"To the Black Women We All Know": Three Women's Contemporary Mobilizations of History in Relation to Questions of Status, Belonging, and Identity in Mpolweni Mission, KwaZulu-Natal[1]

Ayanda Mlungisi Godgive/ Mahlaba / MHLAYA011

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Signature:_____ _____ Date: 14/02/2022

[1] I borrow the title from Kholofelo Maenetsha's novel, *To the Black Women We All Knew* (Cape Town: Modjadji Press, 2014), 1-216. The book explores the realities of Black women in contemporary South Africa – particularly the struggles they face at the hands of their partners.

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Abstract

KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) has a long history of individuals and groups mobilizing the past to make claims in the present. A notable phenomenon that has captured the attention of scholars of contemporary KZN is how formations such as *Ubumbano* – that center around the paternal clan and its ancestry – have been invoking 'pre-Zulu' pasts to claim resources in the form of land, and even recognition of kingship status by the state. Individuals in former mission stations in turn have referenced the prominence of their families' histories in the establishment of mission stations. Clearly, the past has potent usability for numerous actors in this province. Rarely have scholars focused on how different generations of Black women in this province, who have not aligned themselves with any formal structure such as Ubumbano, mobilize their families' histories and for what reasons. Inspired in part to address this gap, this thesis explores the oral historical narrations of three women of three different generations from my maternal family, namely Gogo MaHlubi, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, and Mam Phindile, who are based in Mpolweni Mission. These women are descendants of *amakholwa* and were socialized in a mission context albeit at different times. My analysis of these women's narratives reveals that they mobilize the past to strategically position themselves to lay claims to status, belonging, and identity in Mpolweni Mission. This happens at a time of growing tensions between first-comer descendants (such as the three women) and newcomers, and their contending claims of belonging to Mpolweni. In the process of grappling with their narrations, we learn more about Mpolweni Mission and its complex history from the perspectives of these women. The result of

this is that the history of the area is rendered visible. The oral narratives of these women are not relayed 'oral tradition': they are fluid, imaginative and not patrilineal in nature. This is in stark contrast to the oral sources that are conventionally treated as 'oral tradition' and considered to be passed down from one generation to the other. Moreover, the fluidity of the women's narratives also means that the narrators are aware of the kinds of work the content of their stories can do for them in different contexts. Individually and collectively, these narratives contribute in crafting what we might call a matri-archive. This matri-archive is constantly being made and remade by the women. The thesis shows how women of different generations are producers of history, and that historical production is not only the preserve of a certain generation of women or of men.

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Preface

I have very fond memories of growing up in Mpolweni Mission as a young boy who was born in 1995. One of the things that enriched my childhood was discovering at home and outside of home, that I came from a family of notable figures who occupied prominent roles in the history of Mpolweni. This made me swell with pride whenever my parents, at various moments and occasions, narrated about our families' histories. I recall vividly the day when our primary school principal told a group of friends and me when we were attempting to start a school magazine, that the school, Bathengi Primary School, was named after one of my ancestors, Bathengi Hlubi. The sense of high status that I already had from home was bolstered. When I got to university, I knew at some stage I would have to do the difficult task of excavating the past, and exploring all that had enriched my childhood. This project is partly a realisation of that.

This thesis began as an expedition into finding out more about my family's history after being intrigued by Hlonipha Mokoena's book, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual*. Discovering Fuze in a second-year Introduction to South African Literature course taught by Dr Victoria Collis-Buthelezi, was fateful in so many ways. First, it opened me up to the world of *amakholwa*, which I was not familiar with although as, I was to later discover, I am deeply connected to and entangled with. Second, it exposed me to the history of *kholwa* intellectualism and its contribution to

African nationalist thought and the history of the Black press. These were important facts I had not encountered prior to taking this course. Third and last, it enabled me to elaborate on some of the questions I had started asking my grandmother, mother and mamkhulus in my childhood years. These questions, about our families' history, I pursued more vigorously when I started university.

Now that I look back at what exactly intrigued me about Fuze and his oeuvre, it was his serialized articles in *Ilanga lase Natal* titled, "Sapumapi Thina: Ukuhlazulula Uhlanga", that captured my attention because there Fuze's main interest was to explore what he broadly called Black people's origins. I then tried to apply this enquiry in relation to my Mahlaba and Hlubi families: where did they come from? The world of *amakholwa* seemed to have been a part of my family because Mamkhulu Ntombenhle also taught at Amakholwa High School in Snathing, which is in the Greater Edendale Area, and I had been aware of this ever since I was a child. As I was to discover in the year 2016 when I was applying for my Masters, this school was founded by the *amakholwa* of Edendale. Edendale itself was central in the history of my family as this is where Gogo MaHlubi grew up and where Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's family later relocated to. The pieces of the puzzle were slowly connecting up. I decided to pursue these issues in my MA. The thesis is also a product of a frustration with the abscence of Mpolweni Mission in the historiography of mission stations in KZN. As someone born and bred in the area, I felt the need to modestly fill in this gap.

In essence, the thesis can also be read as an exercise in exploring what Nomalanga Mkhize terms the umbilical connection/umbilical archive, which is the rootedness of

one's existence within the lives of the women from one's maternal family. The women, in narrating about the past and their locations in this past, were doing something significant and I found this extraordinary and worth exploring. The Archive & Public Culture Research Initiative (APC) at the University of Cape Town had to be the home for this research due to its trandisciplinary approach to emergent and existing research.

Notes on orthography and terminology

Impolweni, Impolweni Farm, Impolweni Mission Farm, Empolweni are names that are used in archival material accessed for this research. The names used presently are Mpolweni/ Mpolweni Mission. In the thesis I use these two names interchangeably to refer to the gographic location.

