eNdinaneni kwaNobadina,
Eyakudl' uNgobe eMdletsheni.
Wall' uMahlaphahlapha kaNkwela eMhlangeni,
Wall' uNonsukela ephethe izembe, imfutho zakhe zambolela,
Wall' uQunta eLenge, umhloli wezinkomo ophakumayo,
Kanti abahloli bezinkomo bayazinyonyobela,
Babehamba emathunzini ezintaba.*
- 123 *Umsingi wazansi uGwabini,
Kwabanjani Matiwane bokusinge lapho ilanga lishona khona,
Lalishona kuFaku emaMpondweni,
Lishona kuMkhulwane emnyango emaMpondweni.
Umthabela-ukwela emazubukweni,
Umwelase ongaweli ngazibuko,
Owela ngezihleengele zomfula,
Isiya sabeNtungwa sokuqomisa.*
- 124 *Ihlathi labehlane bazokuphephela abezindlu nabezindlwana.
Intambo kaMholwa uNtshintshini.
Umkhondomubi ongalandwa. Ulandeni maqili-ndini,
Ungabe ngowendlondlo, ungabe ngowengonyama.
Udada lwengobe, bamb' abemukayo,
Ungani saliva kabanjwa muntu uGwabini.*
- 125 *Ingqalamba eyehlul' amany' anakhosi,
Undaba wakoLanga.
Ieibi elisenkundleni kwaNobadina,
Othandayo angayigez' ingqakala.*

⁵⁸ this man was a smith.

⁵⁹ a chief of the *Bheleni*. *eLenge* is Jobe's Kop, cf. Bryant, p. 348.

⁶⁰ an unknown chief.

⁶¹ *Mwelase* is an *isithakazelo* of the *isiBongo Hlongwane*. At the same time there is a play on the verb *-wela*.

⁶² the use of this word here ("substance" acc. to Br.) cannot be explained. Probably refers to the subjugation and subsequent incorporation of other tribes.

⁶³ probably *Mpangazitha*, since this refers to the piece of magic worked on the latter by *Matiwane*, as described in §52.

⁶⁴ a name for *Matiwane*, meaning unknown.

⁶⁵ *udada* a large thing, as a big blanket. *ingobe* they cannot explain, but the meaning of this line is that under *Matiwane* everyone is neither hungry nor cold.

⁶⁶ *ingqalamba* or *ingcalamba* a man who is conscious of his strength and shows it, who "throws his weight about."

* not clear. *Langa* was a chief.

⁶⁷ *ingqakala* the white skin on the side of the foot after a good washing.

- 126 The tree in the courtyard at *Fihlewayo's*,⁶⁸
 The *inqayi-tree*, the *isibhelebhele*,⁶⁹
 They chop it but it blunts their axes,
 The *Dlengzelwas*⁷⁰ of *Luyengweni*,⁷¹
Zwide's people, the son of *Langa*, and *Shaka's* of *Mbelebeleni*.
- 127 The cattle which retrace the old tracks,⁷²
 They made those of *Bhikisha*⁷³ of *Nomagugu*.
 The small hard antheap that encourages the wizards,⁷⁴
 That encourages *Mbinda*,⁷⁵ and encouraged *Sabiwa*,⁷⁵
 The robber⁷⁶ of *Masumpa* and *Tshani*.

⁶⁸ prob. one of the royal kraals.

⁶⁹ both the *inqayi* (*Elaeodendron velutinum*) and *isibhelebhele* (not identified) are hardwood trees, used for sticks.

⁷⁰ *Dlengzelwa* a certain chief, not further known.

⁷¹ a tribe about which nothing further is known.

⁷² cattle which probably had been taken from him were recaptured and driven back again over the old tracks.

⁷³ chief of the *Zizi* who turned cannibals and who are now in the Cape. *Matiwane* took their cattle from them in Natal but met them again in the Cape whither they had fled before him.

⁷⁴ meaning: he did not slay wizards but encouraged them, he kept them under his protection; perhaps also: he changed their nature.

⁷⁵ persons unknown.

⁷⁶ *-sozisela* rob and leave utterly destitute, take away something that the other needs badly cannot do without. viz. the tribes he encountered on his way to the Cape.

- 126 *Isihlahla esisenkundleni kwaFihlelwayo,
Ngesenqayi ngesesibhelebele,
Bayasigawula siyawagund' amazembe,
oDlengazelwa waseLuyengweni,
oZwide umtakaLanga, oShaka waseMbelebeleni.*
- 127 *Unkomo zabhal' emidal' imizila,
Zabhala ekaBhikisha, kaNomagugu.
Ingqulwane equng' abathakathi,
Equng' uMbinda, yaqung' uSabiwa,
Insozisela kaMasumpa noTshani.*

CHAPTER 7

Matiwane returns to Basutoland

128 We now return to *Matiwane*. When he perceived that his regiments were much reduced in number, having been taken away by those three brothers of his, he said to himself, "I know that *Mshweshwe* will not kill me, though I am no longer a man, (i.e. I can no longer defend myself)."

So he sent a messenger to *Mshweshwe* with the message, "Let him not be alarmed, for I shall only pass through his country, I am going further on."

"But how is it that my chief is here again?"

"He was at the huge river, the end of which is out of sight, of which you cannot see where it ends, and there he fought with those white things (Europeans) and they vanquished him; so now he goes about alone."

129 *Matiwane* became apprehensive when he himself began to approach *Mshweshwe's* place.

Mshweshwe asked him, "How are you, my chief? Things are now the other way about. Let me take you in, just as you formerly protected me when I was in fear of death from *Sigonyela*. The *amaNgwane* urged you to kill me but you would not, and now, my chief, you shall rule just as you used to rule your own people, and we will dwell together here in peace."

130 But *Gungunyathi* replied, "No, *Mshweshwe*, you kill no man, and I know that you will never kill me, but do you realise that it is I who am now going along with only two followers? You do not know what is here in my heart. Do not therefore take offence, *Mshweshwe*, and think I have refused your help. As for me I now return to *Shaka*, who summoned other chiefs against me, and drove me from my home on the *Mfolozi*, and who came to destroy me utterly, for I know that he will slay me, and I know also that you never slay any man, so that (if I stayed here) I would live and always have this sorrow in my heart." So *Mshweshwe* gave him ten oxen and said, "Very well, my chief, I have heard you, son of *Masumpca*, but I was grieved that a great man like yourself should come to me, and I should see your power thus reduced; here, my chief, is some food for the road."

Thus spoke the *mSuthu* and allowed his tears to run freely, "Go in peace, chief, and use these animals as food on your way."¹

Matiwane arrives in Zululand

131 One who had gone away with a number of tribesmen was *Ilathi*,² and the cannibals devoured not one of his party, because he himself went in front,

uMatiwane ubuyele eLusuthu

128 *Si buyela kuMatiwane. Manje uthe ukuba abone ukuthi amabutho akhe asenciphile, aselathwe ngabafowabo laba abathathu, wathi uMatiwane, "Ngiyazi ukuthi uMshweshwe akasoze angibulala, noma ngingasemuntu nje."*

Nempela wayesethumela umuntu kuMshweshwe, wathi, "Angabokwethuka ngizodlula khona lapho kuye, ngiya phambili."

"Kanti inkosi yami isilapha kwenzenjani na?"

Wathi, "Waesemfuleni omkhulu okuze kuphele amehlo, ungaboni lapho wacina khona, wayeselwa nemihwahwana emhloshane, yamchitha ushamba yedwa nje."

129 *Waze waqala ukuncibilika uma eyofika khona yena uqobo lwakhe.*

Ahle athi uMshweshwe, "Wenze njani nkosi yami na? Cha, nkosi yami, yintolantolani, angikuthole, njengoba wangilamulela nami kukubi ngibulawa nguSigonyela. AmaNgwane athi ngibulale kepha wena wala nami, manje-ke nkosi uzobusa njengoba kade uzibusela, asihlale nawe lapha."

130 *Athi uGungunyathi, "Hayi, Mshweshwe, wena awubulali muntu, ngiyazi ukuthi wena awusoze wangibulala, uthi kambe Mshweshwe yimi lo esengihamba nabantu ababili nje na? Awukwazi okulapha enhliziyweni yami. Ungabi nanhliziyo, Mshweshwe, uthi ngikwalile. Mina sengi buyela kuye uShaka owangimemela amakhosi wangisusa ezweni lami eMfolozi, ayongiqedela, ngoba ngiyazi ukuthi yena uyafika angiqedele, ngoba wena ngiyazi ukuthi awubulali muntu, ngizobe ngizwa ubuhlungu benhliziyo." uMshweshwe wakhipha izinkabi ezilishumi wathi, "Yebo-ke nkosi ngizwile wena kaMasumpa, kepha mina bengingathandi nakimi sokufika umuntu omkhulu, uma sengibona umbuso wakho sewunje, nkosi-ke nanku umphako wakho."*

Washo umSuthu waziyeka zehla lapha izinyembezi wathi, "Hamba udla-ke, nkosi."

uMatiwane efika kwaZulu

131 *Umuntu owayehamba nabantu nguHlathi, abazange badle muntu kuye*

¹ Ellenberger ("History of the Basuto," 1912, p. 189) says that as *Matiwane* passed Thaba Bosiu he left one wife and son *Izikale (Zikhali)* behind, whom *Moshesh* took under his care and later gave a village of his own. This does not seem likely, as *Zikhali*, according to the present tale, appears to have accompanied his father to Zululand.

² however, he was not with the tribe at *Mholompo*, having probably deserted beforehand.

leading the way to Zululand. He was the first son³ of *Matiwane*, and they found *Mithemelele*⁴ (already settled) and so *Hlathi* settled in Zululand, and with him *Shomela*, son of *Mgijima*.

132 So *Matiwane* went on and made for Zululand, where he arrived and was announced to the King. This was no longer *Shaka*, but *Dingane*, *Shaka* having been slain by *Dingane* and *Mhlangano*.

Matiwane was given a small place and a few villages. It then became clear that they delayed at the royal kraal in having him slain, and a whole year passed in this way, when *Hlathi* came to *Dingane*.

“ My King, I beg of you to be permitted to go and visit my father.”

133 “ What ! have you not yet met your father then, son of *Matiwane* ? ”

“ No, sir.”

“ But why did you remain silent all this time, until a whole year had passed ? ”

“ Well, sir, I thought the King would decide.”

“ Go then, son of *Matiwane*, for I had completely forgotten to give you leave to go and see your father.”

Death of *Hlathi*

134 So he went and reached his father's place. They announced it to *Matiwane*, “ Chief, here is your son.”

“ My son ? Who ? ”

“ *Hlathi*, sir.”

“ Ha ! Call him and ask him to come to me here.”

He came in and he addressed him, “ Greetings, my son.”

“ *Ndabezitha !* ”

135 “ So you ran away and left me behind to be devoured by cannibals ? You hurried on to seize the chieftainship here in Zululand, so that you might be first to be put in office, having done no harm, and so that you could take the seat of *Matiwane*.” And he let his tears run unchecked as he said so.

“ Why did you do it, seeing I shall die with you here ? ” And he said further, “ Take him, you, and find quarters for him with So-and-So,” and food and beer and meat were brought to him, of the cattle that had been received from *Dingane*, fifty in number.

136 But in the middle of the night when they were all fast asleep a man came to the chief and told him, “ Sir, there where your son is we do not sleep,” (i.e. there is something amiss), and in the early morning he died.

Matiwane asked, “ How did this happen ? Run, you, and announce to the king, *Dingane*, that *Hlathi* is no more,” but he himself was not much surprised, he merely said, “ I told him that he would die with me, and so today the time for me to die has arrived.”

amazimu, ngoba wahle wahamba phambili yena, waya kwaZulu. Nguye amehlo ukuzibona kaMatiwane ukuthi wathomba. Sebemfumene uMthemelele, naye uselakhile uHlathi kwaZulu, enoShomela kaMgijima.

132 *Ahambe-ke uMatiwane aqonde khona kwaZulu, aye afike, enele kufika ayobikwa enkosini, uShaka engasekho sekunguDingane, uShaka esebulewe ngu-Dingane noMhlangano.*

uMatiwane abonelwe indawana nemizanyana eyingcozana. Kubonakale ukuthi sebephuzile ukumbulala kwaZulu, useze waqeda umnyaka wase wazicelela uHlathi kuDingane wathi,

“Nkosi ngiyacela ngisathanda ukuyobona ubaba.”

133 “Ha ! konje awuzange uhlangane noyihlo, mfo kaMatiwane ?”

Athi, “Cha, nkosi.”

Abesethi, “Kepha sonke lesisikhathi kade uthuleleni, kuze kuphele wonke umnyaka na ?”

Athi, “Cha phela, nkosi, bengithi kuzobona inkosi.”

“Akuhambe-ke, mfo kaMatiwane, nami ngasengikhohliwe ukukudedela uyobona uyihlo.”

Ukufa kukaHlathi

134 *Wahamba-ke waye wafika kuyise. Kwase kubikwa kuMatiwane kuthiwa, “Nkosi, nansi indodana yakho.”*

“Indodana yami engubani ?”

“NguHlathi, nkosi.”

“Ha ! mbizeni nithi akeze lapha kimi.”

Wangena wathi, “Ha ! sawubona, mfowami.”

“Nda bezitha ”.

135 *“Ugijima ungishiya le emuva, ngisale ngidliwa ngamazimu? Wena sowuphange ubukhosi kwaZulu, ukuba usuzofika ubekwe wena, ungonanga lutho, ubesesikhundleni sikaMatiwane”, waziyeka zehla.*

“Wawuthi wenzani-ke njengoba ngizakufa nawe nje?” Wayesethi, “Mthathe fanibani uyomngenisa laphaya kwaSibanibani,” kwase kulandela ukudla i tshwala nenyama asekwamukeliswe nguDingane izinkomo ezingamashumi amahlan ,

136 *Kuthe phakathi kobusuku uma bethe wo ubuthongo kwase kufika umuntu enkosini khona ebusuku, ezobika ukuthi, “Nkosi laphaya kumntwana asilele”, kwathi ukuthatha kokusa waphela njalo.*

“Konje ngayini? Gijima fanibani uyobika enkosini kuDingane ukuthi uHlathi akasekho”, kodwa yena akaze ethuka kakhulu, wahle washo ukuthi, “Ngishilo ngathi uzofa nami, selifikile-ke namhlanje ilanga lami lokufa.”

³ lit. “He was the eyes of *Matiwane* whereby he saw that he had attained puberty.”

⁴ the son of *Mavinbela*, son of *Masumfa*.

137 The messenger told the King, "Sir, that I am here now is because I have been sent by the *amaNkwane*, who told me to inform you that the chief's son *Hlathi* is dead."

"Hau, hau! what do you say?" This he asked twice, "He who left me just now no longer lives? What killed him?"

His councillors replied, "Did we not tell you that you would not live in peace with *Matiwane*. You thought you could rule over him, but did you not hear what we told you?"

"Go, *maNkwane*, and bury this prince. I have heard your message."

Death of *Matiwane*.

138 So a few weeks passed.

"It is now plain that such a great number of cattle as I have received are pulling me (towards my undoing)" said *Gungunyathi*, "I perceive that my time, which I longed for, has arrived; these cattle will draw me to go and thank the King for them" (i.e. in order that he might have *Matiwane* slain).

Now *Shangela*⁵ the chief of the *Bhele* had also received fifty head of cattle but refrained from going to the King to thank him for them, because he was afraid of these cattle (i.e. he suspected that it was a stratagem to get him to the King's kraal to murder him).

139 *Gungunyathi* on the other hand departed for the King's kraal to thank him for the cattle; he took off the gall-bladder from his head-ring and gave it to *Zikhali* to wear, (in token that he designated him as his successor), saying "You, my son, will live long; stay therefore and take in your care the child of *Zililo*'s daughter, *Macingwane*."

And so he went and had barely arrived when he was asked by the King, "*Matiwane*, this *Hlathi* now, by what was he killed?"

He replied, "My King, I do not know, he was taken away by an illness."

"But seeing that here with me he did not die, why then should he just arrive at your place and die?"

And so he had him slain together with his party of young men, amongst whom was also *Khumalo*, who died with his father.

Story of *Njiyeza*

140 This came to the ears of *Shangela*, who also came to thank the King for the cattle, and who realized that these cattle were drawing him to his death. But his death was encompassed by *Njiyeza* (a son of *Masumpa*) who envied him because he saw him always going about with a great number of retainers.

Now when *Shangela* was to make rain at the King's place, *Dingane* summoned him and asked him to make rain, and indeed he actually did make rain.

Dingane said to him, "Now you may return home, I am satisfied for the present. At another time I shall call you again; leave off making rain now so that we can hoe our gardens." Thus spoke *Dingane*.



PLATE 4

NGWADI
"omnyama uMasaphokazi unaqata ngezimemo"

photographed 1883 by late
James H. Murray, copyright.

137 *Othunywe wathi, " Nkosi, nxa ngifika lapha nje, ngithunywa ngamaNgwane athi angizobika mntanenkosi uHlathi akasekho."*

"Hau, hau! uthini?" abuze kabili. "Yena lona osuka kimi khona manje akasekho? Udliwa yini?"

Bathi, "Asikutshelanga yini ukuthi ungeze wahlala noMatiwane? Uthi ungahle umbuse, konje awukuzwa okushiwo yithi?"

"Hambani-ke maNgwane niyomlondoloza umntanenkosi lowo, ngizwile."

Ukufa kukaMatiwane

138 *Kwadlula amasonto angabi mangaki.*

"Bekuhle kwabonakala ukuthi lezinkomo ezingaka engizamkele ngezamahole," washo uGungunyathi, "Ngiyabona ukuthi isikhathi sami ibengisifuna sesifikile, lezinkomo zizodonsa mina, ukuze ngiyozibonga."

uShangela inkosi yemaBheleni wamukela izinkomo ezingamashumi amahlanu, wephuzwa ukuyozibonga yena lezinkomo wesaba.

139 *Wayesesuka khona njalo uGungunyathi eseyozibonga, wayethula inyongo esieoeweni kuye eseyihloma kuZikhali, wathi, "Wo! mfana wami, woke uhambahambe, sala wena, uze ungibonele loko kwakwaZililo, uMacingwane."*

Wahamba-ke wenela ukufika nje, kwase kuthiwa, "Matiwane, uHlathi lona wabulawa yini?"

Wathi, "Nkosi, kangazi, ubulewe yisifo nje."

Wathi, "Ingani kimi kafanga, yini kuthi kungafika wena abeselefu?"

Wabe useyambulala naso isiphophothwane sezinsizwa, phakathi kwabo kwaba nguKhumalo cwabulawa noyise.

Indaba kaNjijeza

140 *Wezwa uShangela, naye wazimukisa eseyobonga lezinkomo, naye eseqonda ukuthi lezinkomo ngezamahole, yena-ke wabulawa nguNjijeza, ehawuka ngoba ebona chamba nesinqamu esikhulu sabantu.*

Uma ezonisa izulu enkosini kuDingane, wambiza wathi akazonisa izulu, nempela wafika walinisa.

uDingane wathi, "Ake ubuyele ekhaya, ngisadelile manje. Ngobuye ngizokukubiza, akusiye-ke silime", kusho uDingane.

⁵ his descendants live in the Ngwane location today and are still rain-makers. They swear by *Shangela*, the man referred to here.

141 But now *Njiyeza*, son of *Masumpa*, opened it (viz. the rain) and it rained hard, the rivers filled and overflowed their banks (this being done on purpose to discredit *Shangela*).

“Run boy and tell him (*Shangela*) to go slowly” (i.e. not to make any more rain).

He (*Shangela*) tried to stop the rain but failed.

“Run back again, boy, and tell him to stop it.”

But it rained on and on, so that the present of those fifty head of cattle was getting spoilt,⁶ for everybody thought there was no other rain-maker besides *Shangela*.

142 “But *Shangela*” (*Dingane* remonstrated), “I told you to make rain, and I gave you of my cattle, and was the rain not made by you? How then, now that I told you to stop it, does it still rain on and on? Take him away to *Matiwane’s* (the hill of execution) and kill him.” And his eyes were gouged out and he was taken there blinded.

143 But now *Njiyeza* betrayed himself to a prince, a son of *Jama*, a brother of *Senzangakhona*, for he chanced to see him rolling about in the mud, because, of course, men of rank get up very early and thus the prince saw *Njiyeza* and said (to himself) “Ha! chief’s son of the *amaNgwane*, are you doing such a thing? You copy the snake, and you do it on account of *Shangela*.”⁷ When he came out of the mud he went into the river and washed himself and then went on a little distance, but the Zulu prince saw him from his place of vantage and now hailed him, “You, *Njiyeza*!”

“Sir!”

“Come here, son of *Masumpa*.”

“Oh, sir.”

144 “This practice that you were carrying out in the slime, what was it? I thought well of you because you are of royal blood and a son of *Masumpa*. I would have denied your guilt if something had been done (and they had said you had done it), I would have asserted you would never have done it. What sort of work were you doing over there in the mud? You are an evil-doer.”

“No, son of *Jama*, you have caught me sir, but I was impelled by my envy, sir, when I saw *Shangela* going to the King to make rain, accompanied by a great many people, to be entertained at the King’s place and returning with gifts of cattle, whereas I also know how to do it.”

145 “But what prevented you from telling me that you knew how to make rain, in which case I would have made you known to *Dingane*, who would have then asked you to give a demonstration for him to see, for now you have caused the destruction of another well employed on his work. Get away out of my sight, you are loathsome to me.”

146 From the way he rebuked him, the other saw that he was going to kill him. So he went to his brother *Ntanjana* and told him about everything he

141 *Walivula uNjijyeza kaMasumpa lathi bhu, imifula yagcwala yakhwela phezu kwezindongwa.*

“Gijima, mfana, uyothi kakenze kahle.”

Wabathe uyalivimba wehluleka.

“Phindela mfana uyothi kakhawule.”

Lana njalo, kuza kwonakaliswa lezonkomo ezingamashumi amahlanu ngoba kwakungathi ayikho enye inyanga nguShangela kuphela.

142 *“Kanti, Shangela, ngithi nisa izulu nje, ngikunika izinkomo zami nje, kanti aliniswa nguwe? Yini ukuba ngibathe khawula manje, beliyilokhu line njalo? Mthatheni nimuse kwaMatiwane.” Wayesexonxwe amehlo wasiwa laphaya engasaboni.*

143 *Manje uNjijyeza wazibonakalisa kumntanenkosi, umfo kaJama, umfowabo Senzangakhona, wayembona ezingqqa odakeni, ngoba phela abantu abakhulu bavuka kusemnyamana, ambone ngakho-ke uNjijyeza umntanenkosi, athi, “Ha, mntanenkosi yamaNgwane wenza nje? Ulingisa inyoka, wenzela uShangela”, athi uba aphume lapho odakeni, angene emfuleni, ageze, athi uma edlula buggana nje, kanti umntanenkosi uyambona esembonisweni yakhe, afese embiza ethi, “We, Njijyeza”,*

Athi, “Nkosi.”

“Mina lapha mfo kaMasumpa.”

“Hawu, mntanenkosi.”

144 *“Lomkhuba obucenza laphaya exhaphozini fewenzani? Bengikuthembile ngithi lokhu ungowenkosi ungokaMasumpa, ngithi ngingaze ngikuphikele noma kwenzeka into kuthiwe yenziwe nguwe, ngithi ungeze wayenza. Usebenza umsebenzi muni laphaya odakeni? Kanti ungumthakathi.”*

“Hayi wena kaJama, ungibambile nkosi, kanti nami ngenziwa yinhliziyu yomhawu, nkosi, uluba ngibona uShangela eyonisa izulu enkosini, ehamba nesinqamu sabantu esikhulu, useyokudla ukudla enkosini, uyabuya usebuya nezin-komo, ingani nami ngiyawazi lomsebenzi.”

145 *“Kepha mntanenkosi wanani ukuba usho kimi ukuthi uyawazi lomsebenzi, ngoba ngangizothi ngingakubika kuDingane, abese ethi ake wenze abone, wonisa omunye emsebenzini wakhe. Suka lapha ebusweni bami, uyenyanyeka.”*

146 *Ahle asole, abone ukuthi usezongibulala. Nango esebanga kumfowabo kuNtanjana, esamlandisela konke abekwenza odakeni nasemanzini, wathi,*

⁶ i.e. the goodwill of the King, as evinced by this gift, was being lost.

⁷ i.e. because a snake, when it has bitten a man, is believed to go and bite a medicine of which it knows. Therefore the son of *Jama* perceived that *Njijyeza* must be purifying himself after having caused a death connected with moisture or rain, i.e. that of *Shangela*.

had been doing in the slime and in the water, and told him, "I shall be killed." *Ntanjana* replied, "There is nothing else to be done, seeing that he said to you 'Get away out of my sight', there is no hope for anything else. It will be that only (viz. being killed). Let us go." And so they departed during the night and bethought themselves again of *Mshweshwe*.

The *amaNgwane* think of flight

147 "Listen ye, to the announcement of *Dingane*." (A herald makes this known throughout the country). "The order is, that there is a son of *Matiwane* still alive, his name is *Zikhali* and whosoever shall find him shall bring him here, for he it is through whom I shall rule." This the *amaNgwane* heard, and said to one another, "Will he rule through him, when he has already killed so many of the royal house of the *amaNgwane* in this fashion? No! We do not believe it."

148 Then he became very angry, did *Mgovu* son of *Ndindane*, the grandfather of *Nkani Mhlahlela*, and he called *Shwayibana* and *Cilo*. This *Shwayibana* was the father of *Sitobho* of the family of the *Hlongwane*-thieves.⁸ Now *Mgovu* spoke to these men,

"Do you see this matter? Do you hear what is being said? Do you realise that if we allow him to be taken away, then in truth we shall never again get a chief?"

In reply they asked him, "But sir, what can we do? For we are not familiar with the country."

149 He told them, "No, it is for men to fall and rise again, until they find a place. We and *Matiwane* once met *Sobhuza* up on the Vaal River, where he was wandering about with nothing left to eat and our chief said to him, "When you wander about like this will the privations not kill you?" Then *Sobhuza* replied to *Matiwane*, "My chief, your greatness will tell you (viz. what to do)". So he ordered his people, "Let them pick out twenty heifers." And to him he said, "I give you this gift, sir, as food for the road. Go in peace and eat, and do you on your part please reserve for me a female puppy-dog (meaning: a girl)." These were the words of *Matiwane* to *Sobhuza*, and he added, "I shall reserve for you a male one." In this way he made an alliance with him."⁹

And he said again to them, did *Mgovu Hlongwane*, "I say that men, when they fall, get up again and I tell you that if *Sobhuza* thinks carefully he will remember that promise and will also get that male puppy dog."

Flight of *Zikhali* to Swaziland

150 All this time *Zikhali* was being sought carefully throughout Zululand. Now his men set out and told him, "Go alone, chief, because if we were to go with you, you would be caught. Go therefore by yourself and we also will march in that direction."

“Sengizobulawa.” Wathi uNtanjana, “Akusekho ukwenza ngokunye, njengoba esesho njalo wathi: suka ebusweni bakhe njalo, akusekho enye into. Sekuzoba yikho lokho. Asihambe.” Baphuma ebusuku bahamba bakhumbula kwa-Mshweshwe futhi.

amaNgwane ecabanga ukubaleka

147 “Lalela-ke! Uthi uDingane, kuthiwa ukhona umfana kaMatiwane osele, igama lakhe nguZikhali, oyakumthola amlethe, ngoba nguyena engizobusa naye,” akuzwe-ke loko amaNgwane, kuthiwa “Uzobusa naye, njengoba esebuqedile nje abantabekosi bamaNgwane? asikuboni loko.”

148 Athukuthela uMgovu kaNdindane, uyisemkhulu kaNkani Mhlahlela, abize uShwayibana noCilo. uShwayibana nguyise kaSitobho abakwaHlongwane-masela. Athi uMgovu kulamadoda,

“Niyabona nje na? Niyakuzwa nje loku okushiwoyo nje na? Njengoba nizwa nje uma singamyeka, amukiswe imbala nithi singabe sisayithola inkosi?”

Kepha baphendule bathi, “Kepha nkosi singenzenjani? njengoba izwe asilazi.”

149 Athi, “Cha, amadoda awa evuka, aze ayibone indawo. uSobhuza sahlangukana naye uMatiwane noSobhuza, sahlangukana naye enhla neLigwa, esehamba nje engasenakudla. Yathi inkosi, “Kepha njengoba uhamba nje unje, indlala ayizukukubulala na?” Wathi uSobhuza kuMatiwane, “Nkosi, ungabona wena ngobukhosi bakho.” Waesethi kubantu bakhe, “Abakhethe izithole ezingamashumi amabili.” Wathi, “Ngiyakuhephulela, nkosi, nanku umphako. Nawe hamba udla, uze-ke nkosi ungibekele undlwane wenja yensikazi,” kusho uMatiwane kuSobhuza. “Mina ngiyokubekela eyenduna,” usehlaba isilingani-ke njalo.”

Ahla athi-ke uMgovu wakwaHlongwane, “Ngithi amadoda awa evuka, ngithi uma uSobhuza engacabangisisa angalikhumbula lelolizwi angayifumana nenja yenduna.”

uZikhali ebalekela kwaNgwane

150 Useyafunwa-ke ngamandla lapha kwaZulu uZikhali. Basuka-ke nempela bathi, “Hamba wedwa zwi, nkosi”, besho kuZikhali, “ngoba una sihamba nawe, uzabambeka. Hamba nje wedwa nathi sizohamba nje laphaya.”

⁸ i.e. members of the *Hlongwane* family so distantly related that they may take wives from the royal family.

⁹ In other words, *Matiwane* and *Sobhuza* there agreed to betroth their children to one another. Who these would be they did not know, nor, according to native ideas, did it matter.

So he went on and after a while came to a large kraal, entered and sat down; his men saw him enter it from a distance.

The men of the village said "Good day, lad."

He replied "Yes, sir."

They asked him, "Where do you come from?"

"Oh, sir, I come from yonder."

151 "From yonder, where?" The cattle kraal was full of men. They spoke amongst themselves, "Do you see this lad and his appearance? As you see him sitting there, he is the son of *Mativane*, didn't you hear (from what he says) that he does not know the country, he merely said that he came from over there." And they said to him "My son, why do you seek to conceal who you are, seeing that you are the son of *Mativane*?"

"Hawu, my father, *Mativane* of what tribe?"

"No, my child, I saw through you long ago. I don't understand why you should still deny it."

152 These people were *Mdletsheni* of the *Khumalo* clan who had been left behind by *Mzilikazi*, son of *Mashobana*. Presently he saw them bring thongs and bind him hand and foot.

"My men" said the kraal-head, "go inside and I will give you food before you leave, for I want to send you on an errand." And so they left him there rolling about on the ground in the cattle kraal.

153 Now an old woman happened to hear that he was a son of *Mativane*, because she herself had once upon a time been subject to *Mativane*. So she came with her small knife and in broad daylight cut those thongs and said to him, "Here is some porridge, jump into that donga and run in it until you come to the top."

Now the kraal head spoke, "You and you, take this son of *Mativane* and deliver him to the King. Look after him carefully, this lad." However they were delayed by beer drinking and thus forgot their victim. Eventually they came out and perceived, "Ha, the lad is gone!"

"Yes, I told you so, I said you were to stay and guard him. You know *Dingane* as well as I, you know what he will say."

154 In the distance the *amaNgwane* sat and saw this:—"Oh, they have killed him", when suddenly they saw a war-party rush out from the village; when they were not very far away and he still going up the donga and they were not far from catching him, suddenly there burst forth a duiker and they turned from their path and chased it. Now that donga went in the direction of the road they themselves were taking, for they had noticed him when he disappeared into the donga and the sun was now very near setting. They (the pursuers) now began to strain their eyes and could no longer see him, and it was getting dusk. But our people kept him in sight and said, "There he is, run *Mazongwe*," addressing his cousin of the *Manatha* family, "and whistle after him and tell him to remain there; whistle loudly".

Aye angene komkhulu umuzi, bese behlala phansi, bathi wangena laphaya.
Bathi abomuzi, "Sawubona, mfana!"
Athi, "O, makhosi",
Bathi, "Uphuma ngaphi?"
"Cha, makhosi, ngiphuma ngapha, makhosi,"

151 "Ngapha ngaphi?" *Amadoda agcwele esibayeni. Ahle amadoda athi, "Nithi niyasibona nje isithunzi sakhe lomfana? Loku niyambona nje, nguye lomfana kaMatiwane. Animuzwa nokuthi izwe akalazi, uphike ngokuthi uphuma ngapha." Ahla athi amadoda, "Hawu mntanami, uzifihlelani loku ungoka-Matiwane nje na?"*

"Hawu baba, uMatiwane wakwabani?"

"Cha, mntanami, sengikubonile. Angiyazi into osayiphika."

152 *NgabaseMdletsheni kwaKhumalo, abashiywa nguMzilikazi kaMashobana. Uthe ebona basebeza nezintambo bembopha izandla nezinyawo.*

"Madoda", kusho umnumzana, "ngenani endlini ngimincamise, ngizonithuma." Bamshiye eginqika khona esibayeni.

153 *Siyezwa isalukazi ukuthi ngokaMatiwane, ngoba sake sakhonza kuMatiwane. Siphume isalukazi nesihejana saso emini nje lithe ga, sizisike izintanjana lezi sithi, "Mina nanku umbhaqanga, ngena lapha odongeni, ubaleke wenyuse lona udongwa, uye enhla nalo."*

Ahla athi umnumzana, "Bani nobani, thathani lomfana kaMatiwane nimse enkosini. Ake nimeinge, nimbone umfana lo." Balibele ngutshwala sebekhohlive yinyamazana yabo. Bayaqala bephuma bathi, "Ha, kusekho lomfana!"

"Ehe, bengishilo, ngathi nibohlala nimbheka. Nani niyamazi uDingane, ukuba uyakuthini na?"

154 *Ahlezi laphaya amaNgwane, babone ukuthi "Wo, sebembulele", bathi bethuka babebona ngempi seyithi bhi'hi; bathi nxa benjeya esathi uya odongeni, sebezombamba: guthu impunzi, badume bazoshe yona impunzi. Loludongwa luyophumela ngendlela abazohamba ngayo, sebembonile nxa eyoshona odongweni, nelanga nalo beselishona njalo. Bayaqale becinga abasamboni, sekuya kwalala. Bebebona abakithi, bathi, "Nanguya, gijima Mazongwe," besho kumzawakhe wakwaManatha, "uhla be ikhwela emva kwakhe, uthi akeme lapho, uhla be ikhwela."*

155 When they came up with him he was already with his cousin and they said, "Let us go on, you can tell us everything while we walk." So they went and he related everything that they had done to him there. Thus he became

"the strong and plaited thong of the *Mdletsheni*.
We were tied with straps and broke them asunder,
Run ye along all the paths
Tell *Madanga*¹⁰ and say to him the *ixhoho* (unknown) that goes about
has burst its bonds. Also tell *Nzekeli*."¹⁰

Sanctuary found with *Sobhuza*

156 They marched all night, and early next morning they had come to the end of Zulu territory and crossed the Phongola River. Here on the border of the country, if you were fleeing, no sooner had you crossed than you were saved and they could no longer do you any harm.

So they sat down and rested, and roasted a little maize, roasted it only on one side, keeping the other, and the chief on his part broke off for them a morsel of the porridge given him by the old woman, but they said to him, "No, sir, it is not even enough for you, where will you find food later on?"

157 So they went on and when the sun was just above the mountains they arrived at *Sobhuza's* place. They entered where the men sat, who greeted them. They were nine men in all, he being the tenth.

The Swazis asked them, "But friends, where do you come from?"

"We come from Zululand, our chief *Matiwane* has been slain, for you know that *Shaka* summoned *Zwide* son of *Langa*, and *Dingiswayo* son of *Jobe*, and *Mthethwa* of *Nyambose*, and got them to attack *Matiwane* in concert and drove him from his country on the Mfolozi. So he went further and further until at Grahamstown in the Cape Colony he met the White Men and fought for two years until eventually they worsted him in the third. Thereupon he returned to Zululand, hoping that *Shaka* would kill him, he who drove him out of his country. But we found then that *Dingane* was now king. And in sooth *Dingane* at last did have him killed and slew also his grown up sons, upon which we helped this young son of his to escape and came here to hide and seek the King's protection."

158 Thereupon they were announced to *Sobhuza*, and told him everything.

"Is this lad the son of *Matiwane*?" asked *Sobhuza*.

"Yes, sir".

"Really, is he the son of my friend? For do you see me, Swazis? *Matiwane* and I met up on the Vaal River, when I was destitute of everything, even to food, and he gave me twenty heifers and said to me: here is food for the road which I give you, go in peace and eat. And he said further: you must reserve for me a little female puppy and I shall reserve for you a male one. And I see today that if *Matiwane* had lived, this arrangement we made would have been concluded satisfactorily."

155 *Bafike esehlezi naye umzawakhe bathi, "Asihambe, uzosixoxela konke ngendlela." Ahambe esebaxoxela abamenze khona. Azoba*

"nguntambo zingamajonqa aseMdletsheni,
siBanjwa ngamagoda siwadabula.
Gijimani ngazo zonke izindlela,
nitshela uMadanga, nithi izhobo lokuhamba
lizidabule izintambo. Nitshela uNzekeli."

Elondolozwa nguSobhuza

156 *Bahamba ubusuku njalo, kwathi kuthi juqu ukusa babeliqeda elakwaZulu, babewela uPhongolo. Emneeleni wezwe, okuyaye okuthi noma ububaleka, uma sewuwele lona, ususindle, abasenakwenza lutho.*

Bahlala phansi baphumula manje, bahambe bosa umbidlana, bewosa nganxanye, barwubeke inqashwana leyo, nenkosi isibathe iyabahlaphulela umbhaqangana wesalukazi, bathi, "Hayi nkosi awulingane wena njalo, uzobuye ukuthathephi wena na?"

157 *Bahambe bayongena nxa ilanga liphezu kwentaba kuSobhuza. Bafike emadodeni, ahle ababingelele, bangabantu abayithoba, nguye washumi.*

Athi amadoda akwaNgwane, "Kepha madoda, niphuma ngaphi na?"

"Siphuma kwaZulu, kubulewe inkosi yakithi uMatiwane, njengoba nazi ukuthi uShaka wamema uZwide kaLanga, noDingiswayo kaJobe, noMthethwa kaNyambose, wathi abamhlanganyele uMatiwane bamsuse ezweni lakhe eMfolozi. Wakhuphuka njalo uthe esehini eKoloni wahlangana nabelungu, walwa nabo iminyaka emibili bameitha ngowesithathu, wayesephindela khona kwaZulu, ukuba ayomqedela uShaka, yena amsusa ezweni lakhe. Sesifumana sekunguDingane, nempela useyamqedela uDingane, wambulala namadodana akhe amakhulu, ngakoke sesibalekisa umfana, sizofihla ikhanda lapha enkosini."

158 *Kwayilapho sebefikiwe kuye uSobhuza, bakulanda kuye konke lokhu.*

"Umfana lona ngokaMatiwane na?" kubuza uSobhuza.

"Yebo, nkosi."

"Hawu, ngumntwana womngani wami? Niyabona mina bakwaNgwane. uMatiwane ngahlangana naye le enhla neLigwa, sengiphelelwe nayikudla, wangi-nika izithole ezingamashumi amabili, wathi nanko umphako engikuhlephulela wona, hamba udla. Wathi ubongibekela umdlwane wenja yensikazi, mina ngiyokubekelainja yenduna. Nakunje nje, ngiyabona ukuthi lokukhuluma kwethu noMatiwane, uma ephilile, ngiyabona ukuthi kuyolunga!"

¹⁰ persons unknown. These lines in the *izibongo* of Zikhali run as follows:—

"Kwakusho oDambuza benoNdlela.
Gijimani ngazo zonke izindlela.
Nitshel' uMadanga eMdletsheni.
Nithi: Izhobo lokuhamba lizidabule izintambo,
izintambo zingamajonqa aseMdletsheni."

159 Now *Sobhuza* gave him a beast, which was slaughtered, and so a week was allowed to pass. Then he said,

“ You, So-and-So, my son was still resting up to now. Take him to *Fokothi*, the son of *Sobhuza*,—his first-born—and say to him: Here is the son of the chief *Matiwane*, he must not eat together with the commoners but must eat with him, and I myself shall come to him tomorrow.”

Zikhali put unde: *Fokothi*'s care

160 And so it happened, next morning *Sobhuza*'s men went there as he had promised. He ordered all the men to be there. “ You see, Swazis, I have brought here to you this son of *Matiwane*. Stand up boy, well! he is already a man! *Matiwane* was a friend of mine.”

Thereupon he related the circumstances of his meeting with *Matiwane* on the Vaal River. And continued, “ I think, men of *Ngwane*, that my arrangement with *Matiwane* will become reality when I see this boy. Summon So-and-So and So-and-So who cook the meat for the dogs.” (For the dogs of the king were accustomed to have a heifer killed for them every day).

161 “ Look here you, So-and-So, don't be angry that I take you from this food, for here is the son of *Matiwane*, an orphan; therefore I say to you, my children, leave this work of cooking meat for the dogs in order that this lad may take your place, so that even if *Fokothi* should forget him, these men of his will nevertheless find food here at the dogs' place. I don't say anything about *Fokothi*. For if he has not eaten with you, you must not eat but come to him and eat with him”, and to these words the assembled men assented.

162 Actually *Fokothi* took a liking to him and cared for him, and even lent him his leopard's claws to wear and when he went to court girls they would go together and were always seen together. Thus time went on, and the girls at *Sobhuza*'s kraal began to notice him, and said amongst themselves that this must be a great man who always ate with *Fokothi*, and they took great notice of this rather dark-skinned young *Ngwane*.

159 *Wamnika inkomo, yahlutshwa inkomo, wayeda isonto, wascethi,
 "Sibanibanyana, umntanami ubesaphumula, mthathe umuse kuFokothi
 kaSobhuza—izibulo lakhe—ufike uthi kuFokothi: Nango-ke umntanenkosi
 uMatiwane, angezu adla nabantu kepha adle naye, nami ngiyofika kusasa."*

Wenziwa umlingani kuFokothi

160 *Nembala kube njalo, naye aye khona njengoba eshilo. Wathi, "Awukhu-
 phuke umphakathi. Niyabona-ke maSwazi, ngilethe nangu umntakaMatiwane
 kini. Sukuma mfana, ha! kanti sekuyindoda. uMatiwane ngumngani wami."*

*Abatshele khona lokho ukuhlangana kwabo enhla neLigwa. "Ngithi, nina
 bakwaNgwane, ukukhuluma kwethu noMatiwane kuyolunga uma ngibona lomfana.
 Bizani ufani nobani abaphekela izinja." (Izinja zidla isithole ngelanga wonke
 amalanga).*

161 *"Niyabona-ke nina bani nobani, ningayiphathi inhliziyo nithi nginikhiphe
 ekudleni, nangu umfana kaMatiwane oyintandane, ngithi bantwabami phumani
 lapha ekuphekeleni izinja, kungene lomfana, khona kuyothi noma uFokothi imkho-
 hliwe, baze bathole lababantu bakhe lapha ezinjeni. Angikhulumi ngaye uFokothi.
 Uma engadlanga nawe, awuyikudla uze udle naye", uyabonga-ke umkhandlu.*

162 *Nembala amthande impela uFokothi ameoshe phansi, amboleke nokoku-
 vumula namazipho ezingwe, athi noma eyoshela, ihambe yombili, kube kuhle kube
 njeya. Kuhambe kuhambe isikhathi, zimbone izintombi zona lezi zikuSobhuza.
 Zithi ulukhulu lomuntu odla noFokothi, zinfumane umfo oluhlaza iNgwane
 lansondo.*

CHAPTER 8

Love of *Nomlalati*

163 What sort of thing is the duiker amongst the Swazis! Said the Swazis amongst themselves, "You see that son of *Matiwane*, whenever he goes out to hunt he brings back a duiker." Now as this talk went on like this, that girl (the King's daughter *Nomlalati*) had also begun to take notice of him and told someone, "Call that young man named *Mazongwe*, his cousin."

"*Mazongwe*, here is a message for you, *Nomlalati*, the daughter of the King, wants you." So he went there and she told him,

"In the evening you must come here, you and *Zikhali*."

So when the sun was setting they went and sat in her hut, and she ordered meat and beer to be brought, and served them meat and after that gave them beer and they ate until it was dark.

164 When it was quite dark they suddenly remembered that this was a strange place and thanked her and prepared to take their leave, "We thank you, highness."

"Go outside, girls and you *Mazongwe*, and you, sir, please wait, I have still something to say to you."

"Oh, what must I stay behind for, highness?"

"You will sleep here," and with this she made for the door.

"No, highness, please open for me, for you are putting me in danger of death."

"Very well, I shall not touch the door, go outside if you wish to go out, but if you do, there are those outside who will hasten to kill you. Go out quickly, you will meet them just here in the path at the enclosure, for I shall call out: Here is somebody doing violence to me!"

He perceived that it was as she said, so he sat down again and stayed there, and left when the dawn began to break.

165 Now on the following days *Zikhali* put on the leopard's claws of *Fokothe*, and the girl in play took them from him, but *Zikhali* protested, whereupon she took them by force, for by now they were fond of one another and he said,

"No, don't kill me, don't you know that these claws belong to *Fokothe*?"

Nevertheless she took the claws and later when *Fokothe* saw her he noticed his claws and exclaimed, "What! My claws are now with my sister," and immediately he went off.

"My brother," he called *Zikhali*.

"Yes, sir!" he replied.

"Please lend me those claws, brother."

uNomlalati

163 *Ingabi impunzi iyini kwaNgwane! Athi amaSwazi, "Niyambona nje lomfana kaMatiwane, ubayozingela abuye nempunzi njalo njalo." Bathi uma bekhuluma ngaloko kanti nayo intombi le nayo isiyashiseka nayo, ithi, "Bizani lomfana okuthiwa nguMazongwe umzawakhe."*

"Mazongwe, kuthiwa nanguya umntanenkosi ekubita, uNomlalati", waya-ke nempela uMazongwe, wathi,

"Kubothi ukushona kwelanga nize lapha noZikhali."

Nempela kuthi ukushona kwelanga baye, bafike bangene elawini lazo, abesethi, "Akulandwe inyama notshwala", abanike inyama, emva kwenyama abanike utshwala, badle-ke kuze kube kusihlwa.

164 *Kuthi uma seku hwalala bakhumbule ukuthi ngenye indawo le, babonge bavalelise, "Siyabonga, nkosi."*

"Phumani zintombi noMazongwe, wena nkosi ake ume, ngisazokhuluma nawe."

"Hawu, mina ngizosalelani nkosi na?"

"Wena uzolala lapha", ahla abange esivalweni.

"Hayi nkosi ngivulele bo, kanti ungibizela ukuzongi bulala."

"Angisoze ngasifamba isivalo, phuma wena uma uthanda ukuphuma. Uma uthanda ukuphuma, yikhona bazoshesha masinyane bakubulale, phuma-ke masinyane, uzohlangana nabo lapha endleleni egumeni, ngoba ngizomemeza ngithi: Nangu umuntu engifamba!"

Alibone lelo ukuthi nempela kunga njalo, ahlale phansi, ahlale njalo okoku-phela-ke, aze aphume uma kuthatha ukusa.

165 *Kuthi ngezinsukwana uZikhali afake amazipho engwe kaFokothi, intombi le idlale noZikhali iwathathe amazipho lana, athi uZikhali wala nawo, iwathathe ngenkani, ngoba sebeyathandana, abathe,*

"Hayi, musa ukungibulala, loku uyawazi amazipho ukuthi ngukaFokothi na?"

Iwathathe ngempela amazipho kaFokothi, usebathe uFokothi uyabhaka useyawa-bona usethi, "Ha! kanti anazipho ami asekuladewethu," ahle abange khona, athi,

"We, mfowethu!" ubiza uZikhali.

Athi, "Nkosi!"

"Akungiboleke amazipho larwo mntakababa."

Zikhali clapped his hand to his throat (to feel if they were there), saying, "I always had them here," but he sought in vain.

The other replied, "No matter, look for them carefully," and added, "when you find them bring them to me."

166 Thereupon *Zikhali* despatched *Mazongwe* with the words, "Run quickly to the princess, and pray her to give you those claws for already I am in danger of death, though I refused so often to give them. Beseech her to help me." Soon after *Mazongwe* brought them and *Zikhali* took them to *Fokothi*, "When I looked for them, sir, I found them in full view, here they are."

167 But *Fokothi* had realized the position and he took them from him because he saw that this was a bad man.

"Go you, So-and-So, and tell my father *Sobhuza*, that as for this man he told me to eat with, he told me to eat with a wicked man. He began by going out with those dogs he has in his charge, and killing duikers every day, and now I discover that he sleeps with the girls."

168 And he told *Mdwayidwa Mabizela* in secret, "There was going to be a village built for him, and he was to be given a younger sister of mine, a daughter of *Mswazi*, as had been arranged with *Matiwane*, but now he has been making love with *Nomlati* and so now *Sobhuza* has already announced a tribal hunt¹ with the idea of slaying him while it is on, for, says he, he has sinned, though I always placed great trust in this young man."

Zikhali is warned of the plot

169 Thereupon *Mdwayidwa* straightway went privately to *Zikhali*.

"Oh, son of *Matiwane*, seeing that I had already told you in secret that the King had decided in council to build you a village, what is this that you have done, my chief? Oh! you have killed yourself! When all those daughters of indunas were there, why do you go and climb² on to a hut? Now I am telling you in secret that the animal that is going to be hunted tomorrow will be yourself." Thereupon *Mdwayidwa* ran off because he was afraid they might surprise him there.

170 He had hardly disappeared when suddenly the old woman arrived with whom he lived. She came to him weeping and said,

"Oh! Oh! Oh! son of *Matiwane*, you have killed me. Oh for my fat belly, you have deprived me of my living, you have taken the food from out of my mouth, whence shall I now take such good living? Seeing that the King was about to have a kraal built for you, and had promised to give you *Mswazikazana*, on account of his friendship with *Matiwane*. And there being so many daughters of indunas!" With that she went out and ran off, her last words being, "The game to be hunted tomorrow will be you yourself".

*Mpu mpu, "Loku bengiwabeke lapha," kanti ufuna ubala.
Athi, "Qha, funa kahle" uthi, "ungawathola uwalethe".*

166 *Wayesethumela uMazongwe ethi, "Gijima masinyane uthi enkosazaneni yenkosi, ayingisize ikunike amazipho lawo sengiyabulawa njengoba bengala kangaka nawo. Akangisize owenkosi." Nembala uMazongwe afike nawo, ahla athi "Kanti nkosi ngiloku ngifuna nje asobala nanka."*

167 *Kanti uFokothi kade ebonile, uselemamuka nje ngoba usebonile ukuthi kanti ngumuntu omubi.*

"Hamba sibani bani, uyothi kubaba uSobhuza, lomuntu athi angidle naye, kanti wathi angidle nomuntu omubi. Wahle waqala ngoba abayozingela ngezinja lezi aziphethe abulale impunzi wonke amalanga, manje sengimbona uselala nama-ntombazana."

168 *Useke ayixoxe kuMdwayidwa Mabizela wamnyenzela wathi, "Usezokwakhelwa umuzi uzonikwa udade wabo amelamayo kaMswazi, njengoba bakhuluma noMatiwane, kanti yena usethandana noNomlalati, manje-ke uSobhuza wayesemema ingina, enza isu lokuba ayambulalela khona, wathi usephosisile, ngangimthembile lomfana."*

uZikhali bamhlebelu udaba

169 *uMdwayidwa esenyenya esiqonda kuZikhali.*

"Hawu mntakaMatiwane, njengoba sengike ngakuhlebelu, ngathi inkosi seyikhulumile emadodeni ukuthi isifuna ukukwakhela umuzi, yini lena osuyenzile mntanenkosi? Hawu wazibulala! Loku izintombi zezinduna zikhona, usukhwela phezu kwendlu wenzani? loku bese ngakuhlebelu nokukuhlebelu lenyamazana ezayozingelwa kusasa nguwe." Abaleke-ke uMdwayidwa ngoba esaba ukuthi bazoze bamnanzele.

170 *Athi uma ethi sululu uMdwayidwa, bekuthi qathatha isalukazi alala kwaso. Singene sesikhala sithi,*

"Ha! ha! ha! mntakaMatiwane, wangibulala, yeka lomkhaba wami wangibulala wangamuka ukudla emlonyeni, sengizowuthathaphi lomkhaba ongaka? loku nenkosi bese ithuba izakwakhela umuzi, ithuba izokunika uMswazikazana, ngesilingani sabo noMatiwane. Izintombi zezinduna zingaka." Besesiphuma sibaleke, sigcine ngokuthi, "Lenyamazana yakusasa-ke nguwe."

¹ tribal hunts, with their armed men, the excitement, thick bush and lack of witnesses, were always a favourite occasion for the murder "by accident" of undesirables.

² this is an act of sorcery. Meaning: why did you commit such a heinous crime?

The danger is reported to *Mgovu kaNdindane*

171 *Zikhali* was silent now ; but soon he went off to *Mazongwe*,
 “ *Mazongwe*, now what am I to do ? ”

He replied, “ My chief, I do not know ! ”

He said, “ Let us go to my uncle *Mgovu*, son of *Ndindane* ”. (The man in charge of the prince, and responsible for his medicines, etc.). They came to him and told him,

172 “ Sir, I have come to you to tell you that I have called down misfortune upon you, and I don't know now in which direction you can now tell us to flee, I have killed you, and I myself have been undone by a girl. I was called by this girl, I and this cousin of mine, we were summoned by *Nomlalati*, the daughter of the King, and when we arrived she produced meat and beer for us in her sleeping hut. Then when it was growing dusk and we thanked her thinking to take our leave, she told the girls to go outside and *Mazongwe* also and said : You *Zikhali* wait a moment, I have still got to say something to you ; but I started and replied : No, highness, why should I remain behind ? please let go the door and let me out. So she did saying : I am not holding it any longer, go out if you like, but if you just touch it to go out, I shall shout : Help ! defend me, here is somebody holding me ; you say that you are afraid of being killed, but the guards will come on you still here within the enclosure. Now, sir, I also perceived that these words of hers were true. (I told her :) But, highness, you are putting me in danger of death. Said the girl : Very well, open the door and go out if you wish, as I told you. Then I was beaten, my father, for what was I to do ? But by all this I have brought you into a misfortune also, my fathers.”

173 Now there was silence for a while. Then spoke *Shwayibana*, “ I don't know, son of *Ndindane*. You always said we were men who should fall and get up again, and in truth when we did so we found a sanctuary. But today we no longer see whither we could look for safety.”

He replied, “ No, *Cilo*, *Shwayibana*. Take that meat that was to have been cooked for the dogs tomorrow and cut it to pieces quickly,” for he had revealed to them what *Mdwayidwa* and the old woman had said, namely that the game that would be hunted tomorrow would be he, and he ordered them to put the meat on the fire. This they did.

The *amaNgwane* flee

174 Now next morning at early dawn the hunters prepared and came forth and when the sun was about to rise, the order came,

“ *Mazongwe* ! Bring the dogs of the King ! ”

“ My word, he has been bothering us now for a long time ! Go nearer³ and wake him up.”

Batshela uMgovu udaba

171 *Athule manje athi du ! aqonde kuMazongwe, athi,*

“*Mazongwe, sengizakwenzenjani ?*”

Athi, “Nkosi, asazi !”

Athi, “Asihambe siye kubaba uMgovu kaNdindane,” ophethe umntwana, baye-ke bafike athi,

172 “*Nkosi, nxa ngifika lapha nje ngiyazibika, sengikubulele, angisazi ukuba usuzolibhekisaphi, sengikubulele nje, nami sengibulewe yintombazana. Sabizwa yintombazana sinomzawami lo, sabizwa yintombazana yeNkosi uNomlatali, safika wakhipha inyama, wakhipha utshwala siselawini lakhe. Sekuthi uma sekuhwalala sesithi siyabonga ukuba sesithi siyaphuma. Uselethi izintombi aziphume noMazongwe, athi : Wena Zikhali ake wenze kahle, ngisathanda ukukhuluma nawe, pha mina : Hayi nkosi ngisalelani na ? Yeka isivalo ngiphume, nempela isiyekele, yathi angisasibambanga, phuma uma uthanda, ungake usithinte uthi uyaphuma ngizomemeza ngithi maye ! ngilamuleleni, nangu umuntu engibamba, wena uthi wesaba ukubulawa kanti bayakufumanisa usekhona lapha egumeni. Nkosi-ke nami ngilibone lelo ukuthi uqinisile. Kanti nkosi ungibizele ukuzongibulala. Ithi intombi : vula phela uphume uma uthanda, mina ngisho njalo, ngasasengahluleka-ke baba, ukuba sengizakwenzenjani ? Senginibulele-ke makhosi ngaloko.”*

173 *Kuthuleke manje kuthi du, athi uShwayibana, “Asazi-ke mfo kaNdindane, loku wathi asive sivuka singamadoda, sathi nxa sesithi nempela siwe sivuka sesithi sesiwutholile umuzi. Namhlanje asisajondi ukuthi sizolibhekisaphi.”*

Athi, “Cha, Cilo, Shwayibana. Thathani lenyama ebeiyophekelwa izinja kusasa, ihlahleleni masingane.” Uselibekile elokuthi uthe uMdwayidwa kanye nesalukazi : Inyamazane ezobulawa kusasa yimi, athi “Ifukeni eziko.” Bakwenze nempela.

amaNgwane ebaleka

174 *Kwathi nakusezimisi emhlophe base beyihloma ezindukwini zesuka njalo, kwathi nakubheje enzansi,*

“*Mazongwe ! izinja zenkosi !*”

“*Hawu, kade usifundekele, hamba uyomvusa eduzane.”*

³ this is said by the men who are annoyed by the one who keeps on calling *Mazongwe* from a distance.

