

SOME CURRENT MANIFESTATIONS OF EARLY MFENGU HISTORY

by

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In his recent paper on the Transkei, Morris Szeftel suggested that one of the major objectives of "separate development" and the "Bantustan" policy is the transference of conflict from urban centres to the rural homelands. (1) This conflict would manifest itself in both inter- and intra-tribal hostilities rather than in the traditional black-white antagonisms. In the course of my recent field research in the Ciskei and the Transkei, I encountered numerous examples of how this policy is proving effective. When I began my research the only contemporary question I had intended to ask related to the teaching of Mfengu-Xhosa history in schools. However, many of the men who were recommended as potentially useful informants were active in politics, and they gave unsolicited testimony as to how the early history of the conflict between Xhosa and Mfengu is being resurrected to accomplish political ends. They also described how some white officials utilize public addresses to pour oil on the fires of "tribal" resentment. My own topic is the history of the Mfengu from their inception as an identifiable people, approximately 1815, until 1860. As oral traditions were more easily found for this period in the Ciskei than in the Transkei, a greater percentage of time was spent there. Current ramifications of the traditional Xhosa-Mfengu hostility, coincidentally, are most pronounced in the Ciskei. Interviews were not limited to Mfengu informants but included as well representatives of both the Ciskei and Transkei Xhosa, the Thembu, Pondo, and Mpondomise.

It will be recalled that in the South African context, particularly the Eastern Cape, the Mfengu people have historically been characterized as the great collaborators. The assistance they gave the invading and occupying British in four frontier wars (2) has far overshadowed that of large groupings of Xhosa and Thembu people who have aided the British in a similar manner. The Mfengu originally resided in Natal as several separate and distinct chiefdoms. (3) With the emergence of Shaka, first as a military figure and then as a political leader, a state of turmoil developed which is referred to as the Mfecane. (4) It lasted for almost twenty years, during which time a great many peoples abandoned their homes and moved great distances from Natal. Shaka himself attacked few of those people who came to be known as the Mfengu. Rather, the Ndwane of Matiwane and the people who

came to comprise the Mfengu fought amongst themselves. The general atmosphere of conflict motivated some to leave Natal prior to actual involvement, while many others left as a result of battles with each other. All left in a state of social disruption, with few worldly goods and minimal food supplies. As the refugees filtered southwards, they encountered representatives of various chiefdoms and are said to have initiated communication with the word "siyamfenguza". From this word, which literally means "we are hungry and seeking shelter", the name Mfengu emerged.

As the Mfengu gradually moved south, groups and individuals settled amongst the various chiefdoms. Though some went as far as the Zuurveld in the Ciskei, the greatest number settled with Hintsa, Paramount Chief of all the Xhosa people, in Gcalekaland. All of the people with whom the Mfengu chose to reside provided them with food and shelter and gave them an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves through work. In 1826, the Wesleyan missionaries established a station at Gcuwa (Butterworth), which was Hintsa's Great Place. During the first five years of the station's existence, the missionary William Shrewsbury had virtually no success with any of the local population. In 1831 he was replaced by John Ayliff, who began to develop a rapport with some of the Mfengu. Unable to understand the true structure of Xhosa society and wanting to justify his failure amongst the Gcaleka people, he interpreted the menial positions held by some Mfengu as evidence of slavery. With the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War in 1834, Ayliff attempted to secure the non-involvement of the Mfengu people. He caused several headmen to petition Governor D'Urban for liberation, and with his assistance it was granted. D'Urban, in addition to capitalizing upon the liberation aspect of this action, also saw the Mfengu as a potentially useful labour supply. (5) When war reached the Transkei, some Mfengu rapidly allied themselves with the British while others remained content to stay with the Gcaleka. The British, believing all were in bondage, began a "round-up" of Mfengu and moved 17,000 into the Ciskei. (6) These Mfengu were encouraged to bring with them the cattle of the Gcaleka as well as their own. (7) Some Mfengu were inducted into the British army, and thus an alliance began that was to last for forty-five years. Once in the Ciskei, the Mfengu were located on the lands of Xhosa who had been removed in the course of the war, and there emerged a hostility far exceeding that which the Transkei Xhosa held towards the Mfengu.