KaMpolweni is the name I have chosen to use for a secondary narrator who asked to remain anonymous. I use this name to emphasize the significant embededness of this narrator in the history of the place.

I have chosen to refer to the women narrators as follows: Gogo MaHlubi instead of Gogo since I have multiple grandmothers and it will be difficult to distinguish who is who in this context if I stick to the general 'Gogo' term. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle is my mother's paternal sister: their fathers are brothers. Since Mamkhulu Ntombenhle is older than my mother, she is Mamkhulu. Mam Phindile was chosen because Phindile is my mother's first name, but I did not want to merely reduce her to my mother as she is also her own person. Moreover, out of respect I also cannot refer to her by first name only. All the women are related to me and this has ultimately shaped the naming that I have chosen to adopt.

In the archival material, sometimes *kolwa* instead of *kholwa* is used. I use the latter and if referring to the plural of it, I use *amakholwa*. I also deploy *kholwa* women and *kholwa* men when referring to either men or women who identified and were classified as

kholwa. In the historiography, the designation Native Christians is also used interchangeably with *kholwa*. However, I stick to *kholwa.*

INTRODUCTION

The historiography on mission stations in the former colony of Natal is extensive. The missions of certain denominations such as the American Board missions, have been studied more than others, which means there are still lacunae concerning the histories of other mission stations. This continues to happen in the context where there has been a plethora of state and non-state sanctioned projects to document the histories of various areas in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa. In documenting mission histories, the historiographical preoccupation has been on notable figures synonymous with those missions. Most of these figures are elite men, and women have not been adequately studied. The few women who do appear in the historiography are mostly, though not exclusively, the wives of elite men. Women of lesser status, or those who did not actively live lives as wives of elite men, are almost absent in the record.

In this thesis I focus on three women of three different generations who have a long history in a poorly documented mission, Mpolweni in KZN. These women are Gogo MaHlubi (my maternal grandmother), Mamkhulu Ntombenhle (my maternal aunt) and Mam Phindile (my mother). I look at how these three women mobilize, produce and discuss the past through oral historical narration. I am interested in what work oral historical narration does for the women and how, through it, they render visible the history of Mpolweni Mission from their own perspectives. I hope that through this

thesis, the experiences of what I call 'less public' mission-raised women will come to the fore and illuminate the complex legacies of the mission endeavour in Natal in the contemporary moment as it pertains to land politics, belonging and identity.

The thesis is about how women narrate history and not about the history of Mpolweni Mission per se. Although how the women narrate history has implications for how we can begin to understand the multiple uses of history for individuals, in particular women, the thesis does not focus on what counts as facts or not. Instead, I lean more towards understanding the mobilizations of the past and what this does for the women. Since I am not interested in history as objectivity, in this thesis I deal with how subjective elements are reflected in the women's productions and mobilizations of history through oral historical narration. Where there are instances where 'factual' information arises in relation to particular aspects of the women's narratives, this information is noted bfiefly in the text and also located in the footnotes.

Thesis question

In this thesis, I address the question of how Black women of three different generations narrate and discuss the past in Mpolweni Mission, KwaZulu-Natal. I consider what work is done by the ways in which women narrate the past in the present? I look closely at how they in turn render visible the history of Mpolweni Mission through narrating and discoursing about the past.

A Case for the thesis

I was raised by mostly women – my late great-grandmother, grandmother, late aunt (Mamkhulu), my mother and her cousins – and as a result what I have come to know about the world and who I am stems from the socialization I received from the strong

matriarchal pillars I am associated with. I also strongly believe that there is something worth studying about the histories of these women because through them we get to see who they are, where they have been and how they have navigated different life experiences at different times and contexts. The project thus sheds light to how women's lives get mirrored through the numerous kinds of discussions, productions and mobilizations of the past they participate in when they narrate about history orally. Their experiences shape what they associate and remember about certain events that they consider significant to them.

While remembering and memory feature prominently in the women's narratives, I do not merely view the women's narratives as sources for writing history. I am instead interested in exploring what the women say about the past and how it helps them to think of the past that way. Doing this allows me to also provide relevant general historical observations about the specific periods they invoke.

A careful reading of the historiography of mission stations in Natal reveals that there are notable *kholwa* families that get associated with certain mission stations. In the case of Inanda, the Dubes, Gobas and Gumedes come to mind; in Groutville the Luthulis; in Adams Mission the Makhanyas; in Edendale the Minis, Msimangs and Khumalos. In the context of Mpolweni Mission, the Hlubis and the Mngadis, are some of the names that come to the fore in the oral narrations of the people from the area that I have interviewed for the thesis. Based on this common occurrence in the mission stations, it is worth understanding the trend of not only how it is that certain families became prominent, but how the *kholwa* heritage shapes how the descendants of these families make sense of themselves and the worlds they occupy at present, if at all.

While in the process of conducting fieldwork for this thesis, I did visit the government archives in Pietermaritzburg and Pretoria because at first, I thought I was writing the history of Mpolweni Mission. However, as the thesis evolved, I realized that the thesis was less about the history of Mpolweni Mission per se, and more about how the women mobilized history, including that of Mpolweni, in their narratives. I therefore do not make much use of the archival material I obtained during the course of my study, which I may later return to as part of a separate project on the history of Mpolweni Mission itself. My focus is on the stories the women tell about the past, which are separate from those constructed and told by the archival material.