But there was nothing at the old woman's with whom the pair were wont to sleep.

"Hawu, mother! Where are the *Ngwane* youths who always sleep here?"

"Oh!" the old woman exclaimed, "my son I have just been awakened by you now, I can't say where they are."

"But we know!"

175 With that he went to where the men were accustomed to sleep, but found absolutely nothing. Then he raised the alarm shouting, "The *amaNgwane* are no longer here". Thereupon the one told the other and a great number soon ran out in response. Now when the sun was up, they saw a man going in the direction of *Nyoka's*, the son of *Mpelane Zwane*, and enter there and when *Nyoka* looked backwards he saw a great number of Swazis behind him, and this time he did not hide his identity as he had with the *Mdletsheni*, he greeted him,

"Where did you come from, my boy?"

"Sir, I come from the Swazis, my father *Matiwane* was slain amongst the Zulus and I went to live with the Swazis, but now look, there is a war-party following me." But he did not notice how quickly the Swazis were running.

"You are a son of *Matiwane*?"

"Yes, sir".

Zikhali concealed by *Nyoka*

176 "Run, So-and-So, and take thongs and wet them, but not too much so that they would see it."

And he himself ran to the fence of the enclosure where a heap of reed had been stacked up, and told the others to open it out and put him inside, and then to stack it nicely and bind it with three thongs and leave the bundle standing like this, and then he ran off also because the pursuers were now nearby, and they all returned to where the men were accustomed to sit and sat down.

177 Now the party of Swazis arrived, their *imincwado* plain in view (because they had been running so) panting and out of breath.

"Haven't you seen people passing here, ten in number?"

"No, sirs, we have not seen ten people here."

"But you will see them, something of your father, you will see them."

"Didn't you see him that went alone? He entered below this village, you will see him, something of your father."

"Oh yes, sir, that one who was alone, we saw him passing down there below the village until he went out of sight."

"From whence did he come then, seeing that you say that you did not see anybody? You will see those nine others also; open all the huts so that we can search inside."

Gwada kwasalukazi lapho belala khona bo babili :

“ Hawu ! Mama, ziphi izinsizwa zemaNgwaneni ezilala lapha ? ”

“ Hawu ! ” pha isalukazi, “ mntanami ngiphashanyiswa nguwe nje, angibazi impela, ”

“ Kanti siya bazi ! ”

175 Aqonde lapho kulala amadoda, afumanise itshe seloma inhlama. Awuhlabe awulawule athi, “ AmaNgwane awasekho ! ” Kabange eba biko owatshela omunye kwathi bhibhi. Kwathi uma liphuma ilanga bambona umuntu eya kungena kuNyoka kaMpelane Zwane, esebathe ukubheka emva uNyoka wafumanisa kuthe bhibhi amaSwazi emva kwakhe, akabe esazifihla njengaseMdletsheni, ambingelele,

“ Uphumaphi mfana ? ”

“ Nkosi ngiphuma kwaNgwane, kwabulawa ubaba uMatiwane nguZulu, ngathi ngiyokhonza kwaNgwane, nansi impi engilandelayo ”, kanti ubenganzenze awasagijima amaSwazi asengumhlolo.

“ UngokaMatiwane ? ”

“ Yebo Nkosi ! ”

uZikhali efihlwa nguNyoka

176 “ Gijima, sibanibani, uthathe izintambo ungabe usazicwilitisa kakhulu, bangaze bazi bone. ”

Agijime naye abange emthangaleni lapho kubekwa khona umhlanga, athi abawuvule amfakhe phakathi, athi abawubambe kahle awubophe ngezintambo ezintathu, ashiye kunjalo, naye abaleke ngoba sebeseduze, babuyele ebandla bahlale.

177 Kufike okungamaSwazi imincwado isisobala sokukhefuzela.

“ Anibonanga abantu bedlula lapha lababantu labalishumi ? ”

“ Cha, makhosi, asibonanga bantu abalishumi lapha ”.

“ Utababona, kutsi kweyihlo, utababona. ”

“ Anibonanga lolo yedwa na ? othe wangena ekhatsi kwalomuti, nitabona, kutsi kweyihlo. ”

“ O yebo, nkosi, lowo ongumfana simbonile udlule lapha ezansi kumuzi besingasumnanzele. ”

“ Usevela ngaphi-ke lowo, loku nithithe anibonanga muntu, nitababona, nalaba abalithoba, sivuleleni sifune kuto tonke tindlu. ”

178 Thereupon the great hut of the kraal-head was opened and even the private huts where the medicines were kept and then they searched in the grain baskets, and by now *Nyoka's* men were getting nervous because when they were near the grain baskets they were approaching close to where he was. However they found nothing in the grain baskets and returned saying,

“He has escaped this time, by *Sobhuza*! I thought I would stab him with this spear of mine, but he has escaped.”

179 Thereupon they all departed and when they were a little distance off *Nyoka* said, “Follow them, you So-and-So, for I know these people of mine, they are Swazis, they might return; go stealthily after them and be careful that they do not see you, and when you see that they turn round to come back you also must retire carefully to warn us, and if they do not come back we shall see it by you not returning yourself.”

180 Then he went to fetch him out of the reed bundle and thus *Zikhali* became

“the civet that evaded the dogs of the kraal
for it evaded those of *Fokothe* of *Sobhuza*.
The beast that they shut up at the kraal-wal
behind the village of *Nyoka*
and the *amaNgwe* shook with fear.
Lion that roared above the kraal of *Ntanzi*
and kept the *amaMpembe* quaking.”

181 He put him in the medicine hut, and sent him meat and beer and asked him,

“My son, do you travel alone?”

“Sir, I have with me nine men and when I came in here they were yonder on that hill there. Their names are *Mazongwe* and *Shwayibana*, and you can shout for them by these names.”

“Run you, So-and-So, and shout at that hill there, you must call: Hi! *Mazongwe*! If he does not reply, shout: Hi! *Shwayibana*! and say to them: The son of your chief is down yonder, he is at our village.”

182 This the messenger did, he shouted, “Hi! *Mazongwe*!” but all was silent.

“Hi! *Shwayibana*!” again there was silence. Thereupon *Mgovu*, son of *Ndindane*, replied,

“*Mazongwe*, why are you silent?”

“Sir, we were afraid that these might be Swazis, we thought perhaps they might have killed the prince, and now they had come to slay us also.”

Then said *Mgovu* son of *Ndindane*,

“If they had killed you, what would it have mattered, if you had lost your chief?” With that he took his stick and went, and they arrived at the kraal and another sheep was fetched for them and the owner said to them,

“My son, I shall not give you a beast, for you are in trouble (i.e. the beast would be an encumbrance). We shall meet again yonder in Zululand whither you are going, seeing they have already killed your father, perhaps they will now leave you to grow up in peace.”

178 Kwavulwa umuzi omkhulu wenkosi, kuye kuvulwe na nezingavulwa ezimnyama, kuphume kufune ezilulwini, bahle babenovalo laba bakwaNyoka ngokuthi njengoba sefeya ezilulwini nje sebezofika kuye. Bahluleke ezilulwini, babuye bathi,

“Wo! kusindzile, Sobhuza! Bengitsi ngitumnika ngaleli lami, kusindzile oku masimbenina.”

179 Ikhukhule ihambe bathi mabenjenga laphaya, athi uNyoka, “Balandele sibanibani, ngiyabazi mina ngabakithi, ngabakwaNgwane, bangahle baphenduke nje, unyonyobe uwele ngamehlo bangalingi bakubone, uti ungabona ukuthi bayaphenduka nawe uhlehle nyovane uzosihlabela umkhosi, siyobona ngawe uma bengabuyi nawe ungabuyi.”

180 Bese eyamkhokha laphaya emhlangeni, uZikhali azoba

“Ligqalashu elashiya izinja zasenzini
Ngoba lashiya ezikaFokothi kaSobhuza.
Inkomo bayivalele emthangaleni
Emva komuzi kaNyoka,
Kwaza kwasa amaNgwe ethuthumela,
Ibhubesi elibhodle enhla komuzi kaNtlanzi
Kwaza kwasa amaMpenbe ethuthumela.”

181 Amfaka khona endlini emnyama, angemse inyama notshwala, ahle athi,

“Mntanami, uhamba wedwa nje?”

“Nkosi, nguhamba nabantu abangulithoba, ngithe ngingena lapha babe kuleya ntaba. Amabizo abo ngobani nguMazongwe, uShwayibana, ungamemeza kanjalo.”

“Gijima sibanibani umemeze kuleya ntaba, ufike umemeze uti: we Mazongwe! Uma engasabeli, uti we Shwayibana! uze ubatshele uti: “Nangu umtanenkosi yakini, ulapha kweyakithi.”

182 Amemeze athi, “We Mazongwe!”, kuthi nya.

“We Shwayibana!”, kuthi nya. Asafele uMgovu kaNdindane, wathi uMgovu,

“We Mazongwe nithuleleni?” “Hayi-ke nkosi besesaba sithi kumbe ngamaSwazi, sithi kumbe bathe bangambulala umtanenkosi, sebezokuthi sebezosibulala.”

Athi uMgovu kaNdindane,

“Uma benibulele beniyini, nxa senifelwe inkosi yenu?” wathatha induku yakhe wahamba, bafika isikhishiwe enye intondolo sokufakwe enye wathe,

“Cha mntanami, ngingeze ngakunika inkomo, usebubini. Sobuye sikhlangane, nalapho uya khona nakwaZulu, njengoba seba bulala uyikho, kumbe boke bakuyeke ukukhulakhule.”

CHAPTER 9

Zikhali back again in Zululand

183 That much he had given them they ate and then when the sun set they took their sticks, for even the meat of the dogs they still carried with them and they were loaded up, and when it was dusk he led them away, so that when the sun rose they were across the Phongolo River, and had entered Zulu territory, but still they went on and arrived at the kraal of *Delive* son of *Manephu* in the early afternoon.

184 “ My word, *Mgovu*, where did you come from ? ”

“ We come from Swaziland, *Ndaba*, and we have just arrived here. The ways of the Swazis did not satisfy him, and he still remembered his King.”

“ We heard a rumour that you were in Swaziland and even now *Dingane* still likes him, and says that he would like to rule through him, because he would bring many people to fight for him ; you have done well to come back with him, *Hlongwane*.”

185 He gave him an ox, and then he, *Delive*, went off to announce him to the King, and when he got there the word went to the King,

“ Sir, there is *Delive* come to you, to announce the arrival of *Zikhali*, who has arrived at his place.

“ Where is he ? ”

“ Tell *Delive* to come here.”

“ What have you to say, *Delive* ? ”

“ Sir, I saw *Zikhali* coming to my village, and *Mgovu* with him.”

“ Where does he say that he comes from ? ”

“ He says, sir, that they fled in terror after the death of *Matiwane*, but now I left him at my home and kept him there with some meat which he is eating.”

“ Very well, *Delive*, when he has finished the food that you have given him, bring him here quickly, for I want to see this young man very much.”

186 So *Zikhali* stayed there a week, and then took with him the last pieces of cooked meat of the ox, and then *Delive* took them to the King.

“ Sir, here they are.”

“ Good day, *maNqwane*”, they were greeted in this fashion by *Dingane* in person, *Zikhali* being now a young man.

“ This old man, sir, is his uncle *Mgovu*, who fled with him.”

“ Stand up, son of *Matiwane*, let me see how big you are ! Hawu ! Did I tell such a big brawny lad to stand up ? ” And he added, “ Sit down again, my son. *Mgovu*, where do you come from with this lad ? ”

uZikhali ebuyela kwaZulu

183 *Abanike bayidle le, lathi nxa lishona ilanga bayidlome ezindukwini, ingam neyezinja basayithwele, bathwale basindwe manje, abakhiphe uma kuthi hwalala, kwathi kuyakusa babe ngaphesheya koPhongolo, sebewelela kwelakwaZulu, sebehamba njalo, sebeyofika kuDelive kaManephu emini yantambama.*

184 “*Hawu, Mgovu, senivela ngaphi na?*”

“*Awu, Ndaba, sesiphuma le kwaNgwane, sathi sisayofihla khona lokhu, manje kuthe ihambo yamaSwazi ayaze yamanelisa usekhumbule inkosi yakhe*”.

“*Siloku sizwa ngomoya ukuthi ukwaNgwane, namanje uDingane usamfuna, uthi wayethi uzobusa naye, lowo azamlethela abantu abaningi abazomlwela, wenzile ufike naye Hlongwane.*”

185 *Wamnika inkabi, wayesehamba yena uDelive eyombika enkosini, naye eyofika, kuthiwe,*

“*Nkosi, nangu uDelive uthi uze enkosini, uthi uzobika uZikhali, nangu embona efika kuye.*”

“*Uphi?*”

“*Wothani uDelive akeze lapha.*”

“*Uthini Delive?*”

“*Nkosi, ngibona uZikhali efika laphaya ekhaya kwami, ufika noMgovu.*”

“*Uthi uvela ngaphi?*”

“*Uthi nkosi baphaphatheka njalo ukufa kukaMatiwane, kepha-ke nkosi okwamanje ngisamskiye ekhaya laphaya ngisambambeke izinyane usadla lona.*”

“*Kulungile-ke, Delive, aze athi angaqeda ukudla lokho omuphe kona, umietha masingane, ngiyamthanda ukumbona lowomfana.*”

186 *Ahlale aze aqede isonto, aphume ngazo izibhomana zaleyonkabi, abamukise-ke, ahla athi,*

“*Nkosi, sengifike nabo.*”

“*Sanibona maNgwane,*” *babingelelwa nguyye uDingane uqobo lwakhe useyinsizwa manje uZikhali.*

“*Umbona njalo, nkosi, ikhehla leli nguyisekazi, nguMgovu, aphaphatheka naye.*”

“*Akusukume mfo kaMatiwane, ke ngikubone ukuthi sewungakanani! Hawu! ngize ngithi akeme isidlakala sensizwa,*” *athi, “Hlala phansi, mntanami. Mgovu, sewuphumaphi nomfana lo?”*

187 "Sir, I now come from over yonder from Swaziland because I fled thither in fear at the death of our chief. But this young man found that the treatment of the Swazis does not agree with him, he prefers that of his own people in Nguniland."

"You did me a wrong, *Mgovu*, for I was very sorry on account of this lad, you took my daughter to marry her to *Sobhuza*, though I am more than *Sobhuza*'s match in strength. I thank you, *Delive*, for here is the one through whom I shall be able to rule these people."

188 Thereupon he gave them two oxen, saying, "Here is food for you my child. *Delive*, go with him, I shall find a place for him where I can put him in charge."

He bethought himself of a little river along which many villages were built, and gave the order, "Go, you and tell the *amaNgwane* that if they are not satisfied with the headmen under whom they have settled, here is your chief whom I have placed in office, it is for you to do the rest. I put him in charge fairly near to me, as I do not wish to be much separated from him, for I shall work through him."

Zikhali given a place to live by *Dingane*

189 Now when the huts had been built and finished the Zulu counsellors were summoned and discussed this matter amongst themselves,

"Seeing that he is chief by hereditary right, how is he to be treated? You old men (tell us), for we as far as we know, if a man is a chief of the blood, in order that his chieftainship may be terminated, are there no widows of his elder brothers? There were those brothers of his who were old men, namely *Hlathi* and *Khumalo* who died with his father. However, *Hlathi*'s wife was taken by *Mondise*, so there is only the wife of *Khumalo* left, the mother of *Ngazana*. Yes, there is this wife of *Khumalo* (who could be forced on *Zikhali*), for a chief does not marry a widow and his chieftainship is terminated by doing so."¹ So he was put in the hut of *Mzamo*'s daughter.

190 *Dingane* had him summoned and the headdress-maker came and was told to sew on his headdress, for now he was a man, and this was announced in public on that day.

"Listen Ye: a word from the great induna of *Nobamba*," and as he announced the message, complete silence ensued: "Here is the son of *Matiwane*."

191 *Zikhali* took charge of the village as if he realised that *Dingane* had announced that he was a man and was going to rule through him. He was industrious and built huts of *umwele*,² as he had seen them built by his father when he was still a lad. And those of *umwele* bush he built in many circles, and got up early in the morning and made it known that *umwele* must be gathered, so that even the Zulus remarked that this lad was very assiduous, and so many very handsome huts arose.

187 “Nkosi, sengiphuma la kwaNgwane, ngaphaphatheka njalo ukufa kwenkosi yakithi. Manje umfana lo uthi akakholwa liphatho lakwaNgwane, ufuna elakubo lebuNguni.”

“Hawu, Mgovu, wase ungenze kabi, ngahluphoka impela ngalomfana, sewathatha intombi yami usuyoyendisa kuSobhuza, ngamahlula ngobusoka uSobhuza. Ngiyabonga Delive, nango-ke umuntu engizobusa naye.”

188 Wasekhipha izinkabi ezimbili, “Nanku ukudla kwakho mtanami. Delive, ake uhambe naye, ngizoke ngimfunele indawo, lapho ngizombeka khona.”

Wawubona-ke umfudlana wathi dlivi dlivi kuwo imizana, “Hamba, sobani-bani, utshele amaNgwane ukuthi na bengakholwa ngabanumzana abakhonze kubo, nansi inkosi yenu lapho sengiyibeka khona kuyobona nina. Ngimbeka eduzane nje, angithandi ukwahlukana naye kakhulu, ngizosebenza ngaye.”

uZikhali ebonelwa indawo nguDingane

189 Kwathi ukuba izindlu zakhiwe ziphele kwase kubuthwa uZulu, se bekhuluma bodwa abakwaZulu, bathi,

“Njengoba phela yinkosi yohlanga, uzokwenziwa njani? nina nibadala, thina ngokwazi kwethu, umuntu oyinkosi yohlanga, ukuze buqedwe ubukhosi bayo, abakho yini abafelokazi babanewabo? Bakhona abafowabo amakhehla afa noyise uHlathi noKhumalo. UmkaHlathi selangenwa nguMondise osakhezi ngumkaKhumalo, uwina kaNgazana. Yebo-ke nango-ke yena lowo umkaKhumalo, ngoba inkosi ayingeni umfelokazi, inkosi ubukhosi bayo buqedwa ngokwenziwa njalo.” Abesengeniswa khona-ke kwaMzamo.

190 Waesembiza-ke uDingane, sekufika inyanga yezicoco esethi kathunge useyindoda, esemenyezwa khona mzuku lokhu.

“Lalela-ke: Uthi indunankulu yakwaNobamba,” ethi uma imemeza kuthule kuthi du, “Nango-ke umfo kaMatiwane.”

191 uZikhali awuphathe-ke umuzi kwangathi uyazi ukuthi uthi yindoda azosebenza ngayo nje. Ukhuthele akhe izigodlo zonwele ayezibona zakhiwa nguyise esengumfana. Zonwele naye wakha zona wazinkumbinkunbi avuke ekuseni amemeze kuyokhiwa unwele, aze asho namaZulu athi wakhuthala umfana kwase kuba zigodlogodlo nje ezinhle kakhulu.

¹ This passage is the narrator's way of explaining that *Dingane* and the Zulu councillors were concerned by the fact that *Zikhali* was a chief of noble descent, and debated as to how he might be rendered harmless. The outcome of their deliberations was that, since a chief would lose his powers (mostly magical in nature) were he to marry a brother's widow, they would compel him to take *Khumalo's* widow to wife according to the law obtaining for commoners, thereby achieving their aim. The reference to *Ngazana* is an addition by the narrator, for he was only born as the result of this union.

² a shrub; acc. to Bryant: *Sutherlandia frutescens*.

Dingane's expedition called uKhukhulela-ngogo

192 Now one day *Dingane* became very angry when he perceived that the cattle had become much reduced in number, and gave the order, "To arms, send an army against *Mzilikazi*, son of *Mashobane*, to fetch long-horned cattle from Pediland, which increase for dogs."³

"Listen ye, the order is to make war upon *Mzilikazi*, he announces a gathering together of the rubbish, a gathering of even old men and the sick, even to the siek man who finds it hard to die on his mat and the old man who is glad to die, wishing death would come and take him ; here is something which will give you rest and an easy death."

Zikhali and the lion

193 *Zikhali* had just finished building his village when the presence of a lion was announced which was devouring the cattle. Immediately the *amaNgwane* sprang to arms, namely those that lived together in great numbers along the banks of that little river ; and they approached the lion which upon seeing them squatted on its haunches. Thereupon *Mandawe* and *Mpumuzana* rushed forward and stabbed it, but it leapt upon one of them and sat on him and to the other it did the same, and sat thus on top of them both, making no sound. Now the others were at a loss to know what to do to help them, for they thought that if they were to throw spears at it they might hurt those two men on whom the lion was sitting.

194 Then said *Zikhali*, "Wait, let them be killed by me, which would not matter."⁴ Thereupon he ran at it as hard as he could, and while it was still squatting, he let fly with his spear and pierced it : the spear entered its chest right up to the shaft, whereupon the lion jumped up and fell yonder and the others came and finished it off. The wounds those two others got were only scratches where it had clawed them while holding them down. Thus he became

"Pot-remover, when the medicines are prepared,"

because medicines required for a man who has slain an adversary in battle were made from that lion.

"They were prepared by *Mandawe* and *Mpumuzana*."

Thereupon the lion was taken up and carried to *Dingane*, a war-song being sung the while and there before him they flung it down. He exclaimed, "Oh ! these *amaNgwane* !"

Dingane in a dilemma

195 "In this way a man betrays himself, that he is not an ordinary man" (said the councillors of *Dingane* amongst themselves), "for as to the killing, the lion was stabbed by him himself. As for the *amaNgwane*, they are children of sorcerers. That *Zikhali* should go and slay a lion by himself like this !



PLATE 5

Ukhukhulela-ngogo

192 *uDingane wasethukuthela esememeza impi csebona izinkomo sezincipha esethi, "Ayihlome impi, iyekuhlasela kuMzilikazi kaMashobane, iyokulanda ezoBhelu ezizalelainja."*

"Lalela-ke, uthi uhlasela kwaMzilikazi, unemeza ukhukhulela-ngogo, ukhukhulela-ngogo lixhegu nesiguli, nesiguli siyaye sithi kubuhlungu ukufela ecausini, nezhegu liyaye lithi uyadela oselafu, songathi nokufa nga be kuyeza kungithathe, nanko-ke okuzoniphumuza nife kahle."

uZikhali nembube

193 *O bekuthe esandukwakha nje uZikhali, kwase kumenyezwa ibhubesi kwathiwa, nanti selidle izinkomo, ahloma amaNgwane wona lana athe dlivi dlivi emfudlaneni ewodwa, aye afike kulo ibhubesi lenela ukubabona lahlala laqoshama, baya bephangelana kulo uMandawe noMpumuzana bathe nxa bethi siki bayaligwaza lamuthi yothu omunye, lahlala phezu kwakhe, nomunye lamenza njalolahla'la phezu kwabo bobabili lithule. Babathe bayacabanga ukuthi bazakwenzenjani, ngoba bathi bacabanga ukuliciba besaba ukuthi bazolimaza lababantu elihlezi phezu kwabo.*

194 *Wathi uZikhali, "Kahlcni fabulawe yimi okungenani." Wayale unfo kaMatiwane, walakazela ngelikhulu ijubane, litheliloku liqoshame, wawudedela waliciba, waye wangena esifubeni, waze wangena nothi lomkhonto, lagcuma laphonseka laphaya, babe bayaliqeda. Amanzeba kulaba ababili kwaba ngawamazipho elibahlabe wona uma lisababamba. Ukuba azoba*

"nguSophula mithi isiphekire,"

ngoba kwase kuphekwe amachamo ngesilwane lesi.

"Iphেকে ngoMandawe noMpumuzana."

Ithathwe ithwalwe-ke inyamazane le baye ngehubo kuDingane, bafike bayithi thinsi kuDingane. Ahla athi, "Hayi, wona thina amaNgwane."

Inhlupheko kaDingane

195 *"Ahle nje umuntu azibonakalise ukuthi akasiye umuntu, nokwenza ihlatshwe nguye uqobo lwakhe. AmaNgwane ngabantwana babathakathi, uZikhali angahle*

³ to me this means: since the cattle are merely increasing for the benefit of dogs (their present owners), this is a good reason for taking them. Albert Hlongwane however thinks it is said in praise of those cattle.

⁴ i.e. if it must be, it were better if they were killed by me their chief, than by any other.

and save those two men like this! a lion that had been too much for all the Zulus together!⁵ We don't like this, chief, you may jump over it if you like, but we don't see clearly in this matter, it is very difficult for us."

"I also perceive this," said the King, "build up a fire here". So they made a huge fire and then cut open the lion and put it over the fire with the inside downwards and its skin still on, and afterwards collected all the ashes and gave the order,

"Take these ashes, young men, and scatter them into the river."

The *amaNgwane* are apprehensive of trouble

196 Now this matter the *amaNgwane* continually discussed, "Did you see what the King has done? We do not quite understand what *Mpande* did, for he received a hundred head of cattle, whereas those *Zikhali* got were fifty. You *Mbhodla* go yonder to the prince *Mpande* and ask him: Sir, your brother yonder asks you, seeing that he killed a lion, which the King burned in a fire but did not jump over, and after that got fifty head of cattle, he asks you what he should do about it, because his heart is troubled and he is afraid to go to the King to thank him for these cattle."

197 I do not know exactly what wrong *Mpande* had done but he replied, "*Mbhodla*, as for the dilemma your chief is in, it is the same with me, for I also have received a hundred head of cattle, and I am not happy over these cattle. If he does not like to go and thank the King for them, let him come here to me and we can at least make a scratch on him regarding which they will one day ask him what he did at the time when he was preparing to gather together the rubbish, the fool".⁶

Stratagem of *Mkhumbeli*

198 Behold them now preparing for the raiding expedition against *Mzilikazi*, son of *Mashobane*. So now *Mkhumbeli*, son of *Masumpa*, assembled the *amaNgwane* and spoke to them, "*MaNgwane*, let us make a plan; we have never yet been governed by another, and now, seeing that he is sweeping together the rubbish, it is time for us to get away."

"But, son of *Masumpa*, how can we leave? Seeing that your son here is himself an induna in command, and it is they who are in charge of the army. If he were to remain behind he would be the first to attract attention."

199 Said *Mkhumbeli*, "We, as sensible men, will see to that. Is the army not due to leave today?"

"Yes, sir, it is due to leave."

abulale imbube eyedwa nje, nabantu ababili laba nje, imbube ingani yahlula uZulu ephelele, asazi nkosi ungayeqa wena, thina asiboni impela kunzima kithi."

Ithi inkosi, "Nami ngiyakubona loko, basani umlilo." Barwagalela bawuthi ho, bese iqaqwa ithiwa bhaca kuwo umlilo kanye nesikhumba, kubuthwe umlotha kuthiwe,

"Uthathani, zinsizwa, niyowuchitha emfuleni."

amaNgwane esaba

196 Bahlala sebekhuluma ngako njalo amaNgwane ukuthi, "Niyakubona nje loku esikwenziwa nguZulu, asazi ingabi uMpande wayenzi, uMpande wemukela izinkomo ezilikhulu, uZikhali zaba ngamashumi amahlanu. Mbhodla akhambe uye laphaya kumtananenkosi uMpande, uti "Nkosi, uyabuzwa umfowenu ukuthi njengoba ebulale imbube, kepha inkosi iyishise ngomlilo ayizange iyeqe, emva kwaloku sengamukela izinkomo ezingamashumi amahlanu, uti-ke nkosi uyabuzwa ukuthi konje angenze njani, ngoba umzimba uyalumela, uyesaba ukuyozibonga lezinkomo."

197 Asazi-ke ukuba uMpande yena wayenzi oneni, uze uti-ke, "Mbhodla, lapho kumtananenkosi, nakimi kunjalo, nami ngamukele ikhulu lezinkomo; angizija bulele lezinkomo, nayengathandi ukuyozibonga akeze kimi sikhlangane, yikhona siyoba nomyoeu abayohle bambuzwa ngawo ukuthi wenzenjani nxa eyakukhipha ukhukhulela-ngogo, isiphukuphuku."

Amaebo kaMkhumbeli

198 Nampaya behlasela kwaMzilikazi kaMashobane, ahle awabuthe amaNgwane uMkhumbeli kaMasumpa, athi, "maNgwane, ngithi ake sikhlanganise loku; asizange sitholwe thina, njengoba nangu ukhukhulela-ngogo, siyaphuma-ke manje."

"Kepha mfo kaMasumpa, siyophuma kanjani? loku nansi indodana yakho yiyona ndunankulu, yibo abaphathi bempi nje nu? Uma athi uyasala lapha angabonakula kuqala."

199 Athi uMkhumbeli, "Sizobona sili bandla, angithi impi iyaphuma namhlanje?"

"Yebo nkosi iyaphuma."

⁵ the councillors are evidently in a panic because *Zikhali*, whom they thought they had deprived of his royal attributes by marrying him to *Mondise's* widow, should thus prove himself to possess the exceptional qualities most desirable in kings and most undesirable in their subjects. Moreover a problem immediately presented itself:—according to custom, no sooner is a lion killed than it must be lifted shoulder-high and carried straight to the king, without having been put down even once, in order that the king may be the first to jump over the carcass, thereby assuming to himself the desirable virtues of the lion, such as fierceness and courage. However, in this case the lion had been killed single-handed by *Zikhali*, himself a royal personage whom *Dingane* had reason to fear, and in the presence of his own tribesmen only, so that presumably he had taken the opportunity of jumping over the carcass, knowing that his men would never betray this act of treason to the King. For *Dingane* it was now a problem whether it would be less dangerous for him to jump over the lion or not to do so.

The same belief of course also underlies the rule that one must not step over the outstretched legs of another; to step over the legs of the King himself being punishable by death.

⁶ i.e. though *Mpande* and *Zikhali* cannot hope to get the better of *Dingane*, they might at least sell their lives as dearly as possible and cause him losses which would be remembered for many days to come.

“ Let not a single one of our men go with them. You, So-and-So, take this fat and warm it on the hearth, and you there, take this red ochre and grind it.” So the fat was heated and he told them to bring it, and having found a small pot he poured it into it together with the red ochre to make a mixture just like gore and said to *Zikhali*,

“ Here you are, drink this ”.

The young man took it and gulped it down. Then he told him,

“ Seeing you are one who disposes over much meat, pick out for yourself fat and tender meat and eat a great quantity of it until you are absolutely replete. Then go and sleep till tomorrow.”

200 This he did, and early in the morning felt a great need to relieve himself and dashed outside, and barely got there when he passed a stool which seemed nothing but blood, whereupon they rushed to the indunas and told them, “ Please come and look what has happened at our place, the prince has not slept, and now we see that his stool is nothing but blood.” So the indunas went and found a pool of blood. They were thunderstruck and said, “ This son of *Matiwane* is as good as dead; can suchlike leave a person’s body (and he continue to live ?) ; take him, *maNqwane*, take him back to his hut. You will follow us later and we shall wait for you at such and such a place.”

“ Yes, sir,” said *Zikhali* and staggered off slowly (pretending that he was, very ill), but the moment he was out of sight he straightened up. Now *Mkhumbeli* saw him and said, “ Here he comes; to arms ! ”

Flight of the *amaNqwane* from Zululand

201 In the meantime *Mkhumbeli* had already had an ox slaughtered, having simply rushed at any beast that was grazing there, no matter whose it was, so that when the men arrived they could have their meal and go. And they did arrive, the meat was taken from the fire and the men ate for the journey. He no longer worried about the arrangement with *Mpande*, for he thought, “ Shall we make him great in turn ? No ! let them arm, those who milk and then smear with dung, the stieks full of dung.”⁸

202 So they drove off all these cattle belonging to *Dingane*, and when some very old and decrepit men came along to prevent them they simply rushed the empty shells with their spears, and took the cattle into the open; and so they captured many cattle. The head indunas received their share, *Mboni* son of *Sobatshova* of the *Gozini* received forty pure black beasts, *Shomela* son of *Mgijima* received a share because he followed the senior headman (*Mboni*) in point of birth, he was given thirty animals red all over, and so on the rest, to some twenty head, to others fifteen, others ten, others five, others two, and one beast to still others and so on.

Mpande and the Boers

203 It came to the ears of *Mpande* that *Zikhali* had already crossed over (the Tugela River) and he said, “ Now seeing that I had already arranged things

“*Lingabe lisababikho iNgwane elihambayo kulaba. Banibani, thatha nanka amafutha uwafudumeze eziko, wena banibani, thatha nansi intsohi uyigaye*”, *nayefudumele amafutha athi, “Aletheni”, afune ukharjana oluneane, awathele phakathi kanye nentsohi kube sibilibili nje sobubende athi,*

“*Mi, natha*”.

Ithathe indodana ithi menqezezi, abesethi,

“*Njengoba wena ungumnikazi kudla uze uzikhethele inyama enonile elungile, uyidle kakhulu, usuthe impela; nawusuthe impela uyolala kuse uwuka*”.

200 *Nembali ahle enze njalo, ezwe esephisiwe ukuthatha kokusa abange khona ethafeni, anele afike khona afike athele nje ibende lodwa, bagijimele ezinduneni bathi, “Ake nisibonise into esinayo lupha, umntanenkosi kalalanga, sesibona esethela igazi lodwa.” Zisuke izinduna ziye zifumanise iebi legazi. Zibabaze zithi, “Umnta kaMatiwane selefle, kungaba yinto ephuma kumantu le, mthatheni maNgwane, nintswale nimbuyisele ekhaya, nobuye msilandele sonimela ekuthinithini.”*

“*Makhosi,*” *atotobe esedengezela, enela ukuthi site nje qwangqu, enele ukumbona nje uMkhumbeli athi, “Nango esefkile, ayihlome!”*

Ukufaleka kwamaNgwane

201 *Useyihlabile inkomo uMkhumbeli, uyeqela nje ezinkomeni ezidlayo, kanda fa ukuthi ngekabani, khona izothi ingafika incame impi isuke, nembali ifike, bese isiyophulwa isineama. Angabe esalikhumbula leliya elikaMpande, uthi, “Singabuye siyokhulisa yena, hayi, awahlome amasengasileke abanduku zino-bulongwe.”*

202 *Ihle izidle zona lezi zikaDingane, kufathe kuyeza okungamahegwana okugugile bakuthathe ikhasi ngomkhonto, bazithathe zivele, azidle kakhulu. Izinduna ezinkulu zamkele, uMboni kaSobatshova wemaGozini amkele amashumi amane ezimnyama zodwa, uShomela kaMgijima amkele yena ngoba welama undunankulu, yena amkele ezingamashumi amathathu ezibomvu zodwa, kwaya njalo kulabo amashumi amabili, abanye ishumi nesihlanu, abanye ishumi, abanye ezinhlanu, abanye ezimbili, ibenye njalo njalo.*

uMpande namaBhunu

203 *Wezwa uMpande kwathiwa uZikhali usevele, wathi, “Phela loku ngangikhulumile, usengishiyelani? umnta kababa.” Wayesephuthumela emaBhunwini,*

⁷ if they helped Mpande to become King, they would only be exchanging one master for another, whereas they wanted to be free.

⁸ they milked cattle and then smeared the teats with dung (usually done to prevent calves from sucking, here fig: so that enemies could not get them), and because this is done with sticks, their clubs are full of dung.

with him, why does he leave me like this? The son of my father." So he immediately ran to the Boers, "My chiefs, you see me here because *Dingane* has swept together the rubbish, even to the old men and the very aged; I pray you help me. My chiefs, to anyone who will help me to drive out *Dingane*, now that the army is no longer there, I shall allot ground at *Ncome* and the very best according to his own choice," and to this the Boers assented very gladly.

204 So now and suddenly that fool (*Dingane*) was startled by the message, "Here is *Mpande* come with the Boers", and so he fled and sought refuge in the *Ubombo*, where he stayed alone, not visited by anybody; he established himself in a cave whilst *Mpande* took up his residence at home.

The murder of *Dingane*

205 *Dingane* remained in his cave in the *Ubombo* until one morning, when he was lying stretched out in the sun, the menials being busy with the cooking and the wives inside, here comes a Swazi hunting, and suddenly starts upon perceiving a man lying full length on the ground. *Dingane* did not perceive him and the Swazi scrutinised him carefully and said, "Why! this is that *Dingane* who always used to trouble us", and so he first went back a little distance and then rushed up to him and stabbed him in the stomach, so that when *Dingane* felt the pain the Swazi had already made his escape. Now the servants heard the King crying for help, and rushed out and found him lying in his blood, and he died soon afterwards.

206 "Run you, So-and-So, and tell *Mpande* that his brother has been slain by the Swazis". The messenger arrived and told him, "In coming to you, Sir, I am sent by the King's menials to report that your brother *Dingane* has been killed by the Swazis".

He cried, "Oh! Oh! what do you say? Is he really dead?" But actually his heart was rejoicing.

207 "Go there immediately, all the warriors, take a litter with you that I may see him here before me and let him on no account be put down on the ground and if the bearers get tired, let others relieve them all the time, until he is brought here to me".⁹ For *Mpande* was the last of the sons of *Senzangakhona*, *Shaka* having had killed them all. So they did as he had told them, the one party of bearers being relieved by another party at intervals, until they brought him nearby in a very short time, and he then jumped over him and that was the end.

208 Then there was sung the great war-song of *Shaka*, and the order was given "Take him now and bury him," and now everything was pleasant.

Now *Mpande* became King and collected together all the cattle that belonged to his father and counted them, and the army that had gone to make war upon *Mzilikazi* returned and was disbanded and enrolled in other regiments, and *Mpande* ruled the country.

“Makhosi, ma ngifika lapha nje, uDingane uthe ukhukhulela-ngoqo, nexhegu nogugile, ngithi ake ningelekelele. Makhosi, umuntu ongangizoshela uDingane loku nempi ayisekho ngingamsikela eNcome, kwelihle alithandayo,” ajabule adele amaBhunu.

204 Sithe siyakwethuka isiphukuphuku kwasekuthiwa, “Nangu uMpande uhamba namaBhunu,” nasiya sesilukuleka siya oBonjeni esesele yedwa engasaboniswa muntu, aye angenise emhumeni, uMpande angenise ekhaya.

Ukubulawa kukaDingane

205 Ahlale lapho oBonjeni emhumeni, kuthi uma sekuphuma ilanga athamele lapha ngaphandle, izinceku ziphekile nemindlunkulu lapha ngaphakathi, uthe ethe neke ethamele, nanti iSwazi lizingela, selethuka ngomuntu ethe neke neke, yena engaliboni, libhekisisc iSwazi licinge libathe, “Ha, ngulokuDingane lolo kusihluphayo,” ahlehlele nyova amlakazele amcibe khona esiswini, uDingane ezwe ngawo beseleqa libaleka iSwazi. Seziyezwa izinceku inkosi isithi, “Mayebabo.” Bayaphonseka phandle sebekhlangana negazi wawuyaphela njalo khona lapho.

206 “Gijima banibani uyobikela umntwana uMpande uthi umfowabo usebulewe ngamaSwazi.” Kwafika isithunywa sathi, “Mangifika lapha nje, nkosi, zithi izinceku asizobika umfowenu uDingane usebulewe ngamaSwazi.”

Wathi, “We! we! uthini? usefile ngempela?” kanti inhliziyo yakhe iyathabu.

207 “Hambani khona manje wonke amabutho, thathani uhlaka, ngithi ngithi nje abese elapha kimi, angalingi abekwe phansi kuthi kungadinwa labo, kungene abanye njalo, aze afike lapha kimi.” Ngoba uMpande sekukuphela kwakhe kabantwa bakaSenzangakhona, uShaka wababulala wabagada. Nempela benze njalo, bayaphuma labo, besekungena abanye njalo njalo, baze bafika naye masinyane ngempela, esemeqa sokuba kuphela.

208 Kwase kuhlatshwa ihubo elikhulu likaShaka, “Mthatheni-ke niyomlahla”, kwakuh'e nje.

Angene-ke manje uMpande azibutha-ke zonke izinkomo zikayise azibale, iyabuya impi leya eyayakuhlasela kwaMzilikazi, ifike izithele kwezinye, abuse-ke manje uMpande.

⁹ this latter point he insisted on, for fear the corpse might be put down and afford someone an opportunity of abstracting the magic virtue of the King by jumping over him, cf. the similar case of *Zikhali* and the lion, §195.

CHAPTER 10

Zikhali and Wezi

209 *Zikhali* found that the millet was ripe in the country of *Wezi* (*Wetsi*) chief of the *maKholokoe*, near where the *Khoza* clan was dwelling.

“Go, *Mbhodla* and *Duma*, go for me to my brother *Wezi* over yonder and beg him to help me with some seed.” *Mbhodla* came to *Wezi*, greeted him and said, “This is the message of your brother, he begs you to help him with seed corn. For he sees that you have got some; and he wants to sow his further on and then you will meet again further on, and he will help you with some in turn.”

“Yes, my brother is right, it is true what he says, that we shall meet again further on, for we do not know whither we are going. You may tell him: Very well, he will reap and then he will give him (*Zikhali*) seed.”

210 *Zikhali* started in surprise, “What do you say? But what did you tell him? I send you because I trust you, thinking you are a man, and then you say I am settled here! Go and tell him I have not built, I am going on, and tell him I said it must be done thus, every garden must be cut in half, and he may reap one half, and you will have given me (the other half), chief. I am trekking, I am not settled here.”

Mbhodla told him, “The chief thanks you, but he says he is passing on and he will be glad if you will divide up every garden into two and give him half of each.”

211 “But, *Mbhodla*, did we then work our gardens jointly with him? No, this I cannot do. I thought he was just asking for a favour.”

So *Mbhodla* went back and reported, “Chief, *Wezi* is not aware that you have a joint interest in those gardens, he thought you were merely asking for a favour.”

212 Next morning at sunrise a man saw some cattle in the fields and they rushed forth to drive them out, but soon perceived that these were the shields of men and women, and returned to report, “Chief, it is a war party tramping through the gardens.”

“So they want to fight” *Wezi* cried, and they began to untie their blankets.

Zikhali said, “When this (contemptuous way of referring to the *Suthu*) fights, it unties its garments! Go slowly, and pretend to run away, whereupon they will follow you, then retire away from where the blankets have been put.”

213 Now when the *abeSuthu* attacked, they ran a little distance, whilst some others remained and took the garments of the enemy, but they were disgusted

uZikhali noWezi

209 uZikhali afumanise amabele avuthiwe kuWezi, amaNkulungo abakwaKhoza lapho bengabakhona.

“Hamba Mbhodla noDuma, ningiyele laphaya kumfowethu uWezi nithi nkosi kangisize ngenhlanyelo.” Afike uMbhodla akhulekele kuWezi, athi, “Usho njalo umfowenu, uthi msizise ngenhlanyelo. Ukubona unayo inhlwanyelo, kusho uZikhali aze ahlwanyele phambili, niyofumanisana phambili nawe aze akusize.”

“Yebo-ke uqinisile umfowethu, namanje kunjalo sobuye sifumanisane phambili, ngoba asazi lapho siya khona. Ufike uthi-ke: Kulungile, uyothi angavuna amuphe inhlanyelo.”

210 uZikhali pha, “Uthini? Kanti utheni wena na? Ngikuthuma ukuba ngikuthembile, ngithi uyindoda, uthe ngakhile lapha, hamba umtshele ukuthi mina angakhile ngiyadlula, ufike uthi ngithe akwenziwe nje, insimu icandwe phakathi, yileyo naleyo, wosale ezivunela ucezu, wobe ungiiphile owenkosi, ngiyahamba mina anginlezi lapha.”

Uthi-ke uMbhodla, “Uthe uyabonga mfowabo, uthi uyadlula, songathi nkosi into engamthokozisa ukuba umdabulele phakathi insimu nensimu njalo njalo!”

211 “Ha, Mbhodla, kanti sesiwahlanganisele naye amasimu ami lana, na? hayi-ke ngingeze ngakwazi mina loko, mina bengithi uyazicelela nje.”

Abuyele uMbhodla, athi-ke, “Nkosi, uWezi akazi-ke nkosi ukuthi kanti seniwahlanganisele, ubethi uyazicelela nje.”

212 Kwathi kuyakuthi juqu ukusa, umuntu wayethi nanzo inkomo emasimini balakazela, bethi bayokhipha izinkomo, kanti zihlangu zamadoda nabafazi, babuyele emuva, “Hayi nkosi, yimpi ayidabule phakathi insimu.”

Aye uWezi, abathe, “Ha!” athi, “Kanti ufuna ukulwa.” Bakhumula izingubo.

Abesethi uZikhali, “Kanti kuthi uma kulwa kukhumule izingubo zakho. Hambani kancane, nenze osongathi niyabaleka, kuzothi kuyanilandela, kuqhele ngasezingutsheni.”

213 Kuthe kuyadumela abeSuthu babaleka kancane, base besala bezithatha

¹ after whom Witzieshoek is named. This tribe was subsequently broken up and its members are to be found in many districts, though quite a number have re-assembled on land purchased by them in Wakkerstroom district. In Witzieshoek reserve I did not find any member of the tribe who knew anything about the episode described here.

by the smell of the *abeSuthu* and the grease, and so they gathered them in one place and set them alight. Only then did the *abeSuthu* perceive by the column of black smoke what was happening. Thus it is that *Zikhali* is called

“Burner of *Wezi*'s clothes.”

Immediately the *abeSuthu* quickly turned back, but they only arrived when the fire was going out. Now it was cold at the time, for it was winter, it was very cold indeed, so they made fires of the millet and warmed themselves in front and behind for their clothes were all burnt, it was a sorry thing for them.

Zikhali said, “He was provoked to resistance by my forbearance. I called him my brother and asked him to give me seed; but now I shall take the cattle.”

And indeed he seized the cattle and they swelled the numbers of those he had from Zululand.²

Wezi solicits help from the Boers

214 Said *Wezi*, “What! Here this man comes and takes away our cattle! Off with you, boy, to the Boers at Winburg, beseech them to come to my assistance. Tell them here is one who has robbed me of my grain and my cattle. Please come and help me, my chiefs.”

And they actually did come, the big wide-brimmed hats³ of Piet (Retief). They had no sooner arrived than they asked, “Those people from whom you took their grain and cattle, what harm had they done?”

215 The chief told his people, “On no account attempt to do anything to these people, *maNgwane*, for it is they that vanquished my father at *Mbholompo*.” For he saw that they were white and thought they were English. So the Boers seized cattle and children, and of the latter some were never seen again.

Zikhali arrested

216 The daughter of *Delive*⁴ was discovered by *Gebhuza Ndaba* in the forests on the Mngeni River, where the Boer (her master) had built his home. *Gebhuza* took her away and helped her to flee. Thereupon the Boer seized *Gebhuza*, tied him to his wagon and flogged him, saying that he had kidnapped the girl.

They also arrested⁵ the chief *Zikhali* himself and sent him to Pietermaritzburg, put him in irons, and so he became

“the iron-bracelet wearer, who ornaments his wrists with iron bangles”

With him there was imprisoned also the *Sithole* chief *Mondise*, but I do not know what he had done.

² *Zikhali* made a statement to Shepstone “in the matter of *Zikali* and *Witsi*” (now in the Archives, Maritzburg, NA 1860, vol. 8, p. 110). “The first occasion on which I and *Witsi* came into collision was on the occasion of our escaping from Dingaan with our tribes. We slept near each other on the Umsongati, and in the night *Witsi*'s people took away 150 head of cattle. I demanded them next day, and secured an evasive answer, and they have not been returned to this day.

izingubo, kepha benganya iphunga labeSuthu namafutha, base bezibuthela ndawonye, sebezokhela ngomlilo, bathe bethuka base bebona ngentuthu emnyama, ukubani azoba

“ngumshisi wezingubo zikaWezi,”

bayaqala bathe bayaphenduka bafica umlilo usueima, kumakhaza kuyilapho kusebusika kumakhaza base bebasa wona amabele bazothise ngaphambili nanga-semva, ngoba izingubo sezishile, kwabasihluku esibi loko.

Wathi, “Ududwa ngoba ngimyekela, ngithi ngumfowethu, ngithi uzangipha inhlanyelo, sengiyazidla-ke manje.”

Wazidla impela, sezelekelela kulezi zakwaZulu.

uWezi ecela usizo kumaBhunu

214 “Hawu! kwenziwa njani, nangu esesamuka izinkomo. Hamba mfana, uye eMagelekedla, uthi amaBhunu awangelekelele, nangu lomuntu engamuka amabele ami nezinkomo zami ngenkani, ngelekeleleni makhosi.”

Nempela ifike imihanga yakoPiti. Bathi besaqhamuka bathi bayabuza ukuthi lababantu enibemuka amabele abo nezinkomo zabo boneni?

215 Ihle ithi inkosi, “Ningalingi nenze lutho kulaba, maNgwane, yiyo laba abaqeda ubaba eMbhholompo,” ngoba ebona bemhlophe, ucamanga uthi ngama-Ngisi. Bazidla bathumbe inkomo nezingane, abanye yiloku bahamba loko loko njalo.

Ukuboshwa kukaZikhali

216 Intombi kaDelive yaye yatholwa nguGebhuza wakwaNdaba, wamthola emahluthini ngaseMgeni lapho iBhunu lalakhe khona, amebe uGebhuza amqashise, ambophela engoleni amshaya athi yebhwe nguwe lentombazana.

Bayibophe-ke inkosi uZikhali asire eMgungundlovu, bamfake insimbi, azoba

“nguNogqiza ngensimbi, wagqiza ngamahlakahlela.”

Waboshwa nenkosi yakwaSithole uMondise, asazi-ke ingabi wonani-ke yena.

After that, when the Boers made an attack on Dingaan, my tribe and that of Witsi went with them; I met a quantity of cattle driven by Witsi's people, and the strange natives told me that they were those that had been taken by my people from Dingaan.

I retook possession of them. We had not gone far when we found ourselves surrounded by Witsi's people, we resisted them, killed 2 of them, and retained possession of the cattle.

Witsi reported this to the Boers and represented that I wished to keep these cattle for myself, whereupon I was taken prisoner by them, and kept in confinement for two months.

On my liberation I was placed under Daniel Bezuidenhout; I complained about these 150 cattle to Pretorius, who desired Bezuidenhout to write a letter demanding them from Witsi, which was sent by my people. Witsi laughed at it and took not the slightest notice.”

³ this meaning is given by Albert Hlongwane. However some doubt is raised as to the actual meaning, by the existence of the phrase *inkomo kaHanga* or *Haka* for “horses,” see §507.

⁴ this girl, the daughter of *Delive Ndaba*, was married by *Macingwane* and became the mother of *Msebenzi*, narrator of this tale. Cf. §459 11-s.

⁵ this is referred to by *Zikhali* in note 2 above.

A Zulu prince weds a daughter of *Matiwane*

217 The son of *Jama* desired the daughter⁶ of *Matiwane* and said, "Good Sir, give me that girl." And *Zikhali* replied, "My friend, you would relieve me of a burden, you will look after them for me, you may take all the mothers and the children." *Zikhali* was much liked by the Zulu royal family.

How *Macingwane* was concealed

218 At the time that *Zikhali* was still in Swaziland, nobody perceived that this *Macingwane* was really a boy. A whole year went by and he was always called a girl, for they made him wear the small skirt of the *abeSuthu* which fell to the knees, so that he appeared to be just a girl. One day when he came from bathing, a brother-in-law found him squatting in play and saw that this was a boy, and ran to the mother and said,

"But, mother, this is a boy, why have you been concealing a boy for such a long time? Indeed, they are men, these *amaNgwane*".

219 "Oh, sir, we were afraid." Thereupon he went straight to *Dingane* and told him "Sir, there is a little son of *Matiwane*, they are men, these *amaNgwane*; they dressed him in a skirt that reached to his knees, so that we always thought it was a girl whereas it is a boy."

"Bring it along, so that I can have a look at it," and when he saw the child he said,

220 "But it is already a little man! Take him away and look after him for me and when he comes of age I shall ask for him, seeing that his elder brother has been lost.* And so he made him a bearer to his brother-in-law, saying, "Teach him and always go with him."

221 So they took him and after they had crossed over (prob. into Natal) and he was still a very young fellow, and when *Zikhali* was away (in prison) it was he who fought with *Sibawu* (chief of the *abakwaNtambo*) and *Mgqibandlu* the brother of *Mbhokodwane*, he sent an impi and said, "Let them feel that which they ran away from," he sent the *iziFulatheli* regiment, his elder brother being still away in gaol. Thus *Macingwane* became

"*Vezi* of always, for he seized *Vezi's* cattle in Zululand and so he became *Vezi* the son of *Matiwane*."

They were in prison for three months, were *Zikhali* and *Mondise*, son of *Jobe*, of the *Sithole* tribe, and when he returned there he found the whole tribe still where he had left it, since (when he left) it had no longer had a leader.

Death of *Mgovu kaNdindane*

222 At this time *Mgovu*, son of *Ndindane* was slain, being killed by *Mboni*, (son of *Sobatsхова*), the chief induna, for he told *Zikhali* (that *Mgovu* had said): "Seeing that you were imprisoned thus, you were not our chief. For though *Matiwane* took off the gall-bladder from his head and stuck it in your hair (thereby handing over his office to you), yet he also said: My people *maNgwane*, look after this child of my wife, the daughter of *Zililo*, for me."⁷

Indodakazi kaMatiwane zendela kwaZulu

217 *Umfo kaJama, wahawukela intombi kaMatiwane, wathi, " Nkosi, nginike lentombi."* wathi " *Mfowethu usungangiphungula umthwalo, uyongondlela usase uthatha bonke onina nabantwana.*" uZikhali uyafunwa kwaZulu.

Ukufihlwa kukaMacingwane

218 *Ngesikhathi eseSwazini babengamboni ukuthi, " Kanti uMacingwane lo, ngumfana "*, kwaze kwaphela umnyaka, kuloku kuthiwa yintombazana, bembhincise, incubula yabeSuthu, ekhawula emadolweni, kwayintombazana nje. Uthe evela kugeza yena, umkhwenyabo wafumana kuqosome kuyadlala phela, wayikhona ebonayo ukuthi, " *Kanti kungumfana lokhu "*, abange kubo onina,

" *Bomama kanti loku kungumfana, kanti nifihle umfana isikhathi esingaka nenzeleni? Hawu aze angamadoda amaNgwane,*"

219 " *Hayi, nkosi sesaba "*, abe eyikhona eyombika kuDingane, athi, " *Nkosi kanti kukhona okungumfanyana kaMatiwane, aze angamadoda amaNgwane, akwumulisa incubula ekhawula emadolweni, siloku sithi yintombazana, kanti ngumfana.*"

" *Uboke, ukulethe ngizokukubona "*, akubone-ke.

220 " *Kanti sekuyindojelana, hamba uyongilondolozela kona, sekuyawuthi kungathamba kulapho sengiyokhulela khona, njengoba nangu unnewabo selalahleka "*, abese ekwenza udiibi umkhwenyaba lo, athi, " *Kufundiseni, kuhambe naye njalo.*"

221 *Baze bamthatha uma sebewela nje uselibhungwana, uma engekho nguyena osefuna oSibawu noMgqibandlu umfowabo Mbhokodwane usefaka impi usethi, " Ake bezwe loku abakubalekelayo," wafaka iziFulatheli engekho unnewabo esetilongweni. uMacingwane azo ba*

" *nguVezi wangemihla ngoba apha ezikaVezi kwaZulu, kwaza ku ba nguyena uVezi kaMatiwane.*"

Baboshwe izinyanga ezintathu uZikhali noMondise kaJobe kwaSithole, afumanise impi iloku yema khona lapho, engasenaminiyo.

Ukufa kukaMgovu

222 *uMgovu kaNdindane wafike wabulawa ngalo lelolanga, wabulawa nguMboni kaSobatsхова indunankulu, ubesethi, " Uma uboshiwe nje, nempela wawunge-siyo inkosi. uMatiwane wakhapha inyongo wayihloma kuwe, kepha waesethi maNgwane nize ningilondolozele loko kwakwaZililo "*.