Documentary evidence relating to this period provided sufficient material to assist in the formulation of questions for oral research. The question of Mfengu enslavement and torture at the hands of Gcaleka is frequently raised and opinion is split. Some observers rightly concluded that enslavement was non-existent and that, in fact, the Mfengu had had more freedom amongst the Xhosa for whom they had worked than they did amongst the colonists after their "liberation". No specific mention is made in the literature of tortures (8), though occasionally references can be found to Mfengu who had been "smelled out" and lost their cattle. Written evidence indicates that some Mfengu remained in the Transkei, suggesting that relationships between Gcaleka and Mfengu could not have been all bad. In fact, Governor D'Urban was infuriated when he learned that John Ayliff, the self-styled liberator of the Mfengu, was returning to Butterworth with upwards of two hundred Mfengu. (9) How would it look in London if these liberated slaves voluntarily returned to live amongst their former masters? Records also indicate that Mfengu who lived amongst the Ciskei Xhosa

prior to this mass evacuation remained with their hosts and invited numerous newcomers to join them. (10) Thus, in spite of overt hostilities between Mfengu and Ciskei Xhosa, some remained at peace, and evidence exists that Mfengu headmen were often on friendly enough terms with Xhosa chiefs to contemplate defecting to them when frustration and hostility towards the British reached unresolvable heights. (11) Some records suggest there was sufficient unity amongst the Mfengu to justify recognition of them as a separate nation, while other sources characterized them as being at continual odds with one another. (12) It is this question of the separateness of the Mfengu which has facilitated the rivalry between them and the Xhosa to this day. This rivalry continued even after the British ceased treating the Mfengu as allies and categorized them along with the Xhosa as peoples to be disarmed and controlled.

Some mention must be made as to who the Mfengu are today and where they can be found. Having come from Natal originally and passed through the entirety of the Transkei, the Mfengu can be found in greater or lesser numbers throughout every section of the Transkei and the Ciskei, as well as in most of the remainder of the Eastern Cape. As a result of their early acceptance of education and their willingness to enter the modern sectors of the economy, they can also be found in most of the major urban centres of South Africa. Today, the definition of an Mfengu can vary greatly. In the narrowest sense, some view the Mfengu as those people who settled with Hintsa and were then removed into the Ciskei. (13) From an historic standpoint, many of the activities which characterize Mfengu history up to the 1860s revolve about this group. On the other hand, one could say that anyone who left Natal and had to seek a home somewhere in the Transkei was an Mfengu. When questioning the people I encountered, it seemed as though an Mfengu might be any person who chose to identify himself as such, or any person so recognized. (14) This elusive definition allows an Mfengu to identify with the people amongst whom he lives when it is to his advantage, but it also allows their hosts to dissociate themselves from this individual when it is to their advantage.

Questioning Mfengu on Xhosa-Mfengu historic relations more often than not revealed a minimization of points of conflict. For example, the majority of the men interviewed acknowledged that the Mfengu were never slaves to the Xhosa, saying that Hintsa always treated them well and enabled them to recover from their travels and become wealthy again. When he heard of Mfengu being ill-treated, he put an end to it, having no desire to see the Mfengu injured. While the Mfengu could wax eloquent on the saga of their travels brought about by the Mfecane, they could often say little more about the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars than that they had participated. With respect to the Ninth and last Frontier War, numerous stories are known, and the geographic area involved is greatly expanded as the initial conflict of the war began in the Transkei at a beer-drink attended by both Mfengu and Xhosa. With respect to the cattle-killing tragedy of 1856-7, few stories were known about Mfengu participation or reaction. However, those Mfengu questioned exhibited great compassion and sympathy for the Xhosa and, like the Xhosa, now believe that this disaster was inspired by the whites rather than being a purely Xhosa phenomenon.