For the thesis, making visible the lives of less public Black women is at the core of the motivation for embarking on such a project. While these women are the grandmothers, aunts and mothers we all have had and can relate to, we take for granted their narratives and the complex ways in which they use them for a whole host of things. The conception of who gets to speak and gets canonized remains solely the preserve of a certain kind of women, in this case, the celebrated political activist and the fixation with this entrenches the effacing of 'ordinary' women who do not fall under this rubric. Most of us have stories of women who have sacrificed a lot of things to raise us. These women transcend their social roles of intimate relations with us when we dig deeper into their histories and life stories and how they continuously mobilize them.

The thesis attempts to do this and in turn lift out the reasons for the enduring practice of oral historical narration by women. The rationale behind the thesis is also to privilege oral historical narrations by women especially since there is only a certain

generation of women who are considered to be narrators of history, that is grandmothers. Even with this generation, their narratives are considered to having a socializing function through telling folkloric and fictional tales around the fireside. Isabel Hofmeyr in "*We Spend Our Lives as a Tale That Is Told*" has cautioned us about replicating this stereotype as, for her, women – even African grandmothers – tell the stories that transcend fiction.[2] The women narrators do not only attempt to socialize their children and grandchildren like me, but, as we shall see, they are doing something complicated and this needs to be explored as it has larger implications that transcend the familial space.

Furthemore, there is a paucity of studies on the 'less public' women who were socialized as *kholwa* particularly those that did not make it into the official record of the nationalist struggle for liberation in South Africa. This thesis is concerned with how oral historical narration is used by this category of women to illuminate their lives and how they navigated the various moments in time and in spaces. It is mostly interested in how women use oral narratives and the histories that they mobilize while narrating. Studies on historical narrative in South Africa have signalled to the gender dynamics that characterize this research foci. Hofmeyr has also alerted us to the different ways in which men and women in the Kekana chiefdom narrate history.[3] However, there has been no sole careful exploration of the mobilizations of history by women in relation to themes of status, class, belonging and identity without comparing it to men. This is not to say that comparing women to men is not important

[2] Isabel Hofmeyr, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That is Told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993), 323.
[3] Hofmeyr, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That is Told,* 323.

but sometimes doing so ends up being a pitting of the two against each other, which obscures the intricate salient convergences and divergences that exist between these two groups.

My approach in this thesis is to explore these convergences and divergences because while my main interlocutors are Gogo MaHlubi, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile who are women, at some point when they were narrating they referred me to men – elite men – some of them who are their relatives and others who are not. I am convinced that these referrals point to the complex entanglement between women's and men's narratives that cannot be disavowed and deserve to be highlighted. It is thus the aim of the thesis to do so without falling into the trap of reading these histories in a singular way that is not attentive to the broader entanglements at play.

In this thesis, I do not only focus on providing biographical details of the three women, instead, I illustrate how their social worlds are entangled in how they produce and mobilize history through oral historical narration. I am particularly interested in how and why they position themselves and any individuals or things that are central to them in their narratives.

If the focus on *amakholwa* has conventionally tended to be on *kholwa* intellectuals and their histories – in particular the elite men who contributed to the struggle for liberation in some way or another – then it makes sense why their contributions have been canonized in democratic South Africa's public history. Yet the existing studies on *amakholwa* continue to present this group as homogenous: the different layers that constitute them as actors, and how their various trajectories unfolded in different

places and times are not explored in-depth when this uniformity is treated as a given. Most often, in discoursing about this class of Africans, the legacy of *amakholwa* outside of intellectualism and in their successful land ownership, is rarely explored. This thesis partly attempts to locate itself within this endeavour particularly in relation to the history of Mpolweni Mission as it is enmeshed in the lives and histories of the three women who were socialized as *kholwa* when they were young. Adopting this approach enables a move away from macro- historical studies to how micro-histories at the level of the individual can complicate the privileging of macro-histories without factoring in the role of micro-histories.

The study also offers an opportunity for contributing to work on the effects of the Inkatha-UDF(ANC) violence of the 1980s and 1990s, notably in the Natal Midlands, which experienced this violence in an intense form. While these studies have highlighted the complex ways in which the warring sides were implicated in the violence, the localized nature of this violence and how it was and still is inextricably linked to topics such as land and identity have not been explored with the focus that they deserve. Only recently has Jill E. Kelly's *To Swim With Crocodiles: Land, Violence, and Belonging in South Africa, 1800-1996* attempted to explore broader phenomena that are linked to the violence in relation to longer term historical antecedents.[4] To some extent, this thesis follows in the footsteps of Kelly's by rendering visible the micro-history of Mpolweni Mission while also alluding to macro issues that characterize the region of the Natal Midlands as a whole. This is an approach that scholars have not deployed adequately before. In addition, there is growing scholarship on the Natal

[4] Jill E. Kelly, *To Swim with Crocodiles: Land, Violence, and Belonging in South Africa, 1800-1996* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2019), 1-396.

Midlands, varied as its focus is, but what is noteworthy is that scholars such as Mxolisi Dlamuka, Jill E. Kelly, Mxolisi Mchunu and Sibongiseni Mkhize are bringing to the fore the multi-layered histories of the region, which have not been explored before.[5] This thesis attempts to join these endeavours by the aforementioned authors.

The thesis focuses primarily on Gogo MaHlubi, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile's narratives since their stories individually and collectively present a different layer to the *kholwa* experience as told by women whose mission socialization was not in the mission stations (such as Inanda, Adams, Groutville) that have been widely studied. This thesis attempts to make an important contribution since it offers nuance to our understanding of *kholwa* identity and its complexities and how different generations of women who were socialized as *kholwa* negotiated their lives in different periods and settings. For Robert Houle, we cannot assume that all kholwa people were economically prosperous, some "were often as marginalized as their traditionalist neighbours"[6] as the case of the three women shows. It is therefore important that we rethink what being kholwa meant and how women's experiences help us to do that.

