

HAYIYANA KA NDIKILA

8.8.1908

File 35, nbk. 19, pp. 39-61.

Also present: Socwatsha

39 The circumstances under which a portion of Chief Ndube's tribe (Magwaza) was drawn into rebellion in 1906, per Hayiyana ka Ndikila ka Cilo, one of Chief Ndube's *izinduna*, *clan-name Bayi*, of the Ntombela people.

[The following piece read over same day, corrected and checked.]

40 As I remember, it happened like this. Word came in the night that we should arm the next day and go to Emfanaye (Ndube's kraal).¹ We arrived at dawn, in a body, carrying our shields. Ndube ordered the force to make for Kotongweni, for Bambata had crossed there.² We armed and went off. As we were leaving, one of Manqanda's³ police, Mtshudulwana, arrived. The white chief's messenger who came was Mtshudulwana ka Godide ka Ndhlela.

41 So we went off down to Kotongweni, where we spent the night. We slept at the place of the people of Nsungulo ka Ntobolongwana, one of Ndube's chief men. He was on the border of the territories of Ndube and Godide. We were told to sleep there. We said that Ndube had told us to come there so that the army could be sprinkled with medicine by Ndazeni ka Mfuleni of the Dhladhla people. But Ndazeni said, 'No, there is no medicine here, for it is dug up on the mountains in the forests.' We then slept there. At dawn the next day we rose and went off to Nsungulo. (This was on the Monday.) Nsungulo said, 'No, Bambata has passed on. He has headed for Nkandhla. He slept at Godide's. He crossed the river. He took cattle. When he came to the place of the people of Ntshelala ka Godide, he took a beast and slaughtered it for his impi, which consisted of three companies. It has passed on; you have left it behind; you have crossed its path. It is clear that you should return to the umumzane Ndube and tell him that Bambata has moved on.'

42 We then turned about. We passed the place of the people of Ndazeni. They said that Bambata's men had gone by. They had seen them carrying guns and meat of the beast which they had killed. We then returned home to Ndube. We said, 'Weu! We crossed Bambata's path.' It was sunset. Ndube said, 'All right; you may rest.'

That night a policeman arrived with the order for us to take up arms and make for the forest where Bambata now was. It was Fulatelicala ka Fokoti ka Sokufoca who came. So on the same night that we arrived back the order went out that we should arm ourselves there at Emfanaye. We armed as it was getting light on the Tuesday.

We assembled. Ndube said, 'Wo, my people, a policeman has come here with an order for the impi to arm. Bambata is now in the Nkandhla. You must arm and head for Siganda's impi.' It too has been given the alarm and has been ordered to arm.'

So we went off in sections that were deficient in numbers. We arrived and stayed at the Nkunzane,⁵ in Siganda's district, for the sun was setting. At dawn the next day we went up towards the Mome gorge, where Siganda's impi was. (This was the Wednesday.) We got there and formed a circle. Siganda's people said, 'You come here but we haven't seen Bambata. We have searched all the forests here, but we don't see him.' Then we said, 'All right, you must show us the place, and we too shall search. Since it is Siganda's country, we should be told by Siganda where to look, for you say that you have searched right through the forests.' 'We must go and tell Siganda,' his izinduna said. They came back in the afternoon with his instructions that our force should go down to the Nkunzane, where we had spent the previous night, and he would summon us the next day. So we went down again to the Nkunzane.

Then Socwatsha and Mzanywa arrived. They came from Manqanda, to whom Ndube had sent them to report that he had armed his force, but that it was under strength. These men brought instructions that our impi should go down and put up at the Nkunzane; this was an order given by the white chief Mashiqela.⁶ So we went down and put up there. We were told to stay there until the arrival of Mismense,⁷ who was coming with the Nongqayi,⁸ to take charge of operations. Our impi was to stay there and not go home. So we put up there. Socwatsha and Mzanywa went back and reported to Ndube at his home.

In the night, while we were asleep, an order was shouted - a man called out in the darkness - 'To arms, and go up to the top of the hill!' We awoke and asked what was being said. They told us that Siganda had ordered the impi to take up arms; he was going to save Bambata from danger, for the whites had found out where Bambata was. Some of us went out, and assembled above the place where the king is buried.⁹ I told two men to go and report to the umuzane Ndube. They went off. I then called on our people, saying that our force, which was camped, should be summoned and assembled in one spot. They refused, saying that they would not come to us. It was Macala ka Ntobolongwana who spoke. They said, 'We agree with you; it is true that there will be trouble here, but we shall not come.' I said, 'Since they say they will not come, go and tell them that as they have refused, I am not going to go to Bambata as we have been told. I am going back. I am going to Ndube because I have not heard from him that we should fight the whites.' (It was now the Thursday.) I said, 'Ndube has told us to go and search for Bambata, because the white chiefs have ordered us to capture him. I don't know how I could be in a force that intends to go over to Bambata. I was told to capture him.' (Socwatsha: I was told that I should not capture Bambata.) 'I am going back because I don't see my way in this matter. Our house will be destroyed by the whites, and Ndube will then blame us, to whom he entrusted his impi. He will say, "The house has been destroyed because I told you to go and catch Bambata, as the white chiefs ordered." I don't want the house to be destroyed because of me, without Ndube's having told me to join Bambata.'