As intriguing as these views, which have undoubtedly undergone some alteration with the passage of time, is a rebirth of interest in early histories brought about as a result of the political

policy of "separate development". This upsurge of historical inquiry has had an unusual impact in that it enables individuals to capitalize upon mythical or exaggerated stories while at the same time they acknowledge the truth of accounts which are often quite contrary. "Separate development", with its "pseudo-cultural" overtones, has caused a great problem for the Mfengu because it relies heavily on the institution of the "chief" along with other aspects of "tribalism". The Transkei Legislative Assembly has 64 seats assigned to chiefs and 45 to elected representatives, and, as Morris Szeftel explained, the 1968 election saw candidates supported by the chiefs returned in far greater numbers than in 1963. (15) It thus became obvious that the Mfengu who had moved away from the institution of chieftaincy and had few recognized chiefs had been placed at a distinct disadvantage. They were, in effect, cut off from effective political representation. For many Mfengu who had long been involved in Cape African politics, this situation was intolerable.

The government attempted to rectify matters by surveying the Ciskei and the Transkei and upgrading individuals who had claims to hereditary positions as chiefs and headmen, but this effort created almost as many problems as it solved. (16) Few true chiefs survived the Mfecane, and for this reason the institution of the chief has withered amongst the Mfengu. Many people resented the re-establishment of this dead institution. In other instances competition began amongst individuals who felt they had a legitimate claim to be recognized as chiefs. Additional difficulties occurred when it was discovered that some of the legitimate claimants to chieftaincies held political views which were antithetical to those of the government. Their non-compliance led to hostilities which in several cases resulted in assassination. (17) For the most part, the government came to rely upon the records of John Ayliff and the early government agents to identify individuals whose ancestors had been chiefs. In the Transkei a great problem arose in the minds of some Mfengu because a disproportionately small number of chiefs were recognized though it was known to all that there were as many Mfengu in the Transkei as there were members of other larger and better represented chiefdoms. Many individual Mfengu had lived for over a century as Xhosa, Thembu, Pondo, etc., but they were still Mfengu and were thus deprived of representation. One informant told me that Prime Minister Matanzima had expressed the opinion that the Mfengu deserved more seats in the legislature and that several more Paramount Chiefs should be designated for them. (18) Matanzima suggested that some of these chieftaincies should go to individuals whose families had been prominent amongst the Mfengu, rather than to individuals with hereditary claims. Were this to take place, it would no doubt generate hostility on the part of the other Xhosa-speaking peoples, who might feel their representation had been diminished, while the Mfengu would resent this imposition of non-hereditary chiefs. Conflicts would also be likely between supporters of the various contenders for these positions.

In the Ciskei, the Xhosa-speaking population is split almost equally between Mfengu and true Xhosa, with possibly slightly more Mfengu. This near parity has long created animosity in the political arena. The conflict between John Tengo Jabavu (19), an Mfengu, and W. R. Rubusana (20), a Xhosa, which reached its climax in the 1914 election for representation in the Cape Provisional Council, is well known. Jabavu drew just enough votes away from the incumbent, Rubusana, to allow a white man a narrow victory. (21) I was told by Mr. R. Kakanna

of an incident that occurred in the 1940s but which was similar to many others of which he had personal knowledge. In campaigns for the Native Representative Council, frequently an Mfengu would contest a seat with a true Xhosa. Circumstances had it that D. D. T. Jabavu (22), an Mfengu, would speak in favour of the Mfengu, while S. E. K. Mqhayi (23), a Xhosa, would support the Xhosa. Mqhayi was an adept linguist, and when Jabavu used, on one occasion, a single word that was "Zulu" in origin, the incident was used to discredit Jabavu as a man who is still a "Zulu" at heart. (24) The Mfengu, having come originally from Natal, have words in their basically Xhosa dialect which are very close to Zulu words, and some of these words have continued in usage though a century and half have elapsed since the Mfecane. This appeal to inter-tribal distrust may have had some effect, as the Xhosa won the contested seat.

In 1961, a similar incident occurred in the Ciskei which had a profound impact on Mfengu politics. S. B. Ncamashe, a disciple of Mqhayi, made a speech in which he referred to the ancestry of the Rharhabe Xhosa chief of the time, Archie "Velile" Sandile. He recounted the familiar story that "Velile" had an Mfengu grandmother, but dismissed it as impossible, saying that no Xhosa chief would stoop so low as to marry an Mfengu. This speech caused a great outcry amongst the Mfengu, particularly when no apology was forthcoming, and in 1968 served as the motivation for a document which has come to be known as the "Fingo Manifesto". This document, which was submitted in the form of a petition to the Bantu Affairs Department, called for an independent chieftaincy for the Mfengu, citing historical and ethnographic evidence attesting to the differences between Xhosa and Mfengu. However, it relied primarily upon the above insult in stating that, with the emergence of "separate development", the Mfengu could neither trust nor rely upon a Xhosa to represent them in a government. The petition was accepted by the government, and Hans Abraham, who is charged with the responsibility for administering the Xhosa-speaking people, was directed to act upon it. It seems he took this directive to heart, as he chose for the topic of his speech at the 1969 Fingo Day celebration the past injustices and hostilities practised upon the Mfengu by the Xhosa. (25)