What happens to women who marry into other families? As the historiography of *amakholwa* shows, intermarriage was a common practice in mission stations – including Mpolweni Mission. Women marry in and it is assumed that they lose their

[5] See Mxolisi Dlamuka, "Connectedness and disconnectedness in Thembeyakhe Harry Gwala's biography, 1920-1995: Rethinking Political Militancy, Mass Mobilisation and Grassroots Struggles in South Africa"(PhD Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2018), 1-329; Kelly, *To Swim with Crocodiles*, 1-396; Mxolisi R. Mchunu, "History of Political Violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and of its effects on the memories of survivors (1987-2008" (PhD Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013), 1-360; Sibongiseni M. Mkhize, "Class Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang, 1886 – 1982" (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2015), 1-427.

[6] Robert J. Houle, *Africans Reimagining Their Faith in Colonial South Africa* (United Kingdom: Lehigh University, 2011), xxxi.

pre-marital identities and embrace their matrimonial ones. However, that is not always the case since women still hold onto the symbolic features associated with their maiden families after marriage. The nature of marriage in African contexts is structured in a way that enables women to still be grounded in their maiden families. The thesis thus advocates for a foregrounding of the privileging of maiden family histories by women as an attempt to contribute to the historiography of Black women more broadly. This historiography is seeing a burgeoning of studies on Black women from all backgrounds currently. By centering the salience of women's maiden family histories, the thesis aims to surface the intricate networks and alliances that women build when they face marginalization at the familial level and the implications for this for identity, belonging and resources.

Arguments

In the thesis I make the following two main arguments. First, the past is used to lay claim to a socially embedded form of status amidst changing times where this status has been marginalized. Second, history is used by the women to make sense of themselves and thus lay claim to belonging to Mpolweni Mission as the first-comers. Through oral historical narration, the women also render visible the history of Mpolweni Mission, which remains largely unexplored in the historiography of mission stations in KZN and the historiography of KZN as a whole. Second, the narratives themselves constitute a matri-archive whose concerns are different from that of the patri-archive whose interventions center in determining patrilineal forms of genealogy as they relate to chiefly succession disputes, land claims and clan origins. The matri-archive is mobilized to lament, sense-make and discourse about history in

intricate ways and is constantly being made by the women. Most importantly, this matri-archive illustrates the importance of women's maiden family histories and why historians and other scholars need to pay more attention to them.

Chapter Breakdown

The thesis is broken up into four chapters. Before discussing the way in which each women mobilizes the past, I first provide the contextual background to Mpolweni Mission. This background sets the picture for understanding the formation of the mission and the kinds of claims the women make. The individual women chapters take on chronology and seniority: beginning with Gogo MaHlubi (chapter one), following with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle (chapter two) and then concluding with Mam Phindile (chapter three). In chapter one I observe that Gogo MaHlubi is not only an institution of knowledge, but she also carefully produces and mobilizes the past in intricate ways to do particular things for her. One of these involves centering the status of her maiden family, the Hlubis in time of marital marginalization, and the other is the way in which she laments and comments on the present by evoking the past. In chapter two I note how Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, like Gogo MaHlubi, mobilizes her maiden family's history, namely the Mahlabas. I read her narrative in conjunction with Mkhulu Bongani, a senior male figure in the clan, whom I was referred to by the women for Mahlaba clan history. I also explicate the marginalization that comes to the fore in her narrative and what history does for her in that context. In chapter three, I explore the way Mam Phindile privileges Hlubi (maternal) family history over that of her paternal family. I also note that her political activism in the past has conferred

upon her a sense of status. Chapter five synthesises all the arguments I have made in the thesis and emphasizes the implications of this study.

Contextual Background of Mpolweni Mission

Little is known about the history of the area that became the Mpolweni Mission before the mission was established. I have not come across people who claim to be pre-mission inhabitants of the area. Rather more is known about the history of those who established the mission station in 1867 and whose descendants today consider themselves to be *abantu bomsinsi*, the 'firstcomers'.[7] That said, while my focus is on the period beginning with the establishment of the mission, it is worth mentioning that there is not much that exists in the historiography of missions in Natal about the history of Mpolweni Mission from its inception.[8] Therefore, in writing this context, I

[7] The group of people who consider themselves as the firstcomers includes my maternal families the Mahlabas and the Hlubis. The term '*abantu bomsinsi*' in the context of Mpolweni is used to distinguish between the firstcomers and the newcomers, 'abantu bokufika'.

[8] The historiography of missions in Natal is dominated by studies of the American Zulu Missions and the Anglican Bishopstowe founded by Bishop John William Colenso.

have had to rely on a variety of sources, namely the historiography of mission stations in Natal, archival material, the oral accounts of those individuals interviewed for the research – the firstcomers, as well as my own personal recollections as someone who was born and lived in the area for many years.

Mpolweni Mission is a semi-rural area 30 km outside of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) that falls under the New Hanover magisterial district.[9] The area was a Free Church of Scotland mission station established by Reverend James Allison in 1867.[10] Allison left the nearby Edendale mission station after he was pushed out by the residents.[11] Allison is the one who named the place "Impolweni". The reasons behind the pushing out of Allison have been covered extensively by numerous scholars. At the heart of these reasons was the issue of individual title deeds for Africans who had paid for their share of the land: while the land had been paid off, the transfer of title could not be effected as it needed more money.[12] Allison was supposed to have taken care of this earlier. When he left Edendale, Bathengi Hlubi and Lot Nkosi were two of the converts who left with him.[13] Allison bought the farm on which Impolweni was established under the auspices of the Free Church of

[9] Bonuses to Chiefs: Section 8(10) B. A. Code: "Chiefs and Headmen", Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner: Natal, 1961, Report, N1/1/3 (30)5, Bantu Affairs Commissioner: Natal, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository, Pietermaritzburg; Chieftainship: Impolweni Tribe, 1953, Report, 57/258, W.F. Bayer Native Commissioner: New Hanover, Chief Native Commissioner, Pietermaritzburg, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository, Pietermaritzburg.