- 48 So we turned about and went off in the dark. It was dawning as we approached our place. We sat down. A force came out from the direction of our homes. It came and sat down. Then we related what had happened.¹⁰ 'We have returned, as it was said that Bambata should be brought out to us. But we refused, for it was said that Bambata should come to us and that we should join his impi. But we were put off by that, for we had not heard it from our umzumzane Ndube. Now we are telling you too so that you may understand. For we are returning; we shall go back with you to the umzumzane. For we sent messengers to the umzumzane in the night, and the boys who went with
- 49 the message have come back to us with his instructions that we should all return. He did not know that Sigamanda is now at war with the whites. He simply called us to arms with the order to go and look for Bambata, having been told to do so by the white chiefs. But these orders are now countermanded: he says that we should return. He does not want to get involved in this matter. Sigamanda had not told him that Bambata was now there. He¹¹ heard about him from the white chiefs, who had ordered him to arm as Bambata was now in the forest. He¹² sent Gelejana to him¹³ to say that his hands were tied by the white chiefs, who had ordered him to capture Bambata. That is
- 50 how the matter was. Then Maqandeyana (one of Sigamanda's people) came, saying that he had been sent by Sigamanda to Ndube to ask, "Why have you done nothing?" We then said, "When he sent you to say this, did you tell him¹⁴ where Bambata now is? For he had heard it from the white chiefs when they called out his impi, and he sent Gelejana to go and say that his hands were tied by the white chiefs. The umzumzane¹⁵ was not acquainted with this talk when you went to him. He was not acquainted with this talk of Bambata."
- 'As for us, we are returning home; we are not going back again. We are disowning allegiance¹⁶ to him. You people now say that we are
- 51 deserting our chief. I say that when you say so we do not deny that we are abandoning him. For we don't know this person Bambata whom we are abandoning; we don't know what chief he belongs to, what chief you accuse us of deserting. Which chief are we deserting? This question of deserting a chief arose when Cetshwayo died. It was said then that the people were deserting their chief. Today we fail to understand when you say that we are doing the same. Which chief does Bambata belong to? This matter we know from the time of Cetshwayo.'
- So we came back. As we were returning, still others were deserting, going back where we had come out from, there in the
- 52 forest. They were deserting to Sigamanda and Bambata. We returned home to the umzumzane, and told him what I have just related. When we had done this, he said, 'It's all right, for now it will be seen that they are hostile to me, as they no longer listen to my words.'
- He then sent out Mhawu and Sikusa to go and tell Manqanda that his people were deserting and going to the forest. They went out, but came back on finding a force seizing cattle at the store at Sibudeni.¹⁷ They came back without reaching the white chief Manqanda,
- 53 On their return, Msanywa and Bumbana were sent out to try again. They were told to go up the Mhlatuze and report that the men were deserting. They went out, but straightaway returned, reporting that there was no longer a way out as forces were blocking all roads.
- Then it was decided that a message should be sent to Eshowe to report that the umzumzane was cut off. Socwatsha and Mrawu got out

under cover of night and reached Misbozi¹⁸ at Eshowe (for Mashiqela was at M pandhlenti¹⁹). They arrived and related what I have just said,
 54 that Ndube's people were deserting and going to the forest, and that he wanted the white chiefs to know that he was cut off and unsure what to do.

Then these instructions were given: 'He must get away, leaving even his cattle behind. He himself must escape and come here, for the enemy forces have surrounded him and will kill him. We no longer trusted him, for we had heard that he too had deserted and that his people had gone to the forest. Now he must get out. Let him select those of his people who are loyal to him and still follow him, those who have not yet gone to the forest, and tell them that he is now going to get away.'²⁰

When Socwatsha returned, Ndube said, 'I no longer have any
 55 followers, for if I tell a person, he will inform the enemy that I am going to escape to the Government.' He said, 'He who wants to can hear for himself and follow me. The news will at once be told to the enemy. It will become known everywhere that I have gone, and they will follow me.'

He made off in the night, going down the Tukela with his three sons. (It was the Thursday.) By dawn he had got through. A boy came to call me at my home. He found that I was away; I had gone to the store to get some medicine for a child from the white man. He came up, saw me, and beckoned. I ran to him. He said, 'I have been sent
 56 by Ndube. He is now at the place of the Nyawose at his brother's home. He said I should come to tell you that he is travelling alone; that he has escaped and is making for Eshowe.'