Re-establishment of the chieftainship with renewed powers has created resentment and hostility in purely Mfengu circles. Brothers and cousins competed for senior positions with resulting faction fights and violence. An area which is still embroiled in a conflict is the Peddie District, the original home of the Mfengu in the Ciskei, where the prominent chiefly family are the Njokwenis. (26) The original Njokweni was not a chief but merely a counsellor (27), although he came to be accepted as a chief by Hintsa, John Ayliff and, ultimately, the British. When the Mfengu arrived amongst the Gcaleka, they feared that their senior chiefs might be put to death as a precaution against intrigue and insurrection. Thus, whenever the Mfengu were asked during their travels who their chief was, they would always identify a different man. Njokweni was identified to Hintsa as the chief, and, instead of harm befalling him, Hintsa acknowledged him, gave him land, cattle, and a cousin/daughter in marriage. This display of good faith provided enough security for the true headmen to emerge, but Njokweni continued on as a chief and was respected for his original act of bravery. A question arose after his death as to who was the senior of his many wives. Three sons inherited power, but to this day it is not agreed which was the true chief. In the early 1960s this dispute led to the assassination

of one of the current Njokweni chieftains. It is rumoured now, however, that the Njokwenis have reached a decision amongst themselves as to who is to be considered senior.

To compound this particular intrigue, it is also said that the government is desirous of creating three Mfengu paramountcies in the Ciskei, just as there are three in the Transkei. Little question exists but that Chief Mabanhla of the Bhele will be paramount for his people and that Chief C. Mhlambiso will serve for the Hlubi, but it is not certain who will serve the Zizi. All informants agreed that the senior Zizi family in the Ciskei were the Wulanas, who reside at Keiskammahoek. Some men went further, however, and told me that the current Wulana chief was unacceptable to the government and that efforts were under way to remove him from office. Should these efforts succeed, it would enable the government to appoint an Njokweni as Zizi Paramount. Though not a truly hereditary family, as indicated earlier, they are well known and acknowledged by most Zizis as chiefs.

Other similar stories are to be heard, though none as controversial or well known. Presently the most senior Mfengu chief is J. Mabanhla, a Bhele whose territory is in the Alice district. Some individuals claim that there are other unrecognized chiefs amongst the Mfengu who are senior to Mabanhla. Though documented efforts have been undertaken to secure one chieftaincy in particular, so far they have been frustrated, the reason being that the emergence of new and major chiefs would alter power relationships and possibly necessitate a realignment of territorial control. A Hlubi, W. K. Mnyanda, resides in an area controlled by a Xhosa chief. The Ethnology Department genealogy lists him in a senior line, but he is not recognized as a chief. (28) Should he be so recognized, he would receive powers and probably more lands, and the Xhosa would then want the land balance redressed, any change in land control probably occurring at the expense of Chief Mabanhla. Another case involves Nqwiliso Tyali, grandson of Tyali, who was a major son of Ngqika, Paramount Chief of the Rharhabe Xhosa. His ancestors, along with those of Maqoma, another of Ngqika's sons, were denied the chieftaincy because of their continuing hostility towards the British. Should efforts to have him recognized succeed, he would be given land and a chief's powers. As he resides on land contiguous to that of Mabanhla and his grandfather's territory coincides with that of Mabanhla, recognition of Nqwiliso as a chief could result in a substantial loss of land for Mabanhla's chiefdom. It is unlikely, however, that this man would be recognized unless Mnyanda were recognized as well. As might be expected, Mabanhla is actively working to ensure that these changes do not take place.