⁶ who these two persons were I have been unable to discover with certainty. See my information in §258, note 3.

* i.e. I will show that I grieve for the loss of Zikhali by making amends to this lad.

⁷ okaZililo's son was Macingwane. Mgovu's words could only mean that he was suggesting that Matiwane had desired that Macingwane should become the chief. To make such a suggestion was to stir up rivalry between the royal brothers and therefore treason.

“ Oh! What do you say? He is setting us against one another! for only we two are left, (the others) having been slain by *Dingane* who (almost) finished us. Take him away and kill him.”

Zikhali plans to slay *Mkhumbeli*

223 Now the tale was brought to *Zikhali* that, “ *Mondise* son of *Mqhele*, and *Mkhumbeli* son of *Masumpa*, the wives of these two now eat the breast,⁸ and your wives are given the hind leg and fore leg.”

“ What? What is that you say? ”

So the case of *Mkhumbeli* was diseussed, and two days passed and then on the third a man came seeretly and whispered to *Mkhumbeli*, “ Today it is your turn; when the sun sets it sets for the last time for you.”

224 So when it was dusk, he set forth, saying to his wives, “ Tell the chief to continue to eare for the orphans of *Masumpa*, (meaning his own children) for I have now left his kraal. I shall find me another home further on. I have spoilt my case with the chief.”

Murder of *Shomela* contemplated

225 The following matter was also seeretly brought to *Zikhali*, “ *Shomela*, sir, seeing that he had subjected himself to *Nhlaka* (a chief in Zululand), and they were following the eattle that you had taken (hoping to retake them), *Shomela* suggested: Let us attaek them with stieks, and they killed *Siqhamana Mahlobo*, the father of *Nongobela* and *Njungunjwa*.”

226 Thereupon the order was given for a tribal hunt to be announeed, it was directed to operate around *Bahlokazi* (Leeuwkop) near Newcastle; and they hunted antelope and piled them up. Then the chief had the war song sung, and whilst this was still being sung he suddenly whistled as a sign to stop, and ealled to *Shomela* and said to him,

“ *Shomela*, your offence is that when you were subject to *Nhlaka* you ineited my people to hit them with sticks, with the result that they attacked our people with spears. Look at the sun for the last time.”

Said *Shomela*, “ Yes sir, but I am very much afraid.”

227 “ *Mondise*, I have found you out, you clever rogue. Here is one who will aeecompany and go before; you make my wives eat the hind leg and fore-leg, you and your father *Mkhumbeli*, you give your wives the breast. Look at the sun for the last time.”

Insubordination against *Zikhali*

228 Then there arose a tall thin shank of a man of the *Mdluli* elan, *Ndoku* son of *Soshunguse*, the father of *Mhlahlela*, and eried, “ Oh! Oh! ” and he yelled at the top of his voice and shouted,

“ You take off your clothes because you feel the heat, you take off your blanket and throw it before your feet! You think you can do this because

“Ha ! uthini ? Usesixabanisa, sesisele sobabili zwi, sabulawa nguDingane wasiqeda. Mthatheni nimbulale.”

uZikhali eceba ukubulala uMkhumbeli

223 “uMondise kaMqhele, noMkhumbeli kaMasumpa, abafazi babo besebedla isifuba, abakho sebedla umlenze nomkhono.”

“We, uthini ?”

Lathethwa likaMkhumbeli, kwaza kwashona amalanga amabili, kwathi ngolwesithathu kwavela mvelivelayo wahlebela uMkhumbeli, wathi, “Namhla kungawe, lishona lishonela wena.”

224 Kuthe uma kuthi hwulala, wasuka, wathi kubafazi bakhe, “Nibothi enkosini, ize isale yondla izintandane zikaMasumpa, mina sengihambile emzini wakhe, mina sengiyawuhola phambili. Ngonile njalo enkosini.”

Kucetshwa ukubulala uShomela

225 “uShomela, nkosi, njengoba wayekhonze kwaNhlaka, balandela lezinkomo owawuzidlile, wathi uShomela asibashaye ngezinduku, babulala uSiqhamana Mahlobo, uyise kaNongobela noNjungunjwa.”

226 Kwase kuthiwa akumenywe inqina, yamenywa iyozingela kwaBahlokazi, ngaseNewcastle, yazibulala izinyamazane, babulala inqaba yazi bekelela wasehu ba ihubo, kuthe lisahutshwa, wathi tswi ngekhwela, wayesebiza uShomela wathi,

“Shomela, isono sakho kuthi ngoba sewukhonze kwaNhlaka, uthi abami ababashaye ngezinduku, bona babagwaze ngemikhonto. Libheke uligcine.”

Wathi uShomela, “Ye baba, kwathi angisuze.”

227 “Mondise, ngikufumene qidlana-ndini, nangu umuntu wakho oyokukuphekela phambili, abafazi bami ubadlisa umlenze nemikhono, ninoyihlo uMkhumbeli, uyihlo abenu nibanika isifuba, libuke uligcine.”

Ukungalaleli umthetho kaZikhali

228 Kwasukuma indoda ende elugobhozi yakwaMdluli, uNdoku kaSoshunguse, uyise kaMhlahlala, wathi, “Ha ! Ha !” wahlaba umkhosi, wathi,

“Uzambula ingubo, ngoba uzwa ukufudumala, uyithatha ingubo uyiphonsa ezinyaweni ! Ha ! Ha ! ududwa ngoba ubulele umntanenkosi, akususa kwaZulu,

⁸ the breast is the perquisite of the chief's wives, and may not be eaten by commoners' wives. The hind leg and fore leg are the share of the latter.

you have killed a prince of the blood (viz. *Mkhumbeli*), who saved you from the Zulus and took you to Swaziland! whom you killed without our having heard about his offence, kill them, there they are. When the sun rises again, you will not see a single man here, we shall all have left and you can see for yourself where you will find protection when you are thus abandoned; kill them quickly so that we can go. You are a silly idiot; do you think you can go and subject yourself to somebody all by yourself? Have them slain, that we may go! since that great bird *Mkhumbeli*, who fished you out of the pool in Zululand, is gone for ever, where is he? Are we to go any longer with a man who leaves us thus unprotected in the open?"

He put his finger into his mouth, and said, "Look out! Take the game and go home," and thus it was that those two escaped with their lives.

Defection of *Cebisa Luvuno*

229 Then the order was given, "*Cebisa Luvuno*

"Adviser of young men,
Shield and fortress of *Matiwane*, of the *Shiyi* regiment"

take these wives and children down to my uncle *Mkhumbeli*; it is said that he is in the forest at *Jozi Mdladla's*." *Cebisa* said to his own wives, "Go you on in front. I don't want you to stay on either; I shall now follow *Mkhumbeli*, for we cannot live any longer with this madman that goes about killing us off."

wakusa eSwazini, wambulala singasezwanga isono sakhe, babulale nampo. Kuyakuthi kusa ubungasaboni noyedwa lapha sesihamba sonke soke sibone ukuthi uyokhonza kanjani uwedwa, babulale masinyane sesiyahamba. Usiphukuphuku, ungalhe uyikhonze inkonzo nje uwedwa, babulale masinya sihambe, loku inyani enkulu uMkhumbeli owakukhipha esizibeni kwaZulu, usehambile, uphi? Sizohamba nomuntu ozohamba esichaya ethafeni?"

Wayefaka umunwe wathi, "Qaphelani, thathani izinyamazane nihambe", kwakusinda kwa bo njalo.

Ukubaleka kukaCebisa

229 Kwasekuthiwa, "Cebisa Luvuno,

*uCebisa amajaha,
usihlangu siyingaba kaMaticane, uShiyi*

thatha nampa omama nabantwana, ni base kubaba uMkhumbeli, kuthiwa usemahlathini kwaJozi Mdladla," wayesethi kubafazi bakhe, "Hambani nina phambili, angisafuni ukuba nisale nani; sengizolandela uMkhumbeli, singeze sahlala nohlanya lolu oluhamba lusifulala."

CHAPTER 11

Mkhumbeli and Madliphela

230 Now *Mkhumbeli* had hardly arrived at *Jozi's* and looked upon *Jozi's* face, which he found characterised by very prominent overhanging eyebrows, when he perceived, "This old ox may gore me, for it feels itself (as chief)." And he asked *Jozi*, "I hear it said that a relative of mine is living at *Mthunzini*, who might this be?" He replied, "No sir, I do not know, but I think that his name is *Madliphela*."

He asked, "Of what clan?"

"I do not know, sir."

"Give me a boy to show me the way, so that I can look him up."

231 He agreed to this and so *Mkhumbeli* set out and eventually arrived at his wife's relatives' place, of the *Ntshalini* clan.

"Good day, sir! But where do you come from?"

So he related the whole story of what had happened in Zululand and after.

"Now tell me, *maNtshali*, I hear it said that a relative of ours lives around here; who might this be?"

"Sir, it is *Madliphela*."

"Of what clan?"

"We don't know, sir. It is *Makhubalo's* father who says he knows him, but we don't."

232 Now when *Gebhu's* mother (that is, *Mkhumbeli's* wife) arrived at *Jozi's*, she also asked for a lad as guide to take her to her husband at *Mthunzini*, at *Cele's* place.

"Good day, daughter of *Mntshali*! When did you get here?"

"Well sir, I followed in your tracks."

Somebody told him, "She has just come from *Jozi's*."

"I asked for a lad as guide to bring me here to you."

233 "You did well to come, *Mntshali*, for this man of whom it is said that he is a relative of ours, you will know him, for you are the one that knows them all. You were the one that cooked in the private enclosure of your sister, of *Langa's* (*okaLanga* had been the *indlunkulu* of *Masumpa*). You can go to-morrow and see who it is."

She replied, "Very good, he will not give me trouble in identifying him."

234 Next morning early he told her, "The kraal of your brother is on this side of the chief's place," and so she reached her brother's place in due course,

uMkhumbeli noMadliphela

230 Kanti uMkhumbeli wenela ukufika kwaJozi, wababheke ubuso bukaJozi wabufumana sebunamathundu, wabona ukuthi, “Selingangihlaba lelinxahi, seliyabhonga”, wabuza kuJozi wathi, “Njengo ba ngizwa kuthiwa ukhona umfowethu eMthunzini, kungaba ngubani?” Athi, “Cha, nkosi, kangazi, kodwa ngithi nguMadliphela.”

Wathi, “Ngokabani?”

Athi, “Angazi nkosi.”

“Akunginike umfana, angiphelekezele, ke ngiyobona.”

231 Wavumya, wahamba, waya wafikela ebukhweni bakhe emaNtshalini.

“Hawu, nkosi! nkosi! Kepha inkosi iphumaphi?”

Wayilanda-ke yonke indaba yakwaZulu njalo njalo.

“Ake ningitshele-ke, maNtshali, ngizwa kuthiwa ukhona umfowethu olapha, kungaba ngangubani?”

“Nkosi, nguMadliphela.”

“Ngowakwabani?”

“Asazi, nkosi, nguyise kaMakhubalo owathi uyamazi, thina singeze samazi.”

232 Kanti unina kaGebhu uthe uba afike kwaJozi, wayesecela umfana naye, ukuba amuse khona endodeni yakhe eMthunzini kwaCele.

“Sakubona, kaMntshali! Nkosi, ufika nini lapha?”

“Cha, nkosi, ngafika ezinyaweni zakho.”

Kwathiwa, “Uyesuka nje kwaJozi.”

“Ngase ngicela umfana ngathi kangilethe lapha kuwe.”

233 “Wenzile ufike, Mntshali, ngo ba lona okuthiwa ngumfowethu lapha, uzo-mazi, ngoba nguwe obazi bonke. Wena wawubaphekela egumeni kwadadewenu kwaLanga, uzoke uhambe kusasa uyo bona ukuthi ngubani.”

Wathi, “Kulungile, nkosi, angeze angikohlwa.”

234 Kuyasa ekuseni, “Indlu yakwamnewenu inganeno komuzi wenkosi,”

they greeted her and asked her the news and so she told them all the news of Zululand. Then she asked who the prince might be of whom it was said that he was here. And they said "It is *Madliphela*."

"Of what clan?"

"No, I don't know, let us go with you to him."

"Let me go in first and greet him," so she went in.

"Sir, here is the wife of your elder brother."

"The wife of whom?"

"The wife of *Mkhumbeli*."

He began to breathe hard, "Go and call her."

235 As soon as she came up to him he greeted her humbly, "O! Highness!"

"Ha! Good day! son of our people. Good day, *Nkala*."

"Go and fetch beer and good meat," and he quickly had her served, shivering the while,

"Here is the food that we eat, highness."

She replied, "Thank you, *Nkala*."

By now the *amaNgwane* were surprised,

"Hawu! Father of *Makhubalo*, do you mean to say that this is one of the *Nkala* clan of whom you said that he was a prince?"

He replied, "I saw him with a milk pail of the royal household, but I do not know him further."

236 So they spent the night and next morning the same thing happened, and the daughter of *Mntshali* went back to *Mkhumbeli* and told him, "This so-called brother of yours is called *Madliphela* of the *Nkala* clan, he is the fellow that you had with you at the time you fought and killed *Mpangazitha*."

"What! of the *Nkala*?"

"Yes, sir,"

237 When will it be morning, so that our *Ngwane* hero can be up and at that young man? Next morning it was barely light in the doorway, when the old man was already out of his hut, had washed himself and was on the road. When the sun began to get hot he was already there. He sat down near the gateway of the cattle kraal.

"You there, where is your chief?"

"Sir, he is in his hut."

"Go and salute him for me."

"Sir, here is your brother."

"Who?"

"It is *Mkhumbeli*."

He gasped, "Where is he?"

"He is over there in the yard."

"Come along, friends, let us go and greet him."

he spoke breathing very heavily all the time.

afikele khona kwamnewabo, bambingelele babuze izindaba abatshele zonke zakwa-Zulu. Abese abuza ukuthi umntanenkosi okuthiwa ulapha ngubani? Bathi, “NguMadliphela.”

“Ngowakwabani?”

“Cha, angimazi, ake sihambe nawe siye kuye.”

“Ake ngiyokhuleka kuqala.” Afike-ke.

“Nkosi, hayi nkosi, nangu umkamnewenu.”

“Umkabani?”

“UmkaMkhumbeli.”

Aqale ukukhefuzela, “Hamba umbize.”

235 Enele ukufika akhulekele, “O! mka-nkosi.”

“Ha! Sawubona, mfana wakithi. Sawubona, Nkala!”

“Hambani nilande utshwala nensonyama,” ahle amnike esethuthumela nje athi,

“Nanko engikudlayo, mka-nkosi.”

Athi, “O! Nkala.”

Amangale nje amaNgwane, “Hawu! yise kaMakhubalo, ungaze uthi umuntu wakwaNkala lo enithi ngowenkosi.”

Athi, “Phela, mina ngangimbona ephethe ithunga lasendlunkulu, angaze ngamazi.”

236 Kwalalwa, nakusasa waphinde loko, okaMntshali useya kuMkhumbele, wathi, “Kanti umfowenu lo nguMadliphela wakwaNkala, yiloya mfana enzai naye mhlana nibulala uMpangazitha.”

“Ha! wakwaNkala?”

“Yebo, nkosi,”

237 Kuyakusa nini eNgwaneni libenaye lowo mfana! Kwanela ukukhanya emnyango, lase liphandle iNgwane, esegeza eseba sendleleni. Lathi liqala lifudumala ilanga, wayesekhona. Wafika wahlala esangweni lenkomo.

“Sibani bani, iphi inkosi yenu?”

“Nkosi, ingendlini.”

“Hamba ungikhulekele.”

“O, Nkosi, nangu umfowenu.”

“Ngubani?”

“NguMkhumbeli.”

Wakhefuzela, “Uphi?”

“Ungapha ngenkundleni.”

“Wozani, madoda, siyokhulekela,” eseloku ephefuzela.

238 "My chief! My chief!"

"So this is where you are, *Nkala*."

"Yes sir, it always happens that when the big bird dies the young ones scatter."

"But, *Nkala*, seeing that you are here, did you not get anything of the inheritance of my father?"

"I got something, sir."

"What sort of inheritance was that?"

"I got five girls."

"Where are those girls?"

"Sir, two have already married, three have not yet married."

"Where are the cattle of those two that are married?"

"Sir, I bought wives for myself with them."

"And who are you? Do we then share an inheritance with those of *Nkala*? Since when do we ever share an inheritance with *Hlubi*?"

"Sir, I said to myself they will be taken by the chief, in the mean time I would beget for him."

239 "Where are those cattle that are left over from the dowry paid for those two girls? Was there nothing left?"

"Some were left, sir, twenty."

"Bring them here, let them stand before me."

"Pick them out, So-and-So, collect them together, you," and so they took the whole twenty.

"Where are those three girls?"

"Sir, they are in the hut."

"Do you hide them in the hut as if they already belonged to your father *Nkala*?"

"Go you, So-and-So, and call them."

240 No sooner had those little ones caught sight of him than they began rejoicing, saying "There is our father, there is our father."

"Why did you leave your clothes behind?"

So they fetched them, and they went off, taking with them all the cattle.

"Oh! *Zondo*, you said this *Madliphela* was of royal blood? You did so in order that he might make you an induna, for are you not now an induna?"

"Sir, I saw him with a milk pail of the royal household and I thought he must be a member of it." Thereupon the *amaNgwane* laughed at him.

Zikhali and the Hlubi of Langalibalele

241 Now *Zikhali*, whilst he was still halted at *Bunga's* (a place unknown), sent messengers to *Langalibalele*.

"Go and tell my brother to open a road for me, he must not take fright, I am merely passing."

However, the *Hlubi* had for some time been spying on the *amaNgwane* and now they said to their chief,

238 “Nkosi! Nkosi!”

“Ulapha Nkala?”

“Yebo, nkosi, kuyaye kuthi kungafa inyoni enkulu, amazingane oncede achitheke.”

“Kepha, Nkala, nxa ulapha, awuzange ungi bonele sikhubana sikababa?”

“Ngasibona, nkosi.”

“Wabona sikhubana sini?”

“Ngabona amantombazana amahlanu.”

“Aphi lawomantombazana?”

“Nkosi, amabili aselenda, angakendi mathathu.”

“Ziphi izinkomo zalana amabili zselunda?”

“Nkosi, ngalobola ngazo.”

“Ungubani wena? Siyadlana ilifa nabakwaNkala? Sigale nini ukudlana ilifa namaHlubi?”

“Nkosi, ngathi sengiyodliwa yiyo inkosi ngizalele yona.”

239 “Ziphi lezi ezasala kulamantombazana amabili? Akusalanga lutho?”

“Zasala, nkosi, amashumi amabili.”

“Zilethe lapha, zime lapha phambi kwami.”

“Zikhetheni bani, zibutheni bani.” Bawolela amashumi amabili.

“Aphi lamantombazana amathathu?”

“Nkosi, angendlini.”

“Uswafukamise endlini ukuba asengakayihlo kaNkala?”

“Hamba banibani uwabize.”

240 Yathi isathi nqa enkudlwana yashaya amakhwapha yathi, “Nci nci, nangu ubaba, nangu ubaba.”

“Nizishiyeleni izingubo zenu?”

Bazilanda, bahamba njalo, zahamba zonke izinkomo.

“Hawu, Zondo, wawuthi lomfana uMadliphela ngowenkosi? Wawenzela ukuba akubeke induna, njengoba usuyinduna?”

“Nkosi, ngabona ephethe ithunga lendlunkulu, ngathi kumbe ngowakhona.”
Amhleka manje amaNgwane.

uZikhali namaHlubi

241 Uthe uZikhali esekwaBunga wayesethumela kuLangali balele.

“Hambani myothu unfowethu kangarulele indlela, angethuki ngvyadlula.”

Kanti amaHlubi ayiloku ewahlola amaNgwane, abesethi amaHlubi enkosini yawo,

“Today the *amaNgwane* are so few in number, and it is they that slew your father, we have got them now.”

242 Then there was great rejoicing until the evening; for they were not far off. However *Langalibalele* was at a loss what to do, because for his part he did not wish to do anything, his view was that his brother should be allowed to pass. And his mother *Mntambose* sent trustworthy men ordering them, “Go and see how numerous the *amaNgwane* are.”

243 Now there was already by this time a great multitude of those who had formerly been subject to *Mpande* and who had followed *Zikhali* thinking, “It were far better for us to become subjects of the son of *Matiwane*.” There were the two *Ndengezi*’s, the one the son of *Mqakwana*, the other the son of *Mayebuka*, so that he was praised in the lines,

“he stood armed between the two *Ndengezis*
the one the son of *Mqakwana*, the other the son of *Mayebuka*.”

244 The scouts of *okaMtambo* returned and reported “The *amaNgwane* are very numerous indeed, if the *Hlubi* were to think of avenging their fathers, the same would happen as before. You did well to send us to look, for had you not sent us, there would have been agreement with those who advised that *Zikhali* be slain, and *Mthimkhulu* be avenged, and it would have been another disaster.”

245 Next day the great meeting of the *Hlubi* was held and *Mntambose* also attended, and took a seat yonder on one side.

Now the first speaker had just begun and said “Chief, when will we ever avenge our dead? Today we have our chance,” when *Mntambose* got up and spoke, “*Hlubis*, as for those *amaNgwane*, I come from them now, you are simply talking nonsense, having just got out of bed; I did not sleep, for I have had one son killed already. You are talking nonsense, because you just happened to see that the *amaNgwane* were not numerous; and you always just agree with your advisers, you fool.

246 Those that slew your father were not even as many as these, the *amaNgwane* that killed him were but a small party, as compared with the scores of these cowards. You poltroons, you want to kill my son in order to erect another grave on top of that of his father? I say that not a single man shall speak after this; you fool, you just agree with them, do you know in what way your fathers came to fall out? Was it not these cowards here that set them against one another? and today they also want to set you against your father (*Zikhali*). Open a way for the son of my husband (*Zikhali*) so that he can pass, lest he smash these little cowards that are deceiving you, and go past in spite of you, so that even if you were to escape he would block your way further on.”

247 Thereupon the chief stood up and said, “Very well, Queen.”

She replied, “Be silent, I tell you, not a word.”

Then there stood up the scouts that she had sent out.

“Kunamhlanje amaNgwane emancane nje, ingani abulala uyihlo, siwafumene.”

242 Kwaba ngumgiyo kuphela, baze babe bayalala, kanti kuseduze, noLangalibalele usekhohliwe ukuthi wenze njani, ngo ba yena ubengathandi, ubethi umfowa bo kadlule nje. Sekuthi unina uMntambose usethumela abantu abasesifubeni, ebathumela ethi, “Hambani niyobona ukuthi amaNgwane anganani.”

243 Kwayilapho sekulubikiza sekukhona nabakade abebekhonze kuMpande asebelandela bethi, “Okungenani singakhonza kumfana kaMatiwane,” kungoNdengezi bobabili, omunye kungokaMqakwana, omunye kungokaMayebuka, anyaze athiwe,

“uhlomele phakathi koNdengezi bobabili,
omunye kungokaMqakwana, omunye kungokaMayebuka.”

244 Bese zithi izinkhlozi zokaMtambo, “AmaNgwane maningi kabi, uma amaHlubi ethi azozenanela ngoyise, sizophindwa futhi, wenzile nkosi usithume siyobona, nawube ubungasithumanga, kwavunyelwa laba abuthi : ka bulawe uZikhali, kwenanelwe uMthinkhulu, bese siphindile.”

245 Ifike imbizo yamaHlubi, aphume naye uMntambose, ayohlala khona laphaya naye.

Ahla athi esaqala okhulumayo, ethi, “Nkosi, singaze sizenanele nini? Namhlanje lilanga lethu,” asukume uMntambose, athi, “maHlubi! lamaNgwane mina sengivela kuwo, nina nigavuzi nje niruka ebuthongweni; mina bengingalele ngo ba ngibulawelwa umntanami, nigavuzi nje nike nayowabona ukuba amaNgwane angakanani; uloku ubavumela nje, wena lesisilima.

246 Ababulala uyihlo babengengaka, amaNgwane abulala uyihlo kwakulidlanzana nje, emaningi lamavathavatha. Lamagwala senifuna ukubulala umntanami, nibeke iliba phezu kwelikayise? Ngithi usukela lapha kungaphindi kukhulumelane muntu, wena usubavumela nje lesisiphukuphuku, uyazi ukuba uyihlo babezabene ngani, asiwo wona lamavathavatha ayiwona abazabanisa, namhla sebethanda ukukuzabanisa noyihlo nawe. Vulela umntanomyeni wami adlule, uzofika adubule ngamandla kulamagwadlana akukhohlisayo adlule uthi noma usindile afike akwimbele ngaphambili.”

247 Athi othi uyasukuma ethi, “E, mka-nkosi”.

Athi, “Thula ngithe akuthi nya”.

Kusukuma izinkhlozi abezithumile.

“ You So-and-So, why are you being disrespectful ? Don't you hear her say that there was not to be another word ! She does not want to have her son slain.”

248 “ She is quite right, it is we that have just some from them. Chief, if she says you are an idiot we agree with her, for the *Hlubi* would not be able to cast a single spear upon the *amaNgwane*. It would be just as if the *Hlubi* were not there. Now as the Queen has said, allow her relative to pass, let your brother go by, and you will see for yourself how numerous they are.” Thus they spoke and all the time *Mbhodla* and *Duma* son of *Mkhulisa* were listening to the debate.

So *Mntambose* dispersed the gathering saying, “ Get up you and you, and tell *Mbhodla* that my nephew can pass and can look for a place for us further on, we also shall arrive in good time, for we do not know where we will finally settle.”

249 Thereupon the well-known ambassador (*Mbhodla*) who could recite fluently the praises even of other chiefs, made ready to depart, “ I thank you, spouse of *Mthimkhulu*, of *Bhungane*

Of *Ndlubu* (peanuts) that grew on a narrow ledge fearing the sun
Thou daughter of *Mashwabadelana*, the Devourer who bolts down the
peanuts and husks together
Daughter of *Zulu* (heaven) which covers us
Which covers all men, you of the Patterer
Like rain in summer, which comes down in torrents.

I say, hold one another's hands, ye who are the sons of chiefs. My Queen, I thank you for having opened a road for your relative, for I know that they were not on good terms, only *Mntambose* intervened ; you did not know why your fathers quarrelled, for you were still children, quarrel rather about your own affairs but not on account of those of your fathers.”

250 Thereupon food was brought, meat and beer.

“ Put it down there before *Mbhodla* ; eat, *Mbhodla*, and when you return to our brother tell him he may pass.”

And so *Mbhodla* returned to his chief and told him all. Then when the sun was hot he moved his people did

‘ Breaker-through-everywhere-with-the-horns-of-a-heifer ’

and whilst the army was still hidden from the view they heard them sing,

“ We strive for cattle, we seek land, *hayi, ho ! ho !* ”

251 Now the impi came into sight, its plumes and cow tails waving, so that one might wonder whether it would ever end, so numerous were they, the sun went down, and yet they were merely looking at the army before the approach of *Mqakwana* and *Mayebuka*, and the sight of this one startled them enough. And the army of the two *Ndengezi*'s was equal to that of the *amaNgwane*, so that when *Zikhali* prepared for battle, ranged between the two *Ndengezi*'s, the nations started, and with them also the *Hlubi*.

“Wena Sibani**banyana**, wenziwa kwedelela yini? Awuzwanga yini ethi akuthi nya! Yena akathandi ukufelwa ngumntanake.”

248 “Uqinisile, yithi laba esivela kubo. Nkosi nxa ethi usiphukuphuku singamvumela, amaHlubi angeke awuphose nokuwuphonsa umkhonto kula ba. awakho ukuba engekho amaHlubi, njengoba undlunkulu ethi nje vulela umntwanomyeni wakhe, umfowenu adlule, nawe uzozi boncla ubungako babo.” Bashe njalo nje bayezwa oMbhodla noDuma kaMkhulisa.

Wayichitha uMntambose imbizo, “Sukuma bani nobani uyothi kuMbhodla, kadlule umntakababa, ayosifunela indawo ngaphambili, nathi sizobuye sifike, asazi lapho siyokhonza ngakhona.”

249 Kuyilapho elinxusa elidumile nje uyakwazi nokuthi qaphu qaphu namanye amakhosi, ahle aphume, “Ngiyabonga wena kaMthimkhulu kaBhungane

KaNdubu zamila emthandweni ngokwesaba ilanga,
Wena kaMashwa badelana owashwabadela indlubi namakhasi
Wena kaZulu liya liyasi bekela,
Lisi bekela amadoda, wena kaSitshananaza,
Singayimvula yehlobo, yona kuyaze kuse itshananaza.

Ngithi phathanani ngezandla bantwa benkosi, nkosi ngibonga ukuba umvulele umfowenu indlela, ngiyazi ukuthi babengathandani, angene kuwo awakaMntambose, anazi nina ukuthi oyihlo babexabene ngani, nina nani zingane, xabanani ngokwenu nodwa ningabambi okoyihlo.”

250 Sekufika ukudla, inyama notshwala.

“Beka laphaya kuMbhodla, dlana-ke Mbhodla, uye kusho njalo kumfowethu ulhi kadlule owenkosi.”

Nabala ayafike uMbhodla amtshela. Kwathe nxa lifudumele ilanga lithi thaga thaga wayisusa

uMphuhlane ongampondo zamathole,

bayizwa isasithele bathi,

“Sibang’ inkomo nje sibang’ izwe, hayi ho! ho!”

251 Yaqhamuka yakhephuka, umuntu wakhohlwa ukuthi iyonqamuka nini ngobuningi, kwacima ilanga, kanti bayihlola bangakabikho oMgakwana noMayerufuka, kanti babesabone nje leya, nabo bethuka ngokunye manje. Yathi lempi yoNdengezi bobabili yalingana namaNgwane, wathi uma ahlome phakathi koNdengezi bobabili zethuka izizwe, ayikhona ethukayo namaHlubi.

Zikhali and Mangethe

252 So the *amaNgwane* marched on until they arrived at *Mangethe's*, son of *Nyathi* of the *Mabaso*, and he gave him two head of cattle, saying, "Here is food for the road that I gave you, son of *Mativane*. We also will follow you."

He thanked them for this and went past where the *Mabaso* were living. The *amaNgwane* were their relatives by marriage, for when I say "Eh! you of *Mabaso-akhulu*,"¹ I have said all there is to be said, for it was a daughter of *Mabaso* who bore our chief *Ndungunya*.²

253 When he was about to occupy a certain place, there arrived in the night one *Mbiwa Mlambo*, a man who had subjected himself to *Langalibalele*.

"Who are you?"

"Chief, my name is *Mbiwa*."

"Am I right that you are subject to *Langalibalele*? for I do not know you, *Mlambo*."

"So it is. Now I have come to you to tell you to be careful. *Mangethe* came over to *Langalibalele* yonder, to invite him to join him in a joint attack on you, because he thinks that you want to kill them and take their people to be yours. This proposal he made to a man equally cruel and one who desires the same thing because his father was killed. I go by night like this because I want you to be ready when they arrive."

254 Next morning when daylight came *Mbiwa* was again asleep at home, for he had returned during the night, but he no longer slept, did

"*Zikhali* (weapons) not as blunt as those of the little old man, the little old man who is *Dingane*."

At dawn he summoned together his warriors, his uncle *Mkhumbeli* being still there, for he had not yet gone to *Mthunzini* to *Cele's*, and he had told him about the matter beforehand, and now he spoke,

255 "*MaNgwane*, I have summoned you together for this: A man called *Mbiwa* was here this night and told me that *Mangethe* has persuaded *Langalibalele* to war, that they may surround me and kill me. He knows that I might easily kill them and take their people, he knows that the *amaNgwane* are a warlike people. Now look, *maNgwane*, he is gone to summon to war a man whose father my father slew, and he is glad of the opportunity. I wish to defeat *Mangethe* today, so that we can meet *Langalibalele* after *Mangethe* has been crushed."

256 To this *Mkhumbeli* replied, "Why! my son, do you intend attacking my cousin who presented you with two oxen just the other day?"

"These words that you have just spoken, it is not meet for you to utter them; you spoke thus because you are my uncle; but had it been any other man you would not have spoken in this fashion. For as to these two paltry oxen that you gave me, through them you wished to put me off my guard so that you could murder me in my sleep. However, *Mbiwa* has roused me to

uZikhali noMangethe

252 *Adlula amaNgwane, aye adlula kuMangethe kaNyathi wakwaMabaso, wamuka izinkabi ezimbili wathi,*

“Nanku umphako engikunika wona, mntakaMatiwane, nathi siyakulandela.”

Wabonga wadlula lapha kwaMabaso. AmaNgwane angabalanda, uma ngithi, “Eh! wena wakwaMabaso-akhulu,” ngigedile ngo ba okaMabaso uzala uNdungunya.

253 *Yayongenisa lapho ingenisa khona, wafika uMbiwa Mlambo ebusuku, usekhonze kwaLangalibalele.*

“Ungubani?”

“Nkosi, nginguMbiwa.”

“Ngithi ukhonze kuLangalibalele? Ngoba mina angikwazi Mlambo.”

“Kunjalo, mina ngifika lapha kuwe nje, ngithi hlala uqinile. Kufike uMangethe laphaya kuLangalibalele, ezomema uLangalibalele ukuthi abakuhlanganyele bobabili, uya bona ukuthi wena uzo babulala uthathe abantu babe ngabakho. Utshele umuntu wesihluku naye ofuna ukuba kube njalo ngoba kwabulawa uyise. Ngihamba ubusuku nje, ngithanda ukuba bathi befika bese ulungile.”

254 *Kwathi kusa uMbiwa wayesezilalele nje ekhaya, ehambe ubusuku, akabe esalala uZikhali*

“kazilingani nezexegwana
ixhegwana nguDingane.”

Kwathi kuthi dwi wayese imemeza impi, esekhona-ke uyise uMkhumbeli engakayi eMthunzini kwaCele, usemtshelile kugala uma efika wathi,

255 “O, maNgwane nginibizela loku, uMbiwa kade elapha ebusuku, uthi uMangethe ubeyomema uLangalibalele, uthi abangihlanganyele bangibulale, uyazi ukuthi ngingahle ngibabulale ngithathe abantu babo, uyazi ukuthi amaNgwane ngabantu bochuku. Bhokam-ke maNgwane, uyomema umuntu ubaba abulala uyise, naye wajabula wadela. Ngithanda ukuba uMangethe ngimsuse khona namhlanje, besesibhekana-ke noLangalibalele yena uMangethe bese ngimsusile.”

256 *Ahla athi uMkhumbeli, “Hawu, mntanami usufuna ukubulala unzwami esakunike izinkabi ezimbili khona namhlanje?”*

“Lelolizwi olikhulumayo alikufanele, ulikhuluma ngoba ungubaba, ukuba bekungumuntu nje ngabe awulikhulumi. Kanti lezinkatshana zenu ezimbili eninginika zona nyangiziba ukuba mzonqibulala ngalele. Ungivusile uMbiwa

¹ to use this *isibongo* is to show that one knows them very intimately, and is therefore probably related to them.

² the first chief of that name in the genealogy.

this little stratagem of yours that you prepared with your cousin." And he almost slew *Mkhumbeli* on the spot; the latter raised his hand in salutation and said "My chief, I slipped (I make a mistake)."

"Disperse then, *amaNgwane*, you must eat, and when the sun sets, we will arm and sleep near (to the enemy)."

257 And so the meeting dispersed and food was eaten, and when the sun set the order was given, "To arms," and the warriors marched and later on slept in arms, and they perceived that when they woke it would be to surround the enemy early in the morning. And so at the first sign of dawn he ordered them to arm, and when the red dawn appeared he had surrounded the kraal on the outside.

258 The two *Ndengezi's* were no longer there, because when they saw that *Zikhali* had been arrested by the Boers they bethought themselves of *Mpande*, and even if they had still been there, the two *Ndengezis* would not have been invited (not being trusted by the *amaNgwane*), and it was plain that *Mpande* bore them no grudge.

Now when the red dawn appeared they suddenly heard the war cry "*Yehe! Yehe!*" just when sleep was at its nicest.

Exploit of *Shomela*

259 Now on this occasion the son of *Mgijima* (sc. *Shomela*), because he was an induna and because they had been sent thither, found some girls in a hut in seclusion, and they went in there and flirted with them but they, the girls, chose the others and neglected him. Thereupon he said, "They will take notice of me soon enough, by *Mlaba!* They disregard me, who am in charge of all these men!" And so whenever a man made a move to go there, he threatened him with his spear, did the son of *Mgijima*. Now that hut was opposite to him, he went to it and looked over the screen and saw that the girls had been driven outside the hut by the vermin and were reclining in the enclosure, whereupon he stabbed them all, eight in number, and when their instructress came out he killed her also, and thus became

260

"the people that are driven out by bugs at *Nonzamo's* the stabber of ten of them, he stabbed them down all in a row. The diviner that destroyed another of his kind, because he had taken something at *Nonzamo's* no oracle is now consulted at *Nonzamo's* for now the diviner there is of *Ngebhe's*, it is his mother *o!aNgebhe.*"

When he issued forth, the *amaNgwane* had already beaten and mopped up the people of *Mangethe*, and he himself was dead and they cut off his head and took it along. The impi seized all the grey cattle, and these happened to be the cattle of the sacred royal medicine *inkathu*.³

kulobo buqidlana benu enibenzile nomzawakho." Kulapho acishe wambulala khona uMkhumbeli, waze waphakamisa isandla wathi, "NdaBezitha, ngishelele nkosi."

"Chithekani-ke, maNgwane, nifune ukudla midle, kuzothi ukushona kwelanga hlome izolalela eduze."

257 Nempela yachitheka imbizo, kwancanywa, lathi ilanga nxa lishona, wathi "ayihlome", yahamba yaye yalala, seyibona ukuthi uma ivuka lapha iyovimbezela ekuseni. Nembala kwathi ngemisi emklophe wathi "ayihlome" yathi ishaya imisi ebomvu, yase iwukakele phakathi umuzi.

258 Abasekho oNdengezi bobabili, sebethe ukubona ukuthi uZikhali amaBhumi asembophile, bakhumbula uMpande, ingani ukuba bebesekhona oNdengezi babengayikumenywa, noMpande kwabonakala engabaphathele 'nhliziyo.

Wathi umuntu ezwa ngayo (impi) imisi ebomvu, wezwa umuntu ngokuthi "Yehe yehe!" nxa ubuthongo bunnandi kabi.

uShomela nezintombi zakwaNonzamo

259 Kwathi umfo kaMgijima ngoba yinduna bathunywa khona wafumana izintombi ziqongile, bayongena khona baziqomisa izintombi, zabaqoma zamshiya uShomela. Wathi, "Zizoke zingibone, Mlaba! ziyangishiya mina engiphethe lababantu!" Wabathe umuntu uya ngapha waphunga ngomkhonto umfo kaMgijima, leyondlu yaqondana naye, wafika kuyo wabathe ukulunguza egumeni wafumanisa zikhishwe zinsikizi endlini zilele egumeni, wazigwaza zonke zinguyisiphohlongo, hlathe luyaphuma usha waluthatha nalo, azoba

260

"ngabantu bakhishwe zinsikizi kwaNonzamo
umagwaza ishumi, umagwaz' ubekelele.
Isanusi esadla esinye isanusi,
ngoba sadla esakwaNonzamo,
akusabhulwa kwaNonzamo,
isanusi sekungesakwaNgebhe, ngunina okaNgebhe."

Uyaphuma lapha phandle amaNgwane aseshaye aqothula kwaMangethe, uMangethe usefile bamuqamula intanyana bahamba nayo. Izidle izinkomo ezimpunga zodwa kwaba yizona nkomo zenkatha.³

³ Inkatha le bekuyaye kuthathwe amakhothamo ezindlu zonke, nezibi zendawo zonke, kuyasetshenzwa ngazo ukubumba isizwe, ukuba bathandane. Uma kudlala umkhosi kuthe makuphehlwa uzwathi, luphehlelwe phezu kwaleyonkatha agezela kuyo, kuboshwa khona lokhu ukufumbatha abantu, uthi noma beruthi uzoruka ekuseni uye ekhaya phinde uze ubona ngelanga ukushona, wilaophe ukuhamba, nofuna ukuya ezizweni, avilaphe.

³ For the inkatha they always took of the grease and dirt on the wood over the doorways of all the huts and sweepings from all quarters, and from this there was prepared the medicine to keep the tribe together, and make its members love one another. Whenever the first fruits ceremony was held and fire was drilled, it was done over this inkatha, and the chief washed himself (in his medicines) over it, and its being tied (in a coil) was to clasp the people together, so that (if you were at the chief's) even if you decided to leave for home next morning, nothing of the sort! you would think about it again at sunset, you would be reluctant to go; and whoever was to think of a journey abroad, would abandon the idea.

Mgidingo's exploit at Ntshosho's

261 Now he came to *Ntshosho*, the father of *Cengesi*,⁴ of the *amaNgwe* tribe and he went past, but when he was nearby *Ntshosho* arrived, greeted him and presented him with two head of cattle, saying, "Go in peace and eat these, son of *Matiwane*, we also do not know where we are going, but we shall follow you."

That time was known by the name of "the breaking of the rope," because *Shaka* had been harassing all the country until eventually he was left all by himself across the Buffalo, whereas actually it had been a country occupied by many chiefs.

262 He went past *Ntshosho's* place, having thanked him for those cattle and camped at the place where *Ntshosho* was born, his mother being a girl of the *amaNgwane* named *Dingase*. When *Dingase* died, another *Ngwane* girl went to take her place. Now when they were at this place where they camped, the chief said,

"*Mgidingo*, pick out nine men of your *iziFulatheli* regiment and you be the tenth; go and look back whether anybody from Zululand is perhaps following us."

263 Now at the first sign of dawn he picked out his "Back-turners," who had turned their backs upon *Dingane*, he chose them and went with them until it was day and when the sun came out and became hot, spoke *Mgidingo*,

"Let us return, he is just scared, the coward, cold fear has gripped him and the insanity⁵ that comes after killing."

Then he gave the order, "Seize these cattle," but the men replied,

"Hawu! son of *Shenge*, only yesterday *Ntshosho* gave us two head of cattle, now what are you doing? Are you not satisfied with those two beasts?" Nevertheless they said nothing more and seized them.

264 Thereupon the herdsman raised the alarm, "The cattle have been taken by the *amaNgwane*."

"Drive them on, *Mhlaba*," said *Mgidingo*. So now eight remained including himself, and he said to them, "Sit down," and further, "Look in that direction, turn your backs on the impi, it will be seen by me."

265 Now the impi came on nearer and nearer and they saw, "It is those people that we were with at *Mvokweni*," the sons of *Ntshosho*, the chief's sons *Mbhobhokazana* and *Mamfononondwana* and *Phondwane*.

"When they see me they will run away, for they know me."

And in truth when they were close together he said, "Get up."

Now he urged them on, did the son of *Shenge*, and told them to face the enemy, who were quite near, but himself ran out far away whilst they came to grips, he ran away but he did this in order to run up quickly from behind and he stabbed and slew all the sons of the chief saying,

"I have slain, I, the *luhoho*⁶ of *Shenge*."

uMgidingo esilwa na bakwaNtshosho

261 Waseza kuNtshosho, uyise kaCengesi emaNgweni, uyadlula uma ekhulekela kuNtshosho wafika wamnika izinkabi ezimbili, uthi, "Hamba udla mfo kaMatiwane, asazi lapho siya khona, nathi siyakulandela."

Isibizo salesosikhathi "kudabuka kwegoda" ubane uShaka eliphizizisa ilizwe, nembala waze wasala yedwa ngaphesheya koMzinyathi, kanti kwakulizwe lamakhosi amaningi.

262 Adlule kuNtshosho abonge lezonkabi, adlule, aye angenise lapha uNtshosho azalwa yintombi yemaNgwaneni uDingase. Selafa uDingase, sekusele enye intombazana yamaNgwane, eyayakuma esikhundleni sakhe. Kuthe lapho benjenise khona, ithi inkosi,

"Mgidingo, khetha iziFulatheli zibe lithoba kube nguwe weshumi, ukuyolunguza emuva, ukuba ubone ukuthi uZulu akasilandeli yini."

263 Kwathi ekuthatheni kwemisi emklophe, wazikhetha iziFulatheli ezafulathela uDingane, wazikhetha wahamba-ke kwaze kwasa kwathi ekuphumeni kwelanga ukuba lifudumale, wathi uMgidingo,

"Asi buye, liyesaba nje leligwala, wenziwa liphaphu kanti usevukwe liqungo." Abesethi, "Yegelani lezinkomo," athi amaButho,

"Hawu, mntakaShenge, khona izolo nje uNtshosho usinike izinkabi ezimbili, sewenzani? awusuthanga yini yilezinkabi ezimbili?" Bathule, bazeqele.

264 Wamemeza wahlaba unkhosi wathi, "Zimukile namaNgwane." Wathi, "Ziqhuba, Mhlaba." Basala sebeyisiphohlango ngaye, wathi kulaba, "Hlalani phansi," wathi, "Bhekani le, niyifulathele, izobonwa yini."

265 Yeza yeza bayibona ukuthi, "Yilabaya ebesinabo eMvokweni," abafa bakaNtshosho, kwaBenkosi, nguMbhobhokazana noMamfononondwana noPhondwane.

"Bazothi bangangibona babaleke, bangazi."

Nembala bathi uma benjeya, wathi, "Sukumani."

Use-ke wakhuya umfo kaShenge, wathi, "Babhekani," basebesondele, washo yena waphonseka kude laphaya yahlanga bezana, wabaleka yena, kanti wenzela ukubuya masinyane, wavela ngemuva, wabahlaba wabaqeda bonke abantwabenkosi, wathi,

"Ngadla mina, luhoho lukaShenge."

⁴ these people (*isibongo*: Zwane) are referred to by Bryant (p. 181, 182), who gives the genealogy: Nkanyezi (at present chief of amaNgwe in Ladysmith district) son of Dumisa of Thinta of Cengesi of Ntshosho of Mangethe of Ndlovu of Mkheswa of Mladla of Ndinisane, but considers it unreliable beyond Mangethe. Thinta's sister became Ngwadi's wife and the mother of the chief Bambazi, cf. §460 12-f.

⁵ *Iqungo* is madness that overtakes a warrior who has neglected to perform the purificatory rites necessary after having slain a man in battle.

⁶ meaning unknown.

266 Now the impi of the *amaNgwe* issued forth because they heard that it had been *Mgidingo*, who thus became

“The feller of enormous trees”

and they followed those cattle of theirs. The others brought them to the chief, but *Mgidingo* passed on; however, the chief summoned him,

“*Mgidingo*.”

“Sir,”

“Where did you get these cattle?”

“Here, sir.”

“Here, where, *Mgidingo*?”

“Here, sir, from these poor people who live here.”

Thus he spoke whilst walking up and down, not standing still, for he saw that he had committed an offence. The chief realised now, “Is it possible that *Mgidingo* has actually killed me (done me harm) in this fashion. Has he taken the cattle of my cousin?”

267 Two days passed. On the third there was heard the weeping of a woman still far away, in the enclosure of *Dingase*, she who was now the mother (by proxy) of *Ntshosho*. The voice cried,

“*Zikhali*, alas my sons! *Zikhali*, my sons!”

The chief was suddenly smitten with fear and said,

“What does she say? Call *Mgidingo*!”

“*Mgidingo*.”

“Sir!”

“Just listen to what she is saying.”

He replied, “What does she say?”

“Don’t you hear that she is weeping for her children? Wait a bit then, and listen.”

268 “Why should I wait for them, why did they refuse to hand over the cattle? Are we to go about hungry just merely looking at cattle, whilst we still have our strength? Do you tell us to die whilst we are still strong?” Thereupon he rushed off shouting, “From every man who is not strong we shall take away is cattle.” There he goes!

269 The princess arrived and rolled on the ground in grief,

“Did I not give you two oxen as food; and now you slay my sons!”

The chief replied, “No, good lady, I have been wronged by *Mgidingo*.”

So then the small herd that still remained was picked out, the rest already having been slaughtered.

270 “How many tens were these cattle?”

They told him and so that number was taken from *Mangethe*’s and given to her and she went off with them. Next morning certain men were selected

266 *Yasuka eyemaNgweni ngoba sebezwa ukuthi nguMgidingo, azoba*

“*sigawuli semithi emikhulu*”

bazilandele inkomo leziya. Baye bafike nazo enkosini, ahle adlule yena, imme-meze inkosi,

“*Mgidingo.*”

“*Nkosi.*”

“*Lezinkomo uzithathaphi?*”

“*Lapha, nkosi.*”

“*Kuphi lapha, Mgidingo?*”

“*Lapha, nkosi, kulababafokazana abalapha.*”

Usho njalo uyahamba akemile ngoba uyabona ukuthi wonile. Ihle ibhule inkosi ithi, “Konje uMgidingo angabe usengibulele nje? Wadla izinkomo zikamzawami?”

267 *Kwaphela amalanga amabili. Kuthe ngelesithathu izwakale intombazana ngesililo isekude, ilibanga lena, esesikhundleni sikaDingase, okuyiyona isingunina kaNtshosho. Ithi,*

“*Zikhali ngabantwabami! Zikhali ngabantwabami!*”

Kanti inkosi iloku yashaywa lualo, ihle izwe ithi,

“*Uthini lowo? Biza uMgidingo!*”

“*Mgidingo.*”

“*Nkosi!*”

“*Akuzwe, ukuba uthini?*”

Wathi, “Uthini?”

“*Acumuzwa wena ukuthi ukhala ngabantwabakhe? Hlala phela ulalele.*”

268 “*Ngizobahlalela ukuthini, bona balelem nenkomo? Sizohambe sibulawa indlala besizibona nje inkomo, sinamandla ethu? Uthi wena asife namandla ethu?*” *Wayesuka njalo ebaleka, “Wonke ongenawo amandla sizomemuka,” nanguya!*

269 *Yafika inkosazana iziginqaginga phansi,*

“*Kanti ngikuncamisa ngezinkabi ezimbili! Kanti wena usubulala abantwabami!*”

Ihle ithi inkosi, “Cha, nkosi, ngibulewe nguMgidingo.”

Besezikethwa idlanzana elisasele, ngoba ezinye zonke sezihlatshiwe.

270 “*Bezi mashumi mangaki lezo nkomo?*”

Bazisho-ke, bese kucashunwa kwezakwaMangethe, anikelwe, ahambe-ke.

and sent to condole with her. Their spokesman said, "No, *maNgwe*, the chief says that he also has been greatly wronged by a madman, he would never kill his cousins, he sent *Mgidingo* to spy out the land in the rear to see whether anybody from Zululand was not following us."

"Yes, that must be so, *maNgwane*, that he was not sent by the chief (to do this crime), for he could not carry out a raid on people with only ten men." So they condoled with one another for a while.

Kuyasa kusasa sekukhethwa amadoda eseya esililweni. Uthi, “Cha, maNgwe, uthi naye ubulewe luhlanya, ubengeze abulala abazabakhe, ubemthume uMgidingo ukuba ayobona ngasemuva, uZulu akasilandeli yini na?”

“Cha, kuyabonakala, maNgwane ngempela, ukuthi ubengathunyelwanga yinkosi, ubengeze athi akayohlasela ngabantu abalishumi nje.” Kulilelwane nje-ke njalo kuphela.

CHAPTER 12

The *amaNgwane* arrive near *Thintwa* Mountain

271 By this time the *amaNgwane* arrived at *Ndayela's* (Daniel Bezuidenhout¹) at *Thintwa* Mountain near Bergville, a very big Boer, a sort of leader amongst the Boers. Daniel presented them with twenty milking cows, giving one to each of the leaders of the *amaNgwane*, for amongst the multitude of his cattle not all the milking cows could always return for milking.

Sales of children to Europeans

272 At this place *Shomela* sold *Cubeni Jiyane* because he said his children were not getting enough to eat, and he sold him to a Boer for a single milking cow which he picked out himself. He could then mix sour milk with *ubhoqo* root² (ground and) dried on a stone, or take *ingoni*³ and thresh out the seed, to serve instead of maize which is boiled and crushed for mixing with sour milk.

And *Bhevule* son of *Thongwane* of the *Ndaba* also sold the child of his sister for the sake of nourishment for his own children, and he sold him for one beast only, he sold *Magonondo Sibiya*.

273 *Mhlaba* however had no sister's son, so he sold the son of his elder brother, viz. *Mgedeza*, son of *Mpisi*, him who afterwards became interpreter at the office. And he "ate him up," and took away everything *Mhlaba* had.

It happened in this way: *Mgedeza* said: "Now, show me the increase of the cow that I was sold for, where is it?"

"Must I show you, was then the whole country not dead, my child, and was I not also forced by the state the country was in?"

"No, uncle, it is for me to say; I have seen the increase of that cow; it is I that am saying so."

274 Thereupon he rushed to the office and related the whole story of his being sold. Thereupon *Mhlaba* was summoned. And the office enquired, "Really now, what *Mgedeza* says, did you actually do it?"

"Yes, my chiefs, I did it."

"How long is it ago that you sold him?"

"Sirs, I don't know; it will be known to you, for we arrived here at the time when the English landed at the Bay, it was then that we saw the English for the first time."

275 So the white man rose and took down a book, and when he looked in this book he was amazed; he looked at *Mhlaba* and asked,



uNdungunya kaBambazi heir apparent to the chieftainship

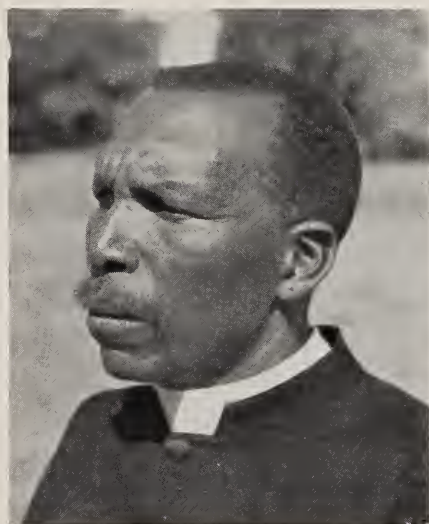


PLATE 6

Albert Hlongwane who wrote down the text in this book

amaNgwane efika eThintwa

271 amaNgwane abese efikela kuNdayela eThintwa, iBhunu elikhulu impela eliyinkosana yamaBhunu. uNdayela akhiphe indlezane ezingamashumi amabili, anike izikhulu ngayinye njalo, kweziningi izinkomo azibuyi zonke.

Bathengisa abantwana

272 Kulapho uShomela athengisa khona ngoCubeni Jiyane, ngoba ethi abantwabakhe abasesuthi, umthengisa eBhunwini ngendlezane ibenye zwi, azikhethela yena. Azovuba amasi ngobhogo awomise edwaleni avube ngawo, bese kuyothathwa ingoni ibhulwe, kube zona inkobe zokuphuthula amasi.

uBhevule kaThongwane wakwaNdaba naye wathengisa ngomntwana woda-dewabo enzela ukondla abantwabakhe, wamthengisa ngayo inkomo ibenye zwi wathengisa ngoMagonondo wakwaSibiya.

273 uMhlaba wamswela umntwana kadadewabo, wasethengisa ngomntwana womnewabo uMgedeza kaMpisi, okuthe kamuva eseliqhumusha uMgedeza enkantolo. Wamudla wamqothula uMhlaba.

Wathi uMgedeza, "Phela baba ngibonise izala yalenkomo ngathengiswa ngayo iphi na?"

"Ngikubonise kanti kwakungafe ilizwe, mutanami, loku nami ngangenziwa yikufa kwezwe na?"

"Hayi baba, kungaba yimi loyo osho njalo; sengikubonile loko okwazalwa yileyonkomo, kusho mina-ke ukusho njalo."

274 Wayesephonseka enkantolo wayilandisa konke loku kuthengiswa kwakhe. Wase ebizwa uMhlaba. Yase ithi inkantolo, "Nembala loku okushiwo ngu-Mgedeza wakwenza ngempela?"

"Yebo makhosi, ngakwenza."

"Singanani isikhathi ewamthengisa ngaso na?"

"Makhosi, angisasazi mina, singaziwa ngamakhosi, ngoba sifike lapha ukuwela kwamaNgisi afitke eThekwini, yiso isikhathi esaqala ngaso ukubona amaNgisi."

275 Waesesukuma umlungu esethula ibhuku, abathe umlungu ukubheka ebhukwini, ababaze, ambheke uMhlaba, athi,

¹ See §213, note 2.

² acc. to Bryant: *Ipomoea ovata*.

³ acc. to Bryant: seed panicle of *umSingizane* grass viz. *Sporobolus indicus* and *Eragrostis curvula*.