I went off with the boy to the place of the Nyawose. When I arrived, Ndube said to me, 'Weu! I am in this condition because I have been driven out by the enemy. I see that they mean to kill me, so I am going to Eshowe.' I answered, 'Magwaza!²¹ I am going to fetch my weapons from my home. I will join you there.' I came home and summoned my people. I said, 'Weu! I have called you to say that
 57 I am going with the umnumzane to Eshowe. When I go, my cattle, together with my womenfolk and children, must make off and follow me.' The children's calabashes were tied up and made ready, and we went off with the children eating. I left and went off to the umnumzane, taking my cloak, shield, and assegai. As I set off, I said to one of my brothers, who was an old man, 'I have told you that I am going with the umnumzane to Eshowe, and not to Bambata. What do you say about it?' He said, 'Yes, I am glad that you are going with the
 58 umnumzane; that is the right thing for a man to do. It is good that men should go apart and not all go to one side.' He said this because he saw that I favoured the Government while he favoured Bambata.

I then went off, saying to him, 'There is no standing apart where you are going, to Bambata's. I see that death will follow, for I saw the whites defeat us when we fought for Cetshwayo.' He said he too would nevertheless go to the forest, where we had said they would die.

I then went off to the umnumzane. I found him where I had left him. We went off to sleep at the place of the people of Ngane ka
 59 Manepu, where they slaughtered a goat for us. Early the next day we got up and went on. When the sun was beginning to get warm, when we

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were at the store, we met the impi of the place of Mfungelwa.²² We went by. They said, 'Where is the impi from the forest? We hear it is "eating up" cattle near Mpondweni²³ at the place of the people of Matanda.' We replied, 'No, we don't know. We haven't heard at all; nor did we hear of the alarm which you say was sounded in the night. We did not hear it.'

60 The umunzane said to me, 'Approach the place they mention; approach by the hill and you will see Mpondweni.' I approached and saw people at Mpondweni, but did not see the impi. We then went on to the kraal of Mfungelwa. As we arrived, my people, who had been following, also arrived, and reported that the cattle had run away. The umunzane said, 'Go back and find out where the cattle are.' The next day we went on to Eshowe. As we were going down to the Ngoje,²⁴ a son of Mapulange arrived from the forest with the report that the impi had 'eaten up' his people's cattle. We took him with us so that it could be reported and written down at Eshowe. We arrived at Eshowe early in the afternoon, at the time when people were coming from their midday meals.

The Ntombela people are an offshoot of the Zulus. Our chiefs are Tayiza ka Mbonambi ka Manjanja ka Nhlambela; Faku ka Ziningo ka Zwana ka (maybe Nhlambela); Lubudhlungu ka Mabamba ka Lukwazi ka Zwana.

We join the Zulu tribe with Zulu ka Mahlobo.

I do not know the origin of the Ntombela name. We originated in Zululand at Mahlabatini. I have never heard of any of our chiefs being kings.

Notes

¹Ndube's district was situated in the angle formed by the confluence of the Nsuze and Thukela rivers, on the south-west fringes of the Nkandla forest.

²Bambatha ka Mancinza was chief of the Zondi living in the Mpanza valley near Greytown. He was a principal figure in the disturbances of 1906. (See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*; Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*; and Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, pp. 72-4.) Khothongweni, a prominent hill overlooking the Thukela some fifteen miles west of the Nkandla forest, lay on one of the routes that Bambatha might have chosen to take when, in April 1906, he fled to the forest to escape the Natal Government forces.

³Manqanda was the Zulu name for B. Colenbrander, magistrate at Nkandla in 1906. See Faye, *Zulu References*, p. 22, and Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 186.

⁴Sigananda ka Zokufa was chief of the Cube people living in the Nkandla district of Zululand.

⁵A small stream running into the Nsuze river from the Nkandla forest.

⁶C.R. Saunders, Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner for Zululand. See Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, p. 124.

⁷Col. G. Mansel, in command of the Zululand police.

⁸The Zululand Native Police.

⁹i.e. the grave of Cetshwayo, who is buried close to the Nkunzana stream.

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¹⁰In the original, the sense of the remainder of this paragraph, and of the paragraph that follows, is obscured by the absence of quotation marks, of paragraphing, and of explicit references to personages. Our edited rendering in translation may therefore be misleading.

¹¹Ndube?

¹²Ndube?

¹³Sigananda?

¹⁴Ndube?

¹⁵Ndube

¹⁶The word *ambuka* used in the original means to 'break one's allegiance to or abandon one's chief', and in the period after the Anglo-Zulu war was 'commonly applied to those of Cetshwayo's people who went over to the southern side of the Umhlatuze to John Dunn and the white people'. (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 6.)

¹⁷East of the Nkandla forest.

¹⁸Presumably Alfred Boast, Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate at Eshowe.

¹⁹The Nkandla magistracy, north of the forest.

²⁰Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, p. 229, gives a slightly different version, according to which Ndube fled to Eshowe after reporting to and receiving instructions from Col. G. Leuchars at Kranskop.

²¹Ndube's clan name.

²²A chief living to the south-east of Ndube's ward who fought on the Natal Government side.

²³A hill near Eshowe on the KwaMondi mission station founded by H.P.S. Schreuder of the Norwegian Mission Society.

²⁴A stream between Schreuder's mission and Eshowe.