S. T. Bokwe (29), who is directing this campaign for the return of recognition to the Tyali descendant, relies not only upon lineage but presents an additional historic argument. He points out that the Ngqika assisted the British in battle, ceded large areas of territory to them, welcomed the missionaries, giving them land for churches and schools, and have been wrongly vilified as rejecting Christianity when, in fact, a great many Ngqika had accepted it. Thus he claims recognition of this legitimate heir as redress for past injustices.

Just as Bokwe has looked back upon history as an argument for the reassignment of land from Mfengu to Xhosa, other Xhosa have drawn upon early histories as a justification for the maintenance of

the Xhosa in a position of chiefly superiority. I heard stories of how the Gcaleka welcomed the Mfengu, how Hintsa accepted them as his own children, and how the Mfengu were rehabilitated through grants of land and cattle and intermarriage. Though some Gcaleka did mistreat the Mfengu, Hintsa punished such offenders and compensated the victims. I was told that Hintsa was attempting to reassure the Mfengu that they had a home with the Gcaleka just when the British army forcibly moved them out of the Transkei and encouraged the stealing of Gcaleka cattle. (30) Once in the Ciskei, the Mfengu, though outwardly allied with the British, frequently warned the Xhosa of impending attacks, and if a Xhosa village was pillaged, the inhabitants were always fed by friendly Mfengu who lived close by. I was even told that just prior to his death Sandile, paramount chief of the Ciskei Xhosa, was warned by the Mfengu to flee, but, owing to drunkenness, remained and was killed. (31) These actions and the numerous occasions on which the Mfengu hailed the Xhosa Paramount Chief were considered to be adequate acknowledgement that the Mfengu recognized the Xhosa's Paramount as their leader. (32)

Two organizations exist today which direct the nationalist manifestations of the Ciskei Xhosa and the Mfengu peoples. Amongst the Xhosa people the Ntsikana Day Committee occupies this position, while amongst the Mfengu it is the Fingo Day Celebration Committee. Ntsikana is considered by the Xhosa to be the first of their people to convert to Christianity. He was a prophet, poet and counsellor to Ngqika, and in Xhosa eyes is considered to be a saint. He is also acknowledged as such by many Mfengu. A celebration is held yearly which was ostensibly designed as an annual rededication of the Xhosa-speaking people to Christian principles. Its guiding committee, however, is composed of activist Xhosa political figures. (33) The Fingo Day Celebration Committee predates this group. On May 14, 1835, the Mfengu were said to have taken a pledge under a milkwood tree just outside of Peddie whereby they agreed to educate their children, worship God, and remain loyal to the British. The first recorded celebration of this event was held in 1907. Prominent Mfengu had been petitioning the British for a separate and independent position amongst the Xhosa and organized the first celebration as a means of demonstrating their continued loyalty to the British and their adherence to the "three promises". In the book Ityala lama Wele by S. E. K. Mqhayi, published in 1914, it is claimed that the Xhosa at that time believed that Fingo Day was really a celebration commemorating the death of Hintsa, the former benefactor of the Mfengu, whom they had come to hate. (34) The organizing committee for this celebration in the Ciskei provided the working committee which drafted the "Fingo Manifesto" in 1968. Today, members of this Fingo Day committee hold well placed positions in Ciskei politics. Chief Mabanhla is the chief executive of the Ciskei Territorial Authority, P. G. Stamper is Director of Cultural Affairs in the Ciskei, and M. D. S. Mbatani is President of all the Ciskei Mfengu. (35)

Just as some men have selectively drawn upon historical events to provide a rationale for political activities, others have utilized similar means for the opposite purpose of reconciling the various Xhosa and Mfengu peoples by removing points of overt conflict in discussing historical events. For example, the Rev. J. J. R. Jolobe (36), a well known poet, has written a poem about the Mfecane. He describes the heroic efforts of the Mfengu to survive and indicates how Hintsa helped to rehabilitate them. But he passes over the circumstances that brought the Mfengu to the Ciskei and states that it was Magoma, perhaps

the most recalcitrant of the Xhosa, who gave Healdtown location to the Mfengu. He concludes with a call for all to renew their dedication to work and God, just as the Mfengu did at Healdtown. This poem disregards entirely the role of the British in bringing the Mfengu into the Ciskei, and the hostility that resulted between Mfengu and Xhosa. John Ayliff is mentioned only as the founder of Healdtown. Magoma, whose people were driven from Healdtown by the British with Mfengu assistance, is pictured as having given the Mfengu land and shown them the location of a perennial stream. While a poet is allowed some licence, Jolobe's writings are accepted as historical fact by many people. For example, when inquiring about the rivalry between Ngqika and Ndhlambe, his uncle, over the woman Thuthula, I was directed several times to read Jolobe's epic poem on that topic. (37) Yet Jolobe himself admits to using poetic licence in the treatment of history in this and other poems.