“ *Mhlaba* ! What did you say when your nephew asked you to show him the cattle for which he was sold ? ”

“ Sir, I told him I did not do it for fun, but in dire necessity, for the whole country was in distress.”

“ But did he not reply that, even were that so, you should show him, and that he would see for himself ? ”

“ He did say so, sir.”

276 I don't know how long ago it was. In any case, the white men decided, “ Look, *Mhlaba*, you will regret this. We need not trouble much about deciding a clear case about cattle that died, together with their offspring, simply through old age, not through falling into holes, but merely through actual old age, meanwhile producing offspring all the time and so I don't know what I can say to you. Had you agreed to the proposal of this nephew of yours, you would have escaped. Go, you policeman, with *Mhlaba* and *Mgedeza* ; I don't see that anything can remain to *Mhlaba*, since for so many years these cattle have been reproducing themselves without dying ; so he will only leave behind the dog that growls.”

So the policeman went and found that the cattle numbered about hundred. And the cattle-kraal was left to grow full of rank *imbuya* weed, for he took them all, did the son of *Mpisi*.

277 Now they hinted to *Cubeni*, “ *Cubeni*, did you hear how *Mgedeza* seized all the cattle of his uncle *Mhlaba* ? ”

Cubeni replied, “ I heard about it.”

“ And did you hear how many cattle he took from him ? ”

“ Yes, he took a hundred.”

“ But what do you say as to the cattle that you were sold for ? ”

278 “ I shall never fall out with my uncle, who brought me up, for I am in truth his son. My father died before I ever saw him, it is my uncle who opened my eyes (brought me up) until I could see for myself, and he got for me my wife, yonder she is, *Khoza*'s daughter, and there are my children. Leave me alone with those matters of yours.”

And *Magonondo Sibiya* they also told about this matter, but he replied as *Cubeni* had, “ No,” and so they gave it up.

Zikhali's law as to status of wives

279 *Zikhali* called the *amaNgwane* together and made known a new law of his, because the *amaNgwane*, when they now married other wives, were wont to say that the wives that they had married in the times of *Matiwane* were not really wives, only these that they married now were properly married.

So he made it known, “ Listen ye ! He hears with regard to those wives that were married whilst travelling with my father, some of whom died at

“Mhlaba! Uthini wena uma umntanakho ethi akumbonise lezonkomo athengwa ngazo na!”

“Cha, makhosi, ngithi ngangingathengisi ngaye ngamahlaya, kwakufe ilizwe.”

“Kepha akashongo yini kuwe ukuthi noma kunjalo mkhombise wena, nguye ozokubona loko na?”

“Washo yena, nkosi.”

276 Asazi ukuba kwase kungamashumi amangaki eminyaka. Bathi abelungu, “Uyabona-ke, Mhlaba, uzokhala. Asikuboni thina ukuthethwa kwecala lenkomo eze izifele ngokuguga kanye nenzala yazo, zingafi nakukhalakathela, kodwa zizifele ngokuguga nje ziyoloku zizala, angazi ukuthi ngingakhulumani kuwe. Ngabe wavuma lona lendodana yakho ngabe wasinda. Hamba phoyisa noMhlaba noMgedeza, mina angiyiboni into eyomsalela uMhlaba, kuleminyaka engaka izinkomo zizala zingafi; uyoshiyainja ethi hawu.”

Lihambe iphoyisa lifumane kungenkomo zisekhulwini. Sasala isibaya samila imbuya, wazibutha umfo kaMpisi.

277 Basebemqwebu uCubeni bathi, “Cubeni, uzwile ukuthi uMgedeza umdlile uyise uMhlaba?”

Athe uCubeni, “Ngizwile”.

“Uzwile ukuthi undle izinkomo ezingaki na?”

Wathi, “Yebo, undle ikhulu.”

“Kepha uthini wena ngezathengisa wena?”

278 “Mina ngingeze ngaxabana nomalumami angondla kangaka, ngingumntanakhe weqiniso. Mina ngafelwa ngubaba ngingakuboni, wangithungulula amehlo, ngaza ngabhaka, waze wangithathela nangu okaKhoza, nampa abantwabani, ngyekeleni ngalezondaba zenu.”

NoMagonondo Sibya, naye bayamtshela ngalendaba, naye walungisa yena uCubeni, wathi naye, “Cha,” badela manje.

Umketho kaZikhali

279 uZikhali wawabutha amaNgwane, wabeka umketho wakhe, ngoba amaNgwane asethi uma esegidisa lababafazi manje kuthi lababafazi ababathatha ngesikhathi sikaMatiwane, akusebona, nampa okuyibona bona ababathatha manje.

Uthi, “Lalela-ke! Uyezwa ukuthi nithi, maNgwane, lababafazi afatha-

Mbholompo, whilst others are still alive, that you say that these are not properly married wives ; but that the legally married ones are those that have had a marriage feast now. By virtue of what act ?

280 Those wives that marched with my father, wherever the army rested, I saw them undo the burdens of grain that they always kept tied up, and the corn that we took from *Wezi*, even now I still drink beer made of it today. Wherever the army rested, a woman would go down to the river and grind the malt which had sprouted whilst being carried on her head, and the beer fermented on her head, and wherever we made a halt I would see a man coming to me saying : Chief, here is some beer made by the wife of So-and-So. I don't like even just to hear it said that the mothers of *Zikhali* are those of today, I insist that *Zikhali's* mothers are only those that *Zikhali* sucked from, and I repeat : this must stop today."

281 At *Mondise's* one of those that had ground on the flat rock (i.e. one of the old ones) was the daughter of *Hele*, the mother of *Mgomondwane*, and he (*Zikhali*) saw the eyes of the *amaNgwane* were already turned upon *okaNyawo*, the mother of *Tshotshwana* (a younger wife of *Mondise*, expecting her to become the chief wife), and so the chieftainship of *Tshotshwana* came to an end (through the operation of *Zikhali's* new law) and reverted to the rightful heir *Mgomondwane*.

Bhayibhayi's services to the tribe

282 The *amaNgwane* made their gardens at *Thintwa* mountain, there was an abundance of corn, and the pumpkins grew in profusion, there was maize, milk more than the dogs could finish, and scarcity was no more.

Then there suddenly reappeared *Bhayibhayi*⁴ who, at the time when *Matiwane* went to Zululand, had gone to (his father) *Magangane's* country where the *amaZizi* lived. They reported to *Zikhali*, "Sir, here is *Bhayibhayi*, who was taken from *Magangane* by your father, and who accompanied him to *Mbholompo* ; and who is of the *Shiyi* regiment."

283 Said the chief *Zikhali*, "That I should be in such trouble, and yet my uncle be there to help me ! Always when I send somebody, he always says he doesn't know Basutoland."

284 So now whenever a man came to the chief with the request, "My chief, I lack seed," the chief would tell him, "Go to *Bhayibhayi*, so that the maize may grow."⁵ In this way *Bhayibhayi* rendered great service to the *amaNgwane*. With the chief *Ncwadi* there was none to equal the sons of *Bhayibhayi*. With *Zikhali* himself there was none amongst great ones of the tribe who ranked as high as *Bhayibhayi*. When *Ncwadi* became chief, he found *Mthibeli* and *Nhlabathi*⁶ thus exalted that there was none to equal them, they were just like his own brothers.

Those people (just mentioned) whom today we call ordinary folks, and those of *Mpelana*, rendered great service, and the *amaNgwane* made an end to

thwa behamba nobaba, abanye bafela eMbolompo, abanye basekhona, bathi labo abasebona 'bafazi; abafazi sekuyilaba abagidayo manje, ngokwenzani kwaabo?

280 Laba abahamba nobaba, bekuthi lapho impi iphumula khona, ngibone sebethukulula emithwalweni yaabo amabele, abayiloku buwabophela, amabele esawadla kwaWezi, ngikhuluma nje nginatha wona nanamhlanje. Bekuthi lapho impi iphumula khona, umfazi ashone emfuleni agaye imithombo eyavundela ekhanda eyithwele, kuhambe kubilela enhloko kuye, kuthi lapho sikhumula khona, ngibone indoda isingivezela ithi: nkosi, nanku loku okwenziwe ngokaSibanibani. Anyithandi nokukuzwa ukuthi onina kaZikhali yilaba banamhla, ngithi onina kaZikhali yilabo uZikhali amunya kubo kuphela, ngithi akuphele namhlanje."

281 Lapha kuMondise ababegayela edwaleni ngokaHele unina kaMgomondwane, ubone amehlo amaNgwane esebhekise kokaNyawo unina kaTshotshwana, babuyaphela ubukhosi kuTshotshwana, babuyela kumninibo uMgomondwane.

uBhayibhayi

282 Alima amaNgwane eThintwa, kwangamabele yini! kwagingika 'thanga kwesabeka, kwangumbila, kwangamasi ahlula izinja, yaphuma indlala.

Bathe bethuka babethi nqwa! noBhayibhayi, okwathi inkosi uMatiwane eseqonda kwaZulu, yena wayeqonda kubo kwaMagangane emaZizim, bathi, "Nkosi, nangu uBhayibhayi owathathwa nguyihlo kuMagangane, wahamba naye waze wafika naye eMbolompo, luShayi."

283 Yathi inkosi uZikhali, "Kanti ngihlupheka kangaka nje, ubaba ulapha! Ngi bathe ngithuma lowo athi akazi eLusuthu, nxa ngithi ngiyafuna mhlwanyelo; sengihluphekile, Mrya, hamba nalaba bantu uyongifunela mhlwanyelo eLusuthu."

284 Kwase kubathe umuntu uyeza enkosini ethi, "Nkosi, ngiswele mhlwanyelo." Ithi inkosi, "Hamba uye kuBhayibhayi njalo, ukuze amule amabele," uBhayibhayi wahsebenzela izwe lamaNgwane. Enkosini uNcwadi wayengekho onyangu ngabantwana bakaBhayibhayi. KuZikhali wayengekho ezikhulwini owayengango-Bhayibhayi. Uthe esevela uNcwadi, wayesebona uMthibeli noNhlabathi wayengekho owayengangaabo babengangabafowabo nqi.

Lababantu esesithi namhlanje ngabafokazana nabakwaMpelana fenza umsebenzi omkhulu, amaNgwane awakhawule ukuthi ngabafokazana bakhumbule

⁴ how he was taken by *Matiwane* is related in §30.

⁵ i.e. *Bhayibhayi* was considered to have a lucky hand with seed, or to possess the medicines to ensure good crops.

⁶ sons of *Bhayibhayi*.

their being commoners, remembering the deed that had been done by *Nyoka* at the time when he concealed *Zikhali* under the wall.⁷ For *Khanda* (*Nyoka*'s son) came hither because he knew, "My father did the *amaNgwane* a good turn when they had been scattered by the Swazis; let me hie me to *Zikhali* where I am surc to be taken in."

285 And so *Zikhali* gave instructions, "Let them greet *Khanda* with the royal salute at the *Ngwagani* royal kraal of the queen *okaSiqeketho*."⁸ When a first fruits ceremony was to be held, they heard the royal salute: *Bayethe*, and also phrases which betokened the royal presence,⁹ and they wondered when the chief had arrived, whereas it was only the chief of *Ntshoqweni* kraal (i.e. *Khanda*).

Nobody ever said to *Zikhali* that the *Mpelana* family were commoners, were a man to dare to say so he would be fined two beasts, the princes would tell him, "Pay a beast with bones," meaning an ox.

286 The family of *Mdwayidwa Mabizela* also had to be much respected because *Mdwayidwa* had been the one to warn *Zikhali* at the time of *Fokothi*'s tribal hunt in Swaziland and told him, "This hunt is held for you, it is you who are to be killed." So now when he came here it was on the strength of that deed; yet today they are called commoners.

Zikhali collects the scattered *amaNgwane*

287 He sent *Mkhonswa*, the father of *Dili*, of the *Mkhahelweni* kraal, "Go to my cousins who are still in Basutoland, those who have been driven away by scarcity, and tell them that I am now settled here at *Thintwa* mountain, and seed grain also have I got."

288 And so there re-appeared *Zulu*, son of *Ntshani*, the father of *Manqina*, and *Donda*, the father of *Nondumo*, both of the clan *Dlomo* (a very old branch of the *Hlongwane*); and there appeared *Mayisela* and *Duma*, sons of *Mkhwibisa*, and there arrived *Macala*, the father of *Mgamule Mvula*, and also *Gudlindlu* the father of *Mshelwane*, there returned the *Maphindokazi*'s who were killed by *Ntshosho*, son of *Ngolo* in the forests at *Maqogo*'s (near Maritzburg).

289 Amongst those of royal blood there came back *Siyikiyiki*¹⁰ and *Mgudlane*, *Njiyeza* and *Ntanjana*, very many indeed.¹¹ All these drank after (yielded precedence to) the son of *Mgijima*, who called them "*Bhoqo*-avoiders¹² and eaters of *uKhwempela*."¹³

290 So *Zikhali* built his kraals, and there arrived one day an *unSuthu* who remarked to *Zikhali*, "My chief, you are living in a dangerous place here, for when a dog fights with other dogs it always seeks cover for its hindquarters, so that its enemies must come from in front; go rather below those big mountains." But in persuading him to go there, he brought him to (a country full of) *indolo* grass, which gives no milk and does not fatten cattle. However, *Zikhali* went and built there.

umsebenzi owenziwa nguNyoka mlla efihla uZikhali emthangaleni. uKhanda uza lapha ngoba azi ukuthi, "U baba wasebenza emaNgwaneni esechithwa ngama-Swazi, angikhumbule kuZikhali, lapho ngiyofike ngithole khona inkonzo."

285 *Wafike wathi uZikhali, "Akuthiwe kuKhanda bayethe! kwabo kwabase-Ngwageni kwaSiqeketho. Bekuthi uma kuzodlala umkhosi, bezwe sekuthiwa: bayethe! Kuthiwe "nanguya ubani" enkosini, fumangale nje ukuba inkosi seyifike nini, Ha! yinkosi yeNtshoqweni.*

Kwakunjashirwo kuZikhali ukuthi abakwaMpelana ngabafokazana, ubethi umuntu angalinga isho njalo ahlawule ngenkomo ezimbili, babethi abantwabenkosi, "Hlawula ngenkomo enamuthambo," basho inkabi.

286 *Bekufanele nabakwaMdwayidwa bahlonishwe kakhulu, ngoba uMdwayidwa nguyena owahlabela uZikhali umkhosi mlla kwengina kaFokothi eSwazini, wathi, "Lenjina ngeyakho, kuzobulawa wena," wathi eza lapha wayegonde khona lokho, ekhumbula wona lowomsebenzi; namhlanje sekuthiwa ngabafokazana.*

amaNgwane abuyela kuZikhali

287 *Wayethumela uMkhonswa, uyise kaDili, eMkhabelweni, "Hamba uye kubantwaka baba abangaphlezulu eLusuthu, abaroshwa yindlala, ubatshele ukuthi nyakhile manje eThintwa, nenhlwanyelo senjinayo."*

288 *Kwaya kwavela uZulu kaNtshani, uyise kaMangina, kwavela uDonda uyise kaNondumo, bakwaDlomo sobabili; kwaye kwavela uMayisela noDuma kaMkhwibisa, kwaya kwafika uMacala, uyise kaMgamule Mvula, kwaye kwafika uGudlindlu, uyise kaMshelwane, kwafika oMaphindokazi owa bulawa nguNtshosho kaNgolo emahlathini ngakwaMaqogo.*

289 *Kwabenkosi kwanguSiyikigiki, kwafika uMgullane, kwafika uNjiyeza noNtanjana, babaningi impela. Babenatha muva labo kumfo kaMgijima, ethi ngamazila'bloqo, abadla ukhwempela.*

290 *Akhe-ke uZikhali, kwafika umSuthu, wathi kuZikhali, "Nkosi, uhlezi ebusini lapha,inja iyaye songathi uma ilwa nezinge, ifihle igolo, zizovela ngaphambili; hamba uye phansi kwezintaba," kanti umletha endloweni. Akhe-ke uZikhali.*

⁷ when pursued by the Swazis, see § 176.

⁸ *Zikhali's* mother. The *Ngwageni* or *Ngwazini* royal kraal had been pointed out to *Khanda* as that to which he was subject.

⁹ *nanguya ubani* must be used when calling someone within earshot of the chief.

¹⁰ from whom *Msebenzi* learnt to recite *izibongo*.

¹¹ see the statement regarding the return of *Zikhali's* sister *Chithekile* in § 454.

¹² *uBhogo* is a creeper with long shoots eaten in times of famine.

¹³ *uKhwempela* a creeper with sweet pods like beans. Not identified.

CHAPTER 13

Nomlalati seeks out *Zikhali* in Natal

291 By this time *Nomlalati* had heard that, "Your friend *Zikhali* is now an independent chief yonder near Grahamstown, he is now a great man; all the *amaNgwane* have re-assembled under him."

She heard her elder brother refer onoe to what *Sobhuza* had said regarding the agreement with *Matiwane*, and learnt that (her sister) *Mswazikazana* was to be sent, (to marry *Zikhali*) and that the King was still discussing this matter. So she sent her personal induna with the message, "Go and tell the King that he must find a husband for me," to which the King replied, "Very well, my child, I hear, I shall find her one."

292 "The King says he has heard, and that he will give you a husband," perhaps it was *Mswazi* by this time, not *Sobhuza*.

She replied, "Go baek again and say I am not going to start again with another man. My husband is just that *Zikhali*; my father wanted to kill him because I was fond of him. There is no other man that the King can give me; I shall not, seeing that he was slain by me,¹ now take another man."

293 "Go and tell her that I hear what she says, I shall speak to her."

Then he summoned together the royal brothers, and told them, "Here is *Nomlalati* asking for a husband. But my father said that he would give *Mzamosé* to *Zikhali*, according to the agreement made in friendship with *Matiwane*. Now here is *Nomlalati* saying this: If I think of finding her a husband, she says I must not seek for her any other, she says her husband is known by all the Swazis, namely the one who was slain to me by my father, and when that happened there was no other whom I would consider."

294 "Well, sir, she is right; so she means that son of *Matiwane*?"

"Yes, friends, she means him."

"Sir, it is not meet that when a daughter asks to be married that there should be mueh delay. Have the bridal party prepared for her and let her go."

295 So he sought out what was necessary for her, did

"The *Sibhahuza* (blurter) who flattens himself against the buffalo in danger, the cow's paunch that is sworn by by those who depart, he said: I shall never come back again.
Active-walker who left his warriors behind,
the marcher in the dark who does not await the dawn;
Mswazi, don't let them surround the people in the dark."

296 So he got together a bridal party, and said, "The daughter of *Manukuza* will be *Nomlalati*'s broom (i.e. her handmaid, to be married by *Zikhali* also), it is the daughter of the headman *Nomagidigidi* who will serve *Nomlalati* as

Indaba kaNomlatali izoxwa kwaNgwane

291 *uNomlatali useyezwa ukuthi, "Umngani wakho uZikhali useyabusa lena eHini, usengenkulu inkosi, amaNgwane aselabuthana wonke kuye."*

Usezwa uma sekukhuluma umnewabo ethi, "Uthi uSobhuza: Njengokukhuluma kwethu noMatiwane," akuzwe loko uNomlatali, ukuthi sekuya uMswazi-kazana, usaxoxa nje indaba. Uselethumela induna yakwabo uNomlatali ethi, "Hamba uye enkosini uyongicelela indoda," ithi inkosi, "Kulungile, mntanami, ngiyezwa, ngizomnika indoda."

292 *"Uthi wile, nkosi, ukutsi utankunika indoda," mhlajimbe kwase kungu-Mswazi.*

Wathi, "Phindela futhi, ufike utsi ngitsi nkosi ngingebe ngisayiqala futhi enye indoda. Indoda yami yiyo leyo uZikhali; ubaba ayefuna ukumbulala ngoba ngimthanda. Ayikho enye inkosi enganginika yona; ngingeze ngathi kanti wabulawa yimi, bese ngibuye ngiyakwenda kwenye indoda."

293 *"Hamba umtshale ukuthi ngiyezwa-ke, ngizokhuluma naye."*

Wayesebiza abantwabenkosi, ebatshele ukuthi, "Nangu uNomlatali uthi ucela indoda. Kepha ubaba wayethe uZikhali uzomnika uMzamose, njengesilingani sabo noMatiwane. Nango-ke uNomlatali esho njalo: Ngithi uma ngithi ngizomfunela indoda, uthi ngingaze ngamfunela enye, uthi indoda yakhe yazivwa nguNgwane wonke, leyo eyayibulawelwa mina ngubaba, kuthi abulawelwa mina ngibuye ngiyogala enye ayikho."

294 *"Hawu, nkosi, uqinisile: usho yena kambe umfo kaMatiwane?"*

"Yebo, makhosi, usho yena."

"Nkosi, akuthandeki ukuba athi umntwana esecela indoda, kubuye kulitshalwe, mfunele umthimba ahambe."

295 *Simfunde-ke*

*"uSibhakuza esimabanda nganyathi,
uHaha otufungwa ngabemukayo,
athi angisoze ngabuyela nekadzeni,
uMashikizela oshiye impi yakhe,
uSiyangomnyama kosa nini;
Mswazi, khawula abantu ngokubarimbezela."*

296 *Wawumema-ke umthimba, wathi, "OkaManukuza ngumshanyelo kaNomlatali, ngowenkosana uNomagidigidi kulapho ayogamela khona," naye ngo-*

¹ she means that if *Zikhali* had been slain, it would have been her fault, and if he was still alive that was not due to anything she had done to save him.

a pillow." She also was the child of a man of rank, and to the men he said, "Hayiyana, go you with her and see that the princess makes no mistake amongst the *amaNgwane*, and you *Makhwatha* must also go, and you *Makhuza*." Her maids were *Nomandawu*² and *Ntumbeyana*.

So they set out with her, and all the while *Zikhali* knew nothing.

Royal kraals of *Zikhali*

297 He had now settled, had the son of *Matiwane*, and built the royal *Makhandeni* kraal and that of *Phunga-Nomagebe* of *Ngazana*³, he built the *Mandabeni* kraal of *Mfundisi*, that was before he drove him out, and built the *Ngwazini* royal kraal. He built the *eziFulathelini* kraal of *Mthimkhulu*, which was constructed by those of his own age ; he built the royal kraal *Nobadina kaNdaba*

at the great rough-tongued cow

naming it after the kraal of his grandfather. He built also the royal kraal *Mangwaneni*, and removed from the *Nobadina* of *Makhosini* and his mother *okaXobhoza*, and built the royal kraal *Mfangizuzile* for the queen *okaZililo*, at *Macingwane's*, because the old name of a kraal of *Matiwane's* had already been taken for the *Siphahleni*.

Macingwane's kraals

298 The villages made subject to *Macingwane* were those of his induna *Shomela*, and when *Macingwane* married *okaMini* he was also given *Mdineka Ndaba* and he was told, "This is the headman of your area."

When he married *okaMakhubalo* he was given *Duma*, son of *Mkhulisa*, as another headman. When he married *okaDelive* he was given *Cubeni Jiyane* as headman. So that amongst *Macingwane's* people there were : *Bhevule*, son of *Thongwane*, who had many people of the *Mhlungwini* clan, those of *Mlindile*, *Genene*, *Mangunjana*, *Makhuphula*, *Mbiwa Mlambo*, *Nsizwane* and *Ntaba*, sons of *Shangela*, chief of the *Bhele* tribe.

² an old woman who is still alive today.

³ the chief's son whose mother is the *inkosikazi* of a royal kraal is very often named with it in this way.

womuntu omkhulu; kwathi enadodeni, "Hayiyana, hamba naye uze umbone uma esona kumaNgwane umntwana, nawe Makhwatha uzohamba, nawe Makhuzi". Iziggila zakhe nguNomandawu noNtumbeyana.

Babe bayamquba nempela, uZikhali akazi lutho.

uZikhali akha imizi

297 Wakhile manje unfo kaMatiwane, uselakhe weMakhandeni, wakha uPhunga-Nomagebe wakwaboNgazana, wakha waseMandabeni wakwaboMfundisi engakamxoshi, wakha wakwabo waseNgwazini, wakha waseziFulathelini kwaboMthimkhulu owakhiwe yintanga yakhe, wakha uNobadina-kaNdaba

enkonokazini-elulimi-lumakwele

wakwagogo wakhe. Wakha waseMangwaneni, uphuma kwaNobadina wakwaboMakhosini wakwaXobhoza, wakha oweMfangizuzile wakwaZililo wakwabo-Macingwane, njengoba kwabuye kwathathwa igama elidala lomuzi kaMatiwane eSiphahleni.

Imizi yakwaboMacingwane

298 Imizi yakwabo, kwayiwo wenduna yakhe uShomela, wathi uba aganwe ngokaMini, wanikelwa uMdineka Ndaba kwathiwa, "Nanso induna yakwakho."

Kwathi ukuba aganwe ngokaMakhubalo wanikelwa uDuma kaMkhulisa, kwathiwa "Nanso induna yakwakho." Kwathi ukuba aganwe ngokaDelwe wanikelwa uCubeni Jiyane, kwathiwa, "Nanso induna yakwakho." Kwaba nguBhevule kaThongwane wayenabantu abaningi baseMhlangwini: oMlindile, oGene, oMangunjana, oMakhuphula, uMbiwa Mlambo; uNsizwane noNtaba kaShangela, inkosi yasemaBheleni.

CHAPTER 14

Arrival of *Nomlalati*

299 So *Mswazi* arrived bringing his sister *Nomlalati* with him, and besides, the bridal party to dance the wedding dance, and he handed her over, together with her servants both male and female.

Now hitherto at the first fruits festivals, *okaLukhwazi* had been the great wife of *Zikhali*, who thought highly of her, so that when the queens danced by themselves on these occasions, she would make the others go aside, saying, "Move up a bit, you there, I am not yet perfectly in line with the chief," and so she would place herself in the correct position relative to the chief whilst the others moved aside.

300 However, when *Sobhuza's* daughter now arrived, it was clear that the mother of the chief-to-be had come, and the word would go to the slaughterers, "Don't forget the small intestine, which belongs to the queen *okaSobhuza!*" because the chief knew that she came from a magnificent court, having himself seen it. So now when the meat for the other queens was still being cut up, the small intestine, her sole perquisite, was already being browned on the fire. All this the other queens could see for themselves, and so though the chief might slaughter three head of cattle for the whole of his family, yet all the small intestines were roasted for her only, and there was none that dared to come near, until she herself invited one from amongst the queens she fancied, to come and eat with her. Another portion she would put aside for the morrow, and none of the meat would she share with another, but only with that favourite of hers.¹

Arrangements after *Zikhali's* death

301 At the death of *Zikhali*² the position in the royal household was as follows :

The daughter of *Sobhuza*, the mother of *Ngwadi*, the great wife.

The daughter of *Mdleleni*, the mother of *Mthimkhulu*, the chief's understudy,* that is, should the chief die, he would be put in office.

The daughter of *Lukhazi*, the mother of *Mfundisi*, on the left hand.

The daughter of *Soncaka*, the mother of *Muanja*, uncle of the chief.

The daughter of *Xobhoza*, the mother of *Makhosini*, the *imbuthu** of the chief.

302 Now because *Ngwadi* was still small they fetched his uncle

*Luzipho*³ (nail) for *Matirane* to scratch himself,

to take charge of the household of his elder brother and to act for the child. And it was decided, "You, *Ngazana*, we give you this work to do, live here in

Ukufika kukaNomlatali

299 *Wafika-ke uMswazi elethe udadewabo uNomlatali, wafika esefika nomthimba usuzogida, wafika wamnika neziggila zakhe nezingamadoda nezingabafazi.*

Kanti bekuthi uma kudlala umkhosi, okaLukhwazi abe nguyena ongomkhulu endodeni imazisa kakhulu. Bebethi uma amakhosikazi eza ngamabhinya awaqhelise amanye athi, "Wonga niyaqhela angikathi nqwa nenkosi", aze aqondane nenkosi asuke-ke amabhinya.

300 *Kwathi ngoba sekufike okaSobhuza, kwabonakala ukuthi sekufike izalan-kosi, kuthiwe kohlinzayo, "ubokwazi ithumbu lenkosikazi okaSobhuza," ngoba azi ukuthi wela embusweni naye awubona, okuzothi eyamakhosikazi isabengwa eyamakhosikazi bese lichochomba ithumbu lakhe yedwa, akhe azibonela nawo amakhosikazi, kuthi noma ehlabi ngantathu ezobutha wonke umuzi wakwabo zonke lezinkomo amathumbu azo oselwe yena yedwa, akakho omunye owayenga buye asondele, aze-ke yena azibizele inkosikazi kumakhosikazi enkosi ethandwa nguye azodla nayo lapha, elinye alibeke ayolosa ekuseni, nenyameni angalumisani nomunye kuphela leyonkosikazi.*

Ukumiswa komuzi wenkosi ekufeni kwayo

301 *Ekufeni kukaZikhali umuzi wamiswa kanje :*

OkaSobhuza unina kaNgwadi inkosi.

OkaMdleleni unina kaMthimkhulu yinhlanzi, okungathi uma kufa inkosi kubekwe yena.

OkaLukhwazi unina kaMfundisi, ikhohlwa

OkaSoncaka unina kaMnanja, uyise wenkosi

OkaXobhoza unina kaMakhosini, imbuthu yenkosi.

302 *Kwathi ngoba uNgwadi esemncane, kwase kulandwa uyise*

uLuzipho 'lokuzenwaya uMatirane'

ukuba azophatha umuzi womnawabo aphahele ingane. Kwase kuthiwa, "Wena, Ngazana, sikunikela nanku umsebenzi, wena akungene lapha emzini kaZikhali,

¹ according to custom *Nomlatali* should have shared the meat with the other queens.

² see note 2 to §355.

* the *inhlanzi* acts as regent for the deceased chief's minor son. The *imbuthu* again is designated as the one to take his place should he die before the heir becomes of age.

³ another name for *Macingwane*.

the kraal of *Zikhali*, you are like *Luziphu* who acts as father to the child. He must be carried by you, hold him in front of you in the saddle ; whenever you are tired, give him to your uncle *Macingwane*, and in this way you two will reach Estcourt. Only you two must touch him, nobody else ; and so that he may learn to ride, let a small horse be bought for him, so that you can rest from carrying him.

303 Another office which we give you is that every spring you must go around in the whole country of our tribe and put a mark on all the calves of the chief's cows when they begin to grow their horns. And whenever you come to a kraal and find the cattle very numerous, you may also put your own mark on some cattle, it will be just as if you were guarding the crops of the chief and you were entitled to part of the harvest as reward."

304 Now when eventually *Ngazana* left and followed *Mthimkhulu* and *Makhosini*, this work was taken over by *Zembe*, son of *Nsimbini*, the induna of the *Makhandeni* kraal, and that is how *Hlelethwa* acquired wealth, and *Zembe* also.

But then the factions commenced and they left.

wena usafana noLuzipho unguyise womntwana lo, uzobelethwa nguwe umgone phambi kwakho ehashini; uthi ungadinwa, umnike uyihlo uMacingwane nize nijike nobabili eMtshezi, nimphathe nobabili angaphathwa ngomunye futhi, kothi-ke angafunda ukugibela, athengelwe ihashana elifishane, niphumule-ke ekunbeletheni.

303 Omunye umsebenzi esikumika wona kuzothi njalo entwasahlobo uhambe lonke izwe leli lanaNgwane, uhambe, usika uphawu kuwo wonke amankonyane enkomo zenkosi, nxa esaphuma izimponjwana.

Uzobafike emzini lapho uzozifumana ziningi, uthi ungazisika bese usika nolwakho uphawu, kufana nokuthi ulinde insimu yenkosi, lapho uyothola khona umelela.”

304 Wathi uba ahambe uNgazana alandele oMihimkhulu noMakhosini, lomsebenzi wase uthathwa nguZembe kaNsimbini, induna yeMakhondeni, kulapho uHlelethwa atsheba khona, naye uZembe.

Kwavuka umbango, bahamba-ke.

CHAPTER 15

Story of *Mkhumbeli*, son of *Masumpa*

305 Behold *Mkhumbeli* now going down to Maritzburg to pay his respects to *Somsewu*, (Sir Theophilus Shepstone), son of *Sonzica*. The indunas took him before *Somsewu* and told him, "Sir, here is *Mkhumbeli*."

"From where are you, *Mkhumbeli*?"

"Sir, I am of the *amaNgwane*, *Matiwane* was my brother."

"What! your brother was *Matiwane*?"

"Yes, sir."

"Where is your brother?"

306 "Sir, he escaped with his life from you at *Mbholompo* and went to Zululand. *Mshweshwe* begged him to stay because *Matiwane* had at one time saved him from *Sigonyela*, and tried to persuade him to stay with him; he would be allowed to govern himself as he had done in the past. But *Matiwane* refused: No, *Mshweshwe*, I know that you kill no man, but you cannot do away with what is here in my heart; do you believe I am he who used to go about with so many people? So *Mshweshwe* presented him with ten oxen, bidding him eat them on the road, for *Matiwane* said he no longer wished to walk this earth, it did not matter any more, let him go and be finished off by *Shaka*. However, we found that *Dingane* was now in power, and *Matiwane* lived with him for a year, when he had him slain; but then we made our escape because we did not wish to stay longer in a place where our chief had been murdered. So we thought we would tender our submission to the Government, and that is why I am here."

307 "But now, seeing you are a son of *Masumpa*, where are the *amaNgwane* that follow you?"

"There are none, sir, I only found a commoner of the surname *Nkala* who called himself one of the royal family, whereas at the time when *Mpangazitha* was killed he was taken prisoner; I found a small group of *amaNgwane* being ruled by him, and also five daughters of my father."

308 Shepstone told him, "Very well, son of *Masumpa*, I shall seek a place for you. Were you yourself there when we fought *Matiwane* at *Mbholompo*?"

"Yes sir, I was there."

"How old were you?"

"I was already a grown up man, sir."

309 "You were men, for you caused us great losses. We shall meet another day, it were better for you to leave *Mthunzini* where they eat fish and oysters."

Indaba kaMkhumbeli

305 *Nango-ke uMkhumbeli eshamba eyokhonza eMgungundlovu kuSomsewu kaSonzica, zimuse izinduna kuSomsewu, zithi, "Nkosi, nangu uMkhumbeli."*

"Ungowaphi, Mkhumbeli?"

"Nkosi, ngiliNgwane, uMatiwane ngumfowethu."

"Ha! ngumfowenu uMatiwane?"

"Yebo, nkosi."

"Uphi yena umfowenu?"

306 *Wathi, "Nkosi, kanti usindile kini eMbholompo, wazimukisa kwaZulu. Wabathe uMshweshwe uyamncenga wathi naye wamlamulela kuSigonyela, akahtale akhe kuye, uzozi busela njengoba abe ebusa; wala wathi: Cha, Mshweshwe, ngiyazi ukuthi wena awubulali muntu, awusoze wakuqeda okulapha enhliziyweni yani, uthi yimi lo engangihamba nabantu abangakanyana nje. uMshweshwe wase emnika izinkabi ezilishumi wathi kahambe edla, wathi yena akasathandi ukuhamba phezulu okungenani akayqedelwa nguye uShaka; nembala safumanisa sekungu-Dingane, nempela wahlala umnyaka wamunye, wayesemqedela embulala, khona sase siphuma ngokubaleka uba singasathandi ukuhlala lapho kubulawe khona inkosi ycthu, sathi asizokhonza kuHulumeni, njengoba ngizokhonza nje."*

307 *"Kepha loku ungokaMasumpa nje, aphi amaNgwane akulandelayo na?"*

"Awakho nkosi, ngifumana umfokazana wakwaNkala owathi ngumfowethu, kanti kwathi nyakana kubulawa uMpangazitha wathunjwa, ngifumana idlanzana lamaNgwane abese ebuswa nguye, namantombazana kababa amahlanu."

308 *Wathi, "Kulungile mfo kaMasumpa, ngizokubonela. Wawukhona wena ugobo lwakho uma silwa noMatiwane eMbholompo?"*

"Yebo, nkosi, ngangikhona."

"Wawungakanani?"

"Ngase ngiyindoda, nkosi."

309 *"Ningamadoda nasiqeda. Sobuye sihlangane, kuhle usuke lapho eMthuzini, lapho kudliwa izinyoka nezimbade, ungeze wathi ungowenkosi engaka udle*

Let it not be said that a great man like yourself eats fish. I shall find you a place on the *Mkhomanzi* near *Mahwaga* hill, go thither with the *amaNgwane* that you have found. Furthermore, there are some people of the Government there, folk who have no chief; them I shall take and add to yours."

310 He thanked him, "Chief! Sir, there is a son of my elder brother who is a chief, his name is *Zikhali*, he is thinking of going to Basutoland, I don't like to go there, that is why I came to tender my submission here to you."

"Is he an actual son of *Matiwane*?"

"Yes, sir, that is so."

"Well! allright *Mkhumbeli*, we shall meet again. Perhaps you will be called by me and I shall point out that place to you."

311 And in truth he did send for him soon and told him, "Even though you don't want to remove just now, come along and I shall point out to you the place, so that you can always know it and eventually settle there." And he came and pointed out to him the locality, and summoned the local people who had no chief and told them, "Here is one who will take charge of you, he will treat you well, he is a prince, a son of *Masumpa* and brother of *Matiwane*. There is none that does not know *Matiwane*, I am giving you to a man who will rule you well in royal fashion."

312 They thanked him. Thereupon he put down the boundary pegs to show where the area of *Mkhumbeli* was to end.

"Now you have seen the boundary pegs of your country, you can now settle your people here according to your own judgment."

He thanked him, "My chief!"

He thereupon moved his own kraal first and after that the others began to come, including such as were not *amaNgwane*; those who had formerly acknowledged *Madliphela* as their chief and others also a great many in number.

"If your land proves to be insufficient you must come and tell me," said Shepstone.

In course of time he found he was short of a little bit and went to inform him, so he came and allotted *Mkhumbeli* some more land.

British occupation of Port Natal

313 They settled there at the same time as the English occupied the Bay (Durban), the Boers fought to prevent them, they kept them off a whole year and it was not known what would be the result, but the others began to dig a hole on the beach, a hole that was a tunnel that went underneath the ground for a long distance until it reappeared underneath the town. Now the Boers were suddenly taken aback to hear the bugle resound in the centre of their town, and they fled leaving everything lying about.

izinyoka; ngizokubonela lapha eMkhomanzi ngaseMahwaqa, uze nabo labo amaNgwane owafumene, futhi bakhona abantu eMahwaqa abantu bakaHulumeni abangenankosi, ngizo bathatha ngibathele kuwe."

310 Wabonga, "Nkosi! Nkosi, indodana yomnewethu eyinkosi ikhona, igama layo nguZikhali, uqonde ukuya eLusuthu, kepha mina angaze ngathanda ukuya lapho, yikho ngizokhonza lapha enkosini."

"Izalwa nguye uMatiwane?"

"Yebo, nkosi, kunjalo."

"Cha! kulungile Mkhumbeli, kumbe sobuye sibonane. Mhlayimbe uyobizwa yimi ngizokukhombisa leyondawo."

311 Nempela wayesemthumela masingane, wathi, "Noma ungakathandi ukuthutha manje manje, woza ngizokukhombisa indawo leyo uhlale uyazi, wayakhe." Wafika wamkhombisa leyondawo, wabiza nabantu bakhona abangenankosi wathi, "Nangu umuntu ozoniphatha, uzoniphatha kahle, ngowenkosi, ngoka-Masumpa, ngumfowabo Matiwane. Akakho ongamazi uMatiwane, ngininika umuntu ozoniphatha kahle ngesandla sobukhosi."

312 Babonga. Wayesehloma iziqoqo lapho likhawula khona elikaMkhumbeli.

"Sewulibonile nawe iziqoqo zezwe lakho, usuyobakhisa ngokubona kwakho abantu bakho."

Wabonga, "Nkosi!"

Wathutha owakhe kuqala, bayiloku sebesuka ngabanye, nabanye nje abangesiwo amaNgwane; abasebakhonza kuMadliphela nabanye nje bakhonza bababaningi kakhulu.

"Ubothi uma ungeneli uzongitshela."

Wasilela kancane, wayakuntshela, wasephinda emsikela futhi.

Ukufika kwamaNgisi eThekwini

313 Bafikisana nokungena kwamaNgisi eThekwini, amaBhunu evimbe khona, fawavimbela umnyaka akwabe kusaziwa ukuba asuka aqondaphi, kanti ale esokhwezini awuqala umgodi kanti umgodi ushambe phansi njalo, waze waqhamukela phansi komuzi. Athi amaBhunu ethuka kwasekukhala ielongo khona phakathi komuzi, abaleka amaBhunu ashuya phansi konke.

Cebisa Luvuno steals cattle

314 At this time *Cebisa Luvuno* perceived a big herd of cattle, one hundred and eighty in number, that they had left in the forests together with the wagons, and he rushed off to tell *Mkhumbeli*. They quickly built a cattle kraal and took the cattle out to graze in the night, and kept them shut in during the day until the Boers had all gone into the Free State, because they were going away and leaving the tired cattle behind in order not to be delayed by them.

And *Cebisa* gave the chief *Mkhumbeli* a hundred head and he himself took the other eighty. For this *Mkhumbeli* thanked him very much and both of them kept the cattle.

uCebisa eba izinkomo

314 *Wathi uCebisa wabona umklambi omkhulu wezinkomo, ikhulu namashumi ayisibhozo bazishiya emahlathini nezingola, waye seyohlaba umkhosi kuMkhumbeli bayozakhela isibaya baphume nazo ebusuku, emini bazivalele ukuze aphelele amaBhunu eFree-State, ngoba asehamba ezishiya ezidiniwe ukuze zingawalibazisi.*

uCebisa wanika inkosi uMkhumbeli ikhulu lezinkomo, yena wathatha amashumi ayisibhozo, wabonga kakhulu uMkhumbeli, bafuya lezonkomo bobabili.

CHAPTER 16

Quarrel between *Zikhali* and *Sidinane*¹

315 *Sidinane* asked, "Where do you think your country ends, *Zikhali*?"

He replied, "My country ends at the *Khombe* River."

Sidinane asked, "How can it end at the *Khombe*, seeing that you found me already in occupation, and apparently you now want to build your house on top of mine." And he said further, "It is for me to say: my country ends at the *Mnweni*, I who am master of this land."

316 To this *Zikhali* replied, "It sounds reasonable, *Miya*, and if that is your opinion, then we might on occasion go to appeal at the place whence we are governed."

They both agreed to this and went down to Ladysmith.

Arrived there, *Zikhali* spoke, "My chiefs, the reason for our coming here is that I have fallen out with *Sidinane*, I ask you to settle our dispute, please. I, *Zikhali*, maintain that my country ends at the *Khombe*, whereas *Sidinane* claims that his boundary is the *Mnweni* because he is the owner of that country and because I found him already in occupation of it.

317 To this I reply: How? For did not his father *Magangane*, when my father *Matiwane* arrived, subject himself to my father? *Matiwane* then demanded: Point out your eldest son to me. So he pointed out *Bhayibhayi*, though deceiving him in this. *Matiwane* thanked him and told him: Don't think that I am now going to flee with your son, for as soon as I am hidden to view behind the Drakensberg I intend settling down, I am going so far in order that, if *Shaka* should attack me, he will arrive already worn out by hunger. And if there is anything that troubles you, *Magangane*, you must tell me and I shall come and give you assistance.

318 Now I ask, who is it that wants to undo all this? Seeing that *Magangane* agreed and asked my father to put this son of his under his armpit (i.e. take charge of him), and remained subject to him until he got to *Mbholompo* where he fought with the English, and when they defeated him he returned with him. When he wanted to go on to Zululand to be slain by *Shaka*, he told him now to go home. And he said: When *Magangane* gave me *Bhayibhayi*, he said he was giving me his son and heir. And so, even though he was deceiving him in this, he in doing so gave him *Sidinane* who really was his eldest son."

319 Now the white man asked, "How is it, *Sidinane*, that you say that your country ends at the *Mnweni*? And that *Zikhali* claims that his boundary

Ukuphikisana kukaSidinane noZikhali

315 *uSidinane wabuza wathi, " Izwe lakho likhawulaphi Zikhali na? "*

Wathi uZikhali, " Elami ilizwe likhawule ngoKhombe."

Wayesethi uSidinane, " Likhawule ngoKhombe kanjani, njengoba ungifumanise sengilapha, sekungabonakala ukuthi indlu yakho yakha phezu kwendlu yami." Wathi uSidinane, " Yimi engifanele ngithi: Izwe lami likhawule ngoMmveni, mina mnikuzi lendawo."

316 *Wathi uZikhali, " Kuyezwakala-ke, Miya, uma usho njalo wena, singake siye lapho satholwa khona."*

Bavumelana, baya nembala eMnambithi.

Wafike uZikhali wathi, " Makhosi, uma sifika lapha nje, siphikisana noSidinane, ngithi silamule, nkosi. Mina wakoZikhali, ngithi izwe lami likhawule ngoKhombe, naye uSidinane uthi elakhe likhawule ngoMnweni, ngoba enguyena mnikazilo ngoba ngamfumana eshlezi lapha kulelizwe.

317 *Mina ngithi kanjani, ngoba uyise uMagangane wafika lapha ubaba uMatiwane wakhonza kubaba na? uMatiwane wayesethi: Ngikhombise umntanakho omkhulu. Wamkhombisa uBhayibhayi, kanti uyamkhohlisa, wabonga-ke uMatiwane, wayesethi uMatiwane: Ungasho belo ukuthi ngiyabaleka nomntanakho ngizokwenela ukusithela ngapha koLundi ngihlale phansi, ngenzela ukuthi athi uShaka efika kimi abeselambile, uma kukhona okukulumayo, Magangane, uze ungitshele, ngizokukubonisa.*

318 *Manje ngibuza ukuthi ngubani-ke osebuye waqhaqha loko na? Njengoba wavuma uMagangane wathi ufafa akamfike okhwapheni lomntanakhe, ayemkhonzele aze ayofika eMbholompo, afika alwe namaNgisi, wathi uba amahlule amaNgisi wabuya naye, uyadlula eya kwaZulu ukuba ayobulawa nguShaka, wathi uMatiwane: Hamba-ke uye kini manje mtanani. Wathi: uMagangane enginika uBhayibhayi wathi unginika umntanakhe omkhulu. Kanti uyamkhohlisa, wayemnika yena-ke uSidinane ngokuthi umnika umntanakhe omkhulu."*

319 *Ahla abuze-ke umlungu athi, " Kuyikho yini loko, Sidinane, ukuthi wena uthi izwe lakho likhawule ngoMnweni na? noZikhali uthi elakhe likhawula*

¹ this matter is referred to in a statement made by *Sidinane* to Shepstone (now in Maritzburg Archives, SNA 3, 8th March, 1853). He says *Zikhali* suspected him of being in league with *Wetse*, with whom he was in enmity. Capt. Struben ordered him first to one place and then to another without sufficient investigation. He wanted to wait before moving until having reaped his crops, and his mother was ill. "nevertheless however, a force came and took his cattle and other property and in the violence exercised hurt his mother and injured one of his children, so that it afterwards died."

is the *Khombe*? Now I declare that it is meet that *Zikhali's* boundary should end at the *Khombe*, and you, *Sidinane*, if your country should end at the *Mnweni*, each of you would no longer possess any country at all. Now since you have asked me to settle your dispute, I shall please you both and neither will find fault with me and claim the country as his and ignore me, for I shall come to his assistance according to your own law. I give you thirty days from today when you leave here from my office, and you must go and cut clubs; don't forget those thirty days, and that on the thirty-first day you must fight with sticks. For I know that, according to your custom, land is contended for, and he who is not strong has his land taken by him who overcomes him by force."

320 They thanked him.

"Go then, my children, and do as I have told you, but let there be none armed with a spear; you may only fight with sticks. Whomsoever I discover as having stabbed another with a spear I shall punish."

The days would not end soon enough for the "Roarer with the sound of many rivers."

321 Then when twenty-nine days had passed, he took out his men and sent them to *Makhuphula*, the son of *Mangwane*, and the army stayed at *Makhuphula's*, but at sunset it left again and hid in the reed beds near *Bhikisha's*, and at the first sign of dawn he brought it forward and formed a semi-circle, this being now the thirty-first day.

322 At this juncture *Ntaba*, son of *Shangela* (a *Zizi* man) arrived and reported, "Chief, the herd of oxen is no longer here, it is now yonder near my kraal."

The order was given, "You, *Macingwane*, with your *Mfangizuzile* regiment go with *Shangela* to those oxen, whilst the men of the *Ngwaqa* kraal must go straight to *Sidinane*. The *iziFulatheli* regiment must make for *Somahlawe's*, and you men of *Ngwaqa* must not make a fire, for a fire must be lit first of all by those who go with *Macingwane* and *Ntaba*, son of *Shangela*, and the *iziFulatheli*, then only light your fire as a signal that every party is at its post."

323 Thus he got ready his army. When daylight came a fire was seen where the *Mfangizuzile* regiment was posted, and another where the *iziFulatheli* men were. Now the *Ngwaqa* party approached very near and surrounded all the village and closed in on it but then stood still and inactive, until they were discovered by a woman who went outside very early in the morning for a private purpose. She was startled and stopped in the middle of what she was doing, upon seeing something like a black cloud, not knowing what it could be the shadow of, and exclaimed, "Ho! it is an army! Those are black shields."

Thereupon she rushed to her husband, shouting, "Get up! Get up! Come and look what is outside."

324 By now it was quite light. Now this woman had planned to strain beer for a wedding which was to be held, for the *amaZizi* had forgotten the number

ngoKhombe. Manje-ke mina ngithi kuyalingana uma uZikhali ekhawula ngoKhombe, nawe, Sidinane, uma ukhawula ngoMnweni, yilowo nalowo kini angasala engasenalo izwe, mina ngithi kini nobabili ngizonijabulisa njengaloku nithi anginilamule, omunye angaze angisole athi lithi ilizwe kanti ngelami, umane uyangilahla nje ngizamlamula ngomthetho wakini, ngithi kini ngininqumela amashumi amathathu ezinsuku kusukela namhlanje ukusuka kwenu lapha kimi, niyogawula izinduku, ningazikhohlwa lezo nsuku ezi mashumi mathathu kuthi kolomuvo nishayane ngezinduku, ngoba ngiyazi ukuthi izwe kini libangwa ngamandla uthi ongenawo amandla izwe lithathwe yilowo omahlulayo ngamandla.”

320 *Babonga.*

“Hambani-ke bantwabami nenze njalo, angabi bikho ophatha umkhonto; nishaya nengezinduku kuphela, engiyomuzwa ohlabe omunye ngomkhonto nginaye.”
Ziphuze-ke izinsuku ukuphela, ku “Mahlokomane onjengemilambo.”

321 Kwathi kuzinsuku ezingamashumi amabili nethoba wayikhipha yaye yangenisa kuMakhuphula kaMangwane, yahlala kuMakhuphula, kwathi ukushona kwelanga yasuka, yaye yangenisa emhlangeni kwaBhikisha, kwathi ngemisi emhlophe wayisusa yakha umkhumbi, sekusa lona-ke olomuvo.

322 Sokufike uNtaba kaShangela, wathi, “Nkosi, umgeku wezinkabi awusekho lapha, sewulaphaya kwami.”

Kwathiwa, “Wena Luzipho iMfangizuzile, hamba naye uShangela, uye khona lapho kulezonkabi, ngithi iNgwaqa ayibange kuye impela uSidinane. IziFulatheli azibange kuSomahlawe, nina Ngwaqa ningaqale niwubase umlilo woze ubaswe kuqala ngabahambe noLuzipho noNtaba kaShangela neziFulatheli, kande niwubase ukuze kubonakale ukuthi manje seyingene indawo zonke.”

323 Wabe uyayisusa-ke khona njalo. Kuthe uma kubheje ezansi wabonakala umlilo kuyo iMfangizuzile, wabonakala eziFulathelini. Yase isondezela eduzane iNgwaqa, sebewukaka wonke umuzi, yakhankasa nje yema kayaze yenza lutho, yaze yahlakazwa ngumfazi ekuseni kakhulu ethi uyakushobinga, umfazi wathi tata ethi uyashobinga wawunqamulela, usebona ngefu nje elimnyama, engazi ukuthi lithunzi lani, usebathe, “Ha! yimpi! zihlangu ezimnyama lezi.”

Wathathela ebona endodeni. “Vuka! Vuka! uzo bona loku okuphandle.”

324 Kwayilapho sekukhanya manje. Lomfazi wayeyakuvova utshwala bomsindo ngoba kwakukhona umsindo, kanti amaZizi aselekhohlwe zinsuku ezanqunywe

of days that had been given them at Ladysmith, and so when her husband came out in response to her call he also perceived, "My word! So this is what is wrong," and dashed off to raise the alarm to his chief, "Sir, alarm the men of the village!"

325 Now it was the daughters of *Somahlawe*, the mother of *Ncayi*, who were in seclusion; the men rushed out one by one and each was hit by one man of the *amaNgwane*, not by any others, and so everyone in turn was beaten, until they had all gone through and eventually the chief, *Sidinane* himself, came out, but *Zikhali* ordered, "Don't dare to touch him!" and so *Sidinane* escaped and went off.

326 By now all the women had also issued forth. A menial of *Zikhali*, *Nokhankatha* by name, said to *Sidinane*, "Let me put this necklace of yours straight," and he untied it and put it round his own neck saying, "It was this necklace that made you forget that you were subject to *Zikhali*."

Now suddenly they saw runners coming from *Somahlawe's* to announce, "The army has entered." They told them, "We here have also been successful." By now the *Zizi* were climbing up into the mountains, and the warriors were rushing in everywhere. They drank some beer, then *Zikhali* gave the order, "Let them now go out and seize the cattle."

327 Some remained who went on straining and drinking beer, choosing only that which was tasty: then the party returned from *Somahlawe's*, bringing with it cattle and goats. Whoever desired the flesh of a goat simply killed one; whoever wanted beef went and cut himself some from the meat intended for the girls in seclusion. A goat they simply cut open, made a huge fire and roasted it there with long sticks, until it was brown and the fat ran from it. Nor were they intoxicated by the beer, seeing that they had first eaten meat.

328 The *Mfangizuzile* regiment came along with a herd of oxen when the meat of the feast was already prepared. Said the chief, "Hurry up, we want to go." When the sun was half way to sunset the meat was ready and they tackled it. Then he ordered them to arms, those who were to drive the cattle having already been selected, and while the *amaZizi* began to come down from the hills, the war-party went on and returned to the kraal of *Mangwane's* son *Makhuphula*.

329 In the night the cattle broke the cattle kraal and so all the men rushed out and closed the gap with their bodies. All this time the *amaZizi* were sneaking about stealthily, seeking to steal back their cattle. Early next morning they arose at *Makhuphula's* and the order was given, "To arms." This time the party that drove the cattle was in front. Now when the cattle passed the headman's kraal in the ward of *Shomela*, son of *Mgishima*, one *Mcanguzo* sallied forth and seized four goats, whilst the cattle went on and were taken to the *Ngwaqeni* royal kraal. The fat animals were picked out, and all the women who brought their husbands beer went home with their heads red with blood of the meat they carried.



eMnambithi, nempela yathi indoda iyaphuma njengesihlabezelo somfazi seyibathe, "Ha! kanti sekunje," iphuthume ukuyahlaba umkhosi enkosini yaku bo, "Nkosi, hlabela amadoda aphakathi komuzi umkhosi."

325 Kugonqe izintombi zikaSomahlawe unina kaNcayi, aphume-ke amadoda ngamanye, athi uma eseke washaywa ngomunye angafe esashaywa ngomunye ashaywe yilowo njalo osemshayile, nembala kwa baphume lowo kwaba njalo, aze abe ayaphela amadoda, kwase kuphuma yona inkosi ugobo lwayo uSidinane, wathi uMahlakomane, "Ningalingi nimthinte!" Waphuma uSidinane wahamba.

326 Abafazi-ke bona sebephume baphela. Wayesethi uNokhankatha ophatha inkezo yenkosi wathi kuSidinane, "Ake ngikulungise umgezo wakho lo," wamkhumula, wase ewufaka kuye esethi, "Ududwa yiwo lomgexwana."

Bathi bethuka kwase kufika abavela kwaSomahlawe bathi "Ingene," bathi, "Nakithi silapha nje seyingene." Bakhwela intaba manje, yangenisa-ke, yathi ukuba inathe utshwala wayesethi, "Mayisuke izidle."

327 Sekusala laba abavova utshwala, bahambe bekhetha obumnandi, yase ifika lena evela kwaSomahlawe, nayo yafika isiza nazo izinkomo kanye nezimbuzi. Kwathi othanda inyama yembuzi wazihlabela imbuzi; kwathi othanda inyama yenkomo wayakuzisikela enyamem yenkomo yabagonqi. Intondolo bathi bangayiqhekeza, babase umlilo omkhulu bayichochombise ngezixhobo ezinkulu khona emlulweni, ibe bomvu uthi tsebhu kuze kugeleze amafutha, bengadakwa nangutshwala ngoba sebegale ngokudla inyama.