[10] John M. Mackenzie and Nigel R. Dalziel in *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772 – 1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 120.

[11] For more on the reasons behind Allison leaving Edendale see Sibongiseni M. Mkhize, "Class Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang, 1886 – 1982" (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, January 2015), 40.

[12] For a detailed exploration of the tensions between Allison and the Edendale kholwa and the history of Edendale amakholwa more broadly, see Sheila Meintjes, *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen: The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal, 1850-1906* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Society Foundation, 2020), 74.

[13] According to kaMpolweni, one of the secondary narrators for this research, Allison left Edendale with Bathengi Hlubi and Lot Nkosi. The author's interview with kaMpolweni, 20 July 2017, Cleland, Pietermaritzburg.

Scotland. This meant that the Church was the owner and the custodian of the land and the residents living on the 5,650 acres of land would have to rent from the mission.[14] This differed starkly from the arrangement in Edendale where the original families who called themselves '*ononhlemvu*'[15] each had title deeds. KaMpolweni, an individual with a deep sense of the history of Mpolweni, explained the different land arrangements between Edendale and Mpolweni Mission in the following way:

> …la eMpolweni uAllison ufike wajika wangakwenza lokho ukuba iMpolweni ibe eyabantu. Wayijika wayenza kanje: kuthe uma kukhokhwa la, kukhokhelwa iMpolweni abantu bashoda ngemali, wayeseyocela imali eScotland, "ukuthi nakhu sekusele kancane, anisilekelele ngemali". IScotland yakhipha imali yabalekelela. Uma esebalekelela uAllison usejika manje indawo le useyibiza ngeChurch of Scotland. Ayisabi yilokhu akade ekwenza ukuba kube eyabantu njengoba kade enza…la wafike wajika wayithatha indawo wayibiza nge; wathi ngoba iScotland imlekelele ngemali, wayesethi le ndawo yiChurch of Scotland property. [16]
>
> …here in Mpolweni Allison arrived and changed tack so Mpolweni did not belong to the people. He changed it like this: when they were paying for the land of Mpolweni, the people ran out of money, he then approached Scotland and said, "We are short of some money, may you please lend a helping hand?" Scotland then allocated funds and helped them. Upon receiving the assistance, Allison then changed tack and called the place as belonging to the Church of Scotland. He did not continue what he used to do in other places where the land would belong to the people…here he changed things and called the place the; since Scotland had helped him with funds, he then called the place the property of the Church of Scotland.

[14] Mackenzie & Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa*, 120.
[15] '*Ononhlemvu*' is the name that was used to refer to the first generation of *amakholwa* in Edendale.
[16] The author's interview with kaMpolweni, 20 July 2017, Cleland, Pietermaritzburg.

Most families that moved to Mpolweni Mission when the mission station was founded were from the neighbouring farms in New Hanover and, over time, as Norman Etherington posits, there was an influx of "migrants from Lesotho and the Pedi kingdom of the eastern Transvaal that by 1881, 75 per cent of the station residents were Sotho speakers."[17] The arrival of people from all over South Africa added to the 'ethnic' diversity of the mission, but ultimately what tied all the mission residents together was the *kholwa* identity. According to John M. Mackenzie and Nigel R. Dalziel, "a union college was founded in league with American Presbyterians. This was designed to educate African evangelists and ministers. Institutions for girls and boys were also founded (the girls' came first in 1888)."[18]

Like most mission stations, Mpolweni had one church denomination, namely the Free Church of Scotland, which is now called the Uniting Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (UPCSA) Mpolweni Congregation. The church was central in not only the governing aspects of the area but the lives of the residents. In conjunction with the *kholwa* chief, the congregation minister ensured that there was law and order in Mpolweni. The residents of Mpolweni Mission were referred to as AbaseMpolweni Tribe or the *Kholwa/amakholwa* Tribe in official records since the Natal Native Code of 1887 made it necessary for all native areas to have a chief.[19] This meant that the 'natives' living in mission stations needed to have a *kholwa* chief (who was not hereditary).[20] The first *kholwa* chief in Mpolweni Mission was Batengi Josiah Hlubi,

[17] Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London: London Royal Historical Society, 1978), 113.
[18] Mackenzie & Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa,* 120.
[19] For an elaborate discussion on the Natal Native Code and how it applied and manifested itself in *kholwa* communities, see John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 126-127.
[20] This was the term used to refer to Africans living in the mission.

my maternal great-great grandfather and Gogo MaHlubi's paternal grandfather. He was the chief from when the mission station was established until his passing in 1915. Bathengi owned land in Eendale and in Albert Falls. As Meintjes shows, from 1862-1912 Bathengi owned 13.75 acres of land and from 1862-1925, he owned 13, 7.50, 4.25 and 0.50 acres of land.[21]

After Bathengi's passing, the chiefship, which was never meant to be hereditary, was then monopolized by the Mngadi family. The Mngadis had four chiefs, namely Toni, Ephraim, Jerry and Jonathan Mngadi.[22] Chief Ephraim Mngadi passed away in the early.[23] Jerry Mngadi assumed office on 26 March 1955. His appointment was confirmed by the Native Affairs Minister on 6 December 1955.[24] Jonathan, in turn, was in control of the chiefship from the mid-1970s until the early 1990s when he passed on. When he was in power, the IFP-UDF/ANC political violence took place in the area. Chief Mngadi was accused of being an IFP supporter since traditional leadership institutions were seen to be accountable to the KwaZulu government and Prince Buthelezi was the head of that government. The UDF/ANC in Mpolweni was driven mostly by young people who were militant and radical and did not hesitate to show

[21] Sheila Meintjes provides a table of all the landowners and the number of acres they each had. Meintjes, *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen: The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal, 1850-1906* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Society Foundation, 2020), 225.