Less well read men related stories in a similar vein. One accounted for the movement of the Mfengu from the Transkei into the Ciskei as a result of personal negotiations between Hintsa and Ngqika. This naive view did not take cognizance of the Sixth Frontier War, the fact that Ngqika was dead for at least six years before the movement of Mfengu took place, or the existence of a personal hostility between Hintsa and Ngqika that would most likely have precluded such negotiations. The man who related this story was a Gqunukwehbe, and their position as collaborators, on occasion, might account for his having grown up hearing stories which glossed over the rivalries between the Xhosa-speaking peoples. (38)

This kind of reconciliation has had a prominent place in the Ciskei, as many politicians in the past have called upon the Xhosa and Mfengu to put aside their hostility and unite for the good of all. In Imbumba yama Nyama (39), even D. D. T. Jabavu went so far as to write that the Mfengu had been subordinate to Xhosa chiefs in the Ciskei and that he considered himself to be a Xhosa. One can only imagine the impact this comment might have had as both D. D. T. and his father, John Tengo, were viewed by the Xhosa as outspoken advocates for the Mfengu.

With all of the political and other reasons presented for finding inaccuracies in the historical accounts, one might wonder if there is any value in doing oral research. There is none the less much useful information to be obtained in this way. First of all, I must indicate that I did encounter several men recognized as authoritative story-tellers, who gave accounts that were informative and which I have no reason to question. Obviously, historical accuracy in these cases cannot be proved, but it can be assessed objectively and utilized to increase knowledge about the events described. Furthermore, even though much historical information has been lost through the years, it is still possible to learn much about cultural traditions which can be useful in understanding historical events and evaluating various hypotheses. Genealogical knowledge, more readily available than historical knowledge, can also be helpful in piecing together historical patterns and sequences. Historical information of a more precise and complete nature is available for more recent periods than my own, extending as far back as the last Frontier War of 1877-79, in the form of personal accounts received from immediate ancestors.

Notes

- (1) Morris Szeftel, "The Transkei: Conflict and Externalization and Black Exclusivism". See previous paper.
- (2) The Sixth Frontier War 1834-5, the Seventh Frontier War 1946-7, and the Eighth Frontier War 1850-3.
- (3) The three predominant clans amongst the Mfengu are the Bhele, the Hlubi and the Zizi. There are several smaller clans considered to be Mfengu as well; amongst these are the Ngwane, the Thembu-Qudeni and the Zothso.
- (4) The exact meaning of the Mfecane is "the Clubbing".
- (5) C.O. 48 No. 166, p. 200. C.O. 48 No. 167, p. 58. Government Order May 3, 1835. Ayliff and Whiteside, The History of the Abambo, p. 30.
- (6) Col. H. Somerset, the officer in charge of the Mfengu evacuation, instructed several men to count the Mfengu while the party moved through a narrow pass. The figures they reported were 2000 men, 5600 women, and 9200 children.
- (7) Oral testimony of many informants. John Ayliff expressed regret in his diary that the Mfengu took cattle that were not their own.
- (8) S. E. K. Mqhayi, Ityala Lama Wele, Lovedale Press, 1914, revised 1931, pp. 63-66.
- (9) Cory Library MS 2035, p. 594, 25 March 1836. These are a large collection of letters, mostly private, which G. Theal collected from relatives of Benjamin D'Urban. He attempted to have them published but the Union government refused. There is a typescript copy in the SAPL and a handwritten copy in the Cory library which Theal gave to George Cory.
- (10) D'Urban Papers, 5 September 1837, Acc. 519, SAPL.
- (11) Report of H. Calderwood, Special Commissioner to inquire into present state of the Fingo Locations on the Eastern Frontier, 22 January 1855, p. 3.
- (12) L.G. 407, p. 32, 7 January 1841; L.G. 450, p. 18, 12 March 1845; L.G. 450, pp. 88-90, 15 April 1845.
- (13) Conversation with Prof. W. D. Hammond-Tooke, Professor of Social Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand. It was his responsibility while working as an ethnologist for the Department of Bantu Affairs and Development to identify "legitimate" Mfengu chiefs and judge which of the claimants to a chieftainship were senior where several contenders sought recognition.
- (14) This description will be recognized as being very similar to the sociological definition of a Jew. John Ayliff indicates that the Mfengu, owing to their prowess as traders, were often referred to as "the Jews of Kaffirland" by the British traders.