328 Yayitheleka iMfangizuzile neqabi lezinkabi, seyivuthiwe-ke inyama yezinkabi le. Yathi inkosi, "Yenzani masinyane, sizohamba." Nembala lathi ilanga nxa libantu-bahle yavuthwa inyama bayingena, wathi, "Ayihlome," abaqhuba izinkomo sebekhethiwe, aqala ukwehla ezintabeni amaZizi, yahamba njalo yangangenisa kumfo kaMangwane uMakhuphula.

329 Kwathi phakathi kobusuku zasidabula isibaya, kwaphuma impi yonke yasibiya ngemizimba yawo. AmaZizi ayiloku esekezela elandela ezama ukuzeba. Yavuka ekuseni kuMakhuphula wathi, "Ayihlome." Yase iphambili impi eqhuba izinkomo. Zathi uma zidlula emzini wenduna kwaShomela kaMgishima, waphuma uMcanguzo, wabamba izintondolo ezine; zadlula, zaye zangena eNgwaqeni. Zakhethwa ezenyama kwathi abafazi abathwalele abayeni babo utshwala, babomvu izinhloko bonke ligazi lenyama.

330 *Sidinane* rushed off to Ladysmith and reported, “*Zikhali* has seized all my cattle”.

So a policeman was sent to fetch him. When *Zikhali* appeared, the white men asked him,

“Now, *Zikhali*, why did you rob *Sidinane* of his cattle? You were given no such instructions, but were told: fight with one another with sticks, so that it may appear who is the weaker”.

331 And a constable was detailed to go with him, with the order, “Go and return *Sidinane*’s cattle to him”. When they got home, they found the cattle no longer complete in number, for some had been slaughtered. They told the constable, “Some are no more”. He asked how many there had been, and they told him, so he ordered *Zikhali* to return others instead. *Zikhali* then produced only lean animals, and only to the exact number he had been told.

332 The policeman now informed *Zikhali*, “I have orders to take you and *Sidinane* back, to be given instructions”.

So they returned to Ladysmith. There they were told, “Now, *Sidinane*’ what do you say as to your territory ending at the *Mnweni*?”

A surveyor was sent and he marked out the boundary at *Gade*’s, and they were told, “Your country, *Sidinane*, ends at the *Khombe*. Your chief is *Zikhali*, because he has beaten you”. He said, “Yes, sir, thank you”.

333 But *Zikhali* demanded, “I want the *Zizi* to come nearer to us, for you also know that *Sidinane* is a thief, and will steal my cattle. He has upon occasion stolen them and gone with them into Basutoland.”

They told him, “You hear, *Sidinane*, that *Zikhali* will himself point out a place for you; leave the place where you are now, and then when he has taught you his laws, he will allow you to return to your old home”. So they were given (as subjects) to *Zikhali*’s queen *okaSoncaka* at the *Phahlindlela* royal kraal, and they became the people of *Mnanja* (eldest son of *okaSoncaka*). There they lived for a long time, for they had been made to settle near the *Situhwana* spruit.

334 Then one day *Sidinane* complained, “I am aggrieved, my chief, because my desire for meat is killing me, as I am a man accustomed to hunting”.² So *Zikhali* then went and reported this to the authorities who replied, “Well, this is for you to decide, *Zikhali*”. He answered, “My chiefs, I have no objection; for I can see that he is now accustomed to me”, and so he permitted *Sidinane* to return to his old kraal-sites. However *Sidinane*’s son *Mdingi* remained at Emmaus, and also *Mfacane Miya*. And *Zikhali* gave *Sidinane* permission to go, and he moved, but remained a subject to *Zikhali* after that nevertheless.

² there being more game in the part where *Sidinane* had been at home (just below the Mont aux Sources), he had been accustomed to a more regular supply of meat.

330 uSidinane wayeseponseka eMnambithi wathi, “uZikhali usengidle zonke izinkomo zami”.

Kwasekuthunyelwa iphoyisa kuthiwa alinlande. Uma eyakufika, abelungu bathi,

“Phela, Zikhali, sewenzeleni ukumudla uSidinane izinkomo zakhe? Awunikelwanga lomthetho, kepha kuthiwa: shayanani ngezinduku ukuba kubonakale owahlulwayo.”

331 Wanikelwa unongayi kwathiwa, “Hamba uyomnika uSidinane izinkomo zakhe”. Nxa befika lapha ekhaya, bafumanisa izinkomo zingasaphelele, sezihlatshiwe. Bathi kunongayi, “Azisekho ezinye.” Wathi unongayi, “Bekuzinkomo ezingaki na?” Bazisho, kwathiwa, “Zikhiphe, Zikhali”. Wasezikhapha ngemigeda nje, ingobo kwayinkomo zaphela iminwe leyo eshwo.

332 Wathi unongayi, “Zikhali, kuthiwe ngiboza nani nobabili noSidinane, nizotshelwa umthetho”.

Baphindela eMnambithi. Kwafike kwathiwa, “Manje-ke, Sidinane, sewuthini-ke? ngokuthi ilizwe lakho likhawule ngoMnweni.”

Kwasekuthunyelwa umdabuli, walidabula walikhawulisa kwaGade, kwathiwa, “Ilizwe lakho, Sidinane, likhawula lapho-ke. Inkosi yakho nguZikhali, ngoba ukwahlulile”. Wathi, “Nkosi, ngiyabonga”.

333 Kusho uZikhali, “Ngithanda ukuba babuyele ngaphakathi, ngoba futhi niyamazi nani ukuthi uSidinane uyeba, uzokweba izinkomo zami. Wake wazefu wahamba nazo, waya kubeSuthu.”

Kwatirwa, “Uyezwa-ke, Sidinane, uZikhali akakubonele yena indawo; usuke lapho ukhona, uyothi angakufundisa umthetho wakhe, abuye akubuyisele lapho endaweni yakho”. Base benikelwa okaSoncaka, sekuba nguPhahlindlela kwaba ngabantu bakwaBoMnanja, bahlala bahlala ngoba babakhiswe eSitulwana.

334 Wathi uSidinane, “Ngiyakhala, nkosi, inkwankwa iyangibulala ngoba ngingumuntu ojwayele ukuzingela”. Wayeseyombika kubelungu, bafike bathi, “Phela, ungambonela wena, Zikhali”. Wayesethi, “Makhosi, ngiyavuma; ngoba ngiyabona ukuthi usengejwayele”, wamvumela ukuba abuyele khona emanxivweni akhe. Kwasala uMdingi kaSidinane eEmmaus, kwasala uMfacane Miga, wayesemvumela wahamba. Waba ngumuntu kaZikhali njalo njalo.

CHAPTER 17

Succession to *Zikhali*

335 After the death of *Zikhali*, his son *Ncwadi*, in the house of the daughter of *Sobhuza*, was installed as chief,¹ and all the *amaNcwane* gave their assent to this, because she had been paid for with cattle given by the great ones of the tribe. However, afterwards the older men of royal rank changed their minds.

“ We pray you, our uncles ” they said, “ we want to know what caused the death of our father ”.

But *Mondise*, the son of *Mqhele*, would not allow them to consult a diviner, he being the *inhlanzi* appointed for *Matiwane*,² he told them, “ No, my children. The village of the little club decays if internal dissension holds sway in it. Our father merely died, there is nothing further to it ”. But they were stirred to anger.

336 At this time *Makhosini*³ had asked *Macingwane* for the loan of his son *Msebenzi* to come and herd for him, he being still at *Nqoha* but intending to settle on the *Mpandwini* River,⁴ and even the day on which he was to fetch him had been fixed. Then the message came that they must go down to the office to testify that this chief that had been installed had the approval of them all. But then it became clear that they had changed their minds, and were now in two parties, the one that of the princes, the other of *Luzipho* (*Macingwane*). It was decided to go to Ladysmith, but then a constable arrived, who told them, “ The order is that you must go to Estcourt.”

337 The party came to *Kasi*'s area to spend the night, and they slept apart, for *Makhosini* found quarters with his uncle *Mshwaphuluzi* and with him all the party known as *Lukhozi* of the *Nobadina* kraal, whilst *Luzipho* spent the night with his father-in-law⁵ *Mteli*, at the home of the mother of *Hlelethwa*,

¹ that is, he was designated as the chief to be, for he was still a small boy.

² the *inhlanzi* is the brother appointed at the time of a chief's accession, to act as regent in the event of the chief's demise before his heir is born or old enough to succeed. In this instance, *Macingwane*, *Zikhali*'s brother, was away, so *Matiwane*'s *inhlanzi* acted for him. The circumstance of his being *inhlanzi* is mentioned to account for his right to veto the suggestion that a diviner be consulted. He naturally feared that the verdict would cause a split into factions and lead to hostilities, but though he was proved right in this supposition, the result was that he himself was accused of being the *unthakathi*.

The circumstances surrounding a chief's death are frequently concealed. Alfred Gumede however had the following version :—*Njiyeza*, *Zikhali*'s uncle and the same man who had brought about *Shangela*'s death as described in §140, was the chief's personal doctor and in charge of his medicines. One day he urged *Zikhali* to perform his ablutions in certain medicines and although the chief for some reason or other was reluctant, he eventually consented. The bath of medicines was of course prepared by

Ukubekwa kukaNgwadi

335 Kwathi ekufeni kukaZikhali kwase kubekwa uNcwadi wakwaSobhuza, abonga nje wonke amaNgwane, ngoba walotsholwa ngezinkomo zezikhulu. Kepha kamuva abantwabenkosi abadala baywilika bathi,

“Siyacela, makhosi, kini bobaba, sithanda ukuzwa ukuthi ubaba ubulewe yini”.

Wala uMondise kaMqhele, ngoba uMqhele yinhlanzi welanyaniswa noMatiwane, wathi, “Cha! bantwabami. Umuzi wendukwana uyabola nxa uyiloku uphathelwa indukwana. Ufile nje okababa akunani”.

Bathukuthela-ke.

336 Kwakuyilapho uMakhosini esecele uMsebenzi kuMacingwane ukuba azamelusela, waeseNgqoha ethi bazokwakha eMpandwini nelanga eselinqumile ayezomlanda ngalo. Kwathiwa abehle baye kubelungu bayonyanisa bonke ukuba lenkosi efekiwe bayivuma bonke na? Kulapho kwaBonakala khona ukuthi sebeyagwilika, yahamba imizila emibili, wawodwa abantwabenkosi, wawodwa okaLuziphu. Kwakuthiwa kuyiwa eMnambithi, iphoyisa lifika lathi, “Kuthiwa yanini eMtshezi”.

337 Yase ingenisa kwaKasi, nalapho yalala ngokulala, uMakhosini esengenise kwamahumakhe kwaMshvaphuluzi lonke uKhozi uNobadina, uLuziphu wangenisa ebukhweni bakhe kwaMteli ekhahonina kaHlelethwa, wahlabisa inkomo.

Njiyeza himself. When *Zikhali* entered the hut to wash himself, *Njiyeza* (for no known reason), immediately got on his horse and galloped off. This was about midday. When he reached the *Mlamboja* river, which is only a few miles from the *Ngwageni* kraal, a runner overtook him and told him he was to return immediately as the chief was not well. Instead of returning, *Njiyeza* crossed the river and departed, never to return. *Zikhali* was taken ill very soon after having washed in the medicines and died next day. This was in the year 1863. All those who knew about the circumstances suspected and accused *Njiyeza*, who had fled to Basutoland together with *Makhosini* and *Mthinkhulu* and the others of the *Lukhozi* faction.

According to the “Berliner Missionsberichte”, 1864, p. 150, *Zikhali* died shortly before Christmas, 1863. There is an article about him in the same volume („Der Häuptling *Si:ali*,” p. 238–247). This mentions *Njiyeza* (mis-spelt *Jigera*) as a great rainmaker and gives some details about *Ngizana*. It describes how Zunckel was told just before Christmas that *Zikhali* had died three days earlier of a chest complaint. On p. 202 of the same volume it says: „Die dortigen Heiden hatten ihren Häuptling durch den Tod verloren. Der erbberchtigte Sohn ist minderjährig, und sein Oheim, des Verstorbenen Bruder, führt für ihn das Regiment. Damit ist jedoch einer grosse Partei unzufrieden, und ein altes Familienhaupt, des Verstorbenen Onkel, ein Zauberer und Regenmacher, steht an ihrer Spitze.”

³ a son of *Zikhali*.

⁴ a river in the Langkloof below Oliviershoek Pass.

⁵ acc. to native terminology. Actually *okaMteli* was *Zikhali*'s wife.

and a beast was killed for him. At *Mshwaphuluzi's* the princes were given nothing, but *Macingwane* took some portions of the meat and had it sent to them.

338 Next morning he heard them shout, "Did you sleep whilst I stayed awake?", but he did not understand which one who was grown-up they meant who had cried, "Did you sleep whilst I stayed awake?"⁶ So they separated and the two parties went on by themselves; and *Habhiyana*⁷ also stayed behind a little because his horse was tired, whereas actually he waited for the *Nobadina* party. They delayed in saddling up, they delayed in travelling so that *Luzipho's* party arrived in Estcourt alone.

339 The officials asked, "Are you all there, *Macingwane*?"

"No, sir, I have not got them all with me, for I don't see even *Ngazana*, together with whom I was given charge of the chief's son (*Ngwadi*), that we should bring him to you here, taking him in front of us on the saddle in turn. I think, sir, that he also has turned against me like the others."

340 The white men said, "Then we cannot record that which we wished to put on record, for how can we write it down when those men are not present? We shall investigate their conduct. You may return home."

They met the others on the road, and the *Lukhozi* party followed them some distance behind, and also returned home. Thus the two parties definitely split, the *isibhelu* and the *Lukhozi*, the adherents of *Macingwane* being called the *isibhelu*.

The *Lukhozi* faction leaves the tribe

341 But they had already sought to tender their allegiance to *Mshweshwe* in Basutoland, when they asked *Macingwane*, "Sir, we would like to go a little further off, permit us to settle on the *Mpandwini* spruit." Said *Luzipho*, "Certainly, children, you are right. The sons of a chief do not all live in one spot. However, I wonder where *Ngazana* can have gone to; seeing that he has abandoned his work in this way."

Then there came a messenger, "Sir, the chief's sons have gone up (into Basutoland), and yonder at *Mgidingo's* he⁸ has picked out the cattle belonging to the chief, shut them up in the kraal and left them there shut in like that."

"Let those cattle be fetched, and you must ask why this was done."

342 The rebel party said, "We don't want to meet *Mondise*. What made him refuse to allow us to consult a diviner regarding our father's death? He must have been thinking of what he had done. He knew that the diviner would point him out. We are going away, we are. We are going to live under another chief, for we might suddenly find we had harmed him, and then be killed by the white men."

343 So they went up into Basutoland, and stayed near the precipice at *Siheledwane*¹⁰, and then the menfolk went on and stayed at the *Mshashane* river.¹¹

Abaze bathola lutho kwaMshwaphuluzi abantwabenkosi. Wakhipha izitho ezithile, wathi ekumukiselwe abantwana.

338 Kwathi ukuthatha kokusa wabezwa sebememeza ngokuthi, “Walala ngingalele na?” wakhohlwa nje ukuba kungaba sebesho bani lona oselemkhulu othi, “Walala ngingalele na?” Yahlukana njalo yahamba ngokuhamba; noHabhiyana owayesalele ngemuva kwadinwa ihashi lakhe, kanti usesalele abakubo abakwaNobadina. Baphuza nokubophela, baphuza nokuhamba, yathi ekaLuzipho yaya yafika yodwa eMtshezi.

339 Bafike bathi abelungu, “Uphelele Maeingwane na?”

“Hayi, makhosi, angiphelele, angisamboni noNgazana engangimnikwe ngamaNgwane ukuthi siyothi uma siza lapha kini sihambe siphumuzana ngayo ingane le. Ngiyabona, makhosi, naye usengihlamukile njengabanye”.

340 Bathi abelungu, “Singeze sakubhala ebesifuna ukukubhala, singakubhala kanjani bengekho nje na? Sizoke sibone ukwenza kwabo. Buyela ekhaya”.

Base behlangana nabo endleleni, nalo uKhozi lwabalandela ngemuva, nalo selubuya. Kwaba mzukwana kwahlukana isibhelu noKhozi, kwathiwa abangakuMaeingwane sibhelu.

Umbango, uLukhozi

341 Kanti sebeyofuna inkonzo eLusuthu kuMshweshwe. Bathi, “Nkosi, sithanda ukaba-ke sithi xaxa, sibeke eMpandwini”. Wathi uLuzipho, “Nempela bantwabami kunjalo; abantwabenkosi abahlali ndawonye. Ngimangele ngoNgazana, ukuba-ke yena uyangaphi; njengoba eshiya umsebenzi wakhe nje”.

Kwavela mvelivelayo, “Nkosi, abantwabenkosi sebekhuphukile; nalapha kuMgidingo usezikhethile izinkomo zenkosi, wazivalela esibayeni wazishiya ezivalele”.

“Azilandwe izinkomo lezo, nifike nibuze ukuthi yini kwenze njani na?”

342 Bathi, “Asithandi ukuba sihlangane nobuso bukaMondise, wala nje ukuba siyozwela ubaba, waliswa yini? Ukhumbula ukwenza kwakhe. Uyazi ukuthi isanunse⁹ sizofika simnuke. Siyazihambela-ke thina, nkosi. Siyozikhonzela enxenye, singaqabuka sesimlimaza, sibulawe ngabelungu”.

343 Base bekhuphuka-ke baya eLusuthu, bafika bangenisa eSihledwane eweni, badlula njalo amadoda aya angenisa eMshashane.

⁶ the meaning of what they shouted was: “You may be satisfied, but we are not, we spend the nights otherwise than in sleep.” But *Macingrane* could not think which of its members the other party hoped to make the chief.

⁷ son of *Ntanjana*, son of *Masumpa*.

⁸ it is not clear who did this, nor exactly what happened.

⁹ the form *isanunse* is interesting as a survival from archaic Bantu *-nunika*, as distinct from *-nuka* which is the only form used in Zulu today.

¹⁰ not far from Oliviershoek Pass, in the Free State.

¹¹ a river in Basutoland.

Ngazana went down into Natal and stole cattle on the *Mnjana* River and stayed there. The people of *Mnjana* came out in force, and *Mhanga* the son of *Mbiwa* lost his way, because he was by himself. The others had already observed the *Lukhozi* raiding party, and noticed where it had gone for the night, and had returned home.

344 *Mhanga* however strayed right into *Ngazana's* arms, arriving just when they were about to break up, and found them having slaughtered a barren cow from amongst the cattle they had stolen. They gave him some meat which he ate, and then told him,

“Eat that quickly, for you must carry this hide”.

When he had finished, *Ngazana* directed him, “Take that hide there”.

“No, sir,” he replied, “I shall not carry the skin, it is wet; and moreover I don't know where it is going”.

345 Thereupon he was beaten, defending himself with his arms until they were full of weals, but he said, “Though you hit me hard, I shall not carry it; do what you like,” and the hide remained there.

So *Ngazana* drove him on until he came, with them, to his uncles at *Mshashane*, and the latter started on seeing him.

“Oh! *Ngazana*” they said, “you were near to killing the son of *Mbiwa*, and all about a hide, though he did not even resist with regard to these cattle?” and they spoke on his behalf, saying, “Let him go back.”

346 Now he had not even a blanket, for he wore only a little coat, so *Nombuzi Zondo* went to him and asked him, “Whose son are you?”

“I am the son of *Mbiwa*.”

She ran to fetch a sheepskin kaross and gave him this to put on, and also provided him with some stiff porridge.

So he left and slept at *Witzieshoek* at *Simahla's*¹², and reached home in due course. There he found they had already given him up, believing that they had killed him.

Soon after *Mhanga* was in pursuit of *Ngazana* with a war-party. As soon as he came down again (without having found *Ngazana*), he made for *Mondise's* the son of *Mqhele*.

Mondise's cattle are stolen

347 When they got to *Mondise's* in the evening, they found a beer party in progress. Now *Habhiyana* (one of the rebel party) came thither and stole of this beer and drank and drank, and then poured some into a large pot, thinking to take it to those outside. Then *Makhosini* appeared, and discovered him standing at the doorway (of the hut in which *Mondise* was sitting) and aiming his gun, the interior of the hut being lighted by a lamp. *Makhosini* reproached him, seized his gun, exclaiming, “Do you want to kill our father!”

Ehle uNgazana azidle izinkomo eMnjneni wayesalele khona. Bathi bayaphalala abeMnjneni, kanti uMhanga kaMbiwa usedukile, ngoba uhamba yedwa, kanti sebeyibonile impi yoKhozi, ukuthi kanti ingenise lapha, bathinteka.

344 Wazithela uMhanga kuNgazana, ufika nxa isizosuka, ufika behlabe inyumbakazi kuzo lezo abazidlile, efika emsikela kuyo, uyadla kuthiwa,

“Dlana masinya, uzothwala isikhumba lesi”.

Uthe nxa eseqedile, wathi uNgazana, “Thatha nansi isikhumba”.

Athi, “Cha, nkosi, ngingeze ngasithwala isikhumba, siluhlaza; ngingasazi nalapho siya khona”.

345 Ashaywe-ke evika ngezingalo zize zivwuke athi, “Khona ungishaya kakhulu, anginakho ukusithwala, ungamane ukwenze nje okwenzayo”. Saze sasala khona lapho. Amyhuba njalo-ke aze ayofika nabo koyise eMshashane, bafike bethuke oyise bathi,

“Hawu, Ngazana, umntakaMbiwa ungaze umbulale umbulalele isikhumba, engali nanazo izinkomo lezi na?” Bamthethelele bathi, “Aka buyele enuwa”.

346 Akanayo nenqubo wembethe ibhantshana; uyaya kuye uNombuzi wakwa-Zondo, uyambuza uthi, “Ungokabani na?”

“NgingokaMbiwa”.

Abeseqijimela isiqhama semvu, emnika sona ethi kembathe, amnike umbhanga.

Asuke lapho aze azolala eQwaqwa kwaSimahla, kuya uyangena ekhaya. Wafika ekhaya sebedelile sebethi sebembulele.

Kuse njalo usemjahle ngemuva uNgazana useyihlomisile. Ehle qede ayini-kele khona kuMondise kaMqhele.

Kwebiwa izinkomo zikaMondise

347 Kuthiwa bafika nje kusihlwa, bafika kade kudliwa utshwala kwaMondise. uHabbhiyana wabuba wanatha wanatha wayesebukha ngomcakulo ethi akuphathele abangaphandle. uMakhosini uyaqabuka usebona esetsheda isibhamu engasemnyango kukhanyiswe ngesibani endlini, uMakhosini useyakhuya wamba-amba ngaso isibhamu womkhuya, wathi, “Ufuna ukubulala ubaba”.

¹² the *Shabalala* chieftain already mentioned, whose descendants, and Nceke his son, now live near *Mpinbo* hill East of *Situluane* river in Bergville district.

Then they left for the mountains, taking with them the oxen of *Mondise* the son of *Mqhele*, they were so numerous that when the foremost came to *Nhletsheni*,¹³ the rear was still at *Manzana* spruit at the *Lakeni*¹³ kraal at *Tsho-tshwana*'s, for they took every one of the oxen.

348 Now *Mondise*'s people woke up and heard his ox with the hanging horns lowing mournfully, and *Mondise* told them, "Just go and see whether all my oxen are still together. That ox of mine is a beast of omens, for whenever it persistently keeps on lowing, something is about to happen".

349 Others then remarked, "We don't see *Mphepha*; one wonders where, in accompanying the cattle, he may have gone to". Actually he had no sooner driven the animals to their grazing, when they were seized by the rebels (unnoticed by *Mphepha* who had gone back). *Mphepha* was the son of *Ntonga* in a minor house at *Pele*'s,¹⁴ and they came on him just at that time (when searching for the cattle), they found him lying dead and it appeared that he must have been bitten by a snake, but it is not certain what exactly happened to him. In his true nature or self, he was a creature just like *Hlobane* the son of *Nkathula*,¹⁵ and he did nothing but herd cattle, being still a youth, but he was a faithful herdsman. So they immediately fetched a litter on which to bear him home.

350 In the meantime others had rushed forth in search of the cattle to discover whither they had gone, and soon came upon the track made from where they had been collected in one place and had been driven hard. However that ox with the hanging horns they met coming home, for it had left the herd, rushing hither and thither to get away.

The alarm continued to be raised all along, it was sent to *Mahlabathini*,¹⁶ to *Magangangozi*¹⁷ and to the *Situlwana* area.¹⁸

When morning came, the cattle were coming over the rise at *Sihledwane* (Oliviershoek Pass) at *Mbengeni*'s.¹⁹ They had trekked all through the night and crossed the border. Meanwhile the men from the *Mnweni* area of *Mondise* were running with all their might, and in passing collected all those living above the Tugela river.

351 *Luziphu* (*Macingwane*) was absent at this time, having gone to Estcourt, but notice was sent to him there, that *Mondise*'s cattle were gone, and the messengers met him on the road, *Macingwane* being already on his way back.

And he sent messengers to *Simahla* with the words, "Seeing that he had arranged with him that he would keep a watch on his nephews of the *Lukhozi* faction, why, when they stole his cattle, did he not discover this for him? Ask *Simahla* also to give food to my men" i.e. to his party that was seeking the cattle.

352 But *Simahla* sent back twenty men to deny the charge and to explain that the cattle had been seized by *Wezi*, chief of those *maKholokoe* from whom *Zikhali* had taken their cattle. He flatly denied any guilt, did *Simahla*, but

Babe bayasuka njalo beya entabeni, bazithatha izinkabi zikaMondise kaMqhele, zazithi zingena eNhletsheni zibe ziseManzana oLakeni kwaboTsho-tshwana, bazithatha zonke izinkabi.

348 *Bathi bephaphama bezwa nje inkabi yakhe emdlovu isikhonya, wathi uMondise, "Ake nibone ukuba izinkabi zami zisaphelele yini. Lenkabi yami ilizwanda ba, ngoba uma iphikelela ukukhonya, kuyabe kukhona okuzokwenzeka".*

349 *Babesho nabanye bethi, "uMphepha asimboni; ingabe uthe ungaphelekezela izinkomo waya ngaphi", kanti wenele nje ukuzikhapha base bezamukela. uMphepha yindodana kaNtonga yendlu encane yakwaboPele. Base behlangana naye khona ngaso sona lesosikhathi, bamfumaniisa esefile, babona osongathi walunywa yinyoka, asazi-ke noma wenzeka kanjani. Impela yakhe wayesidalwa njengoHlobane kaNkathula, walusa njalo useyinsizwa, kepha nguyena malusi oqotho impela. Base belanda uhlaka khona njalo lokumthwala.*

350 *Abanye babephalalela zona izinkomo, ukuba zishonephi, baze bafika khona emkhondweni walapho sezihlangene ndawonye, nxa bezishushinga. Kodwa inkabi emdlovu le sebehlangana nayo isiya ekhaya, iphume yaphuphuma.*

Wahlatskwa khona njalo umkhosi, waye wahlababa eMahlabathini, waye washaya eMagangangozi naseSitulwana.

Kwathi kusa zazidundubala izinkomo eSihledwana kwaMbengeni. Zihambe bonke ubusuku, zaziweqa umncele. Yayitheleka impi yeMnweni yakoMondise isifike yathatha abasenhla noThukela.

351 *Akakho-ke uLuzipho uye eMtshezi, umkhosi wathunyelwa kuye khona eMtshezi ukuyombikela ukuthi izinkomo zikaMondise zimukile, baya bahlangana naye endleleni, uLuzipho esebuya.*

Wayesethumela amanxusa kuSimahla ukuthi, "Njengoba athi abohlala embhekela abantwabakhe abaLukhozi, uma bemebela izinkomo zakhe, akazange embonela yini na? Nize ningicelele nokudla".

352 *Wayesethumela abantu abangamashumi amabili abayolandula, bathi izinkomo zidliwe nguWezi, amaNkulungo lawo uZikhali adla izinkomo zabo,*

¹³ kraals of Mondise.

¹⁴ i.e. Pele was Mphepha's brother (isibongo: Hlongwane). He died at sea in the Great War.

¹⁵ this Hlobane was dumb but not lacking in intelligence and quite a well known personality. Probably Mphepha was similarly afflicted.

¹⁶ the area around the crossroads to Cathkin Park and Rivulet.

¹⁷ between the Situlwana and eMhlwazini rivers.

¹⁸ the present Emmaus on the Situlwana river.

¹⁹ better known as uManyel'embengeni.

Macingwane blamed him, saying he perceived that *Simahla* had made common cause with the *maKholokoe*. Moreover he considered that merely for a mission the men were too numerous, twenty being simply a showing off of his war strength. Furthermore, as to giving the men food, he showed his contempt by only giving them a small heifer.

353 That old man *Mgomondwana*, the son of *Mondise*, was crawling along on his knees, followed by *Maqothulana*, the son of *Njongolo*. But *Mondise* saw from his eyes that he intended firing, down there near *Simahla*'s, and shouted, "Hold him, yon *Mgomondwana*!" and so they stopped him. And just then they heard a war-party singing its song, before they could see it coming.

He told them, "Go back, I see that *Simahla*'s men have heads glistening with fat and it is the fat of my own cattle."

354 Then the crowd that went with *Luzipho* came up and he told him everything, "My chief, I have been unable to find them and have waited to tell you, now I am going back; for no harm must come through me to the country of your brother who left you in his place, lest people say the harm was done through *Mondise*'s cattle. We came up from Zululand possessing nothing, yet now we have bred so many cattle, we shall get more in course of time, son of *Matiwane*. It is now far from where you crossed the border of Natal and Basutoland, and to do so is an offence. It were better for you to send a messenger to Estcourt to inform them that you have discovered sons of your brother taking your cattle."

But whenever he remonstrated with *Macingwane* the latter said, "The harm has been done!" for he now wished to go on.

However, *Mondise* flatly refused and so the party returned home, whereupon he went to report the matter in Estcourt.

355 Then messengers were sent to inform *Mshweshwe* that cattle had been stolen by the *maKholokoe* and by *Simahla*. *Mshweshwe* accompanied the messengers to the *maKholokoe* and the *amaNgwane* who had stolen the cattle because some of them had taken these cattle away. *Mshweshwe*'s own people also confirmed that the *maKholokoe* and *Simahla* were the thieves.

356 Then *Mshweshwe* ordered them, "Let them produce fifty head of cattle, even though they say they did not take them." He was quite certain that they had taken them, and so he made good the theft with these cattle because he could no longer find those actually stolen, and knew not what they had done with them; and so they returned to Natal with these animals.

alandule adele uSimahla, ahle asole uLuzipho athi uyabona ukuthi uSimahla uhlangene nawo amaNkulungo, abone nabantu bebangingi kakhulu, amashumi amabili kube ngogabisa ngempi yakhe. Ekudleni amlandulele ngethodlana.

353 Ikhehla likaMondise uMgomondwana agaqe ngamadolo, alandehwe ngelika-Njongolo uMaqothulana. Kanti uMondise uyawabona amehlo akhe ukuthi uthanda ukudubula, khona kwabakwaSimahla. Abesethi, “Bambani nango uMgomondwana!” Nembala bamthinte. Izwakale ngehubo impi bengakayiboni ukuthi, “Cha! iyeza impi”.

Wathi, “Hambani, nibuyele emuva, ngiyabona ukuthi impi kaSimahla inyanatheka amafutha ezihluthwini zezinwele, ngamafutha enkomo zami”.

354 Esho lena uqumbu ofika noLuzipho, bamlandisele ukuthi, “Nkosi, ngiyehluleka sengimele ukukulandisa, bese ngibuyela emuva, akusukonakala ilizwe lomnewenu akushiye esihlalweni lonakale ngenxa yami, bese bethi abantu loniwa zinkomo zikaMondise. Sikhuphuke kwaZulu singenalutho, nanzi sesizifuye sezingaka, sizozithola futhi, mntakaMatiwane. Kukude lapho weqe khona umneele waseNatal neLusuthu, licala. Ngabe kuhle ukuba uthumele umuntu wayobika eMtshezi ukuthi ufumanise abafana bomnewenu sebezillile izinkomo zakho”.

Abathe akuthi kuthiwa, “Hawu!” “Bese kwenzekile!”

Wala waphetha uMondise, nembala impi yabuyela emuva, wayikhona eyobika eMtshezi.

355 Ayathunywa-ke amanxusa ukuthi awayobika kuMshweshwe ukuthi izinkomo zidlwe ngamaNkulungo noSimahla. uMshweshwe abase ehamba nawo amanxusa aye kuwo amaNkulungo nawo amaNgwane ayezebile ngoba babemuka. Nabo abakwaMshweshwe basho bona labo amaNkulungo noSimahla.

356 Waesethi uMshweshwe, “Abakiphe amashumi amahlanu ezinkomo noma bathi abazithathanga nje”. Uyabona ukuthi bazithathile, wayolandula ngazo zona lezo, ngoba akasazifumani, akazi ingabi bazenze njani; behla nazo-ke zona lezo.

CHAPTER 18

Murder of a white man by *Ngazana*

357 One day a European arrived up in Basutoland, coming from Estecourt, transporting three saddles, and riding on the fourth.

They came upon him and found the white man with his horses unsaddled and having his meal, at *Manzemnyama* just after you reach the top of *Sungubala's* Pass.

358 Said the European, "Good-day, son of *Zikhali*, good-day *Ngazana*." And he asked him further, "When did you leave our place yonder at Estecourt?" for he knew him.

Ngazana replied, "Yes, good morning, sir; I left the day before yesterday," and went on, but when he was some little distance he turned and looked at his companions *Lugelezana*, *Matsheni* and *Magonondo*.

359 Then said *Ngazana*, "They are fine, that white man's saddles." And they replied "Yes, sir, they are very fine," whereupon *Ngazana* resumed, "How would it be if we killed that white man and took those saddles?" They replied, "We don't know what you think, sir." So he turned his horse and went back, but *Magonondo Mathebula*, the induna of *Mgidingo*, rebuked him, "Oh! Oh! What are you doing, prince? How is it that just after you have lost your father and you meet a white man, you want to murder a white man in the country where you have found sanctuary! Don't, sir!" But *Ngazana* replied, "By whom shall I be seen?" *Magonondo* said, "Even the bird on the wing sees you."

360 However he spoke no more but called the others saying, "Come along, you, let this coward stay behind," and the white man, seeing them return, wondered where they might be going now.

This white man was travelling all alone, and cooked his own food, and when he was still on his knees trying to get up, *Ngazana* stabbed him in the ribs, and he fell about like a fowl with its throat cut, and threw himself about hither and thither until the others arrived, and *Lugelezana* and *Matsheni* finished him off.

361 However *Magonondo* said later that *Matsheni*¹ only got there when he was dead already and simply shouted "*jii*" over the white man. The Europeans, however, when they tried the case, said that it must be he who had really killed him, because to shout "*jii*" was to give the finishing blow, and they asked him, "Is to shout *jii* not equivalent to finishing off?" "It is, my chiefs."

uNgazana nomlungu

357 *Kwahamba kwahamba kwafika umlungu khona ngaphezulu, ephuma eMtshezi, ebelese izihlalo ezithathu, esesine kungakhwele ngaso.*

Bayafika kuye bamfumanisa umlungu ekhumulile amahashi akhe amabili edla, kwaManzemnyama ukudundubala nje entubeni kwaSungubala.

358 *Ahla athi umlungu, "Sawubona, mfo kaZikhali, sawubona, Ngazana". Athi, "Usuke nini kwelakithi eMtshezi?" kubuza yena umlungu ngoba uyamazi.*

Abesethi uNgazana, "Yebo, sawubona Basi, ngisuke kuthangi", abe uyadlula njalo athi enjeya, aphenduke ababheke, ehamba noLugelezana noMatsheni noMagonondo.

359 *Abesethi uNgazana, "Zazinhle izihlalo zalomlungu", bese bethi, "Impela, nkosi, zinhle", abesethi uNgazana, "Kungaba njani uma simbulala lomlungu, sithathe lezihlalo na?" Bathi, "Asazi kuwe, nkosi", aphenduke, kepha akhuze uMagonondo Mathebula, induna kaMgidingo athi, "Ha! Ha! Wenzani mntanenkosi? Yini uthi kanti ufelwe nguyihlo ubusuhlangana nomlungu, khona uthi lapho ukhonze khona bese ubulala umlungu! Musa, mntanenkosi". Athi uNgazana, "Ngobe ngibonwa ngubani?", athi uMagonondo, "Nenyoni ephcphayo iyakubona!"*

360 *Angabe esakhuluma lapho, abese ebiza lababanye, athi, "Wozani nina, alihlale leligwadlana", nomlungu ababone sebebuya, amangale nje ingabi sebeya ngaphi-ke manje.*

Umlungu lo uhamba nje yedwa zwi, nomlungu ahle azibikele, athi uyavuka athi esaguqe ngamadolo ahle amcibe uNgazana, amgwaze ebuhlaba-nkomo aqumpe umlungu okwenkuku inqunywe intamo, aphonseke laphaya nalaphaya babe bayafika bayamcofosha oLugelezana noMatsheni.

361 *Kodwa uyasho uMagonondo uthi uMatsheni wafinyelela kuye esefile, wangena nje ngokuthi jii esefile umlungu. Abelungu bathi uma sebethetha icala bathi nguyena lowo-ke ombulele phela ukuthi jii kuqedela, bathi, "Asikho yini ukuqedela ukuthi jii na?" "Yikho, makhosi".*

¹ according to the record of the trial, *Magonondo* said it was *Lugelezane* who came up last with himself, and who struck him with his club just before he expired. *Ngazana* went after the white man and caught him up as he was leading his horse through the *Namakazi* (Namahali, Elands River) and there he stabbed him. *Moneriff* ran off and recrossed the spruit, but he soon fell down there and was stabbed by *Matsheni*.

362 Then they took him and hid him in a crevice, and returned home to take back the saddles; actually they had been on the way to steal more cattle.² One saddle was given to *Lugelezana*, another was given to *Matsheni*, whilst *Ngazana* himself took two, saying, "This little coward *Magonondo* shall not be given anything."

363 All remained quiet until eventually the white people began to marvel that after such a long time the white man did not return, and so now they began to seek him and traced the way he had gone as far as *Nkunzi* hill.³

"Why, *Macingwane*! Seek him! How is it that the track of the white man ends in your area?"

364 The Europeans realised that the murderers would cross the mountains into Basutoland, so they decided to send up *Nozishina* to block the passes. At that time the ownership of the country was in dispute between him and *Ngoza*⁴ son of *Ludaka*, and it was said that the country would be given to *Nozishina* after the *amaNgwane* tribe had been broken up. There was also another white man who proposed, "Let the great men of the *amaNgwane* be arrested, then they will reveal who murdered the white man."

365 And so actually they were all collected and sent to Estcourt. They were locked up there and fed on porridge. Then sickness attacked *Mondise*, son of *Mqhele*, and his party, who had never in their lives yet lived on porridge, so now the white men told *Luzipho*,

"We give you *Mvula* of *Ndongweni* of *Masumpa*, and *Zembe*, son of *Nsimbini*, and with these two men, you, *Macingwane* being the third, you must go and investigate."

They sought and sought but found nothing.

A clue is found

366 Behold *Mazembe* in conversation with his sister *okaMamba*⁵ (wife of *Ngazana*), who left *Ngazana* because he had beaten her and made her hate him and who was now living with her own people. Said she, "The tribe is dead, and it died on account of one man," thus spoke *okaMaphanga*, these words were uttered by *okaMamba* the mother of *Sibhakuzu*,⁶ whilst speaking with her elder brother *Mazembe*. Immediately *Mazembe* asked her, "My sister, did you say our people should not be ruined on account of one person only? But what do you know about this matter then?"

367 She replied, "Oh! leave me alone, *Maphanga*." But *Mazembe* insisted, "Why, child of my father, you who are my sister, do you think that if you whispered to me such a matter that I would immediately divulge it? No! never would I reveal it, my sister."

"Well, I will whisper it to you because it is you, *Maphanga*. This white man was slain at my place."

"Was he murdered by our brother-in-law?"

"Yes, *Maphanga*."

362 Base bemthatha benfaka eqhamukeni, base bephindela emuva sebemukisa izihlalo, ngoba babethi bazokweba izinkomo futhi. Esinye isihlalo siphuwe uLugelezana, esinye sinikelwe uMatsheni, yena umfo wenkosi abuye nazibili, athi, "Lingeze lanikwa leligwadlana uMagonondo".

363 Kuthuleke, kuthuleke, abelungu bamangale ukubona isikhathi sesingaka umlungu engasabuyi, baqale manje ukumfuna, bawufumanise umkhondo wakhe ugcina eNkunzi.

"Hawu, Macingwane! Funza! Yini ukuba umkhondo womlungu ugcine kwelakho?"

364 Abelungu babone ukuthi lababantu bazoze badundubale baye eLusuthu, kuhle kukhuphuke uNozishana, bayovumba ezintubeni. Izwe sebelibanga noNgoza kaLudaka, sekuthiwa izwe selizonikwa uNozishana uma amaNgwane esebulewe. Abekhona omunye umlungu othi, "Kuhle kubanjwe izikhulu zamaNgwane ziboshwe, yikhona bezomhlakaza umlungu, ukuthi ngubani ombulele".

365 Nembala zibuthwe zonke zisiwe eMtshezi. Zifike zidle iphalishi. Uvuke umkhuhlane koMondise kaMqhele, abangazange baldle iphalishi, manje bathi abelungu kuLuzipho,

"Sikunika uMvula kaNdongweni kaMasumpa, kanye noZembe kaNsimbini, amadoda enizofuna nawo womathathu nawe Macingwane."

Bafune bafuna baswele.

Iyavezwa indaba

366 Nango-ke uMazembe akhulume nodadewabo okaMamba, usemukile kuNgazana ushayive wamzondisa usehlala kubo. Usethi, "Lafu ilizwe, lafu ngomuntu oyedwa", kusho okaMaphanga, lamazwi ashiwo ngokaMamba, unina kaSibhahuzi, uxoxa nomnewabo uMazembe. Abesethi uMazembe, "Dadewethu, wathi izwe lingaze life ngomuntu oyedwa nje? kanti uyayazi yini wena lendaba na?"

367 Abesethi, "Hawu, ngiyekele Maphanga". Athi uMazembe, "Hawu, mitakababa, uthi ungodadewethu nje, ungathi uma ungihlebeli indaba enje, bese ngiyiveza na? Cha! ngingeze ngayiveza, mntanakwethu."

"Sengingamane ngikuhlebele ngoba kunguwe-ke, Maphanga. Umlungu lona wabulawa kwami".

"Wabulawa nguye umkhwenyethu na?"

"Yebo, Maphanga."

² at the trial Magonondo said they had a few days earlier seen a son of Mbiwa pass their kraal with horses, and they were on their way to steal these horses from Mbiwa's kraal.

³ very near Emmaus Mission and in the area occupied by the amaNgwane.

⁴ a Thembu chief of Estcourt district, now Weenen.

⁵ in the record of the trial this woman is called Nomwa, who, it is stated there, married one Manyosi Goza after Ngazana had driven her away.

⁶ meaning "we blurt out", and probably referring to this episode.

368 "Oh! But my sister, you spoke rightly when you said that the country of the chief was going to ruin on account of one man, and I say the same, my sister, that our tribe must not perish, and such great men die, all on account of one man. No! *Maphanga*, do not hate me for revealing your secret, do not hate me, but that must not happen."

"What! What did you say now, my brother? seeing that you have just told me that you would not say a word!"

"No! *Maphanga*, it is no longer a question of trouble for you! Boy! Bring my horse."

The chief is advised

369 By this time the sun was setting, the lad brought the horse and *Mazembe* saddled it just at sunset. His sister exclaimed, "Oh! I have killed myself now!" But *Mazembe* would no longer speak with her, what he did was to get into the saddle and ride off from there up on the Tugela where it meets the *Khombe*, he rode through the darkness alone and arrived at the *Siphahleni* royal kraal about midnight when everybody was fast asleep. He rushed to the sleeping quarters of the unmarried men, knocked and called *Khabonina* outside, they went away together a little distance because by now all the young men were awake, he called him aside by himself and asked him, "Is the chief there?"

370 "He is."

"Go, sir, and call him for me."

So he went and called him, the chief came out quickly, it was pitch dark, but there were ten horses there near him that he used in his searches. He took him away quite a distance into the veld.

371 "My chief, that I am here is because I have a word from your sister-in-law, my sister, which I bring to you here. We were talking together, sir, and discussing the present affairs of the tribe and I heard her say: The chief's country has come to ruin, but on account of one man only! I exclaimed: What! How do you know, my sister, that it has been ruined by one man? She said: No! Leave me alone, *Maphanga*! That caught my attention, sir, that word of hers that I should leave her alone, and I begged her: No! My sister, if you whisper it to me I shall not reveal your secret. Then she told me: Do not tempt me, *Maphanga*! No, *Maphanga*, that white man was killed at my place. I asked her: By our brother-in-law himself? She said: Yes, *Maphanga*. Then I told her: Now, my sister, you spoke well when you said that the chief's country was being ruined on account of one man, but it will not die utterly on his account, *Maphanga*! I also say so, for this matter I can no longer keep a secret. I am taking it to the chief now, my sister. Thereupon she started and begged me, she wept and cried: I have killed myself now. This is what I bring to you when you see me here, sir."

368 “*Hawu! Kepha, dadewethu, loku ukhuluma kahle nje, uthi izwe lenkosi laze lafa ngomuntu munye, nami ngilingisa wena, dadewethu, uthi kungeze kufe ilizwe, kufe amakhosi angaka, afe ngomuntu. Hayi! Maphanga, ungangizondi nempela, ungangizondi ungasho ukuthi ngihlakaze isifuba sakho, ungangizondi, kungeze kwenzeka loko.*”

“*Hawu! Sewuthini phela, mnewethu, loku phela bewuthe ungeze wakhuluma lutho!*”

“*Hayi! Maphanga, akusase kufa nje wena wedwa! Mfana! Buyisa ihashi.*”

Ilizwi lilethwa enkosini

369 *Lalithi ilanga ngiyashona, walibuyisa ihashi umfana waliphana uMazembe khona lishona. Wabathe udadewabo, “Hawu! ngazibulala-ke khona”. uMazembe akabe esamkhulumisa manje, washo phezulu ehashini, wasuka phezu koThukela ehlangano yoThukela noKhombe, wahamba ubusuku yedwa, wafika eSiphahleni ngezithongo zokuqala, abantu bethe wo! Wabanga elawini ezinsizweni, wagonqotha, wasebiza uKhabonina, basuka baya laphaya kudanyana ngoba izinsizwa sezivuke zonke, wabiza yena nje yedwa, wabuza ukuthi, “Ikhona yini inkosi na?”*

370 “*Ikhona.*”

“*Hamba-ke, nkosi, uyongibizela yona.*”

Nembala ayibize, ihle nayo iphume masinyane, seyaba mnyama yathi tsu, kanti izinkabi zamakhashi zihlala lapha kuye ishumi lamakhashi. Amthathe-ke bayonde kude laphaya esikhotheni.

371 “*Awu! nkosi, nxa ngifika lapha nje ngiza ngezwi lomalokazana wakho, likadadewethu, engililetha lapha kuwe. Siyaxoxa nje naye, nkosi, ngazo izindaba zezwe lezi, ngimuzwa eselethi: Lafa ilizwe lenkosi, kepha lifa nje ngomuntu oyedwa nje! Sengibathe: Hawu! wazi ngani, dadewethu, ukuthi lifa ngomuntu oyedwa na? Athi: Hayi! ngiyekele, Maphanga! Lingidonse-ke, nkosi, lelozwi lokuthi angimyekele, ngimncenge ngithi: Cha! mntanakwethu, uma ungangihlebeli, ngingeze ngabe seniqhamusa isifuba sakho. Abesethi: Ungangilingi-ke, Maphanga! Hayi, Maphanga, umbungu lona wabulawa kwami. Bese ngithi mina: Nguye umkhwenyethu na? Athi: Yebo, Maphanga. Bese ngithi: Kepha dadewethu loku ukhuluma kahle nje, ukuthi ilizwe lenkosi lafa ngomuntu oyedwa, lingeze lafa-ke ngomuntu oyedwa, Maphanga! Nami ngisho njalo, lendaba ngingebe ngisayifihla, sengiyimukisa enkosini, dadewethu. Useyethuka udadewethu, esengincenga kakhulu, akhale udadewethu athi: Ngazibulala-ke khona. Ngifika ngalokho, njengoba ungibona nje, nkosi.”*

372 The chief started, "Wake up, lads, catch two horses and saddle them up. You, *Hleshana*, go straight to *Zembe*, son of *Nsimbini*, you, *Velabahleke*, go straight to *Mvula*, father of *Hiya*, and tell them to come to me here immediately."

372 *Inkosi pha, “ Vukani, bafana, nibambe amahashi abe mabili, aqhaneni. Wena, Hleshana, qonda kuZembe kaNsimbini, wena Vela bahleke, uqonde kuMvula, uyise kaHiya, nithi abafike lapha kimi khona manje ”.*

CHAPTER 19

okaMamba interrogated

373 At the first signs of daylight *Mvula* arrived, and when the sun came out so did *Zembe*, the chief produced a small beer pot but they hardly had time to drink it, they rushed to their horses and rode straight to *Mazembe's*, they arrived there when a beer drink was in progress and sent the horses out to graze.

The chief said, "*Mazembe*, go and call your sister, tell her to come here immediately," she came and he addressed her,

"My daughter-in-law."

"Sir."

374 "My child, you are quite undone, my child, there is nothing else left for you to do ; did you not really say that we should not die on account of one man ? That was a great word to say, my child, which I have heard about from your brother. This prince (sc. *Ngazana*) is as my own son, *Maphanga*, but it would never be right for a great people like the *amaNgwane* to be sold for one man only."

"Yes, sir, my brother has thus brought me into trouble."

375 "Tell us all, my child, I beg you ! Do not conceal anything. When they killed the white man what did they do with him ?"

"Sir, they hid him in a crevice. The one who knows everything about this business is *Magonondo Mathebula*, who warned him over and over again, but those other three paid no heed."

Said the chief, "Very well ! You have finished, my child."

Macingwane goes to Estcourt

376 The sun was beginning to burn on the horses when they came back from the veld, and *Mazembe* produced some beer. The chief's young men who had been sent knew nothing about the subject under discussion, and the men who had come to the beer party at *Mazembe's* learnt nothing as to where these chiefs were going, they said that was their private business. They just quenched their first thirst and left the beer unfinished ; when they forded the *Mnweni* the sun went down.

377 The chief now said, "*Mazembe*, we shall meet across the *Njesuthi*," they got to the *Siphahleni* royal kraal but went on making for *eNgoba* where they were to meet again, they went on and on and slept at *Mcoboshi's* near Loskop, and there was no one who knew where they were going.

Bayambuza okaMamba

373 Kwathi una kuqala ukusa wayefika uMvula, kwathi ukuphuma kwelanga wafika uZembe, inkosi yakhipha ukhunjana, nalo alwabe lusehla, baphonseka emahashini, sebegonda khona kwaMazembe, bafika khona kukade kunathwa, amahashi bavamisa oqungweni.

Inkosi yathi, “ Mazembe, hamba ubize udadewenu, afike lapha khona manje ”, afike nempela, athi,

“ Malokazana wami ! ”

“ Nkosi ”.

374 “ Cha, mntanami, sewufe ufile, mntanami, ungabe usenza okunye, uthi khona nempela singaze sife ngomuntu oyedwa na ? Likhulu lelolizwi, mntanami, loku engikuzwa ngumnewenu. Umntwana lo ngowami, Maphanga, kepha kungeze kwalunga ukuba isizwe esingaka samaNgwane sithengwe ngamntu munye ”.

“ Yebo, nkosi, uselengibulele umnewethu.”

375 “ Akusho-ke, mntanami, ngiyakuncenga ! Ungafihli lutho. Bathi bangambulala unlungu, base bemenzenjani na ? ”

“ Nkosi, bamfaka eqhamukeni. Umuntu oyazi kahle lendaba nguMagonondo wakwaMathebula, owabathe uyakhuza uyakhuza, abaze bavuma lababathathu ”.

Ithi inkosi, “ Qha ! sewuqedile, mntanami ”.

uMacingwane eya eMtshezi

376 Laliqala ukufudumala ilanga enkabini zamahashi, baphuma lapho oqungweni, uMazembe wayesekhipha utshwala. Abafana benkosi laba abebethunywe abazi ukuthi kukhulunywani, namadoda ayeze etshwaleni kwaMazembe abaze bazi ukuthi amakhosi lana aya ngaphi, athi, kwaba sifuba sabo. Banele ukuqeda imicibo yokoma babushiya phansi, bathi ukuwela nje eMnweni lalishona ilanga.

377 Inkosi yathi, “ Mazembe, sesiyohlangana phesheya kweNjesuthi,” bayafika eSiphahleni babedlula khona njalo, sebegonda eNgoba, bayakuhlangana khona, bahamba khona njalo, baye balala kwaMcoboshi ngePhasiwe, akakho noyedwa owaziyo ukuthi baya ngaphi.

378 Just before sunrise they entered Estcourt, and when the office was opened they went in.

“ Good day, *Maeingwane*.”

“ Sir.”

“ What news ? ”

“ Well, sir, I bring a little bit of news that I heard in connection with the matter given to me to investigate in my country. This is what I heard, sirs, I heard it from my daughter-in-law, the wife of *Ngazana*, she says that white man was killed by my nephew *Ngazana*.”

379 The white men started, for they knew him well, as he had always used to be sent to the office by the chief, who only came himself in very important matters.

“ That *Ngazana* whom you always used to send to me ? ”

“ That’s him. But my daughter-in-law says that the one who knows most about this business is *Magonondo*, he lives down near the sea at *Mthunzini*.”

Arrest of *Magonondo*

380 He told him, “ It were best if you send your own agents to fetch him, *Maeingwane*.”

So the chief sought out men who knew that quarter, they were *Ngenge* and *Mdineka* and *Mgamule* and another six men. They went straight to *Mthunzini* with those same horses, and spent the night at a sister of *Ngenge*’s. Early in the morning they left because it was now quite close, and when the sun was out they made straight for where he lived, “ Yonder in his house.”

381 “ Hi ! *Mathebula* ! ”

He came out and saw them, “ My ! A crowd of my own people ! Good morning ! ”

They answered, “ Good morning, *Mathebula*.”

“ Well now, what can be the matter ? ”

“ Oh nothing ! *Mathebula*, we have just come to you. *Ngazana* says that it is you who murdered the white man.”

382 “ What ! What does the prince say now ? What did I tell him ? Come into the house, my friends. The old people used to say : Who waits to be told learns by bleeding. There you are now ! Today I am the one, no longer are they the heroes. Did I ever get a saddle, *maNgwane* ? There were four saddles including the one he rode on, one he gave to *Lugelezane*, son of *Mbhodla*, another was given to *Matsheni*, son of *Nkeshana Khoza* who is followed by *Njwangumbana*, and *Ngazana* took two, also the one that I should have got ; but they said I was a coward, and today I am the culprit. No ! ”

383 They drank some beer there, that is how the matter stood.

“ Very well, *maNgwane*, I think we might eat in comfort, I don’t know about you, I shall be guided by you, as for me I shall not try to escape, for I don’t know where I would make for.”

378 Kwathi kusa kuthi juqu babengena eMtshezi, yayivulwa inkantolo bangena.

“ Sawubona, Macingwane ! ”

“ Nkosi ”

“ Uthini-ke na ? ”

“ Hayi-ke, nkosi, ngilethe umoyana engiwuzwayo ngalendaba engiphethe akuthiwa ngayenza phakathi kwezwe lami. Nanku umoyana engiwuzwayo, makhosi, ngiwuzwa ngomalokazana wami, umfazi kaNgazana, uthi umbungu lona wabulawa yindodana yami, uNgazana ”.

379 Bethuke abelungu, ngoba basebemazi ngoba inkosi yayivama ukuthuma yena njalo enkantolo, yona yase iya nje ngezindaba ezinkulu.

“ Yena uNgazana obewuvama ukumthuma kimi na ? ”

“ Nguye. Kepha umalokazana wami uthi, umuntu oyazi kahle lendaba nguMagonondo, uphansi ngaselwandle eMthunzini ”.