[22] According to Gogo MaHlubi, the Mngadi chiefs she was able to recall were Ephraim, Jerry and Jonathan. This was gleaned from the author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg. For Mam Phindile, Jonathan Mngadi took over the chiefship after Jerry Mngadi had passed on. This was derived from the author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

[23] Estate of the Late Josiah Batengi Hlubi, 25 February 1925, MSCE 9988/1925, Estates and Inventories Union of South Africa, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository, Pietermaritzburg.

[24] Natal Chief Native Commissioner to the Secretary for Native Affairs, 15 March 1954, Letter, Minutes of the Chief Native Commissioner Natal: New Hanover Magistracy, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository, Pietermaritzburg.

their disapproval of the supposed loyalty of the chief to their opponents, the KwaZulu government.[25]

Certain sections of Mpolweni Mission were considered to be strongholds of each political party: eMhlangeni and Mvundlweni were the ground of the UDF/ANC and Empolweni Enkulu was considered to be pro-Inkatha. Lives were lost as a result of the violence and suspicion and rumour played a big role in exacerbating the situation. The political violence is not spoken about openly in the area unless one starts asking questions. Otherwise, residents – especially those who lived through it – do not readily launch into conversations about what took place. It is worth mentioning that when the Natal Midlands was engulfed in the violence of the 1980s-1990s, some families from neighbouring areas sought refuge in Mpolweni Mission.[26] These families are identified by my interlocutors as having left their places of abode due to the violence and are now considered to be like those who have a longer history in the area.[27] Jonathan also had a fall-out with the reverend at the helm of the church at that time.[28] When Jonathan Mngadi passed on, the chieftaincy fell away. This was also coupled with the dawn of democracy in the country. Some actors, including the main and secondary interlocutors of this research, ascribe the aftermath of the passing of

[25] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 05 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

[26] For a detailed study of the political violence in the Natal Midlands see Mchunu, "A history of political violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and of its effects on the memories of surivors" (1987-2008), 2013, 1-360. While Mchunu focuses on the Vulindlela area, his work is vital for contextualizing how the violence played itself out in localized regions of the Midlands and can thus be applied to Mpolweni Mission's experience of the political violence.

[27] By 'longer history' I am referring to families that were the first to live in Mpolweni upon the establishment of the mission. It has been harder to get a sense of the families that lived prior to the formation of the mission.

[28] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 20 January 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

the chief as opening up of the area to outsiders and new church denominations to find a home in Mpolweni Mission.

The arrival of newcomers, my interlocutors add, has led to expansion spatially in the area. In the past there were only a few sections that existed, now there are new ones: the inhabited area is expanding as the influx of people increases. The sections that existed in the past are Mpolweni Enkulu, Mhlangeni, eMantshalini, koGcwabaza, Emvundlweni, Emseni and Ezitholeni. In addition to these sections, there are now new sections Ekhalathini and Lindokuhle. It is said that the former councillor, who had been in power ever since the dawn of democracy, but was removed after protests to the lead up to the 2016 local government elections, contributed to the influx of newcomers since he and his networks sold land plots.

The selling of the land plots, which became more widespread in the early-to-mid-2000s led to the breakdown in the relationship between the councillor and the then minister of the Presbyterian Church. The church is the owner of the land in Mpolweni Mission and in the past had structures put in place to administer the allocation of land in the area. These structures comprised the chief, *izinduna* and a committee from the church. With the death of the chief, the church committee was left to continue to focus on its task of allocating land. However, multiple structures emanated, which operated outside of the formal church committee. This meant that the powers and functional roles of the legitimate committee were undermined. As it stands there is no uniform structure that is responsible for allocating land to people: anyone can sell land plots now. In the time of writing, there was a process of the Presbyterian Church returning

the land of Mpolweni Mission to the residents. A resolution was passed by the Presbytery in 2017 to ensure that this process took place.

The protests that emanated in the build up to the 2016 local government elections were not only concerned with the one power rule of the ANC councillor, whose family has a history of ANC activism, but were also lamenting the lack development at Mpolweni Mission. The interlocutors of this research lamented the unsatisfactory state of development or lack thereof in the area considering the fact that it is 26 years since democracy was attained in the country. The competing actors and forms of authority in Mpolweni Mission thus generate opposing views about the current state of affairs and who is responsible for it. The side that my interlocutors fall into ascribes the societal ills that are prevalent to the newcomers, *abantu bokufika*, while other actors invoke the Church's ownership of the land as an impediment to development.[29]

At the heart of the contemporary situation in Mpolweni Mission is the issue of who can lay claim to belong in the area. This stems from the feelings of uneasiness that exist among the descendants of the first families, such as the Hlubis and Mahlabas who have an embedded positioning in the area. They feel vulnerable and insecure at the hands of the newcomers, *abantu bokufika*, who seem to be effacing the history of the latter and bringing all sorts of ills in the area. These views are contingent upon the resources that are at stake, namely land and other resources that come with being allied with elected representatives, such as the councillor, particularly the former ANC councillor.