- (15) Morris Szeftel, see note 1.
- (16) Conversation with W. D. Hammond-Tooke.
- (17) I was informed by Zolile Njokweni that his father, Jama, was assassinated as a consequence of the dispute over seniority amongst the three contending Njokweni cousins for the position of senior Zizi Chief at Peddie.
- (18) My informant is a government official in Umtata, and his name must remain confidential.
- (19) John Tengo Jabavu was a noted journalist and politician. He is best known for having started the newspaper "Imvo Zabantsundu", "Opinion of the Black People".
- (20) W. R. Rubusana was a Congregational minister, journalist, and politician. He was the first and only African to sit as a member of the Cape Provisional Council.
- (21) The result of this election was A. B. Payn 1,004, Rubusana 852, Jabavu 294.
- (22) D. D. T. Jabavu was the oldest son of J. T. Javabu. He was a Professor at the SA Native College at Fort Hare, an author, and an active politician.
- (23) S. E. K. Mqhayi was a teacher, author and political activist. He was considered to be the "Imbongi yeSizwe", "Poet of the Nation", by the Xhosa-speaking peoples.
- (24) The word which caused the controversy in this particular case is "afternoon meal". There were three possible words Jabavu could have used: a Xhosa word, a word derived from English that was commonly used by the Mfengu, and the Zulu word he fell back upon when he was unable to recall the Xhosa word.
- (25) I have been informed by a number of individuals that Mr Abraham has given speeches to primarily Xhosa audiences in which he is said to have villified the Mfengu. I had an opportunity to hear a recorded excerpt of Mr Abraham's speech at the 1969 Fingo Day Celebration, but was unable to copy it or take notes. I had been promised an opportunity to record the entire speech by an official of Radio Bantu, but he reneged on the offer.
- (26) The current three Njokweni chiefs are Ndlamshe, Ndaba and Claude.
- (27) Oral testimony from numerous informants, including Ndlamshe Njokweni.
- (28) The genealogy was compiled by Mr A. O. Jackson of the Ethnology Department of the Department of Bantu Affairs and Administration, Pretoria.
- (29) S. T. Bokwe is the son of John Knox Bokwe. He is a retired teacher and businessman. He is also a former secretary to Chief Archie "Velile" Sandile.

- (30) N. C. Melane and others.
- (31) S. B. Ncamashe.
- (32) I. L. Sangotsha.
- (33) This committee includes Messrs. Ncamashe and Sangotsha.
- (34) pp. 112-13, Ityala Lama Wele.
- (35) The other members of the committee were: H. Mnyanda, a senior clerk for the Native Recruiting Corporation. He is the uncle of W. K. Mnyanda, pretender to Hlubi paramountcy. And H. H. Mdledle, a former teacher and currently senior clerk in the Ciskei Territorial Authority. His brother was B. B. Mdledle, a Minister of Education for the Transkei government.
- (36) The Rev. J. J. R. Jolobe is a Hlubi, one of the clans comprising the Mfengu. He is a Presbyterian minister, author, and currently a member of the staff at Fort Hare University which is preparing a new Xhosa-English-Afrikaans dictionary.
- (37) Rev. Jolobe presented me with a copy of his poem "Mfecane", along with his own translation.
- (38) The gentleman who told me this story is an Anglican Catechist. His name will remain confidential to avoid embarrassment.
- (39) D. D. T. Jabavu, Imbumba Yama Nyama, printed by Lovedale for publisher, Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, 1952.