Bambopha uMagonondo

380 Abesethi, “ Kulle uthumele amaphoyisa akho, Macingwane, amlande.”

Ihle inkosi ibafumane abayaziyo leyondawo, kube nguNgenge noMdineka noMgamule namanye amadoda abesithupha. Bahambe-ke bayonda khona lena eMthunzini ngawo belo amahashi, baye balale kwaladewabo Ngenge. Kwathi ngokwehla kwezinkuku baphuma ngoba kwase kuseduze, lathi ilanga lithi liyaphuma nje bayonda khona, pha, “ Nansi indlu yakhe ! ”

381 “ E ! Mathebula ! ”

Aphume abathe, “ Hawu, sekugewele abakithi ! Sanibona ! ”

Bavume, “ Yebo, Mathebula ! ”

“ Hawu, ngabe yini na ? ”

“ Cha ! Mathebula, size kuwe. Uthi uNgazana nguwe owabulala umbungu.”

382 “ Ha ! Usethini-ke manje umntanenkosi ? Ngathini-ke ? Ngenani endlini, ngenani beNtungwa. Basho abadala bathi : Isala kutshelwa sibona ngomopho. Yini-ke le ! Sekuyimi namhla, akuseswo amaqhawe. Ngake ngasithola mina isihlalo, maNgwane ? Izihlalo zazine ngu egibele ngaso, esinye wasiphu uLugelezane kaMbhodla, esinye samkwa uMatsheni kaNkeshana Khoza owelanywa nguNjwangumbana, uNgazana wathatha mbili, esasifanele siphwe mina ; kepha kwathiwa ngilgwala, namhla sekuyimi ! Hayi ! ”

383 Sebeyanatha lapho, indaba sekuyayo leyo.

“ Kulungile-ke, maNgwane, mina benguthi asudle kahle nje, angazi kimi-ke sengungezwa ngani, mina ngungeze ngabuleka, angazi ukuthi ngingaqondaphi ”.

So they ate sour milk, then saddled up and told him, "Let us go now, *Mathefula*."

Ngazana is arrested

384 Those men who had gone to fetch *Magonondo* had barely left Estcourt when he turned up there

"The spear-drawer, the swallow that tamps mud"

namely *Ngazana* himself, who was going about selling horses around Frere, horses that he had stolen in Basutoland, whilst stealing others there which he was going to sell again in Basutoland.

They saw him, "Ow! There goes the son of *Zikhali*," but what was really the matter was not known exactly, so the constables said amongst themselves, "Let one of us go and make greeting, to see whether he will not acknowledge it." So a policeman went to him and greeted him with the words, "Good morning, son of *Zikhali*." He laughed and acknowledged the greeting by raising his stick, but not by any word, and they decided, "It is indeed he."

385 The constable went in to the white officials and told them, "Sir, look at that man yonder, we take him for *Zikhali*'s son *Ngazana*, of whom it is said that he murdered the white man."

"Where is he?"

"There he is outside, selling horses."

Said the white men, the officials in the office, "Go and call him, let us see him."

"Yes, sir."

"The white man in the office is calling you, sir."

"Who is it?"

The constable replied, "The white man in the office."

"How did you recognise me?"

"You cannot be mistaken, sir, a great man like yourself."

386 Perhaps at that moment conscience pricked him, but he went and had barely entered the office when they recognised him.

"Good morning, son of *Zikhali*."

"Sir."

"Where do you come from, that we no longer see you here?"

"Well, sir, I come from Basutoland, for after the death of my father we went up there. I am selling my horses, there they are outside."

387 Said the white man, "Well, *Ngazana*, please go with the policeman, where are your blankets?"

"Yonder with my horses."

"Go with the policeman and fetch those blankets, bring them here," so they went and fetched them.

Then said the white man, "*Ngazana*."

"Sir!"

Nembala badle bavube namasi, babophele-ke bathi, "Asihambe-ke, Mathebula".

Ukuboshwa kukaNgazana

384 *Bathi bethi sululu nje, wayesefikile*

uMphengula-jozi, inkonjane ezikhonka udaka

yena uNgazana, uhambe ethengisa ngamashashi ngaseSikebheni, nawo ewebile ngaphezulu, abuye ebe okwalapha uyothengisa ngakho ngaphezulu.

Babathe, "Hawu! Nangu umfo kaZikhali", kepha indaba ayaziwa, athi amaphoyisa, "Ake kuye elinye liyokhulekela kuye, ukuze abone ukuthi akazovuma na". Lihle liye nempela, lifike likhulekele lithi, "Nkosi, wena kaZikhali". Ahleke naye avume ngokuphakamisa induku nje, hayi ngomlomo, bahle bathi, "Nguye ngempela".

385 *Selingena endlini kubelungu, lithi, "Makhosi, ake nibone lomuntu, simfanisa nomfo kaZikhali uNgazana, okuthiwa wabulala umlungu".*

"Uphi na?"

"Nangu phandle uthengisa ngamashashi".

Bathi abelungu, wona phela amakhosi asenkantolo, "Ake nimbize, simbone".

"Nkosi"

"Umlungu wasenkantolo uyakubiza, nkosi".

"Ngowakwabani?"

Lithi, "Ngumlungu wasenkantolo."

"Ungibone ngani?"

"Awukhohlakali phela, nkosi, ungangaloku ungaka."

386 *Mhlayimbe lwamshaya lapho naye uvalo, aye-ke nempela, athi esangena nje bambone,*

"Sawubona, mfo kaZikhali".

"Nkosi!"

"Uphumaphi ngingasakwazi nje lapha na?"

"Hayi, nkosi, ngiphuma ngaphezulu, kwathi njalo ngokufa kukababa sakhuphuka saya ngaphezulu. Ngithengisa ngamashashi ami, nanka phandle".

387 *Athi umlungu, "Hawu, Ngazana, ake uhambe nephoyisa-ke, ziphi izingubo zakho na?"*

"Zikhona laphaya emashashini ami".

"Hambani-ke nephoyisa nizilande izingubo lezo, nizilethe lapha", nembala bazilande.

Athi umlungu, "Ngazana".

"Nkosi!"

388 "The magistrate *Ndabainesilevu* has ordered: Any man who was to see you must bring you to him, for there are certain matters that he wants to discuss with you in private."

"Oh! What matters might these be, sir?"

"I don't know about these affairs of yours, son of *Zikhali*, you will hear from him. Go, you constables, take him to the magistrate, and take his blankets with him," and so they took him away.

Ngazana brought to Estcourt

389 When he appeared before Macfarlane the latter was astounded and exclaimed, "Wow!" and *Ngazana* also realised that his day had come.

"Good morning, *Ngazana*!"

"Sir,"

"Where do you come from?"

"Well, sir, I come from above, from Basutoland, where we have settled."

"Oh, my son! But why did you play this evil trick so soon after the death of your father?"

"What trick, sir?"

390 "Don't you know yourself in your own heart, that you still ask? Your heart knows. Tell me now, this white man whom you murdered, what wrong had he done?"

"What white man, sir?"

"As I speak to you here, you feel it in your whole body, for you know him."

"No, sir, I don't know him. Will you please tell me."

"If I tell you now what will you say?"

"No, sir, you cannot tell me anything, and that one from whom you heard it merely did it to work me harm."

391 "You disappoint me, *Ngazana*, you are so like your father, and you were always the one to come to me here, whilst he only used to come to me in difficult matters, and with your uncle *Macingwane* who is now the chief it was the same, he always used to send you. A man could never be mistaken in you as to whether you were a son of *Zikhali* or not, you being different only in stature. Go out and arrange your mind and think carefully and then come and tell me."

392 He interrogated him in this way on two days, and it was on the third that he told him to go out and think. Then the *amaNqwane* arrived who had been sent to *Mthunzini* and had fetched *Magonondo*. Meanwhile the great men of the tribe had been released from gaol on the day *Ngazana* was arrested at Frere.

388 “Wathi uNdabainesilevu: Umuntu oyakukubona akabokuletha kuye, zikhona izindaba enzozikhuluma naye nobabili”.

“Hawu! Konje, nkosi, kungaba zindaba zini?”

“Nami, mfo kaZikhali, angizazi izindaba zenu, uyakuzwa kuye. Hambani, maphoyisa, nimuse kuye, thathani nezingubo zakhe”, bamqhube-ke nempela.

uNgazana esiwa eMtshezi

389 Eyakuthi qatha kuNdabainesilevu, dlenge dlenge uNdabainesilevu athi, “Hawu!” naye wabona nje ukuthi namhla kunamhla.

“Sawubona, Ngazana!”

“Nkosi”.

“Uphumaphi?”

“Hayi, nkosi, ngiphuma ngaphezulu kubeSuthu, lapho sesakhe khona”.

“Hawu! mntanami, kepha uswugilelani lomkhuba omubi kangaka, ufelwe nguyihlo?”

“Ngowani, nkosi, na?”

390 “Awuzwa nje nasenhliziyweni yakho, umane uyabuzwa nje. Inhliziyu yakho yona iyazi. Ake ungitshele ukuba umlungu lo wathi umbulala nje, wayoneni?”

“Mupha konje, nkosi?”

“Nawe ngikhuluma nje uyawuzwa umzimba wakho, uyamazi.”

“Hayi, nkosi, angimazi. Inkosi ingangitshela nje”.

“Uma ngikutshela lapha uzothini na?”

“Hayi, nkosi, ungeze wangitshela lutho, nalowo owezwa ngaye angabe uyangenzelela”.

391 “Hawu! Wangidumaza, Ngazana. Ufana noyihlo kangaka, loku bese kuhamba wena lapha kimi, loku nakuye uyihlo uZikhali bese kuza wena lapha kimi, yena aze eze lapha kimi ngezindaba ezilukhuni, noyihlo lo oyinkosi namhlanje uMacingwane, bekunjalo ubethumela wena. Umuntu angakufuni nokukufuna ukuthi ngumuphi umntakaZikhali, aze akubone nje ngobufushane nje kuphela. Akuphume uyolungisa inhliziyu yakho ucamange kahle uzongitshela”.

392 Wambuzwa amalanga amabili, sekungolwesithathu lolu athi ngalo akake aphume ayocabanga. Ayethi amaNgwane abethunywe eMthunzini ababelande uMagonondo, bayagaleleka nje. Loku izikhulu bese zikhishiwe ejele, khona mhlana ebanjwayo uNgazana ebanjwa eSikebheni.

CHAPTER 20

Examination of *Ngazana*

393 “Run, policeman, all through the night, and call the chief of the *ama-Ngwane*, tell him to hurry.”

His own agents had arrived from *Mihunzini* by this time, and the constable also reached the chief's place, whilst *Magonondo* was locked up in another room near the office and was given his food there unseen by anybody, and not seen by the sun, whilst *Macingwane's* men received their food outside.

394 In the morning *Luzipho* turned up, and when the office was opened he was already inside, was the “Nail of *Gwabini* for *Maticane* to scratch himself.”

“Your men have already arrived, *Macingwane*, and have brought *Magonondo*. Arrange everything, chief, so that when the office opens this big matter may be heard. Here is a warrant, give it to your men to fetch meat for you from the Government butcher, meat that you can eat there for dinner.”

395 After a little while the court was opened and the case came up.¹

“*Ngazana*! Speak the truth. You are as good as dead, don't conceal anything, your denials no longer help. Speak up and confess and say: Yes, I killed the white man.”

He however replied, “No! How am I to confess to something that I know nothing about? No! Sir, I know nothing, and I asked you before to tell me from whom you heard this.”

396 Now the magistrate did not say to a constable, “Fetch *Magonondo*.” Macfarlane sent *Shele* his interpreter and said, “Open the door for *Magonondo*, let him come here.” There was nothing more than a wall between them, so he just opened the door nearby, like that.

“Come *Magonondo*! Sit here, *Magonondo*! Now do you still want to see that man with reference to whom you said I must tell you from whom I had heard?”

397 The magistrate had hardly spoken these words when *Magonondo* could contain himself no longer and burst out,

“O! Son of my chief! Where do we meet today? What did I say to you, that you must not play in the road so soon after the death of your father, and kill the white man. Especially as you were still in mourning for the death of your father. You said to me: Get out, you little coward. You asked: What is it that can see us? I told you: Even the bird that

Lithethwa elikaNgazana

393 “Gijima, phoyisa, uhambe bonke ubusuku, uyobiza inkosi yamaNgwane, uthi akahambe masinyane”.

Amaphoyisa akwakhe asefikile aphuma eMhonzini, nembala lafika khona njalo, uMagonondo wavalelwa kwenye indlu eseduze nenkantolo, ephiwehwa khona ukudla angabonwa muntu, engabonwa langa, namaphoyisa kaMacingwane aphiwa ukudla khona phandle.

394 *Wagaleleka uLuzipho ekuseni, yathi ivulwa inkantolo wayesephakathi ‘uLuzipho lukaGwabini lokuzenwaya uMatiwane.’*

“Amaphoyisa akwakho asefikile, Macingwane, afika naye uMagonondo. Lungisa-ke, nkosi, kuzothi nje uma kuvulwa inkantolo kungene yona lendafakazi. Nansi incwadi, nika abantu bakho bayokulandela ukudla ozokukudla esilaheni lakwaHulumeni, ozokudla ngedina.”

395 *Emva kwesikhashana yase ivulwa inkantolo, langena.*

“O! Ngazana! Khuluma iqiniso. Sewufile, musa ukufihla, akusasizi lutho ukuphika kwakho. Khuluma nje uzibule, uthi: Yebo, ngambulala umlungu”.

Athi, “Hayi! Ngivume nje into ngingayazi? Qha! nkosi, mina angazi lutho, ngathi inkosi ayingitshela lowomuntu eyezwa ngaye”.

396 *Akashongo ephoyiseni ukuthi, “Landa uMagonondo”. uNdabainesilevu wathuma uShele iqhumusha lakhe, wathi, “Vulela uMagonondo, eze lapha”. Kwahlukanise udonga nje, wayesevula umnyango khona nje eduze lapha gudlu.*

“Woza, Magonondo! Hlala lapha, Magonondo! Usamfuna namanje lowo muntu othi angikutshela yena engezwa ngaye na?”

397 *Wenela ukusho njalo uNdabainesilevu kwase kwalile kuMagonondo, wathi,*

“Ha! mntanenkosi yami! sihlanganaphi-ke namhlanje na? Ngathini kuwe, angishongo ukuthi musa ukuganga endleleni ufelwe nguyihlo ubulale umlungu na? Futhi nomzimta usemubi ufelwe nguyihlo na? Wathi wena kimi: suka lapha leligwadlana. Wathi: Sibonwa yini na? Ngathi mina: Nenyoni ephapha phezulu iyakufona, noma kusehlane. Impela imizi yayinga-

¹ this was on 3rd May, 1866, when statements were taken by the Magistrate Macfarlane from *Macingwane* in the presence of *Magonondo*, and also from *Mzula*, who had been sent together with *Zembe* and nine others to seek *Magonondo*.

flies in the air sees you, even though it be out in the veld (for at that time the villages were not yet numerous, there being none beyond the Elands River). I said: even the bird sees you, and you replied: Get out, where does the bird get eyes? Where are we now today, for what purpose are we here, I told you how often, son of my chief, you are a child, but you sought trouble, what do you say today?"

398 The white men just sat silent the while, they did not say, "Be silent, *Magonondo*, we had not yet told you to speak." No, they just left him; then he said, "My chiefs, I end here. I repeat, let him ask me, as I have been told by the *amaNgwane*, that today it is I that slew the white man, let *Ngazana* himself ask me."

Said the magistrate, "There you are, *Ngazana*, answer the question *Magonondo* has asked."

399 But he, upon seeing *Magonondo* burst through the door, was quite broken, and one might see his body relax in despair, so the magistrate spoke,

"*Ngazana*, do you still require that I produce the man who told me, seeing that you asked from whom I heard this matter?"

"No, sir, that is the man, I have seen him myself. That word was my death, sir, because I thought perhaps I might escape through saying it."

400 "So it was. You, *Magonondo*, as to what you said about the bird above seeing you, do you know then that the bird has eyes?"

"Sir, I did hear it said once that there was a bird sitting up in the sky, called *umvelinqangi*, which sees everything on this earth, and sees every place."

401 "Truly, *Magonondo*, you are right, and that bird saw him indeed. I have heard you now, *Magonondo*, I have heard your evidence. As to you, *Ngazana*, what had the white man taken from you that you wished to kill him?"

"No, sirs, he had taken nothing."

"So you merely coveted what was his?"

402 "Well, sirs, we were going down from Basutoland, I and *Lugelezane* and *Matsheni* and this *Magonondo*, we passed the white man reclining near *Manzimnyama* just when one comes to the top of the pass, we found him just having finished his breakfast and lying down, we approached and he greeted us, calling me by my name: Good day, *Ngazana*! We replied. I can no longer conceal anything, I have seen him also; and he said to me: So you come from our place Estcourt? And he added: I know you, *Ngazana*, because you often come to us in Estcourt. Then we went on. He had with him three saddles packed on a horse, the fourth he rode on himself. Then there came to me this evil desire which has killed me, that I should take those saddles, and I said to my companions: Do we then leave such fine saddles behind? I can no longer deny the word of a man who speaks the truth like *Magonondo* when he said: Chief, you say we must take the saddles of that white man, what then has he

kabi miningi yayasakhawule nje ngeNamakazi. Ngathi mina: Nenyoni iyakubona. Wathi wena: Suka lapha, inyoni iwathathephi amehlo. Sikuphi-ke namhlanje, sizokwenzani lapha, ngiyakutshela kakhulu, mtanenkosi, uyingane, waphika inkani. Sewuthini-ke namhlanje?"

398 Bathula nje abelungu bathi du, abaze basho nokuthi, "Akuthule, Magonondo, asikasho ukuthi: khuluma." Qha, bamyeke nje. Wathi, "Makhosi, ngisageina lapho. Ngithi akakangibuze yena njengoba sengitshelwa ngama-Ngwane ukuthi namhlanje sekuyimi esengabulala umlungu, akakangibuze yena uNgazana".

Wathi uNdabainesilevu, "Nanko-ke, Ngazana, mphendule nango esho njalo uMagonondo".

399 Kanti usethe ngokubona uMagonondo ethi thu emnyango, wafa waphela, umuntu wabona umzimba wakhe utholeka phansi okokuphela, yayithi inkosi uNdabainesilevu,

"Ngazana, usafuna yini ukuba ngimlethe lowomuntu owangitshela, nje ngoba uthi ngezwa ngobani na?"

"O! Cha, nkosi, nguye lona, nkosi, nami sengimbonile. Ngelokufa nje, nkosi, ngoba bengithi nxalokumbe ngingasinda".

400 "Yebo-ke. Wena, Magonondo, kuleligama lakho owathi nenyoni ephazulu iyakubona, uyayazi yini ukuthi inyoni inamehlo na?"

"Nkosi, ngiya ngizwe kuthiwa ikhona inyoni ehlala laphaya phezulu, umvelinqangi, obona konke loku kwezwe, obona yonke indawo".

401 "Impela, Magonondo, uqinisile, yabona-ke nempela leyonyoni. Sengizwile-ke, Magonondo, sengizwile. Wena-ke, Ngazana, waze wathi umbulala nje umlungu wayedleni yakho na?"

"Cha! makhosi, wayengadlanga lutho."

"Kepha wamane wamawukela nje?"

402 "Wo, nkosi, sasehla lena eLusuthu noLugelezane noMatsheni naye uMagonondo lo, sadlula kuye umlungu eambalele kwaManzimnyama ukuba umuntu athi nje dundu ngaphezulu, samfumana esand' ukudla iblakufesi eambalele, safika kuye wasibingelela, wangibiza ngegama lami, wathi: Sawubona, Ngazana! Sawuma, makhosi. Sengingebe ngisafihla lutho, nami ngabuye ngambona, wathi: Uvela kithi eMtshezi? wathi umlungu: Ngiyakwazi, Ngazana, ngoba uhamba zonke izinsuku ufike kithi eMtshezi. Sibe siyadlula-ke njalo, makhosi. Uthwele izihlalo ezihathu azibetese ehashini, esesine ngayegibele ngaso. Wafika kimi lomoya omubi, osungibulele, ukuba ngizibone izihlalo lezi, ngathi kulaba engihamba nabo: Siyazishiya impela nakhona izihlalo ezinkle kangaka na? Ngingeze ngabe ngisakushonisa phansi ukukhuluma komuntu, uthatha nje impela uMagonondo lamazwi awakhulumayo, wathi: Nkosi, uthi asithathe izihlalo

done? I replied: Do you then argue that we should leave them? Said *Magonondo*: You are already caught, for see, the white man knows you! but I told him: I shall kill this white man, and I added: By whom will we be seen? Said *Magonondo*: Even the bird above sees you. There is nothing left, sirs, that I might still speak about and that I might say further; I simply coveted those saddles."

403 "Take him, constables, and put him back in gaol. You see, *Macingwane*, you will now hear further from me when I get to your place. *Magonondo*, go you with your chief *Macingwane* and stay with him a few days, and then I shall come along and you must show us that place."

Search for evidence

404 So *Luzipho* and *Magonondo* went home. A week did not go by before Macfarlane had arrived and he told them, "Find me two men, *Macingwane*, who know the Suthu language; for these constables of mine here do not know it."

405 There came forward *Mgamule*, son of *Macala Mvula*, and he also gave him *Mphepha*, son of *Makhuphula*, though he did not know Suthu, and he told them to accompany the magistrate, these two policemen of *Macingwane*. They also took picks and shovels, and went up and when they arrived near *Manzimnyama*, *Magonondo* showed them the crevice, they off-saddled there and dug in the crevice and found two buttons of the white man's coat, for he himself was by now only bones, and the white man's brother² identified them, "These are buttons of the coat that he was wearing." They further found a thigh bone and thought, "What are we still looking for, seeing that we see nothing else, here is a bone of his, and besides he was hidden well in the crevice. *Magonondo*, here is a pound, use it for food for the road, you will be called by me when the judges come."

406 And the names of those who had gone with them at the time were also asked and taken down, and the white men asked, "Where are they?" He told them "At home," for in telling them what had happened *Magonondo* had said, "*Ngazana* stabbed him with a spear, *Lugelezane* struck him with a club, *Matsheni* found him already dead, he simply rushed up and shouted *jii* whilst striking him with a stick."

407 Said the white men, "Why, *Magonondo*, how is that you say this, have you then forgotten your own language, tell me why one who shouts *jii* does so? Seeing that it is your language, but I also know it, and to my knowledge the man who shouts *jii* is he who finishes off the victim, so that in war also, when he who slew an enemy in battle goes forward to dance by himself, that other who shouted *jii* also comes forward saying: We were there also, my brother! referring by that to his shout of *jii*."

zomlungu nje wenzeni na? Ngathi mina: Konje uphukelele wena ukuthi asiziyeke? Wathi uMagonondo: Sewufile wena, ngoba nangu nomlungu uyakwazi. Ngathi mina: Ngizombulala umlungu lo, ngathi mina: Soba sibonwe ngubani? Wathi uMagonondo: Nenyoni ephozulu iyakubona. Akusekho okunye, makhosi, engingabe ngisakukhuluma nengingabe ngisakusho. Ngahawukela zona izihlalo lezo”.

403 “Mthatheni, maphoyisa, nimuse etilongweni. Uyabona-ke, Macingwane, usuyozwa ngami wena, sekufika mina lapho kuwe. Magonondo, hamba nawe nenkosi yakho uMacingwane uyohlala kuyo izinsukwana, kuzofika mina uyosikhambisa leyondawo”.

Kumbiwa lapha bemfihlile khona

404 Akhuphuke uLuzipho naye uMagonondo. Akuphelanga sonto engafikile uNdabainesilevu, wathi, “Nize ningifunele abantu babe babili, Macingwane, abazi ulimi lwesiSuthu; amaphoyisa ami lapha awalwazi ulimi lwesiSuthu”.

405 Kwaye kwavela uMgamule kaMacala Mvula, wayesemnika uMphepha kaMakhuphula, engasazi-ke yena isiSuthu, wathi kahambe naye, amabili-ke amaphoyisa kaMacingwane. Sekuphethwe amapiki namahalavu, fakhuphuke-ke, bathi nxa bekwaManzimnyama, alikhombe uMagonondo iqhamuka, kukhunyulwe-ke lapho, kumbiwe eqhamukeni, bathole amakinobho abe mabili ebhantshi lakhe umlungu, yena eselaba ngamathambo, ahle awabona ngempela umfowabo walomlungu athi, “Yiwo amakinobho ebhantshi lakhe ayeligqokile”. Baye bathole ithambo likagalwomlenze, bathi, “Sisafunani loku asisaboni lutho olunye, nanti ithambo lakhe, futhi ufihlekile kahle eqhamukeni. Magonondo, nangu upondo, hamba udla endleleni, usuyobizwa mhlana kufika amajaji”.

406 Babuzwe nalabo ayehamba nabo amagama abo, abhalwe, bathi, “Baphi bona na?” athi, “Basekhaya”, okuthi ekulandeni kwakhe uMagonondo, “uNgazana wamciba ngomkhonto, uLugelezana wamshaya ngenduku, uMatsheni wamfumana eselefile, wafika nje wathi jii esho ngenduku”.

407 Bathi abelungu, “Hawu, Magonondo, ukukhulumelani lokho sowukhohlwe kukhuluma kwakini nje kungokwakini, ake ungilandise wena-ke ukuba osuke ethi jii usuke ethini? Loku ulimi ngohwakini, kodwa nami ngiyabwazi, mina ngokwazi kwami umuntu othi jii kusuke kungoqedelayo, okuyaye kuthi nasempini uma kugiya lona ombulele kuqala asuke nalona ofike wathi jii, wathi: Sasikhona wetu! usho khona loko ukuthi jii kwakhe”.

² actually this was not his brother, but James Francis Metcalfe, who had been living with Moncrieff on his farm. The buttons were identified by the words “Peter Scott Edinburgh” on them, Metcalfe having an old coat of Moncrieff’s with the same buttons.

Said *Magonondo*, "No, sir, there is nothing in this that I would deny, indeed you have spoken the truth, it is so."

408 "Let us part here, it is for you, *Magonondo*, to decide whether you will go and stay with your chief or whether you prefer to return home. You may do as you please." So they parted, the magistrate going to Basutoland with his own induna *Faku Mabaso* and many constables, for it was he himself who was going to speak to *Mlambo* (*Molapo*).

Athi uMagonondo, "Chu! nkosi, alikho engiliphikayo enkosini, impela inkosi iqinisile, kunjalo".

408 *"Asahlukane-ke, wena Magonondo, kukuwe noma usathanda ukwethekela enkosini yakho, noma usufuna ukuya ekhaya, kukuwe konke". Bahlukane-ke, uNdabainesilevu aye kwaMshweshwe, uhamba nenduna yakhe uFaku wakwu-Mabaso, namaphoyisa amaningi, nguye luqobo lwakhe oyakukhuluma noMlambo.*

CHAPTER 21

The Magistrate goes to Basutoland

409 They came to *Mlambo's*, the son of *Mshweshwe*, and the father of Jonathan. The magistrate said to him, "Come aside, we want to have a talk."

They went some distance away, together with his induna and interpreter, and *Mlambo* brought his induna. Then he related to *Mlambo* what had been done by his own subject *Ngazana*, and told him, "*Ngazana*, however, I have already arrested, he had gone to sell horses at Frere; but of those that killed the white man together with *Ngazana* I still laek *Lugelezana* and *Matsheni*. Chief, I want you to give me those two men of yours, then the matter will have ended as far as you are concerned."

410 Then they went back to the council, but the white men in their cleverness had done a wise thing to ask *Macingwane* for men who knew the Suthu language.

For there happened to be present the son of *Ntanjana*, *Habhiyana*.

"Hi there, *Habhiyana!*" shouted *Mlambo*.

"Sir!"

"Can you see the twig that will strike you in your eye?" he asked in Suthu.¹

411 Of course *Mgamule* heard this because he was listening, for actually this matter had already been discussed in secret in Basutoland, that *Ngazana* had murdered a white man, and the white man's hat had been seen.² Immediately *Habhiyana* dashed to his horse, whilst *Mgamule* ran to the magistrate and told him, "Sir, that man is one of our people, he belongs to those who came up here together with *Ngazana*," and he told him about the warning which *Mlambo* had given to *Habhiyana*, and immediately the horses of the mounted police were brought.

412 *Habhiyana* was not yet far off when they were also in the saddle, and when he looked round he saw them quite near, he whipped up his horse, did the son of *Ntanjana*, and they said, "No! Let him go, so that he can show us the way." Whenever he vanished behind a ridge they would almost immediately be there and soon he dismounted from his horse and reported to *Makhosini*,

"Sir, here is a party looking for *Ngazana*," so *Makhosini* immediately took his gun, *Mgidingo* took it from him and hid it, and at that moment the magistrate's men were standing ready to see what would happen, they also looked at *Mgidingo*, for *Makhosini* was still a boy.

uNdabainesilevu ekhuphukela eLusuthu

409 *Baye bafike kuMlambo kaMshweshwe, uyise kaJonathane, amthathe uNdabainesilevu athi, "Woza lapha, sizokhuluma".*

Bathi gqi buqamamana, kanye nenduna yakhe neqhumusha lakhe, naye uMlambo aye nenduna yakhe. Amlandise-ke uMlambo lokukwenza komuntu wakhe uNgazana, athi, "Kodwa uNgazana sengim bambile, wayeyothengisa ngama-hashu eSikebheni, kulabo abambulala umlungu benaye uNgazana, sengilahlekelwe ngoLugelezane noMatsheni. Nkosi, sengithanda ukuba unginikele labobantu bakho, iyobe isiphelile indaba ngakurwe uma unginike labobantu".

410 *Babuye-ke beze ebandla, kanti abelungu ukhulakanipha kwabo bahle benza ngokhulakanipha ukuba bacele kuMacingwane abantu abazi isiSuthu.*

Ukhona lapho umfo kaNtanjana uHabhiyana,

"Yela, Habhiyana!"

"Nkosi!"

"Ungalubona yini uluthi nxa luzokuxhophisa esweni na?" ubuza ngaso isiSuthu.

411 *Uyezwa belo uMgamule ulalele, kwayilapho lendaba yakhe yakhletshwa eLusuthu ukuthi uNgazana wabulala umlungu, nesigqoko sabonakala sona somlungu. Wayesegijimela ehashini uHabhiyana, noMgamule wayegijimela kuNdabainesilevu, wathi, "Nkosi, lomuntu ngowakithi, yibo ababekhuphuke naye uNgazana", wayemtshela loku kukhuluma kukaMlambo akutshela uHabhiyana, sezibuya eziminyayi.*

412 *Wathi nje uHabhiyana enjeya buqamamana babezikhulula nabo izinkabi zamahashi, wathi ethi nje ukubheka ngasemuva zase zilapha, wayishaya inkabi yehashi umfo kaNtanjana, bathi, "Cha! myekeleni asidonse". Wabathe ushona lukhalo, nabo babethi kufika nje, uthe uthi uyehla ehashini esathi ubikela uMakhosini ethi, "Nkosi, nansi impi isifuna uNgazana", uthe uthi uthatha isibhamu uMakhosini, wasithatha uMgidingo 'uhoho lukaShenge,' wayosifihla, nabo-ke laba bempi kaNdabainesilevu isibheke okuzophuma, nabo sebebheke lona 'uhoho lukaShenge,' ngoba uMakhosini usengumfana.*

¹ this proverb, which refers to accidents which may fall on anyone unforeseen was used to give warning to *Habhiyana*.

² In the record of the trial it is stated that a native doctor called *Saduma* said that he performed certain ceremonies on *Ngazana* and *Matyeni* that are deemed necessary after killing a human being and that he was told by one or both of them that they had killed a white man. The matter was evidently no longer a close secret by this time.

413 They told *Mgidingo*, "We are here to fetch *Lugelezane* and *Matsheni*. Give them to us."

Mgidingo asked, "But what is the matter, my masters?"

They replied, "They have murdered a white man."

Mgidingo called to *Lugelezana*, "*Lugelezana*, here are those who have come to fetch you, they say you killed a white man together with *Ngazana*," and so he just collapsed, he said no word, he just remained helpless.

414 The white men said, "We must bring back the saddles that the white man had with him, four in number."

Mgidingo sought them out and produced them and told them, "The one who is not here, my masters, is *Matsheni*, he has been notified by his relatives yonder at *Vubane* at *Mkhosi's*, where as you *Mgamule* also know, some girls are in seclusion; I think the feast will be tomorrow. That is where he is."

415 So they took *Lugelezane* away. When they were a little distance away from the village the sergeant said, "Go immediately, *Mgamule*, to Mr. Macfarlane, seeing that they say that *Matsheni* is at *Mkhosi's*, lest they warn him"

Matsheni arrested

416 The magistrate had borrowed a horse from the chief so that his other one might not get too tired, and they had barely told him a word of what had happened when the horse was caught and *Mgamule* mounted it and dashed off together with *Mphepha*, and they spent the night near to their destination. They asked the people there,

"We hear it said that there is one of our relatives, called *Matsheni*, around here," and their host replied, "Come along, I will show you; so that man is a relative of yours?"

"Yes."

417 "And where are you making for?"

"Oh, we have been sent to *Matsiyeni*, we come from *Matsheni's* home at *Zikhali's*."

"Come with me," and he shouted, "Hi, *Matsheni!*" and he answered.

"Come out and see some kinsfolk of yours who are here," for these agents of *Luzipho* were of the same *Dungazwe* regiment as *Matsheni* himself. He no sooner set his eyes on them than he exclaimed, "Indeed, these are *Dungazwe* men of my regiment. Good day, friends, where did you come from?"

"Well, *Khoza*, we come from home, we are on an errand of the chief"

"Really? so you have been sent by him himself by 'uZipho (nail) of *Gwabini* for *Mativane* to scratch himself'?"

"Yes, sir! So it is."

"Let me find you some food."

418 So they sat down outside while he went in to announce them to the head of the village, and told him, "Here are some of my tribesmen sent by our chief

413 Bathi kuMgidingo, "Silapha nje, silande uLugelezane noMats'leni, sinikeni bona".

Wathi uMgidingo, "Kepha ngabe yini, makhosi, na?"

Bathi, "Babulale umlungu".

uMgidingo wamemeza uLugelezana, wathi, "Lugelezana, numpa laba bakulandile, bathi nabulala umlungu ninoNgazana", naye wamane wafa nje, akaze akhuluma lutho, wamane wafa nje.

414 Amakhosi athe, "Siboze sifike nalezo zihlalo umlungu ayezithwele, izihlalo ezine."

uMgidingo aziguduze azikhiphe zonke, athi uMgidingo, "Umuntu ongekho-ke, makhosi, nguMatsheni, umenywe ngabakubo bale eVubane, kwaMkhosi, njengoba nina-ke Mgamule niyazi kwaMkhosi kugonqe izintombi khona, ngicamanga ngithi umsindo uyoba ngowakusasa. Ulapho-ke lapho ekhona".

415 Bamqhube-ke uLugelezane. Na beseceleni komuzi usayitsheni wabo wathi, "Hamba manje, Mgamule, khona manje, uye kuNdaBainesilevu, njengoba uMatsheni bamkhomba kwaMkhosi, bangaze bayomethusa".

Ukuboshwa kukaMatsheni

416 Aze uNdaBainesilevu aboleke ihashi elinye enkosini, liphumuze leli lingaze lidinwe, banele nje ukulithe hlwathi lelo lase libanjwa ihashi, wayiqhana uMgamule, babesuka bobabili noMphepha, baye balala eduzane nakhona, bafike bazibuzise bathi,

"Sizwa kuthiwa kukhona umuntu wakithi lapha uMatsheni", ahle athi usibanibani, "Wozani ngiyonikhombisa, ngowakini lowomuntu na?"

"Yebo".

417 "Kepha nina nibangephi na?"

"Cha! Sithunywe eMatsiyeni, siphuma khona kubo kaMatsheni kwa-Zikhali".

"Wozani kimi", ahla athi, "We Matsheni!" asabele.

"Phuma uzobona nampa abantu bakini", ngowabo bakaMatsheni yimi-Dungazwe amaphoyisa kaLuziphu lana. Enele nje ukubathi nhla athi, "Ha! yiyo impela owethu yimiDungazwe! Sanibona bowethu, niphumaphi na?"

"Hayi, Khoza, siphuma khona ekhaya; sithunywa ngamakhosi ngezindaba".

"Yebo-ke, nithunywa yilo 'uZipho lukaGwabini lokuzemwaza uMatwane'?"

"Yebo baba! kunjalo".

"Ake ngifune ukudla".

418 Bahlala nje khona lapho phandle eseyobabika kumunzane, wathi, "Nampa abantu bakithi bathunywe yinkosi yakithi emaNgwaneni, indlala isibabulele."

of the *amaNgwane*, and they are very hungry," they were very relieved (to see the man they had come to arrest), they were given beer and related all the matters pertaining to their regiment, he having by now produced food also, the son of *Nkeshana Khoza*, meat and beer and curds; the *abeSuthu* helped themselves to the sour milk, whilst the *amaNgwane* fell upon the meat and beer.

419 "O! son of *Nkeshana*, that we come to you and you see us here, is that you also should eat and the food go down³ and we eat also, come here and let me handcuff you." So he got up, did *Mgamule*, the son of *Macala*, and put on the handcuffs, telling him, "Let them give you your blankets *Khoza*," but the other lost his self-control, he asked no questions, betraying himself completely thereby, they gave him his blankets, and a great weeping arose, for his children also had come to the celebrations, and asked the others, "What has he done? What has he done?"

420 Then they went off with him and reached *Mlambo's*. The magistrate thanked him,

"I thank you, *Mlambo*, for now I have got them both," and *Mlambo* gave him an ox with the words, "Here is food for the road, sir, go along and eat it," they slaughtered it there and it was cooked all night, excepting one leg, that being reserved for roasting later on, for there were European mounted police there also (who apparently had their own ideas about the manner of cooking).

They thanked *Mlambo*, took leave of him and departed, taking with them that whole ox.

Trial of *Ngazana*

421 They arrived home and waited for the judges, they waited six months. They were removed from Estcourt to Ladysmith. Then, before the date the judges were due to arrive, the order was given, "Go and tell *Macingwane* to bring along all the children of *Ngazana*."

The appointed day for the judges came and by that time they were down there, all three, and those who still had their mothers brought them along, for hitherto they had been in Basutoland. *Macingwane* had fetched them all down.

422 They came down at the same time as the judges, they had barely arrived in Natal when they had to go straight to Ladysmith.⁴ The case came up, but what was there still to be talked about, seeing that they had confessed to having murdered the white man? So the judges very soon decided the matter,

³ when a man is nervous, the food he eats does not go down but sticks in his throat. *Matsheni* was ill at ease, so in order to enable him to enjoy his food, the policeman proposed to arrest him forthwith.

⁴ actually, the case was tried at Estcourt on 22nd October, 1866.

According to the record of the case in the Archives, Maritzburg (Supreme Circuit Court, 1866, vol. 26), "Ungazana, Matyeni and Lugelezane, Natives, belonging to

bachasule badele baphiwe utshwala baxoze zonke izindaba nezobubutho babo, usekukhiphile ukudla umfo kaNkeshana wakwaKhoza, wakhapha inyama notshwala namasi, bazidlela amasi abeSuthu, amaNgwane aphantela enyameni nasetshweleni.

419 “*O! mfo kaNkeshana, size kuwe nxa usibona nje, sithi khona nawe uzokudla kungene, nathi sidle, sondela lapha ngikubophe*”. Wasukuma umfo kaMacala uMgamule wayemshayela ngozankosi, wathi, “*Abakunike izingubo zakho-ke, Khoza*”, naye amane abihle nje angabuzi lutho kwangathi useyazibikela, bamnike izingubo, siqhunsuke isililo ngoba kukhona nabantwabakhe abeze khona emsindweni, babuze abanye bathi, “*Wenzeni? wenzeni?*”

420 *Babe bahamba naye njalo, baze baye bangene naye kwaMlambo. Abonge-ke uNdabainesilevu, athi,*

“*Sengiyabonga-ke, Mlambo, ngoba sengibatholile*”, akhiphe inkabi athi, “*Nanku umphako-ke, nkosi, hamba udla*”, bahle bayihlabe, iphekwe bonke ubusuku, bashiye umlenze kuphela, inyama yabo yokosa lokuphela, kukhona nononqayi.

Babonga kuMlambo bavaelise bahamba, bayithathe yonke inkabi le.

Amajaji athetha icala

421 *Bayafika lapha ekhaya, kwahlalelwa amajaji, kulindelwa izinyanga ezisithupha. Basuswa eMtshezi basiwa eMnambithi. Kwathi amalanga engakapheli amajaji, kwathwa, “Hambani, uyothi kuMacingwane, akasondeze bonke abantwana bakaNgazana”.*

Ayafika amalanga amajaji nje, sebephelele lapha bobathathu, abase nonina beze nonina, kuyilapho bele eLusuthu. Wabalanda nembala uMacingwane, baze bazofika lapha.

422 *Bafikisane nawo amajaji, benela ukufika nje basebelha sebeqonda khona eMnambithi. Seliyangena icala, kepha kusayokhulunywani loku sebevumile bathi bambulala umlungu. Abese alinquma khona njalo amajaji athi iguzi*

the tribe “Amangwane” and being British subjects domiciled, and now or lately residing in the County of Weenen, in the said Colony of Natal, are all and each, or some one or more of them, guilty of the crime of murder:—

In that, upon or about the Seventh Day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-four, within the Basuto country, being a territory in South Africa, and at a place near the Drakensberg, southwards of the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude, the name of which is to the prosecutor unknown they, the said Ungazane, Matyeni and Lugelezane, [being such British subjects as aforesaid], all and each, or some one or more of them, one Robert Hope Moncrieff, also a British subject, then or lately theretofore residing at or near the farm “Culfargie”, in the County and Colony aforesaid, farmer, . . . did, [within the jurisdiction of this court], unlawfully, and maliciously kill and murder.” The words in square brackets were inserted later because the argument was adduced by the defence that the crime was committed outside Natal.

saying that blood was not paid for except with blood, the matter was settled on a Monday and the verdict was that they were to be hanged on a certain following Monday. So their wives and children stayed there, the appointed day came, and on the day before the execution they were sent inside to bid them goodbye.

423 The next day at about eleven they were all called together to witness the execution of those who had murdered the white man, they were put in a place of vantage, all the wives and their mothers, and those three were placed together high up opposite their wives and mothers, and were put inside the traps to hang them in, the execution taking place inside the building. The ropes were put round their necks whilst they were looking on, their traps having been put in line. Then there arrived the executioner and he placed each one in his own trap in turn, they were told to climb up on top and stand there, then he touched the trigger, all three just disappeared, and now they were hanging stone dead.

424 Then their wives and mothers were told, "Go down now," they were given a note and told to go and receive food and go. *Magonondo* was paid twenty pounds, *Mgamule* and *Mphepha* were directed to receive the salary that was drawn by constables per month, but the salary of constables at that time was very small.

The people scattered and that was the end of this matter.

alenanane, kunqunywe umsombuluko kuthiwe bayonqunywa ngomsombuluko othile, sebehlala khona lapho abafazi babo nonina, lafika-ke lelolanga elikhonjiwe, kwathi mhlana beyobulawa kusasa bangeniswa kwathwa abayobavalelisa.

423 *Kwathi ngakusasa ngo-eleven babizwa bonke bazobukela ukubulawa kwaabo labo ababulala umlungu, base bekhwezwa laphaya abafazi babo kanye nonina, bobathathu bamiswe ndawonye phezulu, abafazi babo nonina babhekene nabo base bengeniswa konoxhaka bokunquma babo, bese belengela khona lapha endlini. Bayagitshwa entanyeni bababhekile, onoxhaka babo balinganisile. Kufike-ke lo obabulalayo kube yilowo ammise kowakhe unoxhaka njalo njalo, kuthiwe abakhwele phezu kwawo feme, wase ewuthinta umbeko wabo bobathathu, lambu lambu khona, manje sebeyalenga kade bepholile.*

424 *Kwase kuthiwa kubafazi babo nakonina, "Yehlani manje", base babhalelwa incwadi kwathiwa abayokwamukela ukudla bahambe, uMagonondo wathola amashumi amabili opondo, kwathiwa uMgamule noMphepha bona bamukela imali eholwa ngamaphoyisa bahola ngenyanga njalo, yayisencane-ke imali yamaphoyisa ngalesosikhathi.*

Bachitheke ibe iphelela lapho-ke indaba.

CHAPTER 22

Story of *Ngazi*

425 The chief *Luzipho* and his brother *Mondise* called together the *amaNgwane*.

“O! *maNgwane*, I did not call you together for nothing, this is what I have to lay before you. Seeing that *Ngazi*'s elder brother (*Ngazana*) is now dead, and there is a war on in Basutoland, and scarcity is getting worse, I say, friends, allow him a place to live, for you know that *Zembe* (the induna at *Ngazana*'s kraal) and *Ngazana* engaged in rivalry at *Mteli*'s, and could not agree but quarrelled every day.” The councillors replied, “Yes, son of *Matiwane*, we know that, indeed they were always wondered at because people continually had to interfere between them.”

426 He said, “My men, this child of mine has been troubled enough, you his uncles, find a place for him, for I think he should not return to *Mteli*'s kraal, because *Zembe* always used to fight with his elder brother, and how would he behave towards this child?”

427 Then spoke

He who enters on account of enemies, *Mondise*,
Kraal-head who fights people himself, fog-breaker to let the sun shine

he said,

“Yes, chief, I also agree that there are two things about this prince that will provoke insults; *Zembe* will say this little *Luk'hozi*-ite stole the cattle of the chief *Mondise*, all of them, and now he wants to return to this place. I, sir, look to you for assistance for this orphan of mine, because it is you who are trustee for all the things of your elder brother, do not give him to anybody else, because to commoners he will be a target for their insults, namely that he stole the royal cattle. This is my opinion, *maNgwane*, let us look after this lad of *Matiwane* always.”

428 They replied, “Yes, sir, all of us agree with you, where did you find this solution, we all agree, for there would be this insult that ordinary people could throw at him. Seeing that he could be abused without yet having done anything wrong, and *Zembe* could insult him and quarrel about the kraal of his mother *Mteli*.”

So *Luzipho* the chief thanked them and they (*Ngazi* and his women folk) had a small hut built for them where they slept together until a big hut should be finished.

429 Then *okaSoncaka*¹ came from the *Ngwagani* kraal to the chief and told him, “I would like to live near to you,” thus spoke the mother of *Mnanja*

Indaba kaNgazi

425 *Awabize-ke amaNgwane uLuzipho nomnewabo uMondise.*

“O! maNgwane, anginibizeli lutho, nanku enginikhombisa kona, ukuthi njengoba sekubulewe umnewabo kaNgazi nje, impi iyalwa eLusuthu, kukhule nendlala, ngithi beNtungwa, mboneleni nina indawo, ngoba niyazi ukuthi uZembe noNgazana bebebanga indlu yakwabo yakwaMteli, fengathandani belwa zonke izinsuku.” Athi amaNgwane, “Yebo, wena kaMatiwane, siyakwazi lokho, nempela babebatshazwa njalo belanyulwa”.

426 *Uthi-ke, “Makhosi, umntanami likade lidinile, boyise mboneni, mina ngithi angebe esabuyela laphaya kwabo kwaMteli, njengoba uZembe ayelwa nomnewabo anga njani-ke enganeni”.*

427 *Wathi*

*uMangena-ngezitha-ekhaya uMondise,
uMnumzana ozikhlabanelayo, uMqabula-nkungu kuvele ilanga*

wathi,

“O! Yebo, nkosi, mina ngithi izinhlamba kulomntwana sezimbili; uzofika uZembe athi luKhozana hcadla nenkomo zenkosi zikaMondise zonke, sekubuye kuze lapha. Mina, nkosi, ngibonele wena lentandane yami ngoba nguwe obonisa zonke izinto zomnewenu, ungeze wamnika futhi omunye umuntu, ngoba abafokazana kuzofa yona nhlamba, ukuthi kwadla nenkomo zenkosi, ngisho njalo mina, maNgwane, ngithi akasilondolozele yena njalo okaMatiwane”.

428 *Bathi, “Nkosi, sonke siyakuvumela, nkosi, ingabe wena leligama ulizuzephi, sisho njalo sonke, sekungaba yiyona nhlamba kubantukazana. Loku ubenenhlamba engakenzi lutho, uZembe ubenenhlamba embangisa indlu yakwabo yakwaMteli”.*

Hayi-ke yabonga inkosi uLuzipho, bakhelwa ixitshana laba linye balala ndawonye, kube yikhona kuzogawulwa elikhulu.

429 *Kwase kukhuphuka okaSoncaka eNgwaqeni esethi, “Ngithanda ngizohlala eceleni kuakho”, kusho unina kaMnanja, esho kuLuzipho, wavuma-ke waku-*

¹ mother of Mnanja mentioned below. Cf. §458 11-m.

to *Luzipho*, the latter agreed and she came up, and when she settled with him he told her, "Mother, live away a little distance, I thank you for coming here, and I give you this child into your care, but I do not give him completely, for you will be under my eyes and he also. I say, let him live near your kraal mother. I shall not merge the kraal of my brother with mine, for then my brother's might eat up mine, which would become my brother's in this way. And as for them, I am not simply thrusting them upon you, you must merely keep an eye on them."

430 In this way the young man found congenial surroundings and other young men and so lived very comfortably at the *Siphahleni* kraal, whilst the widows of his elder brother went to live at *Phahlindlela*, he plunged into the young mens' life and pursuits and soon was quite at home.

431 Behold now *Mnkosazi*, a sister of *Mnanja*, going to be married to the *amaNgwe* chief,² so the chief summoned together the *amaNgwane* with all his might, so that these three huts might be built and finished quickly, in order that when the *amaNgwe* arrived they should be ready. So the women fetched grass and the men fetched the wattles and the huts were built and finished in a short time, there being now five together with that of *okaSoncaka* and *Masikisiki*, son of *Gaga Hlongwane*,³ and those three of *Ngazana's* widows. It was by now a real village. Thus when the bridegroom's party of *Manzezulu* arrived, they were able to stay at the *Phahlindlela* kraal.

432 Two days went by, when *Macingwane* went to sit on that stone of his that looks like a chair, on one side of his village (the wedding party having now arrived), for in those days the old men used to get up very early in the morning to see everything that happened, and now he observed, "Why! There is a woman getting up with a young man while it is still dark! That is one of the wedding guests, and she is *okaHlatshwayo* a widow of *Ngazana*."

433 Then as it got a bit lighter, he again saw, "Ho! There is somebody else getting up out of the long grass. Why! that is one of our own folk and the woman is my daughter-in-law *okaSibatha*, and her cavalier is *Mahemu*!" He said to himself, "What! So I am going to be left by myself!⁴ and the women are planning to leave," so the wedding guests had barely left a day when he sent word to *Shomela*, telling his messengers to complain to him (because *Shomela* as induna should have prevented these misdemeanours), and he also sent to *Hlangabeza Shabalala*, a medicine man at *Zinyathi*, he summoned him after *Shomela* had arrived and told *Hlangabeza* what to do, and then he said, "Make a start with them, *Shomela*."

434 He asked, "What else am I to do with them?"

"Tell them to go into the hut," however, *okaNdaba Mabizela*⁵ was ill, she who was *Magodongo's* mother.

"You, *Ntshebe* and *Mahemu* and *Masikisiki*," he said, and told them to sit near the door of the hut into which the women were going to be sent, so



PLATE 8

A village of the ama.Ngwane, with the Drakensberg in the distance.

phuka okaSoncaka, uthe ukuba akhuphuke okaSoncaka wathi uLuzipho, "O! mama, suka nkosi, ngibongile ukuba ukhuphuke, ngikunika nangu umtanakho, angikuniki, nawe ubhekwe yimi naye uzobhekwa yimi. Ngithi akahlale kwakho, mana. Ngingeze ngathatha umuzi womnewethu ngiwuthele kowami, umuzi womnewethu usungadla owami, kube ngowomnewethu njalo. Nawe angisho ukuthi sengikufugela ngabo, nawe uzobabona nje".

430 *Yasizakala insizwa wafumana izinsizwa zingamasoka, wasizakala wasala yena eSiphahleni, omkamnewabo baya khona-ke kuaPhahlindlela, nayo yaba njalo yathi bhe ebusokeni, yejwayela masinyane.*

431 *Nanko-ke kuyakwendo uMnkosazi wakwaboMnanja wendela emaNgueni, inkosi yamemeza ngamandla amaNgwane ukuba lezizindlu zakhiwe masinyane zontathu, ayafika amaNwe seziphelile. Kwaba njalo, abafazi balethe inca namadoda alethe izintungo, kwakhiwa kwaphela njalo masinyane, sekuba yizindlu ezinhlanu ngeyakwaSoncaka neyakwaboMasikisiki kaGaya Hlongwane, nalezi-ke zomkaNgazana zontathu. Kwase kuba ngumuzi. Kuthe ukuba bafike abayeni bafike bangena khona kwaPhahlindlela bakwaManzezulu.*

432 *Kwaphela izinsuku ezimbili uMacingwane eyakuhlala etsheni lakhe elifana nesitulo eceleni komuzi wakhe, abayeni befikile, ngoba kuqala amadoda ayevuka ekuseni kakhulu bazibone zonke izinto ezenzekayo, usebabone, "Ha! Nanguya loyamfazi uvuka nensizwa kusemnyamana, ngomunye wabayeni uvuka noka-Hlatswayo yena umkaNgazana".*

433 *Kuthe kuyakuthi kuqhubeka ukusa, wabathe, "Ha! Nanguya onunye evuka kulesiya sikhotha. Ha! ngowakithi uvuka naye umalokazana omkhulu okaSibatha, uvuka noMahemu!" Athi, "Ha! kanti sengizosala ngedwa, abafazi sebeyahamba", kwanela ukuthi nje sululu abayeni mzu ku behambe ngayizolo waese ehlabi umkhosi kuShomela wathi abayombika, esethumela kuHlangabeza wakwaShabalala, oyinyanga eZinyathi, umbiza uShomela usefikile, wamtshela uHlangabeza wakwenza akwenzayo, wathi, "Bakhulumise, Shomela".*

434 *Wathi, "Ingabi ngisezokubakhulumisani?"*

"Wotho abangene laphaya endlini", okaNdaba Mabizela uyagula-ke, yena unina kaMagodongo.

"Nina-ke Ntshebe nawe Mahemu noMasikisiki", wathi mabahlale eduze komnyango lapho amakhosikazi ezongeniswa khona, khona bezokuzwa ukuthi

² to Manzezulu, son of Phuthini.

³ a commoner who had been told to come and live there.

⁴ this conclusion was justified as what he had seen was a sign that these widows of Ngazana would presently run off and marry the men they had been misconducting themselves with, since the white man's law now prohibited interference with a widow's wishes in this respect.

⁵ since this third widow of Ngazana was ill, only the other two widows took part in the performance that was now enacted.

that they would hear that there were people outside, "Make a bit of noise, so that they will be afraid even if they might think of running away. Call them, *Mananambana*."

435 "My father *Shomela* calls you. He says: Go into that hut, there is something he wants to discuss with you." and then they opened the door for their stable-bull, namely *Ngazi*.

"There was nothing else I could do, I had seen what they were up to, they were going to leave me." Now it was in the middle of the day. The order was given, "*Mahemu, Ntshelbe, Masikisiki*, do not go away from here, and as soon as you see anyone try to run away, clout her on the head and send her back into the hut."

436 Then their bull went in, he asked no questions; and when the one turned aside and thought of running out she heard the men at the door talking and was afraid to go out, and he threw away the one and took the other; and after this they had no further mind to do anything else but stayed on, after this that he had done to them they could no longer go out. Then those men went away from the door and he stayed there two days, his father sending beer, and his wives sending food, and they were not permitted to go out before those two days were past, they came out on the third and the bull henceforth did not leave the kraal, and so was no longer reckoned amongst the young men yonder.

Story of *Mthemelele*

437 *Mthemelele* (also a member of the *Lukhozi* faction) crept down stealthily from Basutoland, for his heart was set on seeing his sister *Mthethwase*. However, the people insulted him all night, for there was a beer party in progress. Next morning they reported his presence to *Luzipho*, after having bound him, "Sir, here is *Mthemelele* come back, just as they used to do when coming down to steal cattle."

"Where is he?" asked the chief.

438 "Yonder, sir," and they told him everything they had done to him, and he went there and said,

"Men of *Ngwagani*, this man whom you have tied, what harm had he done? Tell me! A man of such high rank that I should say he is higher than you all sitting here, my uncle next in rank to *Matiwane*, you went and bound *Matiwane* in his own kraal? Now what can I do to them? For even if he had come to work evil magic, he would still only have come to do so to his own children, and you should not have done this to him, and even had he come down to steal those cattle that you say that he had come to steal, he would still only have been stealing his own cattle. I, seeing that I am here, watch over everything belonging to my late brother, of whatever kind, and whoever thinks to trouble my uncle must first come and tell me," and he put his finger in his mouth and sucked it hard and said, "Do it again tomorrow if you dare."

kukhona ibandla, “ Nibange umsinjwana, bazakwesaba noma bengabe beca-banga ukubaleka. Babize-ke, Mananambana ”.