[29] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

Based on my observation, it is important to note that the representatives from the residents are elite men who have an embeddedness in the history of the area. Interestingly enough, this process is taking place at a time when Mpolweni has evolved in numerous ways: spatially and socially and at the core of this evolution are the marked differences between those who consider themselves to be the original inhabitants and the newcomers. The discourses of the past – similar to the ones that the women invoke in the thesis, which are predicated upon claims to belonging and status – are likely to characterize this process.

The contentious debate about who belongs and does not belong currently taking place in Mpolweni is ironical considering the fact that in its establishment, the mission drew together people from diverse backgrounds as was the case at other missions such as Edendale, Inanda, uMvoti, as the mission station offered a different world and opportunities.[30] The elite families/the original inhabitants themselves, namely the Hlubis and Nkosis had been refugees from the then Swaziland who settled in Indaleni and Edendale before they eventually found a home in Mpolweni Mission. While they have been able to claim belonging in Mpolweni Mission as elite families and original inhabitants, this was not the case before especially when we consider their history of mobility. It is fair to argue then that at the heart of the mission was the diversity, which is now seemingly being rejected as Black areas in South Africa contest increasingly political resources – in this case, land. Mpolweni is not immune to such contestations.

[30] For more on how specific missions were welcoming of people from all over – including those that were termed refugees – see Heather Hughes, *First President: A life of John L. Dube, founding president of the ANC* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 1-19; Meintjes, *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen*, 22-31.

Literature Review

This thesis llocates itself within the scholarly work on: missions in the former colony of Natal; *amakholwa*; *kholwa* chiefships; women's narratives; biographies and life histories; the production of history; and the politics of mobilizations of history in

contemporary KZN. These seven bodies of work provide the necessary historiographical and social framing for the thematic concerns of the thesis while simultaneously pointing to some of the limitations of the work to date.

Missions in the former colony of Natal

It is a truism that the province that is today called KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) was one of the most highly evangelized regions in the 19th century in Southern Africa. Mpolweni Mission was a mission of the Free Church of Scotland. The works of Norman Etherington, especially *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa 1835-1880*[31] come to the fore when one thinks about missions in not only KZN but southern Africa as a whole. Etherington offers a comprehensive account of how the establishment of missions went hand in hand with colonial conquest and focuses on the watershed period of 1835 (the establishment of the first missions) to 1879 (the Anglo Zulu War). This period, as explored by Etherington, is useful to me as the mission in Mpolweni was established in the mid-1880s. In his work, Mpolweni Mission is mentioned as part of the missions that Reverend Allison established when he was in the colony of Natal. In "Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism", Etherington explores the significance of Edendale in the broader mission enterprise in Natal.[32] In doing that, he illustrates the importance of mission stations in not only the formation of Black nationalism, but the composition of the mission as a political and economic space.

[31] Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 1-230.
[32] Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, no. 4 (1976), 592-605.

Comparatively, Robert J. Houle's study of the manner in which amakholwa made sense of Christianity and Zulu identity in the American Zulu Mission stations is helpful in thinking about the implications for conversion for Africans in the colony of Natal.[33]

The impact of missions has led historians to study the changes that were brought about by this profoundly watershed project. Moreover, as part of the evangelization process, numerous mission stations and schools were created to foster conversion into Christianity. The creation of mission stations and conversion were meant to create a new citizenry of Africans – literate 'subjects of the Queen' who would leave behind the indigenous order in favour of what later became known as 'development'. However, as Houle notes "early African believers wrestled with what it meant to be both African and Christian during the colonial period. While the project of transforming Christianity was underway it proved a difficult task for many to find the right balance between two occasionally discordant identities."[34] Yet as it became clear that their status as *kholwa* was becoming increasingly precarious, they resorted to subverting the resources they had at their disposal to speak back against the mendacity of colonialism. It was aimed that they would be completely disconnected from their pre-conversion life, but this was never the case as Magema Fuze and his contemporaries show us, as ably theorized by Hlonipha Mokoena in her corpus of work on Magema Fuze.[35]

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[33] Robert J. Houle, *Africans Reimagining Their Faith in Colonial South Africa* (United Kingdom: Lehigh University, 2011), 1-311.

[34] Houle, *Africans Reimagining Their Faith in Colonial South Africa*, xxii.

[35] Mokoena's work on Fuze shows how binaries fall away in the case of the *kholwa* since Fuze's frequent travels form Natal to Zululand show. Fuze documented the events that were taking place in Zululand at the suggestion of his mentor Bishop Colenso. For more on this and many other instances where Fuze and his contemporaries destabilized bifurcations, see Hlonipha Mokoena, "Christian Converts and the

Notable figures and mission stations

The historiography on mission stations has tended to study and privilege missions that produced prominent individuals in the form of the first generation of African nationalist thinkers and activists of the struggle for liberation. These mission stations can be classified as 'more public missions'.[36] Susan Geiger argues that "…men have received biographical attention because they are considered important or exceptional. To state the obvious, biographies are usually written about people deemed significant actors on the stage of specific histories…"[37] In the context of *amakholwa*, this observation by Geiger is apt as the works that have come out over the years to document the lives of men considered central in South Africa's history show. The mission stations that have been privileged in the historiography are those of the American Mission Boards, namely Inanda, Adams Mission, Umvoti; the Norwegian Lutheran, namely KwaMaphumulo Mission; the Church of England mission led by the renowned Bishop John William Colenso known as Ekukhanyeni and the Methodist mission stations in both Indaleni and Edendale. The focus on these aforementioned mission stations may be due to the extant archives they created and how easily accessible they have been to historians. Or it could be because of the prolific individuals and watershed events associated with them (notably the Colensos and Magema Fuze and their causes for the Zulu kingdom in ever changing and

Production of Kholwa Histories in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Natal: The Case of Magema Magwaza Fuze and his Writings", *Journal for Natal and Zulu History* 23, no. 1 (2005), 1-42.