435 “ Uthi ubaba uShomela uyanibiza. Uthi: Ngenani laphaya endlini, ikhona into azoyikhuluma nani ”, bayivulele inkunzi yabo yesitebele, uNgazi-ke.

“ Ngingebe ngisenza ngokunye, sengikubonile ukwenza kwabo, sebezongishiya,” emini kwa wo! Kuthiwe, “ Mahemu, Ntshebe, Masikisiki, ningasuki lapha nina, nenele nje nithi ningakubona okubalekayo nikumukule ngempama nikubuyisele khona endlini ”.

436 Ingene inkunzi yakwabo ingabe isabuza; kuthi omunye uma tata ufuna ukuphuma abezwe bekhuluma laba emnyango besabe ukuphuma, ikulakle lokuya ithathe lona omunye futhi, kube yinkohlakalo manje abasenakho ukwenza okunye manje, uma esenze lowomsebenzi abasenakuphumela phandle. Asuke manje lamadoda emnyango, ahlale-ke izinsuku ezimbili, uyise usa utshwala, omama basa ukudla, abanakho ukuphuma zingakapheli lezonsuku ezimbili, kwaze kwathi ngohwesithathu baphuma, inkunzi ingabe isaphuma njalo-ke manje, iphume ezinsizweni lapha.

Indatshana kaMthemelele

437 uMthemelele wayenyenyile ukuza lapha, ephuma khona ngaphezulu, inhliziyo yakhe ihluthukela ukuzobona udadewabo uMthethwase. Bamenule umntanenkosi bonke ubusuku, kudliwa utshwala. Kuthi ekuseni kube yikhona beyombika enkosini kuLuzipho, sebembophile bathi, “ Nkosi, nangu uMthemelele uselelapha, njengoba beyiloku behla bezokweba izinkomo ”.

Ithi inkosi, “ Uphi na? ”

438 Bathi, “ Nangu, nkosi ”, yikhona sebeyitshela ngakusasa konke abebemenza kona, wathi eza, wafike wathi,

“ Madoda useNgwaqeni, lomuntu enimbophile woneni na? Ngitskheleni! Inkosi engaka bengingathi lomuntu unahlula nonke nihlezi, uyise welama ubaba uMatiwane emhlana, nibopha uMatiwane emzini wakhe? Konje ningabenzenjani? Noma ebezothakatha, ubengabe uthakatha abantwabakhe, beningeze naze nimenze nje, noma ubezokweba izinkomo lezi enizishoyo ukuthi ubezokweba, ubezokweba izinkomo zakhe. Mina njengoba ngihlezi lapha ngibonise zonke izinto zomnewethu nezinjani, umuntu abothi emhlupha umntakababa abetshele mina kuqala ”, afake ununwe emlonjeni wawuncinda wawutshikiza wathi, “ Nize niphinde nangomuso ”.

439 Then a goat was fetched and they both sat down to a huge beer pot, drinking together, the goat arrived and was given to him. Next morning he thanked him and took his leave, "Don't do this again, for in this way you might be killed by the people, but if you want to come and see me, my uncle, you must not creep in stealthily, you must walk straight in to me and not go to the ordinary people, for this kraal here is yours. And even today we still miss you in this your kraal and your father's, it is you who are senior to all the sons of *Masumpa*, for your father was next in birth to *Matiwane* himself. Who is there to challenge you in this village? Of the same rank as yourself there is only I, no other, not one, for your father followed *Matiwane* even as I am the next younger brother of *Zikhali*, there is none besides us two, it is only we." So they took leave from one another there. It appeared as if he could not stop talking, and he said finally, "I miss you in this village here."

So he now took his leave and went, and after that whenever he came down he would stay at *Siqeketho's*, until eventually they were forced to return to Natal by the war in Basutoland.

Defection of *Makhosini*

440 *Makhosini* also (as one of those who had to return to Natal) was cast up on the other side of the *Nconcosi* (a tributary of the *Mnambithi*) and sought to gain control of all those who lived there. *Macingwane* immediately rushed off to Estcourt,

"My chiefs, here is this son of my late brother, *Makhosini*. I thought that he was just living there for a while and would return in due course to find himself a place to live in the land of his father, but now I see that he no longer permits my messengers to go about, I notice that they have transferred their allegiance to him, all the people yonder around the *Nconcosi*, so I say, sir, if you do not interfere between us I might strike him and he grab my stick, for he is no longer a child; there is a phrase used by Shaka: No buffalo worsts its own calf, but the calf overcomes and kills the old one."

441 He was given some police the same day, "Let them go and let two men from you and two men from *Makhosini* go along and they must show him a place on the upper *Mnambithi*, they must point out to him that all the water that flows into the *Mnambithi* from this side is in *Newadi's* land and on the other side of the river it is *Makhosini's*, the water that flows into the *Mnambithi* is that of *Makhosini*, that on this side along the *Nconcosi* is *Newadi's*."

442 Immediately all the numerous *Ndaba* villages of *Mindile* moved and went over to *Makhosini*, these being such as had not gone up into Basutoland with them, but whom he had stolen, this cunning fellow, who joked with the old women and familiarly laid his arm around people's necks.

The government intervened and told him to abandon these practices but nevertheless he did not cease courting popularity, so that even though he

439 Seyilandiwe-ke njalo umbuzi, sebekhwele isankunku sokhamba, banatha bobabih, yayifika imbuzi, esenikelwa yona. Kwathi kusa kusasa wayebonga evalelisa, “Musa ukwenza loku, yiko-ke uze ubulawe ngabantu -nje, noma uthanda ukuzongi bona mntakababa ungabonyenya, ubogonda nje kimi ungaboya kubantu, umuzi lo ngowakho. Namanje siyakufuna kulomuzi wakho kayihlo, nguvena ophambi kwabo bonke laba bakaMasumpa ngoba uyihlo welama uMatwane emhlane. Nguhani-ke ongabuyi akukhulumise kulomuzi na? Ongangawe lapha yimi nje kuphela, hayi omunye, akakho noyedwa, ngoba uyihlo welama uMatwane, njengoba nami ngelama uZikhali nje, akakho omunye ngaphandle kwethu sobabili, yithi kuphela”. Bavalelisana khona lapho. Kwangathi angebe esayeka ukukhuluma, wathi, “Ngifuna wena phakathi kwalomuzi”.

Wawuyavalelisa uyahamba, wase ebayehle eze khona kwabo kwaSiqeketho, sebeze behle nje sebehliswa yimpi kwaMshweshwe.

uMakhosini

440 NoMakhosini wayephonseka phesheya eNconcosi wahle wafuna ukubathatha bonke labo. uMacingwane wayesephonseka eMtshezi,

“Makhosi, nangu umfana womnewethu uMakhosini. Bengithi uhlezi nje uzobuyi azibonele indawo ezweni likayise, azakhele nje, manje sengibona engasavumi ukuba ngibathume mina abantu, sengibona sebebuyele ngakuye bonke abantu laphaya eNconcosi, ngithi, nkosi, uma ungasehlukani ngizothi ngiyamshaya ayibambe eyami induku, ngoba akasesiye umntwana; washo uShaka wathi: Akunyathi yahlula ithole layo, bese liyahlula liyibulale endala”.

441 Wafika nawo amaphoyisa khona mzuku lokho, “Baze bahambe babe babili nabavela kuwe nabavela kuMakhosini, bayomkhombisa indawo enhla noMnambithi, bamshengise amanzi aseMnambithi ukuthi amanzi oMnambithi ngapha nganeno kukwaNcwadi, ngaphaya ngaphesheya kukwaMakhosini, amanzi agobhozela ngaseMnambithi kukwaMakhosini, eza nganeno ngaseNconcosi kukwaNcwadi.”

442 Hlephu yonke imizi eminingi yakwaNdaba kaMlindile isithutha iya kwaMakhosini, kungesibo nababehambe nabo baya oSuthu, usebefile, ishobongo lansondo, lidla ngokudlala nezalukazi, lihambe amadoda awagaxe entanyeni.

Abalamule uhulumeni athi angafika ngapha akuyike lokho ngoba uloku engakuyekile ukushela, athi noma ethi ubalethile lapha eNgoba abantu bakayise

said that he had brought some subjects of his to *eNgoſa* they ended up by quarrelling with *Ngwadi*, to whom he had already handed over his tax book and had told *Ngwadi*, "You are my father, I am not chief."

443 Behold now one day the beer of the first fruit ceremony getting the better of him, so that *Ngwadi* told him to go and sleep at *Mdineka Ndaſa*'s, and an ox was sent after him as present, but instead of going in he went straight on and spent the night at *Mngayiſa*'s at his own kraal the *Noſadina*. When the ox was brought (to the kraal the chief had mentioned) the man who brought it asked, "Where is the chief's son?"

444 They informed *Ngwadi* in due course, "He did not sleep where you told him. He went and slept at *Cala*'s, at *Mngayiſa*'s."

"What!" There was a terrible rage! He said, "Go there immediately and tell him to clear out without delay." They found him having already caught a kid for *Makhosini*, (which was considered another sure sign of collusion between the two). After that *Makhosini* was afraid to return, so that whenever it was necessary it was *Mlungu* son of *Deliwe*, his great induna, who came, and he himself never put in an appearance again.

bafike bazabana noNgwadi, esemnike nebhuku lokuthela wathi kuNgwadi, “ Ungubaba, mina angisiyo inkosi”.

443 *Nanku sokukhula utshwala bomkhosi athi uNcwadi akayolala kwaMdineka Ndaba, wayelandelwa yinkabi ngemva, kanti usefike wahlaba wedlula, wayolala kwaMngayiya kwabakwabo kwaNobadina. Qatha nenkabi loyo owaethunywe, “ Uphi umntanenkosi? ”*

444 *Bayafika bamtshela uNgwadi ukuthi, “Akalalanga lapho kusho khona inkosi. Uye walala kwaCala kwaMngayiya”.*

“ Mamo!” ivuso elimpekempeke! lathi “ Hambani khona manje nifike nihi: Akahambe naye khona manje.” Bamfumanisa esembambele izinyane, esesaba ukubuya uMakhosini, kwasase kubuye uMlungu kaDeliwe, induna yakhe enkulu, akabe esabuya njalo.

CHAPTER 23

Family names and *amabutho*

445 The *isibongo* of the royal family is *Hlongwane*. The genealogy of the chiefs is given in the next chapter.

Amongst the old *izi bongo* that were represented in the tribe before it set out on its wanderings, and which are therefore considered true *Ngwane* family-names, we may mention the following : *Makhobo*, *Zondo*, *Khaba*, *Zigode*, *Luvuno*, *Khoza*, *Ndaba*, *Goza*, *Mduli*, *Gumede*, *Mazibuko*, *Ntshali*.

All of these are still represented amongst the *amaNgwane* today.

446 Well over a hundred family names, including such well-known ones as *Dlamini*, *Dladla*, *Hlatshwayo*, *Khumalo*, *Mlangeni*, are also represented, many of them by large family groups. A proportion, difficult to estimate, consists of strangers who only joined the tribe after the *amaNgwane* had re-assembled in Natal under *Zikhali*. There are also the Swazi who came in the train of *Nomlalati* or later.

447 Amongst the leaders of the tribe who took part in the battle at *Mbholompo*, *Msebenzi* remembers, besides those mentioned in the text, the following : *Khunjwayo* (father unknown, *Hlongwane*), *Mbenge kaNgudu* (*Hlongwane*), *Ntshosho kaNgolo* (*Hlongwane*), *Mashobana* (father unknown, *Hlongwane*), *Zulu kaNtshani* (*Hlongwane*), *Ntumbo kaHlangwane* (*Hlongwane*), *Mamangala*¹ (father unknown, *Hlongwane*), *Duma kaMkhwibisa* (*Zondo*), *Demane kaMzakaza* (*Khaba*), *Zidumbu*² *kaSobatshova* (*Zigode*), *Bhokodwane kaSivovo* (*Ndaba*), *Cebisa kaMakhongwane* (*Luvuno*), *Hlekeza* (father unknown, *Khoza*), *Mthende* (father unknown, *Ndaba*). Of *Mampemvane* (father unknown, *Hlongwane*) he said that he had remained in Basutoland when the tribe left it for *Mbholompo*.

¹ this man remained in Basutoland.

² this was a younger brother of *Mboni kaSobatshova*, the great induna (*indunankulu*) of the tribe. This functionary has no area allotted to him. It is of interest to note which men successively held this important office. Note also that they were never of royal blood :—

Sobatshova (*Zigode*) was followed in office by his son
Mboni kaSobatshova (*Zigode*), followed by
Mbangulana kaMpanjana (*Mlambo*), followed by
Mbuyayi kaMbiwa (*Zigode*), followed by
Silubicana kaMbangulana (*Mlambo*), followed by
Mjwayeli (*Phakathi*), apparently a failure, for after four months he was followed
 by

Njongolo kaMboni (*Zigode*), see No. 2 above.

It is seen that, though the office is not hereditary, three successive generations of the *Zigode*, and two of *Mlambo* have held it.

amabutho

448 Below are listed the regiments of the *amaNgwane*. Their dates of enrolment I am unable to supply, except that of the *iziCashi*, who were formed when *Mpande* became King in 1840. Among the later names there are several obviously taken over from the Zulus.

The regiments of the older chiefs appear to have been forgotten, sure proof that the system was not an important element in social structure. There was no rule for the naming of regiments, but ancient names were used again now and then. There is evidence that formerly there were only a few regiments at any one time, and that there was a distinction between those of married and unmarried men. The subsequent enrolling of numerous regiments by *Zikhali* and his successors was probably influenced by the practice in Zululand.

449 Regiments of MATIWANE: 1 *uShiyi* (his own). 2 *isiChwe*. 3 *uLwandle*.
4 *uSumbi*. 5 *uNobadina*.

Regiments of ZIKHALI: 6 *iziFulatheli* (his own). 7 *iziCashi*.
8 *izinTongathi*. 9 *imiDlenevu*. 10 *imiDumezulu*. 11 *imiDungandaba*.
12 *amaWombe*.

Regiments of NGWADI: 13 *izinBangula* (his own). 14 *uSuthu*.
15 *uLwandle*. 16 *uNobadina*.

Regiments of BAMBAZI: 17 *iziCashu* (his own). 18 *uKomokazishi*.

CHAPTER 24

Genealogy of the *amaNkwane* chiefs

450 Males are denoted by capitals, females by lower case. Generations are numbered, and each individual given a serial number within the generation to which he belongs, but this gives no clue as to order of birth. Persons belonging to different generations according to the genealogy may of course actually have been of about the same age. Males have a stroke and females a hyphen between the generation number and serial number. Wives take the generation number of the husband, and a serial letter instead of number.

451

Table 1

According to <i>Vasha's</i>	According to <i>Msebenzi</i>	According to Bryant, p. 146
1/1 <i>SOMKHABASE</i>		2/1 <i>DLABATHI</i>
2/1 <i>DLABATHI</i>		3/1 <i>MAFU</i>
3/1 <i>MAFU</i>		4/1 <i>NGWANE</i>
	5/1 <i>NGWADI</i>	5/1 <i>NGWADI</i>
6/1 <i>NDUNGUNYA</i>		6/1 <i>NDUNGUNYA</i>
7/1 <i>NSELE</i> ¹	7/1 <i>NSELE</i> ¹	7/1 <i>NSELE</i> (?) ¹
	6/1 <i>NDUNGUNYA</i> ¹	

8/1 <i>TSHANI</i>		8/2 <i>MABHENGWANE</i> ²	
9/1 <i>MASUMPA</i> ⁶		9/2 <i>LUVITHANE</i> ⁵	
10/1 <i>MATIWANE</i>		10/2 <i>MKHUMBELI</i> ³	Others, see table 2
11/1 <i>ZIKHALI</i>	Others, see table 3	11/7 <i>MBONI</i>	
12/1 <i>NGWADI @ NCWADI</i>	Others, see table 4	12/47 <i>THENDE</i>	
13/15 <i>BAMBAZI</i>	Others, see table 6	13/73 <i>VASHA</i>	
14/1 <i>NDUNGUNYA</i> ⁴			

¹ after *NSELE* all three genealogies agree as to the sequence of chiefs, except that *Msebenzi* puts *NDUNGUNYA* after *NSELE*, in which I think he is at fault.

² brother or cousin of *TSHANI*.

³ for a more detailed genealogy from here, see § 521.

⁴ a minor, being acted for by his uncle *MADELA*.

⁵ his descendants are now in Qumbu district, see § 505.

⁶ his mother was *okaTshibhane* (*Ndaba*), according to Bryant, p. 136.

Table 2

9/1 MASUMPA

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isi bongo</i>	Issue	Son
9-a Zangose	<i>okaLanga</i> ⁸	<i>abasema-Ntshalini Zondo</i>	10/1 MATIWANE ⁹	11/1 ZIKHALI
9-b ?	?		10/2 MKHUMBELI ¹	11/7 MBONI ¹
9-c			10/3 MAVIMBELA	11/8 MTHEMELELE
9-d			10/4 NDONGWENI	11/9 MVULA
9-e			10/5 MAZAMELELA	11/10 BHEKESHANA
9-f			10/6 MATHULA	11/11 MAYINGANE
9-g			10/7 NTANJANA	11/12 HABHIYANA
9-h			10/8 NJIYEZA	11/13 BAMBINI
9-i			10/9 MQHELE	11/14 MONDISE ²
9-j			10/10 MSIMANGO ³	11/15 MAWALA ³
9-k			10/11 KHONDLO ⁴	11/16 MAKHETHA
9-l			10/12 HAWANA	11/17 SIKHUNYANA ⁵
9-m ?	<i>okaMpinda</i>	<i>Goza</i>	10/13 MADILIKA ⁶	
			10/14 MPHAYISE ⁷	11/18 MZAMO ⁷

¹ a more detailed genealogy is given in § 522.

² his wife *okaHele* was the mother of MGOMONDWANE, and *okaNyawo* of TSHO-TSHWANA. His son DLABANTU is still alive, but very old.

³ his descendants remained in the Transkei, where he is called NTSIMANGO, see § 494.

⁴ remained in the Transkei, see § 494, 508.

⁵ died without issue.

⁶ younger brother of HAWANA, slain by *Matiwane* in Basutoland.

⁷ his descendants remained in the Transkei, see § 499.

⁸ Bryant ("Olden Times in Zululand and Natal," 1929, p. 136) calls her *Zangose*, daughter of *Khabingwe*, of the *abasemaNtshalini*.

⁹ the daughter of MATIWANE, *Magenge*, who was given to DINGISWAYO according to Bryant, p. 137, was probably MATIWANE's "sister" (*udadevabo*) *Nomagenge* mentioned in § 112.

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Table 3

10/1 MATIWANE

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isi bongo</i>	Issue.
10-a Nongazi	<i>okaSiqeketho</i>	<i>Buthelezi</i>	none
10-b Vunguse	<i>okaKhathazo</i> ¹	<i>Manatha</i>	11/1 ZIKHALI
10-c ?	<i>okaZililo</i>	<i>Hadebe</i>	11/2 MACINGWANE
10-d ?	?	?	11/3 KHUMALO ²
10-e ?	?	?	11/4 HLATHI ³
10-f ?	<i>okaMafu</i>	<i>Hadebe</i>	11-5 <i>Chithekile</i> ⁴
10-g ?	?	?	11-6 <i>Mcanquzo</i> ⁵

¹ *okaSiqeketho*, the principal wife, remained without issue, and so *okaKhathazo* was placed in her hut. That is why several good informants maintain that *okaSiqeketho* was ZIKHALI's mother.

² slain in Zululand by *Dingane*, together with his father; left no issue.

³ died in Zululand (cf. § 136), without issue.

⁴ married WILLIAM GUMEDE, see below.

⁵ married SHOMELA kaMGIJIMA, see § 465.

Note on *Matiwane's* daughter *Chithekile*

454 *Matiwane's* wife, *okaMafu* (*Hc!be*) had two daughters, of whom the younger died prior to the battle of *Mbholompo*, her name not being recorded, whilst the elder, *Chithekile*, remained in the Cape Province when the tribe broke up. She became a convert at Healdtown, and there married one *Mjokwane Gumede*, son of *Shangana* of *Makhunga* of *Vezi* of *Phakathwayo* of *Khondlo*.

This *Mjokwane* had been *udibi* (porter) to his father *Shangana*, a tribesman of *Matiwane* and a member of the *inSimbi* regiment. After the battle of *Mbholompo*, *Mjokwane* lived at Grahamstown until he moved to Healdtown, where he married *Chithekile*.

It is evident that the girl had no proper guardian for she now married a commoner, and the result was the following.

455 In 1861, *Zikhali* sent one *Maqandela Manatha* and seven others to Healdtown. They told *Mjokwane* that they had orders to bring *Zikhali's* sister to Natal. They wanted him to come with them, but *Mjokwane* feared they would murder him on the way because he had presumed to marry a princess, and refused. So they made him pay money as bride-price and went off with *Chithekile*, her small son William and her mother *okaMafu*.

456 Upon arriving at *Zikhali's*, *Chithekile*, being a Christian, begged her brother to allow her to live near Emmaus Mission. He agreed and had a stone house built for her by a skilled person engaged for the purpose, and his young men and girls were employed in great numbers in constructing it. She never married again, and had but one son, William Gumede, who became a minister of the Berlin Mission. In 1882 he and a number of others purchased some land at Woodford (Bethany) and went there, taking with them *Chithekile* and her mother. *Chithekile* died at Bethany ca. 1897-8 and *okaMafu* ca. 1888.

457 This information about *Chithekile* was supplied by William's son, Alfred Gumede, who was born at Emmaus in 1875, and who is now court interpreter in Estcourt.

Table 4

11/1 ZIKHALI

Wife.	Daughter of ³	isi bongo	Issue
11-a <i>Nomlatati</i>	<i>oka Sobhuza</i> ¹	<i>Nkosi</i>	12/1 <i>NGWADI @ NCWADI</i> 12/2 <i>NYANDA</i>
11-b	<i>oka Lukhwazi</i>		12/3 <i>MFUNDISI</i> 12/4 <i>NOZIWAWA</i> 12/5 <i>VELEMU</i> 12/6 <i>MPAHLENI</i>
11-c	<i>oka Mdleleni</i>	<i>Dladla</i>	12/7 <i>MTHIMKHULU</i> 12/8 <i>SAYIWANA</i> 12/9 <i>MATSHIKITSHANA</i>
11-d	<i>oka Mteli</i>	<i>Dladla</i>	12/10 <i>HLELETHWA</i>
11-e	?	?	12/11 <i>SILEVU</i>
11-f	<i>oka Mzamo</i>	<i>Zisilili</i>	12/12 <i>NGAZANA</i> 12/13 <i>NGAZI</i>
11-g	<i>oka Xobhoza</i>	<i>Ce bekhulu</i>	12/14 <i>MAKHOSINI</i>
11-h	<i>oka Phuthini</i>	<i>Mazi buko</i>	12/15 <i>MPIYAKHE</i>
11-i	<i>oka Mfingwayo</i>	?	12/16 <i>PHAHLANE</i> 12/17 <i>KAMFANE</i>
11-j	<i>oka Sivela</i>	<i>Mazi buko</i>	12/18 <i>TABHANE</i>
11-k <i>Nomtho bo</i>	<i>oka Mgo bo</i>	<i>Mahlo bo</i>	12/19 <i>MBUNDA</i> 12/20 <i>NTSHUMAYELO</i> 12/21 <i>MGWAQO</i>
11-l	<i>oka Magonondo</i>	<i>Kubheka</i>	12/22 <i>MIZIYONKE</i> 12/23 <i>NOZILWA</i> 12/24 <i>MAHLANYA</i>
11-m	<i>oka Soncaka</i>	<i>Buthlezi</i>	12/25 <i>MNANJA</i> ²
11-n	<i>oka Mshokaphathwa</i>	<i>Hlongwane</i> (now <i>Masela</i>)	12/26 <i>DABULESAKHE</i>
11-o	<i>oka Mkhafane</i>	<i>Khoza</i>	12/27 <i>KHABONINA</i>
11-p	<i>oka Jozana</i>	<i>Hlongwane</i> (now <i>Majola</i>)	12/28 <i>MZIMKHULU</i>

¹ this table only shows ZIKHALI's sons. We may record however that *Nomlatati* also had three daughters, the order being 1 *Nomgabhi*,² *Lowalowa*, 3 *NGWADI*, 4 *NYANDA* 5 *Mayiya*. *Nomgabhi* was still alive in January 1938 and thus the only child of that unique personality, *Nomlatati*, still to be alive, besides belonging to the very few of *Matiwane*'s grandchildren who still survive.

² his sister *Mnkosazi* became great wife of the *amaNgwe* chief *MANZEZULU* (see § 431), with whose family there have been several marriages, see Table 12.

³ a daughter of *Zikhali* named *Nomavila* married *ZIMEMA*, half-brother of the *Chunu* chief *GABANGAYI*, according to a statement of the latter's daughter *Thandive*, widow of the chief *SWAYIMANA GCUMISA*. But cf. §217.

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Table 5

11/2 MACINGWANE

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isiBongo</i>	Issue
11-q <i>Thafazane</i>	<i>okaMakhu balo</i>	<i>Khoza</i>	12/29 <i>HLESHANA</i> 12-30 <i>Nokufa</i> 12/31 <i>NGONGOLO</i> 12-32 <i>Madliwase</i> 12-33 <i>Nomali</i> ¹
11-r <i>Ndlaleni</i>	<i>okaMini</i>	<i>Ndloru</i>	12/34 <i>MBONWANKULU</i> 12/35 <i>KHABONINA</i> 12/36 <i>VELABAHLEKE</i> 12/37 <i>MZIMUBI</i> 12-38 <i>Nompi</i> ²
11-s <i>Ntombizini</i>	<i>okaDelive</i>	<i>Ndaba</i>	12/39 <i>NDABAKADE</i> 12/40 <i>MSEBENZI</i> 12/41 <i>SIPHAHLINI</i> 12-42 <i>Nomathawini</i>
11-t <i>Mangakawathengwa</i>	<i>okaMabhunu</i>	<i>Mazi buko</i>	12/43 <i>MOLOSI</i> 12-44 <i>Nomangwane</i> ³ 12-45 <i>Nomcakulo</i> ⁴ 12/46 <i>MHOLI</i>

¹ married *BELO*, chief of the *abakwaNhlapho* near Butha Buthe in Basutoland.

² disappeared to the towns.

³ was betrothed to *NTABA kaSHOMELA*, but was killed by lightning, see table 11.

⁴ married *MFISI kaNJBANGUMBANA KHOZA*, and after being driven away, married *MADELA MSIBI*, a Swazi living near Hoffenthal.

Table 6

12/1 NGWADI @ NCWADI

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isiBongo</i>	Issue
12-a <i>Mali</i>	<i>okaZembe</i>	<i>Zigode</i>	13/1 <i>KULA</i> 13/2 <i>MAGQILA</i> 13/3 <i>NGOBA</i> 13/4 <i>PETWANE</i>
12-b <i>Nomagelegeda</i>	<i>okaMakhethelele</i>	<i>Hlatshwayo</i>	13/5 <i>MAFALI</i> 13/6 <i>SIGWEJE</i>
12-c <i>Nomasaka buli</i>	<i>okaMsamo</i>	<i>Mdladla</i>	13/7 <i>MKHIZE</i> 13/8 <i>MAHEWU</i> 13/9 <i>NZOLO</i>
12-d <i>Nozincwazi</i>	<i>okaJijila</i>	<i>Kubheka</i>	13-10 <i>Nomadoda</i> 13-11 <i>Zevu</i> 13-12 <i>MGWENA</i> 13-13 <i>Senzela banye</i> 13-14 <i>Nukwase</i>
12-e <i>Novalo</i> ¹	<i>okaNondubela</i>	<i>Nxumalo</i>	13-15 daughter, died early
12-f <i>Nomathinta</i> ¹	<i>okaCengesi</i>	<i>Zwane</i>	13/16 <i>BAMBAZI</i>
12-g <i>Gcabhile</i>	<i>okaMzilikazi</i>	<i>Cindi</i>	13/17 <i>MGWADLENI</i> 13-18 <i>Hlalaphi</i> 13/19 <i>MSHINI</i> 13-20 <i>Zikhazile</i>
12-h <i>Thingithingi</i>	<i>okaPhahlane</i>	<i>Kubheka</i>	13-21 <i>Mandoyi</i> 13-22 <i>Sayibheke</i> 13-23 <i>Nomatenje</i>
12-i <i>Nogqoza</i>	<i>okaMadlangampisi</i>	<i>Sha balala</i>	13-24 <i>Nomsindelo</i> 13/25 <i>GOQOZA</i>
12-j <i>Sichwe</i>	<i>okaMadlangampisi</i>	<i>Sha balala</i>	13/26 <i>MADELA</i> 13/27 <i>SIDWEDWE</i>
12-k <i>Msindose</i>	<i>okaMadlangampisi</i>	<i>Sha balala</i>	13/28 <i>JANI</i> 13-29 <i>Ndle bekazi</i>
12-l <i>Nokwanda</i>	<i>okaLu bango</i>	<i>Sha balala</i>	13-30 <i>Nomkhomanzi</i> 13/31 <i>MZIWENDODA</i>
12-m <i>Nomfoma</i>	<i>okaSomcuba</i>	<i>Zikalala</i>	13/32 <i>SIBHALALA</i> 13/33 <i>MHLUPHEKI</i> 13-34 <i>Nomashazi</i>
12-n <i>Ncabhayi</i>	<i>okaSihubha</i>	<i>Dlanini</i>	13/35 <i>MVUTHU</i> 13-36 <i>Nolwandle</i> 13-37 <i>Nozulu</i>
12-o <i>Maliwase</i>	<i>okaGalela</i>	<i>Cindi</i>	13/38 <i>MAGWALA</i> 13/39 <i>MTHWALENI</i> 13/40 <i>DIPLOYI</i>
12-p <i>Mandlakazi</i>	<i>okaMsamo</i>	<i>Mdladla</i>	
12-q <i>Hlophazi</i>	<i>okaNdatsha</i>	<i>Hlophe</i>	
12-r <i>Nontini</i>	<i>okaMgidla</i>	<i>Dlanini</i>	
12-s <i>Nokuwela</i>	<i>okaMdineka</i>	<i>Ndaba</i>	

¹ *Novalo* who was in the indlunkulu remained childless, so *Nomathinta* was put in her hut to produce an heir. As in the case of *ZIKHALI*, the chief *BAMBAZI* was therefore not the actual son of the indlunkulu.

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Table 7

12/2 NYANDA

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isiBongo</i>	Issue
12-t <i>Nomhlangala</i>	<i>okaMthantatho</i>	<i>Mthembu</i>	13/41 <i>ZULULIYADUMA</i> 13-42 <i>Ntombi</i>
12-u <i>Mfene</i>	<i>okaSondezi</i>	<i>Zondo</i>	13/43 <i>SHALI</i>
12-v <i>Siboshiwe</i>	<i>okaMoya</i>	<i>Hlophe</i>	13/44 <i>MALOLOTSHANE</i>

Table 8
12/12 *NGAZANA*

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isibongo</i>	Issue
12-w ?	<i>okaSibatha</i>	<i>Xaba</i>	13/45 <i>MBANKWA</i>
12-x ¹ ?	<i>okaMamba</i>	<i>Gumede</i>	13/46 <i>SIBHAHUZA</i>
12-y ?	<i>okaNda ba</i>	<i>Mabizela</i>	13/47 <i>MAGODONGO</i>
12-z <i>Vongoyi</i>	<i>okaMakhethele</i>	<i>Hlatshwayo</i>	none

¹ according to the record of *Ngazana's* trial, her name was *Nomwa*, and she subsequently married one *Manyosi Goza*.

Table 9
12/18 *TABHANE*

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isibongo</i>	Issue
12-aa <i>Qwalitshe</i>	<i>okaSondezi</i>	<i>Zondo</i>	13-48 <i>Mphandle</i> 13-49 <i>Nengwayo</i> 13/50 <i>DASIDI</i> 13-51 <i>Gulase</i> 13/52 <i>MHLAMBINI</i> 13/53 <i>SIGAMEKO</i>
12-ab <i>Zenzile</i>	<i>okaMdineka</i>	<i>Nda ba</i>	13/54 <i>MHLABATHI</i>
12-ac <i>Nokufa</i>	<i>okaMdineka</i>	<i>Nda ba</i>	13/55 <i>NTEMBA</i> 13/56 <i>MANGALISO</i> 13/57 <i>MLANDU</i> 13/58 <i>NSUSANA</i> 13/59 <i>SIGODI</i> 13-60 <i>Nomsinga</i> 13-61 <i>Nomahlane</i> 13/62 <i>NDODA</i> 13/63 <i>BHIZENI</i> 13-64 <i>Nondilimo</i>
12-ad <i>No bathwa</i>	<i>okaMboza</i>	<i>Zondo</i>	13-65 <i>Nomithi</i> 13/66 <i>YOSHWANA</i> 13/67 <i>MZUZEPHI</i> 13-68 <i>Ntombana</i>
12-ae <i>Ntombise</i>	<i>okaMagonondo</i>	<i>Sibiya</i>	13-69 <i>Mshoshonono</i> 13/70 <i>MBHADLANGANA</i> 13-71 <i>Nomak'ibhi</i>
12-af <i>Tholwane</i>	<i>okaMphondo</i>	<i>Mahlofo</i>	13-72 <i>Nomapulazi</i>
12-ag <i>Nomadlozi</i>	<i>okaNozaza</i>	<i>Nda ba</i>	

Table 10

13/16 *BAMBAZI*

Wife	Daughter of	<i>isibongo</i>	Issue	
13-a	?	<i>okaSibhamu</i>	<i>Mazibuko</i>	14/1 <i>NDUNGUNYA</i>
13-b	?	<i>okaMhlopheni</i>	?	

Table 11

The exploits of *SHOMELA kaMGIJIMA* have often been referred to in the text. He married a daughter of *MATIWANE* and was the maternal grandfather of *ALBERT HLONGWANE*. He had five wives, but only the two that interest us are mentioned here.

SHOMELA kaMGIJIMA or *MGISHIMA (Mahlobo)*

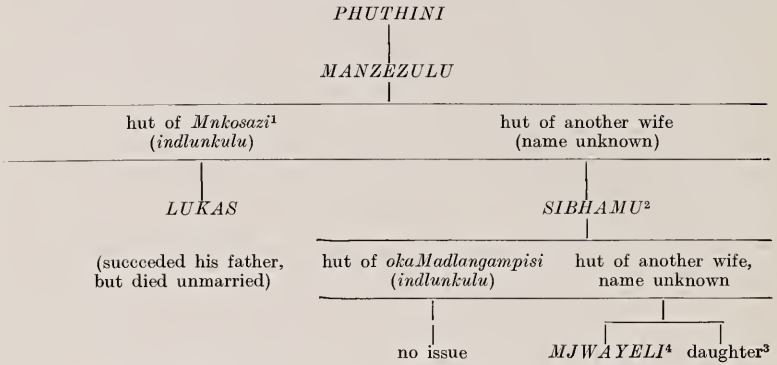
Wife	Daughter of	<i>isibongo</i>	Issue
11-6 <i>Mcanguzo</i>	<i>okaMatiwane</i>	<i>Hlongwane</i>	<i>MANDLA</i> <i>MBEWU</i> <i>Mankomboyi</i> <i>Nongwago</i> ¹ <i>Msindose</i> ² <i>NTABA</i> ³ <i>NGEMA</i>
?	<i>okaNkwanyela</i>	?	

¹ married *NODWENGU*, son of *KHANDA*, son of *NYOKA*, who had concealed *ZIKHALI* when pursued by the Swazis, see § 175, 285.

² married 12/31 *NGONGOLO*, son of *MACINGWANE*. The issue of marriage was as follows: 1 *ALBERT HLONGWANE*, 2 *BENJAMIN*, 3 *Esther*, 4 *Paulina*, 5 *Judith*, 6 *Helina*, who married *MANXUSA*, son of *VIVANE*, son of *SIDINANE*, son of *MAGANGANE*. The latter two were chiefs of the *amaZizi* next door, and are referred to in the text.

³ was betrothed to 12-44 *Nomangwane*, daughter of *MACINGWANE*, who was killed by lightning.

Table 12
 Chiefs of the *amaNgwe*



¹ daughter of 11/1 ZIKHALI, sister of 12/25 MNANJA.

² succeeded to LUKAS.

³ this was the *okaSibhamu* who became *indlunkulu* of 13/16 BAMBASI.

⁴ one of his wives was 13-60 *Nomahlane*, a daughter of 12/18 TABHANE.

CHAPTER 25

The royal kraals

467 In § 297 reference is made to the building of royal kraals by *Zikhali*. It is not my purpose to enter into the details of this interesting subject here. Suffice to say that the wives of the King are never together in one kraal, but live apart or at most three together in the royal kraals which are dotted over the tribal area. Each has part of the country as its domain, and is entitled to all the tribute rendered by it. Each kraal-head knows to which royal kraal he belongs; it may happen that for certain reasons he is notified that henceforth he belongs to another royal kraal. Cf. in the text § 298, 333.

468 The names of some royal kraals are very old, and are given again and again to new kraals built by successive generations. The *Nobadina* for instance used to be a royal kraal of *Motiwane*, cf. § 121.

The persons of importance in the royal kraal are the queen (*inkosikazi*) who resides there, her eldest son (*inkosana*), and the headman (*induna*). That under this system violent quarrels over the exercise of control may occur may be seen from § 425, 428.

469 The following list illustrates the rule that the *inkosana* upon his marriage instals his wife as *inkosikazi*. Of course she only remains so until the new chief (who is very commonly one of the youngest and therefore the last to marry) brings along a newly-wedded queen of his own and places her there as *inkosikazi*.

470 List of royal kraals

Kraal	Inkosikazi	Wife of	Inkosana, her son
<i>kwaNobadina</i>	1 <i>okaNondubela</i>	NGWADI	BAMBAZI
	2 <i>okaMhlopheni</i>	BAMBAZI	
<i>eNsukangihlale</i>	1 <i>okaZembe</i>	NGWADI	KULA
	2 <i>okaMkhulutshana</i>	KULA	
<i>eMbolompo</i>	1 <i>okaSibhamu</i>	BAMBAZI	NDUNGUNYA
	1 <i>okaSobhuza</i>	ZIKHALI	NGWADI
<i>eNgofoa</i>	2 <i>okaMgidla</i>	NGWADI	MAGWALA
	3 ?	MAGWALA	
	1 <i>okaJijila</i>	NGWADI	MGWENA
<i>eNgwazini</i> or <i>eNgwaqeni</i>	1 <i>okaSoncaka</i>	ZIKHALI	MNANJA
	2 <i>okaKhanda</i>	MNANJA	
	3 ?	?	
<i>eSiphahleni</i> <i>kwaPhunga-Nomagebe</i>	1 <i>okaManephu</i>	HLESHANA	no male heir ¹
	1 <i>okaMzamo</i>	ZIKHALI	NGAZANA
	2 <i>okaSibatha</i>	NGAZANA	MBANKWA
	3 <i>okaNtuli</i>	MBANKWA	MNGANI

<i>eMfangizuzile</i>	1 <i>okaMagonondo</i>	ZIKHALI	MIZIYONKE
	2 <i>okaMnyakanya</i>	MIZIYONKE	MAVUNDO
	3 <i>okaLucezu</i>	MAVUNDO	MELUSI
<i>eManda beni</i>	1 <i>okaLukhwazi</i> ²	ZIKHALI	MFUNDISI ²
	2 <i>okaSiwela</i>	ZIKHALI	TABHANE
	3 <i>okaSondezi</i>	TABHANE	DASIDI
<i>eMakhandeni</i>	1 <i>okaMtehi</i>	ZIKHALI	HLELETHWA
	2 <i>okaLuqungwane</i>	HLELETHWA	NDINGANISO
<i>eMafunweni</i>	1 <i>okaMgofo</i>	ZIKHALI	MBUNDA
	2 <i>okaMashesha</i>	MBUNDA	MHLAULI
	3 <i>okaNzula</i>	MHLAULI	BHUNGWANA
<i>eMangwaneni</i>	1 <i>okaMkha bane</i>	ZIKHALI	KHABONINA ³
	2 <i>okaJozana</i>	ZIKHALI	MZIMKHULU
	3 <i>okaMsindo</i>	MZIMKHULU	KHUPHE
<i>eNhletsheni</i>	1 ?	MQHELE	MONDISE
	2 <i>okaHele</i>	MONDISE	MGOMONDWANE
	3 <i>okaJozi</i>	MGOMONDWANE	NGIDI
	4 <i>okaMakhwelela</i>	NGIDI	MABHEZULA

¹ ALBERT HLONGWANE acting, because he is the brother's son of HLESHANA.

² *okaLukhwazi* and her son MFUNDISI were driven out, and *okaSiwela* was installed.

³ KHABONINA quarrelled with NGWADI, and so both he and his mother were driven out.

CHAPTER 26

Cape Colonial Records

471 The few references to the *amaNgwane* occurring in the literature of the Cape, such as I have been able to go through, contain no information not already found in the official documents.¹ These latter are all in the Archives at Cape Town. The earlier ones were printed by Theal in his "Records of the Cape Colony," vols. 32-35.² The later ones were used by him for his account of the *Ngwane* invasion in his "History of South Africa from 1795 to 1872," vol. I, p. 451, but were never printed. Those germane to our subject are therefore reproduced here.

472 It appears that the *amaNgwane* first crossed the Orange in 1825, for the Thembu chief *Bawana* in 1827 told the Commandant of the Frontier that about two years previously the Fetcanie had attacked his tribe at the Hangklip Mountain and driven away his cattle. Upon being again attacked, *Bawana* and his tribe, in August 1827, fled across the Black Kei into the Colony.

473 The landdrost of Somerset immediately went out to reconnoitre. In a letter to the Secretary to Government dated Somerset, 8th August 1827 (as printed in Theal, vol. 34, p. 464-5), he reports that he went out with a small party to ascertain something definite regarding the Fetcanie who had plundered *Bawana's* cattle. He goes on to say:—

474 "We discovered a person lurking among the rocks, and having made up to him, he made a statement to the following effect:—

"I belong to a tribe on the other side of the Great (Orange) River, our principal Kraal (pointing to the North East) is distant five days journey from this, where we crossed the Orange River is about half way; our people consist of two tribes, formerly distinct, "Masotu" and "Manguana", our great chiefs are Maketa³ and Mattuana, we are very numerous, fought battles with many tribes and beat them all but Chaka's (the Zulus). Chaka beat us some-time ago, and took our cattle, we heard that the Tambookies had cattle, we sent out Fetcanie (army or as translated Commando) beat the Tambookies

¹ apparently none of those who took part in the expeditions against the *amaNgwane* ever recorded their observations. Godlonton's book "Introductory remarks to a narrative of the irruption of the Kafir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, A.D. 1834-35," by the Editor of the "Graham's Town Journal", Part I (printed by Meurant & Godlonton, Graham's Town, MDCCCXXXV) seems a promising work, but on examination proves to contain nothing new. Nor were any statements ever taken, from members of the tribe, by anybody, except that quoted from Cory at the end of this chapter.

² the index to vol. 35 gives all the referenees under : Fecane, Powana, Matiwane.

³ we only know of 11/16 *Makhetha*, the son of *Khondlo*, see § 496, but he was probably too young to be the leader referred to here.

often, and took their cattle. We heard of a great chief called Busanna, we are now going to attack him, our Fetcanie consists of young men, no men having wives, and no women accompany it: we purchase our wives and the young men can only get them by fighting and taking cattle to pay for them. We never saw white people, we never heard of them; we are not cannibals, our property consists in cattle. Chaca took it from us, and we will fight and take cattle wherever we can find them”.

475 The tribe was at this time still north of the Orange, these invaders being only regiments sent to plunder cattle. It is noteworthy, in view of the subsequent inexplicable confusion, that here, in one of the very first official references to the tribe, it is called by its correct name “Manguana” and the fact is recorded that it was driven out by Shaka who was still its deadly enemy.

476 The scare of 1827 quickly subsided when it became known that the marauders had withdrawn into the interior with their booty. Nothing more was heard of them until the ensuing winter of 1828, when they attacked *Vusani*'s tribe of *Thembu*.

477 It so happened that about the same time *Shaka* was on his expedition in Pondoland where he ravaged the country and took many thousands of Faku's people's stock. Strangely enough, it was not realised this time that the Fetcanie (i.e. the *amaNgwane*) and the raiding Zulu army had nothing to do with one another, though anyone might have guessed it because it was known that the Fetcanie had their women and children with them. Moreover, the correct information had already been secured the year before, as we have seen.

478 In an effort to communicate with *Shaka*, Major Dundas, Landdrost of Albany, quickly rode into Pondoland with a small party in July 1828. When he reached Faku's they had gone. On his way back he joined *Vusani* and his *Thembu* in an attack upon a section of the *amaNgwane* and routed them on 26 July 1828. He went home still believing he had fought the Zulus, and met on his way back, on the Kei River, the army of regulars and burghers which Lt. Col. Somerset was leading to the assistance of *Vusani* and *Hintsa*. This army, supported by a large force of these chiefs' warriors, encountered the *amaNgwane* on the Umtata on the 27th August 1828, and fought the decisive battle that day.

479 What really happened is, I confess, still a puzzle to me. The official reports are very brief and so we cannot afford to ignore the traditional accounts of the natives.

According to these accounts, fighting took place on the *Ngxule* ridge just outside Umtata town, and also at *Mbholompo*, and when the *amaNgwane* were defeated, they fled into the *Khambi* and *Waka* forests, which were set alight. These forests exist today. One informant also says that an isolated attack was made on *Matiwane*'s brother *Bheje*, who was encamped just west of Baziya mountain, some miles from *Waka*.

480 Now from the *Ngxule* ridge to *Mbholompo* is at least fourteen miles, between *Khambi* and *Waka* about four. Major Dundas' description of the terrain fits *Mbholompo*, but the natives' accounts all suggest that when they fled into the forests there, all was over. But Major Dundas' battle took place a month prior to the decisive one. If the latter was fought on the *Ngxule* ridge, why does Lt. Col. Somerset speak of mountains, when there are none around Umtata town? It seems beyond doubt that both battles were not fought on the same ground. And why does neither say a word about the burning of the forests when all natives mention it? The ground is rather difficult for field guns to come near enough, and besides coming into action very late, as Somerset distinctly says, they did not fire an incendiary projectile. The native story that paraffin was poured over the forests and set alight, introduces a modern note. But one reasons that if the forests did burn, they would have made such a blaze that some mention should have been made in the report—unless it were omitted on purpose.

It would thus appear that a good deal of investigation and reconstruction still remain to be done. We may now consider the documents themselves.

481 Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 582, No. 54

Graham's Town 30th May 1828

The Hon. Lt. Col. Bell
Colonial Secretary

Sir,—In absence of the Commandant of the Frontier and in reference to his letter addressed to you on the 22nd instant covering a report from Lt. Warden of the Mounted Rifle Corps conveying information derived through a Boer named Magman of the supposed advance of a body of the Ficane on our North Eastern Frontier, I have the honor to state for the information of His Honor the Lieut. Governor that from subsequent information derived by the Civil Commissioner of Albany, it appears that the intruders were a people who inhabit the country through which runs the Stockenstrom river, or second branch of the Orange River, that from long droughts and the locusts they have been obliged to wander in search of pasturage for their cattle and came across the south branch of the Orange River into the Colony, where not finding what they wanted, the country being in the same state as their own, they returned unmolested and unmolested and when about the 13 of this month the Field Cornet Pretorius passed over the country with a patrol none of the people were to be seen.

I have heard nothing further from Lt. Warden on the subject.

I have not heard of any movement amongst the kaffers this last week and it appears from the reports they have been perfectly quiet along the whole of our front.

I have, etc.

C. Mill

Lt. Col. 55 Regt Comdg

Bashee

July 14th, 1828.

Lt. Col. Somerset,

etc.

Sir,—My last letter will have left you in uncertainty as to the posture of affairs in Kafferland and this will not be more satisfactory.

The various and contradictory reports respecting Chaka which are daily received, show that any attempt to discover by unusual exertion the object or position of the invader is too much for the feeble and puny Kaffer. This however appears certain that Chaka after plundering the Tribes under Fakoo, Diepa and one of Gambooshi's sons (which last resides within 10 miles of this spot) had retired to the Umsomkoolo (the River which emptied itself into the sea at Port Natal) to consume the cattle that he has stolen, having previously sent in messages to the Kaffers and Tambookies that it was his intention to return.

By some Kaffers who arrived last night from Fakoo it would appear that some of the marauders had in the late attack carried off from Fakoo's tribe some women and children, whom he Chaka returned by a party of his people, who were also announcers of his will that all the Kaffer Tribes should admit of his superiority and pay him tribute, which done he would leave them to themselves, but that their refusal of compliance would subject them to his displeasure and he would utterly destroy them. That this message has been received there can be little doubt: but the Kaffer is not likely to give any thing that is not forced from him, and tribute he will not pay:

The threatened consequence to the full extent, will however be too much for Chaka to produce. From what has been done by him it is clear that his present object in making War is the acquisition of cattle: driven from his own country by a people still more powerful than himself, he has been forced into the wandering life he leads, paying no attention to the breeding of cattle and the growth of corn, he supplies his wants by plunder and after any fresh aggression he retires to eat up the cattle he has carried off, hence it may be inferred that for a time at least he will allow the Kaffers to remain at rest.

It is my intention to proceed to Fakoo's country which I shall reach on the 15th Instant and after procuring all the information from that Chief as to the mode of attack and apparent numbers of the invaders and taking a survey of the country as far as the Umsomfoobo, distant from this about 80 miles, I shall return to the Colony by Vosanie's country. The movements of my party are from the state of the Horses necessarily slow but I think I shall reach Grahams Town by the 1st of August, until which time I fear no further communication from me is likely to reach you.

I have, etc.

(Signed) W. B. Dundas

Camp above Kai River,
1st August 1828.

Lieut. Col. Somerset.

Sir,—After having sent off my Dispatch of the 21st ult. I proceeded by the right Bank of the Bashee River upwards towards the Kraal of the Tambookie Chief Vosani but receiving certain information on the way as to Vosani's movements and determination to attack the Fichane Force in their then position under the mountains from whence the Umtata River flows, I was led to take the most direct course to join him and I again passed the Bashee at about 20 miles above the former Drift and after two long and very tedious marches over mountains and bad roads I reached him on the evening of the 24th. On the following day a general muster of the Tambookie force was made and I was agreeably surprised to find that Vosani had been able during the six days the Ficani had been in his country to collect so large a body of his people as he had done (certainly not fewer than 5000 men) having learnt from him every thing respecting the Enemy that it was necessary for me to be acquainted with, I communicated my intention to afford him all the assistance in my power in the battle, he had stated it was his intention to fight the following day.

The Tambookies were in the course of the afternoon led to their position but finding from their movements that Vosani was not availing himself of the advantages which the ground before the enemy offered him and that he would infallibly lose all chance of recovering the cattle lost by his people were the plan of attack he seemed to have adopted persevered in—

I recommended his making other arrangements and instead of attacking them on their front and allowing them to occupy the strong ground which backed them, to close upon the mountain to their right, and endeavour to occupy the two Embouchures of the Umtata through which they would escape with their cattle. My advice was followed and two hours before day light the next day the whole body of the Tambookies were in movement retracing their steps of the evening previous, by 9 o'clock the whole were in their new position, and at about 10 moved forward. The Enemy as I had foreseen were driven into confusion by this movement and when the ridges were joined which intervened, cattle were seen in every direction for several miles around moving towards the Eastern branch of the river. From this point no time was lost in making the descent upon the Enemy.

Knowing well that the Tambookies would be inspired by the success of our just efforts I moved the small party I had with me (24 in number) rather quickly towards a compact body of the enemy of from 150 to 200 who had remained behind to cover those who were driving off the cattle and fixing upon them at the distance of about 70 yards threw them into utter confusion. This charge, if it can be so called, decided the fate of the day as after that little or no attempt was made at resistance.

While this was going on on my part the Tambookies were extending themselves upwards on the face of the mountain on my left, and the ground to my right was occupied by the light armed kaffers who were to be employed in driving off the ground the captured cattle.

We had now placed the western Embouchure behind us and our attention was directed to the Eastern (four miles nearly distant) to which the enemy were crowding and which it was an object with me to reach as quickly as possible. I moved forward therefore using all the precaution necessary to insure the safety of our small party. From the moment of my advance the whole of the cattle which were in the plain were given up by the Fichanes as lost to them, and the several large bodies of people which had been stationed for their protection along the front under the mountain took to flight, at about 3 o'clock the eastern river was gained after which nothing farther could be done, as such of the cattle as could be driven away were out of our reach. The enemy had escaped into the woods and ravines in the mountains and the Tambookie force had gradually descended from their higher situation to secure the captured cattle so that at this moment not a man of Vosani's army remained on our left, we were thus left alone when I deemed it necessary to unite my small party and return to my camp over the ground which was in the morning overspread by the Fechanes after having been on Horseback nearly twelve hours.

The number of the cattle taken I cannot state at less than 25,000, that of the enemy it would be impossible for me to give with certainty, but as they were scattered over an extent of at least 12 square miles endeavouring to secure their cattle, I am convinced it must have been very considerable; there were from 60 to 70 killed on the part of the enemy and only one Tambooki! No prisoners were taken, and it was only from two Kaffer girls who had previously been carried off by the marauders and had during the confusion of the day escaped that any information could be gained.

From those girls it became evident that the enemy were Chaca's people and from the circumstance of the number of cattle in their possession at the commencement of the day far exceeding the loss sustained by the Tambookies, I am led to believe that they were part of the same people who had plundered the Amapontas from whose country that of Vosani is separated only by the Umtata river.

Having left my encampment under the mountains a few hours after retiring from the Field of Battle, I cannot from personal knowledge state what has become of the enemy, but from the state of alarm in which they had been placed and the appearance of the great force of the Tambokis I am convinced that they have returned to their own country, happy to escape with the cattle they have been able to secure, but I have enjoined Vosane to afford you the earliest information in the event of their return.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) W. B. Dundas

Instructions from His Honor the Lieutenant Governor for my guidance on the mission with which I have had the honour to be entrusted, having reached me at Graham's Town on the 26th of June, I lost no time in making all necessary arrangements for my departure, and on the afternoon of the 1st of July I proceeded to join my Escort, which were to be united on the 3rd at the missionary station at Mount Coke in Kaffre land, distant from Fort Willshire about 42 miles ESE, and found on my arrival that my directions had been attended to by the respective Field Cornets, and that the several parties ordered for this Service had arrived which were as under.

Field Cornet Erasmus with nineteen men from Somerset.

Provisional Field Cornet Juli Lombard with nine men from Albany.

Provisional Field Cornet Milford Bowker with nine men from do.

Making with servants and interpreters fifty three persons, with one hundred and ten horses; of the escort thirty one being Dutch Burghers and twelve young Englishmen.

Having on my journey to the place of union visited the Kaffre chiefs Enno and Pato, and briefly stated the object of my journey to the Eastward, I received from them assurances of their good disposition in the event of Hintza calling upon them, Enno sending with me his principal chief Yoyo, to carry expressions of his devotion to Hintza as his great chief, and for the same purpose Duchane (the successor of Slambie) who visited me at Mount Coke, sent his brother Kai.

On the morning of the 4th of July, arrangements having been made and all matters prepared previous to the move, I left Mount Coke and passing the Kai on the 6th reached the kraal of Hintza on the 7th where a delay of two days was occasioned by the absence of that chief, this time was, however, not lost, for the horses had already felt the effect of the journey and required rest to enable them to proceed. On Hintza's arrival the object of my mission to Chaka was stated to him. He received my communication with much satisfaction and, though the Zoolos had undoubtedly retired, he expressed his grateful sense of the promise of assistance from the English in the event of Chaka again invading his country, and assured me that every possible exertion should be made by him to unite the whole of the disposable force of the Kaffre nation with the people of Vosane, should future hostile movements require their co-operation. Having concerted with Hintza the necessary measures to be adopted in such a case and taking with me one of his captains to insure my receiving the necessary supplies for the subsistence of my people while on my journey in Hintza's country, I proceeded to the Bashee which river I reached on the 11th, the 13th being Sunday I determined on remaining there two days for the double purpose of resting our horses and to collect slaughter cattle for our supplies during the journey through the countries which had been ravaged, and on that account were not likely to afford me the means of provisioning my people. Early on the 14th I again moved forward and after a march of 4 hours

reached the country of Gamboosh's Kaffres (the most Easterly of Hintza's people) where were first perceived the ravages of the marauders, who had stripped some of the kraals entirely of their cattle, but had retired before much damage had been done. Up to this period I had felt convinced that Chaka's forces, satiated with plunder, had returned to their own country and that for a time at least, no farther inroad was to be dreaded, but on this day (the 14th) I received reports while on the march, that Chaka was again advancing, taking a more Northerly course towards Vosanc's country, and that two days before three large bodies of his warriors had passed the Umsemboobo, followed by their women and children with many cattle, forming a fourth body. The person who gave me this information was an Amaponto who had left the kraal of Fakoo, his chief, two days before, where at that time there were thirteen of Chaka's people arranging terms of peace and submission. Deeming it of importance that I should see these emissaries I determined upon moving on as quickly as possible; but as the horses of my party were much fatigued, it became necessary that I should leave behind me the greater part of my people at a favorable spot for pasturage on the Impaka River, where among the Mambookies, who are governed by the old Bastard Chief Diepa (whose mother had about 85 years ago been saved when a child from the wreck of an English vessel) they continued until my return.

On the 15th I proceeded with an escort of nine persons and reached the Umtata River the following day, and proceeding onwards towards the Umsemboobo, near which Fakoo's kraal was represented as being, and late on the evening of the 18th, after a long tedious and unpleasant journey over mountainous roads, I reached the kraal of this chief.

On sending to announce my arrival I found that Fakoo was absent at a kraal at some distance but that he was sent for. I waited however as long as possible the following day for his arrival but not finding him forthcoming, and guessing from the apprehensive looks of some of his family and from the evasive answers they gave me when I asked whether he was coming or not, that it was not his intention to do so, I proceeded to his kraal where I found him, with only two or three attendants, most abject and dispirited. He appeared to have been receiving contributions from some of his people, as I observed several poor creatures bring to a heap of corn small baskets of that grain and silently throw it down. He was lying with his face upon the ground, and only for a moment looked up when I came near him. Seeing his uneasiness I addressed him in a manner which was calculated to sooth his feelings. He raised his head as I spoke to him but made me no reply. I told him that I came with friendly purposes towards him, that I was sorry to see his wretched condition and that of his people, and that having heard of Chaka's ravages, I had determined upon coming a long distance to see him (Fakoo) and, if possible to communicate directly with Chaka and say to him that the white people would not allow him to disturb the tranquility of the Kaffre tribes. On hearing this he looked most intently at me, with the view I presume of discovering whether there was any duplicity intended, but again his forehead was placed

to the ground, as if dissatisfied with the result of his scrutiny. Despairing of gaining any information from this chief, whom I thought doggedly obstinate and determined, it was my intention to have spoken to some of his people, but I made one more effort to rouse him, and by means of a small present of beads I at once gained my object. As I made my offering to him I expressed my regrets that the present was not such as I ought to make to a person of his importance, but that I gave him all I had with the exception of a very few beads that I reserved for the purpose of buying milk and corn for my people; he slowly raised his body on receiving the beads and the first words used by him were, If you have more, why do you not give me these? After this he soon became familiar and communicative and we were shortly arm in arm together and I then procured all the information I could from him.

He told me that Chaka's army had left him ten days before and the messengers only two days, that as his people had lost all their cattle and had nothing to live upon or make clothes of, Chaka had offered them cattle which were to be received as a token of their dependance upon him and that he was to be Chaka's friend, and he added that as he had lost his all, it was of little consequence whose friend he was; that he had heard nothing of Chaka's hostile intention towards him until three days before his forces had reached his own kraal; that he sent to Hintza and Vosane for assistance, who gave him none, and though the Zoolos had been in his country during the space of a moon and a half no one came to his relief. He observed upon my assurances of a friendly disposition on the part of the English towards the Kaffre tribes, that he could not doubt me, for that I appeared to speak honestly to him, but he had thought otherwise as Chaka's people, who had been accompanied by a party of armed Englishmen in the attack upon him had assured his people that resistance was unavailable and flight to the Westward useless, as the Englishmen were friends of Chaka, and that the Englishmen with them were sent by their countrymen to the westward to assist them in fighting and overcoming all the people between him and the country of the White men; that when I sent to him the evening before so impressed was he with the belief that I was the friend of Chaka, that he would not come to see me, which he was sorry for; and that we, with the exception of Henry Fynn and his small party with Chaka's army, were the only white persons his people had ever seen. That Fynn was present with the invading army was verified to me beyond a doubt, as a man who had been wounded by a shot from a gun in both thighs was brought to me who said that the person who shot him afterwards saved his life and dressed his wounds and then told him that his name was Fynn and that his father lived in the great Town of the English where Chaka's people intended to go. Though Fakoo informed me that there were other white people with Fynn I have not been able to ascertain the point. Perhaps he may have taken some Hottentots who were in that person's service for white people.

I questioned the chief most minutely with the view of discovering what information he might have acquired in his intercourse with the Zoolo mes-

sengers as to the intentions of Chaka but could learn nothing, as he either was or pretended to be ignorant of all other matters respecting him. He knew nothing he said of the movements of the people to the North, though they had actually passed through his own country a few days before, and he expressed an opinion that Chaka's forces would not move for some time. He pretended ignorance of the formation of kraals on the left bank of the Umzenboobo, higher up the river, by the Zoolos, and when I asked him if he would send one of his people with a letter to Fynn he positively refused to do so.

Having gained all the information I could from Fakoo respecting Chaka and the conduct of his people when in the Amaponta country, which was represented to me as having been most brutal and sanguinary, indeed many bodies of the murdered inhabitants were seen by my party and the huts and provision of corn were everywhere destroyed. The greater part of the women too who fell into their hands have it was said been destroyed, and the children of all ages carried away; this last, I presume, to keep up the number of his people, who are subject to deminution from the constant wars which the Zoolos are waging with the nations around them, and finding that the distance from Chaka's residence was too considerable to undertake the journey with our horses in the weak state in which they were and trusting that I should be able to communicate in some way with the party who were directing their course to Vosane's country, I determined on making the best of my way to the kraal of that chief; and rejoining without delay the part of my Escort I had left behind, which I did on the 20th and with them I found two messengers from Vosane with certain information respecting the advance of the Zoolos (or as the intruders are called by the Kaffres the Fickanes) which induced me to regain the Drift of the Bashee I had before passed instead of taking the more direct but hazardous course to Vosane's kraal through the country then partially occupied by the enemy. Having rested my jaded horses for an hour I proceeded and reached the small river Koga where we slept. In the middle of this night we were surprised and alarmed by loud communications that were made from kraal to kraal; anxious to know the meaning of this I sent to enquire and found it to be one of the modes practised among the Kaffres of conveying intelligence in still and fair weather. On this occasion it appeared that the Fickanes were at no great distance above the same river, that they were in great numbers plundering and that it was necessary that the population of the whole country should arm themselves and secure their cattle.

On the following day, the 21st, I regained the Bashee and continued on my journey till evening. The course towards Vosane's kraal being now nearly North we proceeded with all dispatch in that direction, when we were met by messengers who had been sent forward to meet me and by them I was informed that the enemy was near the sources of the Umtata and that Vosane had collected a large force to oppose them. In consequence of this I determined on again crossing the Bashee which I did at a place where the banks were steep and mountainous, and I reached after much exertion on the evening of the 24th, a kraal that the Zoolos had occupied on the morning of the same

day. Shortly after my arrival I was visited by Vosane, who told me of his determination to give battle and said that he should have done so before, but waited for my coming up to assist him ; on the following day (the 25th) he said the whole of his people would be ready ; but before I made any promise, the keeping of which might compromise the safety of my small party, I begged him to collect them at an early hour the following day ; which was done and I found to my great surprise that in the course of the six days the enemy had been in his country he had been able to bring together a body of five thousand men ; the assistance he asked I then promised to give, and as our horses were, many of them, in a sadly exhausted state, I got from him as many fresh ones as he could command (ten only in number) and with them and the best in condition of our own, we mounted a willing body of twenty four persons carrying guns, myself and Hottentot servant being included in the number.

On the afternoon of this day, all matters having been arranged, the army of Vosane moved forward to occupy a more advanced position. Up to this period I had had no opportunity of looking at the country we were to act upon the following day, but I availed myself of a rising ground near the line of march whence I had a pretty good view of the country around ; and I then became convinced that the movement Vosane was making was an extremely injudicious one, and I determined on interfering to prevent his carrying his plans of attack into effect.

To make this apparent it may be necessary to describe the position occupied by Chaka's force.

The Stormberg range of mountains which runs in one continued line E by N nearly from the confines of the Colony up to the centre sprout of the Bashee River, there take a turn to the South and advances nearly twenty miles, where it again resumes its former line nearly East and continues until it is lost beyond Port Natal. Near the S W angle of the projecting range the Eastern branch of the Bashee leaves the mountains, from it the distance to the western branch of the Umtata is about twelve miles, and farther on the Eastern branch, distant from the former about four miles, which two unite about three miles from the foot of the mountains.

The vallies of the two streams forming the Umtata are considerable in breadth and their sides are thickly wooded and give shelter to elephants but are difficult and mountainous. Backed by the mountains and masses of bush upon their face the Fickanes occupied the flatter country at their base, in extent from 12 to 16 square miles, where the cattle they had carried off were feeding and were protected by their whole body, supposed to be from three to four thousand in number, who, as afterwards appeared had secured their wives and children in the Eastern valley.

On Vosane's taking up his position previous to the battle, I pointed out to him that it would be better to begin his attack on the right of the enemy and attempt to gain possession of the embouchures of the 2 streams and thereby close up the means of retreat they had secured to themselves, than to drive them and their cattle directly upon the strong ground in their rear from whence

it would be difficult to dislodge them. I was doubtful whether this my advice would be followed, as no reply was made to my observations on that and other points, but two hours before day the whole army was in motion retracing their steps of the previous evening, and by nine o'clock the whole were in a new position at the foot of the mountain, prepared for the mode of attack I had suggested, and concealed from the enemy by an intervening low range of hills. They were arranged in the following order. The main body, consisting of near one half, of those fully armed, that is, having shields and their full complement of Hassagais, were led by Vosane in person, the charge and management of the remainder, who were formed into two separate bodies was given to the oldest captains. These acted on the flanks on the main body; with the exception of this division of the force there appeared to be no order, the whole forming irregular and confused masses of men.

After this arrangement all were directed to seat themselves, that they might hear the cause of their having been brought together; this they did within the smallest possible compass and the most perfect silence followed. Those who had anything to say upon the occasion rose in succession. There were five or six, the oldest and most important among the people, who spoke. The invasion of their country by the Fickanies, the loss of their cattle, the destruction of their corn, the murder of their women, and their children carried away from them, were the general subject of their harangues, and all in their turn urged a determination to resist, and that their insulted country called for vengeance on the intruders.

Vosane having heard all, in few and manly words said that he had heard the cries of his children, had wept for them and had determined to revenge them; that in six days he had brought together many warriors and that he was that day happy to see his people around him willing and anxious to be led against the enemy. He then assured them that he would lead them on and not turn until the sun should go down and he hoped that they by their actions that day would recover the cattle his people had lost and drive the enemy from his country. This speech was ended by the words "Rise, take up your shields and follow me". In a moment every man was on his feet and the whole moved forward. When, as they descended the heights, this large body was discovered by the Fetcanies, there appeared to be much commotion among them. They had evidently however been previously collecting their cattle and many were already on the move, having known from the imprudent exposure of the light armed Tambookies, who were not in order, that they were in force near them.

From the position taken up by Vosane, the distance to the Western branch of the Umtata did not exceed eight hundred yards. Upon its right bank, near a kraal, a body of from 150 to 200 Fickanies had posted themselves to cover those who were driving away the cattle. This party I ordered my people to ride quickly up to, when they dismounted and fired with considerable effect, which produced terror and consequent confusion amongst them; they fled many of them throwing away their shields and arms with every article of

incumbrance about them, and some few falling to the ground and covering themselves with their shields while the firing continued.

The cattle were of course left to be taken. The Tambookies, who had by this time passed the river and had left the Western valley behind them, extended their front so as to occupy the face of the mountain, upwards and cut off a great number of the enemy, many of whom they killed with little resistance. A large body of the Tambookies having reached the top of the ridge they proceeded towards the eastern valley, by which movement I had hoped they would have been able to intercept those of the enemy who should be able to gain the valley, but as I could not support them from the difficulty of the ground, and the impossibility of dividing my small body who were otherwise usefully employed, they were fearful of making the descent into the valley, and though they were in sufficient force to have done so, they did not go beyond the neck which formed the right of the valley.

After the first successful movement of my party, I was obliged in order to pass the Umtata to make a small detour before I could come upon the footsteps of the fugitives, when I moved my party forward as quickly as the nature of the ground would admit of, everywhere dispersing the numerous bodies of the Fickanies, who persevered as long as they were able in the attempt to secure their cattle, but being pressed hard by us they at length relinquished all hopes of being able to effect their purpose and party after party were forced to take to flight. Many of them were unable to secure their retreat and were forced upon the Tambookies to our left and a body of Hinzas Kaffres (who had attached themselves to me through the day) on my right and were killed. Four hours nearly were thus spent before we gained the Eastern branch of the River, capturing as we went along the numerous herds of cattle which had been feeding on the plain, which, as we moved onwards were driven off by the Tambookies, who gradually descended from their position on the heights for that purpose, and when we reached the Eastern branch of the River the whole of Vosanie's force had disappeared, and my small party were left alone. After this nothing more could be done, such of the cattle as were nearest the Eastern embouchure had been secured and they with the Fickanies were out of our reach. And though the enemy succeeded in driving off a great number of cattle, the affair was so far successful as to leave us in possession of at least 25,000 head. The number of Fickanies killed in the affair may have been about 70.

Though I had been able to trace the Fickanies across the Umsemboobo and suspected from the direction the thirteen persons, who had been sent by Chaka on Embassy to Fakoo, had taken on leaving that chief, that they had joined the party to the north, I felt uncertain from the information I had received from the Tambookies whether the intruders were Chaka's people or not, and it was not until after the affair of the day that I learnt from some Tambookie girls, who had been carried off by the Fickanies, and who in the confusion escaped, that they were undoubtedly Chaka's people, who had themselves given out that they were Manguanas.

This information, added to that before received, and the dress and arms of the enemy, together with the systematic mode in which the business of plundering was conducted, proved beyond a doubt that the intruders were Zoolos, and that Chaka had artfully contrived, for some politic purpose, to make it to be believed that they were not so.

After the labours and fatigues of the day, I returned to my camp, which I reached about dark, having been at least ten hours on horseback ; and finding that my party were left alone by the Tambookies and on the line of road by which the greater part of the recaptured cattle had been driven, which I thought it possible the Zoolos might in the night (which was clear moonlight) attempt to retake and following their footsteps come upon my camp unawares I determined on immediately moving back a few miles, having previously sent a messenger to Vosanie by one of his captains that it was my intention to do so. From the person thus employed I learned that the whole of Vosane's army had dispersed and retired to their homes with the captured cattle and that they had no intention of waiting the result of the battle or watching the farther movements of the enemy.

On leaving my camp we took a Westerly course under the mountain and halted near the Bashee River which at the Drift I subsequently passed, which was immediately below the confluence of the Eastern and middle branches, was not more than fifteen miles from the Umtata ; this course I still continued until the third or Western branch was passed by which I had an opportunity of seeing that part of the Tambookie country, which affords the richest pasturage and was the most densely peopled previous to Chaka's inroad of any in the Tambookie territory. Having viewed this part of the country, over which all approach towards the East should be made, I changed my course, and after a journey of about twenty miles SSE from the last branch of the River, I reached the kraal of Vosanie about the middle of the 28th.

Not having seen the chief since the morning of the 26th I was anxious to be made acquainted with his future plans. A public palaver was therefore held when he commenced by expressing his obligation to me in the warmest terms of gratitude, as follows.

“ You came to me when my country was invaded by the Fickanies and my people every where in confusion and distress. I had collected my warriors to expel the enemy and I asked you to assist me. This you have done. You advised me what should be done in the battle. I have followed your advice and we have driven the enemy from my country. You have retaken the cattle lost by my people. You have even given them more than they have been robbed of. You have been their preserver. You are my father. From this day every Englishman who comes to my country shall be my brother, and I will encourage my people to trade with them ”.

Finding on enquiry that spies had been sent to watch the movements of the Fickanies and that generally every step had been taken that could be at

the moment I instructed him to communicate directly to Fort Willshire any information respecting the Fickanies which it might concern the Commandant on the Frontier to know.

After receiving from Vosanie a present of as many fat bullocks for the support of my people while on their journey homewards as I required, I left him on the morning of the 29th; the Dutch of my party taking a direct course to the Chumie mountain, and myself and the English returning to the Colony by Hinza's kraal and the road taken in passing to the Eastward.

While on my journey of this day I received letters forwarded from Graham's Town, the first that reached me since I left that place, and, with them, intelligence of Lt Colonel Somerset having advanced towards the Kai River to support the Kaffre Tribes.

On reaching the missionary station of Mr Shrewsbury on the 30th I learnt with much satisfaction that a messenger I had sent to Hintza from the Bashee River on the 21st recommending him to call out his people and join Vosanie had been attended to and that he and his brother Bookoo had collected in great force and were within the distance of a day and half of Vosanie's army when the battle was fought. This evidence of a proper disposition on the part of these Kaffre chiefs toward the Tambookies I have great pleasure in recording and I trust that Hintza's tribe and the Tambookies will not fail to unite in the event of Chaka's ambition leading him to attempt the suljugation of either country.

I took leave of Hinza on the 31st and arrived at Lt Col. Somerset's camp on the 1st of August when I communicated to that officer the result of my proceedings and the opinion I had formed that the Fickanies were not likely to advance in any force at that period and that their late movements were made for the purpose of plunder only.

On the evening of the 4th I reached Graham's Town after an absence of thirty five days, having completed a journey of at least nine hundred miles on the same set of horses within that period.

I have great pleasure in reporting to His Honor that the fatigues and privations necessarily attendant upon a service of this nature were borne with alacrity and spirit by the majority of my escort and much conduct and courage were displayed during the encounter by those who accompanied me.

The names of the more deserving I shall have the honor of submitting hereafter with the view of bringing their merits and deserts to the notice of the Government. I have also to state that I received much kind assistance and attention from the Gentlemen at the missionary stations in Kaffre Land and to Mr Shrewsbury in particular, who accompanied me as far as the Umtata River and who gave me much useful information, I am more especially indebted.

Graham's Town

15th August 1828

W. B. Dundas

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Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 600

Lt. Col. H. Somerset in a despatch to General Bourke, dated "Camp on Kay, August 1st 1828", states that he arrived there with his troops the day before. That the same morning Major Dundas arrived in his camp. That he now considers it expedient to return to the Colony, but thinks it very probable that the Fetcanie who have now been routed (viz. by Major Dundas) may shortly return in some force.

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Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 582, No. 92

Copy of a letter from Field Commandant van Wyk.

dated "Klipplaats River, 21st August 1828"

Lt. Colonel Somerset

Commandant etc. etc.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that I have this day been told by a Tambookie named Samanie that the nation is on this side of the Bashee, and still moving forward, so that when I proceed to Windvogels Berg, as I have written you, they will have passed me, because the route they have taken is much higher, which if they continue, will be on the borders of the Tarka. They are not Chaka's people, but another tribe, the names of whose Chiefs are as follows: 1. Matekwana 2. Makesana 3. Maqeta, they act however in the same manner as Chaka, namely driving away the Tambookies, my command will now move towards the North East side of the Windvogelberg (as I have already informed you) until I hear from you I shall make further and particular enquiries of what I have already mentioned, and give you such information as I think may be relied on. I shall always be happy to meet your wishes and act up to any orders you may give me. In expectation of receiving an answer I have etc.

(Sgd) J. S. Van Wyk.

Commandant.

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Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 582, No. 92

To His Honor

Major General Bourke C.B.

Commanding the Forces

Beechy River

12 miles from Bashee River

August 26th 1828

Sir,—I have the honor to state for your Honor's information that I received a report on the 24th Instant from the Kaffer Chiefs Hynsa and Vousanie that the enemy was advancing; they stated at the same time that they had assembled their forces in advance of this river to meet the enemy, and they

urged me to lose no time in giving them that support and assistance which had been promised to them by my Government in the event of their using their best exertions.

Under the circumstances I deemed it prudent to pass the Bashee and to take up a position on this river.

Having however ascertained that these two Kings, or great Chiefs, altho professedly espousing the same cause and being actually encamped with their armies on the banks of the same river, had never (from a hostile feeling of long standing) yet met, I deemed it prudent previous to taking any active part in their affairs against the enemy, to insist upon these Chief's meeting each other at my camp.

Accordingly last evening at 5 o'clock these chiefs arrived at my encampment, when, after the usual compliments had been passed, the following conversation took place, which was conducted on the part of Government by myself, on that of Hynsa, through his uncle and chief Jalousa, and on the part of Vousanie, through his Chief Checha in presence of Hynsa and Vousanie.

Having stated to the Chiefs that I was glad to see they had met together, I proceeded to impress upon them the necessity and propriety of their living in future as brothers. I stated to them that I was directed by my Government to say that in this cause they must lay aside all jealousies and animosities.

Jalousa stated in reply that no jealousy or difference had ever existed, that Hynsa was, and always had been, desirous to assist his brother Chief, but that circumstances had always occurred to prevent his doing so until the present occasion, that those persons who had asserted that they differed, had stated what was not fact, and with a bad intention, and that there were persons on both sides who wished to cause dissensions.

A statement to the same effect was made by Checha.

Having informed the Chiefs that my instructions called upon me to endeavour to communicate with the strangers in a friendly manner to induce them to relinquish their present intentions, Jalousa enquired whether in case of a refusal I would support the Kaffers. I stated that I would do so, but that I must desire to know whether the Kaffers objected to the line of policy it was proposed to adopt, as in that case I should decline any further support to them.

The Chiefs stated certainly not, that they had themselves endeavoured in the first instance to treat with this nation but that the reply they received was, that the Kaffers were all dogs!

I enquired whether it was true that Vousanie's Kaffers had murdered some messengers of the enemy, who came on a friendly mission.

Checha stated that this was entirely false, that the enemy had sent Vousanie the message to say that he was to prepare himself, as he would be attacked immediately. That their spies had seized four of the enemy's spies, who were reconnoitring his position, but that nothing like a friendly intercourse, on the part of the enemy had ever been attempted.

Checha said that it was impossible the Tambookies could consent to the enemy's being allowed to escape, that their wives and children had been

murdered and their property destroyed without mercy, and Jalonsa remarked that their shields were now wet, and that they could be allowed to dry! in fact that the sword had been drawn!

Having heard that the Kaffers intended to murder all the women and children of the enemy who should fall into their hands, I felt it my duty to point out to the Chiefs the cruelty and impropriety of this conduct. Checha referred me to Hynsa for an answer to this point.

Hynsa then addressed me himself, and stated that he felt it impossible to pardon the Nation, that this people ought to be utterly destroyed, that they were now advancing, that they were becoming daily more formidable and would shortly be joined by Chaca, and that eventually they would be too strong for our united efforts! As however they had not murdered his women and children, the question must be answered by those who were now suffering from the effects of these cruelties, it was not however he said the system of the Kaffers to kill women, indeed that it was considered unlucky!

Checha then remarked, what could the Tambookies do? Could they see and feel what they had felt and not retaliate?

I remarked that it was truly distressing, he again said, shall we then let them escape now they are in our power!

To this I replied, that no doubt the Kaffer Chiefs were powerful Chiefs, that the King of England was also a great King, but that there was a more powerful person who would hereafter call upon us to account for shedding innocent blood!

The Chiefs then remarked that what I had said was a good word, and that since I insisted upon it, they would order their people to spare the women and children, but that the enemy always fought with their women and children intermixed with them, and that if notwithstanding all their efforts some accidents occurred they could not be answerable for them.

I felt considerable satisfaction in having induced the chiefs to accede to my suggestions and desires. I have etc.

Henry Somerset
Lt Colonel

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Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 582, No. 92

Bashee River,
August 29th 1828

To his Honor,
Major-General Bourke, C.B.
Commanding the Forces.

Sir,—I have the honor to report for your Honor's information that at 2 p.m. on the 26th instant the Chiefs Hynsa and Vousanie sent expresses to me to inform me that the enemy was advancing in great force upon the plain about six miles from my position and that they had consequently moved their armies

up the hill, and they begged I would lose no time in joining them from the Beechy.¹ I lost no time in moving forward with my division. After advancing about three miles I met two spies of Vousanie's who informed me that the enemy had detached three very considerable columns to their right. I immediately communicated this information to Vousanie and I also detached an officer with a few men to ascertain the movements of this body. At dusk I received a communication from Vousanie stating that the enemy had recalled the forces that had been detached and urging again his former solicitations for my joining him.

My patrol returned shortly giving me the same information. I moved forward at 9 p.m. and halted at 1 a.m. on this side of the hill behind which the enemy was supposed to be encamped in position.

I here found assembled about sixteen thousand Kaffers, the armies of each Chief being in separate columns.

At 4 a.m. I again moved forward and having advanced a short distance, the Kaffer spies who were in advance informed me that the enemy's spies were close to us. I halted a few minutes to make the necessary disposition of my force and I directed Captain Aitchison to move forward with the Interpreter, and about 20 men, and endeavour to speak with some of the enemy's people.

Having allowed Captain Aitchison to get considerably in advance I marched forward.

The whole country for several miles is open without a tree. On using the high ground above the Umtata River I found the enemy strongly posted on the face of the opposite mountain, having on the plain below on this side of the river a division of about sixteen hundred men. The enemy was prevented seeing my force by a small ridge which intersected the plain. Captain Aitchison having marched round this, moved up to the enemy's advance to within fifteen yards of them, when the Interpreter spoke to them, I observed that he continued his endeavours to parley with them for a considerable time, during this period the enemy continued closing in upon his small party, evidently endeavouring to surround him. They suddenly made a general rush at his party and fell upon the Interpreter, who was in advance, in the most ferocious manner. The interpreter knocked down the first fellow with the butt of his musket, who with his spear had cut away the Interpreter's waist belt and the breast of his coat, and but for the thickness of his clothes he must have fallen a victim to his firmness and determination to secure a prisoner if possible.

Captain Aitchison finding himself thus pushed was obliged to fire in his own defence. Seeing him thus pressed I lost no time in sending the supports forward, when the action became general at all points.

The army of the Kaffers had by this time been reinforced by several thousand men under Fakoo, and they amounted in the whole to about twenty six thousand men.

¹ i.e. the *Bhityi*.

I regret, however, to say that they did not attempt to render me the least assistance against the enemy, further perhaps than their very imposing appearance, the several columns as they moved up remaining posted on this side of the river looking on.

Nothing could exceed the determined and daring conduct of the enemy, as well as I am able to judge I estimate their forces at about twenty thousand men, but as they continued receiving huge reinforcements from the other side of the mountain, I cannot give a very accurate idea of it. They made constant and continued attempts to charge my forces, and appeared determined neither to give or receive quarter. It will not therefore be a matter of surprize that under these circumstances, the enemy being nearly twenty to one, no prisoners were made on our part.

Having the whole of my mounted force very warmly engaged at every Point, I felt it necessary to move forward the Flank Companies of Lt. Col. Mill's regiment, and the Civil Hottentots under command of Lieut. Sinclair, in order to check the enemy (who still continued pouring down upon us) and drive them up the mountain, after a continued fire from 6 o'clock to about half past one, the enemy was driven from all points and retired up the mountain. I found by reports from the rear that during these operations my allies the Kaffers had employed themselves in the work of destruction, by slaying and wounding the women and children whom they found in the huts along the mountain and in the rear.

Finding this to be the case and that the enemy had given way at all points, I discontinued the action and directed my attention to securing the women and children out of the hands of the Kaffers.

I succeeded in saving a very considerable number of these unfortunate females, altho numbers were hurried by the Kaffers to the rear, to be murdered or used as servants as circumstances might dictate. Having collected all I could and having in a great measure put a stop to the terrible destruction that was going forward, I caused these women to be conducted under an escort to the foot of the mountain and directed them to proceed to their nation.

Previous to dismissing these women, I directed one of them who appeared very intelligent to inform their chief that he had brought on this affair by attacking my party whom I had sent forward to communicate with him. I directed her to say to him, that he must withdraw his people from the country they now occupied, and cease molesting the Tambookie nation, that they were the friends of the White People and that we could not permit them to be ill-treated. This woman promised to do this and also to state the manner in which we had exerted ourselves to protect the women and children from the Kaffers.

Having directed the men to cook and refresh themselves I halted some time on the ground where the enemy was first posted, there being no wood or grass for the horses and cattle, I retired in the afternoon a few miles for the purpose of procuring food for the animals. In retiring the following day towards the Beechy I directed the whole of my force, particularly the mounted part, to collect all the women and children whom they could find wandering

about, several were rescued from the Kaffers who were murdering the small children by knocking them on the head with their clubs and several of the Kaffer women as they passed the kraals, aided in illtreating these unfortunate females.

I found on halting that about 47 women and 70 children had been collected, many of them seriously mutilated. I was desirous to have restored all these persons to their people and altho my force was very much exhausted I would have done so but I found these women positively refused to return unless I compelled them to do so, they stated that their tribe was too numerous and that they could not return, now they saw we took care of them. The poor children who had been collected gave me very considerable anxiety, as I found on referring to the women that altho some were recognised, many of them belonged to women whom the Kaffers had carried off and murdered, and others were children who had been taken in battle, whom they were bringing up for future purposes, many of these latter were actually in a state of starvation. The Burghers having most kindly offered to take charge of these children to the Colony, I was glad to accede to this proposal, seeing no other way either of conveying them or securing their being taken care of, the women declining to take charge of them, having several of their own, all of whom required their utmost care. I therefore requested the Field Commandant to make a list of these Burghers, in order to sending their names in to the Civil Commissioner.

The women will be furnished with a waggon and will return with the troops to Fort Willshire, in order to their being handed over to the Civil Commissioner.

From one of these women, who stated herself to be the wife of Oolana a hemraade of Matuana, I collected the following information :

“The nation with whom we had been engaged is called Maceesa, their great chief or captain is called Matuana, they come from the Sootou country to the Northward of Chaka. Chaka had formerly fought with them and they were driven in a North West direction and attacked numerous tribes, whom they conquered and destroyed until they arrived in the Tambookie territory. They consider themselves as a powerful and independent Nation, Chaca never having been able to subject them. All other tribes are subject to Chaca or have been destroyed by Chaca or themselves. Captain Matuana was desirous of remaining inactive in their present position, but the people objected to it, stating that they were too numerous and must push forward to get a country. They had some days since sent word to Vosanie to prepare his shields, as they were going to attack him. That on Sunday last they made a movement and intended to have attacked the united Kaffer forces but the violent rain of Sunday and Monday prevented these operations and they retired to their former ground.

They intend to carry on the war so long as there are any tribes in their front, or untill they themselves are defeated.

They state that they never saw any White people or horses, untill Vosanie attacked them last, when the white people were with him. That at this period

they were on the move from Fakoo's country behind the mountain, and had sent forward their young men with the cattle, who were too few to make any resistance.

The first tribes they attacked were under the captain Bunganni, whom they called Ozweeda's or Ossueeda's. Chaca had formerly attacked these people. They also attacked all the tribes who lived in the Sootou country, until they fled to the mountains, and having no provisions they were compelled to eat each other.

The reason the Maceesa nation murder women and children is stated by this woman to be that the custom has been adopted by them from seeing Chaca's people do so."

I trust the information I have collected will be satisfactory to Your Honor.

I cannot sufficiently express my approbation at the conduct of the troops during the action.

The Flank Companies of the 55th regiment under Lieut. Colonel Mill, and the Civil Hottentots, under the command of Lieut. Sinclair, (who has commanded this Corps since the army took the field) drew the enemy from all their positions on the left face of the mountain.

The manner in which the Mounted Rifle Corps was led into action by Captain Aitchison and the way in which this Corps sustained for a very considerable period, the determined attack of a very superior force, reflects the highest credit on this gallant Corps.

The Burghers under the Field Commandant Durandt, behaved in the most gallant and determined manner.

From the great difficulty that occurred in bringing up the guns drawn by oxen, I was not able to get the guns into action so early as I wished. Major Storey was however able towards the close of the action to throw several shots with some effect.

It is difficult to say whether the Maceesa nation will continue their attacks on the Tambookies, but from their determined character they may probably do so.

I am of opinion that could Vousanie be induced to relinquish for a time the country he now occupies beyond the Bashee, and be persuaded to move with his people towards the Winfogle Berg, and occupy that country from the junction of the two Kay Rivers in a Northerly direction towards the Storm Berg and the head of the Bashee, the whole of which country is now unoccupied and exposed, it would be of advantage to himself and to the Colony. He would then be parallel with Hynsa and both Hynsa and himself could more conveniently secure our assistance in case of need. Tho the Maceesa nation appeared to possess very numerous droves of cattle, several of which fell into our hands, I did not deem it expedient to employ any part of my force in bringing off cattle.

Having been two days without provisions of any kind, I secured several head for the immediate necessities of the army, I believe about two hundred head.

The troops who were in the field under my command will return to the Colony and the Burghers, 120 in number under Field Commandt Durandt will return to their homes.

I have also directed the Burghers under Field Commdt. van Wyk (who was detached to the left with about 100 men) to return to the Colony.

One horse of the Burgher Force was killed in the action of the 27th.

The general conduct of the troops during the period the army has been in the field has been most excellent. I am much indebted to Lieut. Colonel Mill for his advice and assistance upon all occasions. I have etc.

Henry Somerset
Lieut. Colonel

489

Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 582, No. 92

Grahamstown

September 3rd, 1828.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Honor's letter of the 22nd having met the post on the Kay as I was returning to the Colony.

I regret that the despatches I had the honor to address to Your Honor should not have reached Grahamstown in sufficient time for the post. The several reports I received from the Chiefs Hynsa and Vousanie induced me to assure them of the support which I had promised them on the part of my Government, if they would exert themselves. The amount of the Burgher Force that has been employed on this second occasion appears to me to have been misunderstood.

I have only had 120 Burghers with me, exclusive of 100 detached under Field Comdt. van Wyk.

When I last left the Frontier I dispensed with the service of the Graaff Reynet Burghers, of upwards of 100 of the Uitenhage Burghers and of three hundred Burghers of Albany and Somerset.

The enclosed copy of a letter from the Field Commandant van Wyk will point out to Your Honour the necessity that existed of employing a force to watch the enemy to the northward.

I am now making arrangements to dispense with the services of the Burgher Force entirely, those who were with me are now on their march home.

The only information I could act upon was from the reports of the Kaffers and their chiefs, if these people exaggerated and deceived me, it was impossible I could prevent their doing so, but I can assure your Honor that no exertions were wanting on my part to ascertain the true state of affairs. My despatches to your Honor of the 26th and 29th ultimo will fully inform you of the several

operations of the Troops under my command and whatever sensation the movements I felt it necessary to make may have caused, I am of opinion that the consequences to the Colony must have been most serious had I adopted any other line of conduct. The force of the Mounted Rifle Corps, after furnishing detachment at the Class Smits River, and the several relay parties, did not exceed one hundred men.

Should your Honor approve of it, I would prefer allowing this Corps to return to their quarters for a short period to refresh; from having had no forage corn for a long period the horses are in a deplorable state, and there is now no grass on the Kay, or near it. I do not anticipate any immediate movement among the Kaffers, and in a short time the mounted forces will be sufficiently recovered for any duties.

I shall be glad to receive your Honor's commands whether under existing circumstances you desire the Flank Companies of the 55th Regiment to be stationed in advance, as I have halted them for the present.

Probably they might now be allowed to return home, and thus the expense of convoy be got rid of.

The line of policy adopted by the Government in supporting and assisting the Kaffers upon this occasion has established a strong feeling of confidence and gratitude on their part towards the Colonial Government.

I omitted in my previous dispatch to mention to your Honor that on the morning of the 28th before daybreak, while the Troops were getting under arms, Major Storey missed some of the oxen of the guns and moving out of the camp to look for them, he lost his way, and I could not find him, altho I used every exertion for two days. On the third day he was brought to the camp by some Kaffers. Major Storey informs me that the kindness he experienced from all the Kaffers in the kraals where he passed exceeded all belief. I have etc.

Henry Somerset

Lieut. Colonel

490

Cape Archives, Vol. 582, No. 83

Class Smidts River

October 30th, 1828.

9 o'clock p.m.

Lt. Col. Somerset

Commandant etc.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you that while on patrole on the Hang Clip Mountain, an express came to me on the 22nd instant bringing a letter from the Moravian¹ missionary stating the loss of all their cattle by the Fat-

¹ The above copy was forwarded to Lt. Col. Bell in Cape Town under cover of a letter dated Graham's Town Nov. 7th, 1828, and on the back of it is written this note:

This mission was projected by Mr. Hallbeck the chief of the Moravian Missions in this country, and settled not many months ago. The Government merely pointed out where the missionaries were to cross the boundaries of the Colony, and have nothing to do with the Institution. J.B.

cania, I immediately crossed the country to the Great Key, and kept along the banks of that river to near Quai Berg, in the expectation of cutting off their retreat, but finding no traces of them, I pushed on to the Institution, which I reached early in the morning of the 25th. On my arrival, I learned that a party of the Fatcania had the previous evening made a second attack apparently with the intention of totally destroying the Establishment, their plans however seemed to have been disconcerted by a Hottentot having given the alarm, when the savages dividing into two parts took to flight. I lost no time in patrolling the neighbouring country and from the traces found, should not suppose them to exceed sixty. I enabled to keep the spoor to near the White Key, when heavy rains falling during the night, and following day, quite erased all vestiges of their further route, we found the carcasses of five head of cattle assaigoied and a carosse of black sheep skin.

The apprehension of the missionaries was so great that they determined to set out for this post, although a party from this Detachment was stationed with them for their protection, as the missionaries kept most of their property behind them, the party is still at the Klip Plaats for its protection. I have etc.

(Sgd) H. D. Warden
Lt. M. Riflemen

491

Cape Archives, Vol. C.O. 582, No. 90

Graham's Town
December 26th 1828.

Lt. Colonel Bell C.B.
Cape Town.

Sir,—I have the honor to state to you for the information of His Excellency the Governor, that I have received information that the tribes of the chief Matuana, have now established themselves between the sources of the Soomou and Umgualla Rivers, which latter river empties itself into the Bashee.

I feel it my duty to report this circumstance, in the event of His Excellency being inclined to cause the women belonging to this tribe (who fell into our hands at the Umtata) to be returned to their families.

By proceeding across the Bontebok Flat, thence to the Winfogle Berg, and crossing the White Kay at that spot, these people might be conducted to their tribe without passing near any Kaffer tribes whatever. I should judge them to be about one day's ride from the Storm Kraal on the White Key. It is a country with which I am well acquainted, and the officers of the Mounted Rifle Corps also, and I presume the matter might be accomplished with facility. From the Post at Class Smits River, or from the Grooue Neck, the distance to Winfogle Berg is about eight hours.

I am informed that Matuana lately sent to Vousanie (previously to his moving towards the Soomou) a present of cattle, and expressed regret at having carried war and destruction into his territory. The messengers were well received by Vousanie. I have etc.

H. Somerset
Lt. Colonel

492 Cory "The Rise of South Africa", vol. 3, p. 165.

BASI, a very old man, probably nearer a hundred than ninety years of age, said, in substance: "I am a Fingo, one of Matiwana's people. I was born on the other side of the Tugela. My father was Nikiwe. Charka made himself a great chief and for no particular reason drove a lot of people out of the country. Some went into Hintza's country, but Matiwana's people did not. We went among the Tembus, not as supplicants but with the intention of driving them out of their country. We did not succeed, so we submitted to them. Matiwana returned to his own country and was killed. We remained in Tembuland, just above the Umtata; the place was called Mbolompo. Very many of the Fingoes did not go to Peddie, i.e. did not join in the exodus under Somerset. I have never been on the other side of the Kei (i.e. the Cape Colony side). Malangeni was our chief, he was a younger brother of Jokweni. I never saw Hintza, I think he treated the people badly. The people (Fingoes) at first went out a few at a time as opportunity for escape offered itself. I took part in various fights between the Tembus and Gealekas, but I never fought against the English . . ."

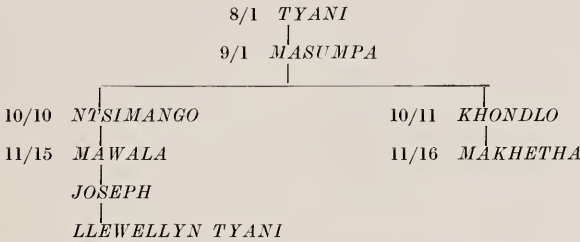
CHAPTER 27

Statements by *amaNgwane* resident in the Transkei

1. Butterworth district

493 The magistrate kindly obtained a statement (dated 20th January, 1938) from *Feni Qongqo* (75 years) which was corroborated by *Mlanduli Majiya* (73 years) and Daniel Bam (67 years). This statement, when condensed and recast, runs as follows :—

494 “ We are *amaNgwane* residing in Kobodi location in Butterworth district. Our headman is Llewellyn Tyani, whose genealogy I now give :



495 *Mativane* was the son of the great house of Masumpa, whilst *Ntsimango* and *Khondlo* were sons of other houses. They left the Tugela because of the war with *Shaka*. They stayed in Basutoland for a year and then came down into Umtata district, where they lived in a forest at *Mbholompo*. They did not remain long, for *Ngubencuka* the *Thembu* chief called in the *Mpondo* and British forces to attack him, and *Mativane* was defeated by their combined forces. *Mativane* then told his followers that he intended returning to Zululand. The minor chiefs *Ntsimango* and *Khondlo* said they were tired of travelling and begged to be allowed to remain. *Mativane* agreed and departed with the greater part of the army. From *Mbholompo* the two brothers went across the Kei to settle at *Sigigaba*, *Ngxukhwebe* (Healdtown) in Fort Beaufort district.

496 Soon after, the Government said that all those who desired to remove to the Transkei must register their names at the Fort Beaufort office. *Ntsimango* and his men did so and were in due course settled in their present Kobodi location, leaving *Khondlo* and some of the tribe at *Ngxukhwebe* where some of their descendants still are today, though *Makhetha* himself, after *Khondlo's* death at Healdtown, left for Zululand and nothing more is known about him.

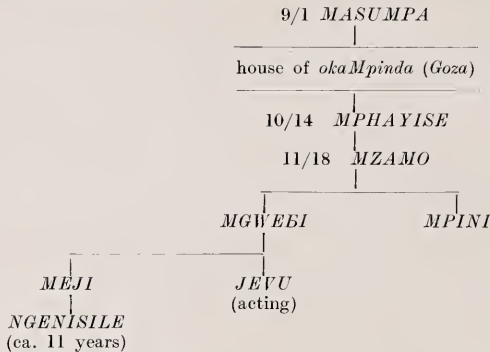
497 The head of our tribe is *Newadi* son of *Zikhali* son of *Matiwane*. I think he is at the White Mfolozi.

I was born at *Zidenge* in Stutterheim district in 1862. All my information was obtained from my uncle *Matshulela Qongqo* who came with *Matiwane* from Zululand to *Mbholompo* forest and remained at Qumbu where he died."

2. Ngqeleni district

498 There is a fair-sized section of *amaNgwane* under acting headman *Jevu* in Magoza location, Ngqeleni district. I interviewed the headman and all the old men who could come to the office, in February 1938. Their best informant appeared to be *Mpini* (see genealogy below), as he was allowed to go uncontradicted almost throughout. He was seventy years old or more. He stated:—

499 "The genealogy of our family is as follows:



Mphayise died at *eMcwebeni* in Magoza location where we now reside. His son *Mzamo* was born in Bbacaland. I am full brother of *Mgwebi*, who was born about the time of the cattle killing of *Nonggause* in 1857.

500 I know about the fighting at *Mbholompo* mainly from what I was told by *Ngovu*, son of *Lujolobe*, of the *Shiyi* regiment. He described to me what happened and pointed out, in a general way, where the fighting took place. I gained the impression that there had been a great deal of fighting which lasted a year before it was all over. The tribe had built no huts, it was living scattered about, in three large divisions, viz. that under *Matiwane's* brother *Bheje*, just west and south west of *Baziya* mountain, that under the chief himself at *Mbholompo* between *Baziya* mountain and *Khambi* forest, and that under *Khondlo*, *Ntsimango*, *Ntanjana* and *Mphayise* (whose particular place was known as *Ndiyana* or *Ndiyaneeni*) on the *Ngxule* ridge above Umtata town.

501 The first fighting with the English took place when they attacked *Bheje* at his place *eMkhindini* below *Baziya* mountain. He withdrew to *Mbholompo*. Then there was a fight on the *Ngxule* ridge when they fought *Mphayise* and his brothers, who fell back to *Tabase*. I don't know how the fighting went after

that. But eventually there was also some fighting at *Mbholompo*, and the forests in which they had concealed their cattle and women were set alight by gunfire. I don't know which forests were burnt. They were unfamiliar with guns but had already seen horses a few times on the Vaal. They had belonged to Boers and they called them *inkomo kaHanga*. After the battle, *Matiwane* and most of the tribe returned to Zululand, but *Mphayise* was tired of marching and with some 500 men and their families and together with his two brothers *Ntsimango* and *Khondlo*, he first went to Bhacaland between the *Thina* and *Mzimkhulu* rivers. There they separated. *Mphayise* became a subject of *Faku* and settled, and eventually died, at *eMcwebeni* in this district.

502 The others scattered further afield, some going to *eZidutshini* (St. Marks), others to *Ngxukhwebe* (Healdtown).

Ntsimango's descendants are now on the *Khobodi* in Butterworth district.

Khondlo's eldest son, *Makhetha*, returned to Zululand, so his branch is now without a head.

503 Some *amaNgwane* are still at *eMcwebeni* in Ngqeleni district under *Khamisa*, son of *Mphikeleli*, son of *Mzilikazi*, son of *Mbambo*, of the Hlongwane family.

Others are at *Mdumbi* in Kumandeni location, Ngqeleni district, under the Mpondo headman *Nombekile*.

Others are at *Nkanga* in Libode district under the Mpondo headman *Manga*.

Others are at *Ndlankomo* in Libode district under the Mpondo headman *Dlithamba*.

Besides the sons of *Masumpa* already mentioned, I also know of *Mkhumbeli* and *Mnguni* and a daughter called *Nomagenge*."

504 The following genuine Ngwane family names were mentioned as being still represented amongst them, though there are probably some more:—*imiHlungu*, *amaNana* or *amaNdaba*,¹ *Xoba*, *Zondo*, *Goza*, *Goli*, *Ntlangothi*, *Mdluli*, *Gumede*, *Mazibuko*, *Khoza*, *Ntshali*, *Soka*, *Ngali*.

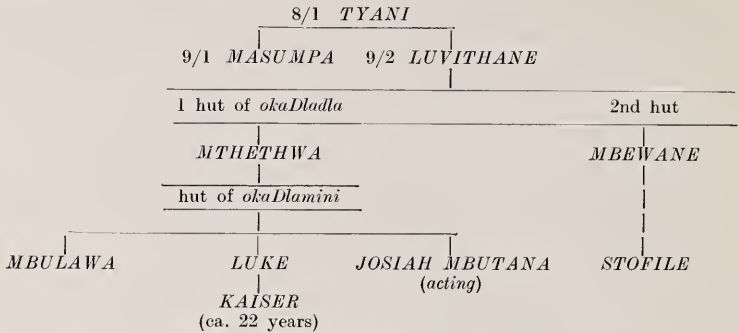
Though *Mphayise* subjected himself to *Faku*, the latter granted him the right to retain all tribute (*izizi*) for himself. This privilege is still enjoyed by this section today.

3. Qumbu district

505 A number of the *amaNgwane* occupy the Gqunu location in Qumbu district, under their acting headman Josiah Mbutana. They were interviewed by me in February 1938. Their principal informant Stofile stated:—

¹ it is noteworthy that here, as everywhere else amongst the *amaNgwane* both in Natal and in the Transkei, members of this family are the sole guardians of the chief's person and his medicines.

“ We are related to *Matiwane* as follows:—



506 *Luvithane* was born on the White Mfolozi, his regiment was the *iNsimbi*, he was killed by the *abeSuthu* when marching back to Natal with *Matiwane* after the battle of *Mbholompo*. His son *Mthethwa* was also born on the White Mfolozi, he also belonged to the *iNsimbi* regiment but he remained in the Transkei and died in the present Gqunu location. His son *Mbewane* was also born on the White Mfolozi but was still a baby in arms when the tribe was driven out by *Shaka*. At the battle of *Mbholompo* he was about 12–13 years old and too young to fight.

507 I got most of my information from my uncle *Mthethwa*. I have never been on the battle-field. I know of no battle against Europeans except that at *Mbholompo*, I know nothing about fighting on the *Ngxule* ridge. The *amaNgwane* sought refuge in the forests, the Europeans came but did not parley, they simply attacked us. I know nothing about fire in the forests. We did not know horses well, though we had seen them before, we called them *inkomo kaHanga* or *Haka*, or *injomane*.

508 I have not heard of a separate attack on *Bheje*. He was not a brother of *Matiwane*, but a son of *Mdazana* and so a sort of cousin to *Matiwane*. Of *Khondlo* I know only that his eldest son *Makhetha* lived in Butterworth district, and becoming discontented, came to Qumbu and eventually went further towards Natal, leaving no trace.”

509 Another informant said he had heard from one *Ntloko*, son of *Madikane* son of *Nkovu* (*Goza*), the last named having fought at *Mbholompo*, that the Europeans poured paraffin over the forests and set them alight. The name *imFacane* or *imFecane* was given to the *amaNgwane* by the other tribes, being derived from *ukufaca* “to go about robbing and killing people.”

510 The following true Ngwane izibongo are represented in the Gqunu location: *Hlongwane*, *Goza*, *Zondo*, *Mhlungu*, *Khoza*, *Mdluli*, or *Nana* (*isithakazelo*). *Ndaba* (*Nana*) is not represented here.

4. Umtata district

(a) Enoch Bhamu.

511 The magistrate of Umtata was good enough to obtain, in January 1938, a statement from one Enoch Bhamu, who lives at *Mbholompo*. The substance of this statement, together with what he told me in an interview in February, 1938, may be summarised as follows:—

512 “ My name is Enoeh Bhamu, I am about 72 years old, my father was *Mahlelekenjane*, son of *Bhamu* of *Bala* of *Diba* of *Nungwane*, our family name is *Hlongwane*. I was born in *Kobodi* location, *Butterworth* district. My mother was *okaSokupha Dlangisa*, a *Hlubi* woman, born in *Peddie* district. My father *Mahlelekenjane* was born on the *Mfolozi* river in *Zululand*,² and fought under *Matiwane*, the chief of our tribe. He used to relate to me the story of what happened when *Matiwane*'s men were defeated by the European soldiers on the *Ngxule* ridge near the *Umtata* town.

513 The battle took place above the mimosa bush there. *Matiwane* himself lived in *Mbholompo* location. He had spies who watched enemies in turns. One of them reported one day that he had seen white people at a spot he indicated (*Umtata*). *Matiwane* gave orders that the men should go and tell them to go away. They went back and reported this. *Matiwane* ordered them to drive those people away. They returned this time ready to fight, but before they could reach the white people, many of them were shot down and they had to flee. The fighting started on the *Ngxule* ridge, then they came this way and crossed the *Cicirane* stream. The one part fled in to the *Khambi* forest, which was set alight by field gun fire, they climbed over the mountains and went round towards the *Waka* forest, where their comrades were and that forest was also set on fire by the guns. I think all this happened on one day but am not sure.

514 There were only a few survivors, one of whom was my father. *Matiwane*, after learning the position, fled into *Basutoland*, and thence back to the *Tugela* where he eventually died. A few men that survived, including my father, went to serve as herdboys in *Gcalekaland*. After some time the Europeans came and took the *amaNgwane* that were in *Gcalekaland* to the *Ciskei* and later they were taken back to *Fingoland*. My father was amongst these, and settled in *Kobodi* location, *Butterworth* district, where I was born.”

(b) *Tsono Dwenga*.

515 *Tsono*, son of *Dwenga*, a *Zizi*, aged about 65, lives at *Mbholompo*, and states that he has heard about the battle from one *Matita Jama* who also knew things only from hearsay, but was an old man when informant was a youth. The fighting between *Matiwane* and the colonial forces began on the *Ngxule* ridge, northwest of *Umtata* town, and continued as the *amaNgwane* retired

² this is hard to believe, but informant is quite definite that he is not confusing his grandfather with his father.

towards *Mbholompo*. *Matiwane* and some of his people finally hid in the *Waka* forest, which was set alight by the field guns. When these were first heard, the *amaNgwane* thought it was dogs barking.

516 The *amaNgwane* had been in occupation of all the ground below *Waka*, and further east towards the *Khambi* forest. Near the local headman's place and lower down, he and his playmates were shown hearth stones (*amaseko*) which they were told had been those of the *amaNgwane*. They never saw any hearths nor heard about spears, bones or other relics of the fight having been found.

(c) Walter Khela.

517 Walter Khela, headman at *Qweqwe*, about 10 miles from Umtata on the Butterworth road, aged between 60-70, states:—"I am the son of *Mqalekiso* of *Mavithi* of *Khela* of *Sijwana* of *Mlilo*. Our family name is *Donsa*, our tribe was the *Hlubi* of *Bhungane*. *Khela* was killed by the *amaZotsho* whilst the tribe still dwelt across the Tugela. *Mavithi* was born at *Endumeni* (the hill near Dundee?), the tribe was attacked, probably by *Shaka* and broken up, *Mavithi* as a lad together with other tribesmen sought refuge with *Matiwane*, chief of the *amaNgwane*. He accompanied *Matiwane* everywhere until they reached *Mbholompo*, where *Mavithi* took part in the fighting against the English. He told me about this himself.

518 He told me that he was stationed near the *Khambi* forest when the fighting began. They heard the dogs barking, meaning the guns (whether rifles or field guns I cannot say) and many fell dead, then they were attacked by the *Thembu*, and one of them pursued him, but he reached the safety of the forest. I never heard anything about fighting on the *Ngxule* ridge or anywhere else, nor that any forest was set on fire.

519 *Mavithi* and those who had escaped then rejoined the others, they went along with *Matiwane* for a bit but then decided they would not return to Zululand with him. So *Mavithi* subjected himself to *Faku* and later came here to *Qweqwe*, where he became a subject of the *Thembu* chief and died here. For a long time it was an offence to speak of the battle of *Mbholompo* and of the *amaNgwane*, because the latter had worsted the *Thembu* before being driven out by the Europeans, and it was painful to the *Thembu* to be reminded of this fact."

CHAPTER 28

Chief Vasha's tribe, Bulwer district

520 The origin of this tribe has been referred to in Chapter 15. Their version of the genealogy of their chiefs is given in §451.

They say their first chiefs lived between the Black and White Mfolozi. They still remember a fair amount regarding *Matiwane*.

The wife of *Masumpa* who was the mother of *Mkhumbeli* was *okaZondo* or *MaZondo*. They mostly say *Mkhumbeni* instead of *Mkhumbeli*. His wives and issue they give as follows:—

521 10/1 MKHUMBELI

Wife	<i>isi bongo</i>	Issue
<i>MaKhweba</i>		WAKA NDOLOMANE
<i>MaMatekeza</i>		MJELE GEBHU
<i>MaNkonyana</i>	<i>Duma</i>	MBONJWANA @ MBONDWANA
<i>MaGunuza</i>		JOZANA
<i>MaNqandela</i>	<i>Ndaba @ Sithole</i>	MBONI PHUSHA

522 11/7 MBONI

Wife	<i>isi bongo</i>	Issue
<i>MaGcamugcamu</i>	<i>Ngcobo</i>	MAGWEGWANA THENDE NGCASINI BUDODA SIMINYANE
<i>MaM bangwana</i>	<i>Zaca</i>	MPHOSWA MBAXA NCWATSHANA JOVU
<i>MaNomaqheba</i>	<i>Sikhakhane</i>	Nokopholo
<i>MaBhidane</i>	<i>Cele</i>	MTSHONONO
?	<i>Mkhize</i>	No issue

Wife	<i>isi bongo</i>	Issue
<i>MaMango</i>	<i>Hadebe</i>	<i>VASHA</i> <i>FOLO</i>
<i>MaNgogo</i>	<i>Chule</i>	<i>KHOSELA</i> <i>PHEZULU</i> <i>MJONGO</i>
<i>MaMbayimbayi</i>	<i>Sibiya</i>	<i>MADAKA</i> <i>MASENGA</i> <i>Fuzephi</i>
<i>MaNomaqheba</i>	<i>Sikhakhane</i>	No issue to <i>Thende</i>
<i>MaNyoni</i>	<i>Mthembu</i>	No issue to <i>Thende</i>

524 After the death of *Mboni* there was rivalry about the chieftainship between *Magwegwana* and *Mphoswa*. The Government intervened and installed the former, but he died very soon without issue, and so *Thende* became chief in his stead. He died in September 1929, and was succeeded by his son *Vasha*.

CHAPTER 29

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