[36] My use of "more public" here is to denote that there was a hierarchy in terms of mission stations: on top were those that were more visible and at the bottom, the less visible ones. I could have also used more visible and less visible here because as the historiography on mission stations shows, there are more studied and less studied mission stations. Mpolweni Mission falls under the latter.

[37] Susan Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work': Life Histories, Collective Biography and Changing Historiography", *The Journal of African History* 37, no. 3 (1996), 466.

increasingly volatile times for Africans in Zululand and the colony), Chief Mqhawe of the amaQadi and his unique relations with the missionaries and *amakholwa* in Inanda, Dr. John Langalibalele Dube, the Msimangs in Edendale), which have attracted the attention of historians and other scholars alike.[38]

The privileging of the American Board Missions can be seen through the publication, "History, and Heritage: A Special Issue on Former American Board Mission Stations in Southern KwaZulu-Natal", edited by Vukile Khumalo for the *Journal in Natal and Zulu History*. This special edition was part of attempts by the National Heritage Council (NHC) to commemorate the 160th anniversary of Adams Colllege.[39] The relationship between missionaries and their African converts is at the heart of this literature.

On the other hand, it would be an injustice to take as our point of departure the fact that only exceptional men and women have been the subject of numerous forms of biographies in South Africa. 'Ordinary' people have also been attended to. Geiger intervenes by arguing that,

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[38] A detailed exploration of the causes of the Colensos and their African *kholwas* can be found in the following texts: Jonathan A. Draper, *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration* (London: A& C Black, 2003), 1-414; Jeff Guy, *The Heretic: a study of the life of John William Colenso 1814-1883* (Virginia: Universty of Virgina Press, 1983), 1-378; Guy, *The View Across the River – Harriet Colenso and the Zulu Struggle against Imperialism* (Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 2002), 1-498; Hlonipha Mokoena, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011), 1-326; Mokoena, "The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual: A Discursive Biography of Magema Magwaza Fuze" (PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2005), 1-259; "The Queen's Bishop: A Convert's Memoir of John W. Colenso", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38, no. 3 (2008), 312-342. On Mqhawe and Inanda, see Heather Hughes, "Politics and Society in Inanda: The Qadi under Chief Mqhawe, c1840-1906" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1995), 1-247; Hughes, *The First Predident: A life of John L. Dube, founding president of the ANC* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 1-303.

[39] For more on this see: http://www.nhc.org.za/the-160-year-old-adams-college-a-landmark/

> Rather than being exceptional, however, the ordinary person's biography or life history must be typical or representative. In other words, and however exceptional he may seem, the ordinary person is expected to stand in for, or represent, a category of people: peasants, slaves, workers, sharecroppers. Put another way, the concepts of exceptionality and representativeness distinguishing the two kinds of biography are aligned with agency, and concern men of action, men of importance, public men on the one hand; and with structure and material conditions such as slavery, the peasantry and the working class, that situate and subsume so-called ordinary people on the other.[40]

With regards to mission stations that have not been studied in greater depth, Graham Duncan is notably one of the few scholars who has focused particularly on the history of Scottish Presbyterian missions in southern Africa. It is through his work that Mpolweni Mission gets a mention although he does not contextually explore the microhistory of this area and how it contributes to macrohistory. Like other scholars, he mentions Mpolweni in passing. However, it is noteworthy that Duncan provides clues for historians who may be interested in pursuing the detailed history of Mpolweni Mission going forward.[41] In addition to Duncan, Mackenzie & Dalziel's *The Scotts in South Africa*[42] grapples with the role of the Scottish missionaries from the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal in South Africa in evangelism, medicine and entrepreneurship. In this book, contextual background is provided with respect to the

[40] Susan Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work': Life Histories, Collective Biography and Changing Historiography", *The Journal of African History* 37, no. 3 (1996), 466.
[41] Graham Duncan, "Scottish Presbyterian Church Mission Policy in South Africa 1898-1923" (Master's Dissertation, University of South Africa, 1997), 1-168; Duncan, "The role of Mission Councils in the Scottish Mission in South Africa: 1864—1923", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 38, no. 1 (2012), 217-234.
[42] John M. MacKenzie & Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772-1914* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007), 1-283.

establishment of the mission, the schools and land arrangements in the area. This book is useful in terms of the details that it provides.

A theme that vividly comes to the fore in the literature on mission stations is the notion of economic stratification among the *kholwa*. *Amakholwa* themselves were a small class of Africans in contrast to their non-converted counterparts, which meant that intermarriage and the sharing of resources would be distributed among those on top of the strata. Andre Odendaal in *The Founders*[43] elaborates more on this theme by showing that the Minis and the Msanes in Edendale forged relations with each other through intermarriage. In the context of Edendale, the Msanes had had the first *kholwa* chiefship in the area, which later became the custodianship of the Minis. Moreover, Odendaal further mentions that the proponents of pursuits for exemption from native law by Africans in Natal in the 1880s, were the *kholwa* from prominent families such as the Kumalos, Minis and Molifes.[44] In Inanda Mission, the Dube family had also gained prominence in the station as Heather Hughes discusses.[45] This then shows how mission stations had certain families that were prominent and thus influential as a result of their positioning in the area. Resources (such as the *kholwa* chiefship), economic participation and political decision-making were concentrated among these families and their relatives. This is noteworthy as Mpolweni Mission itself illustrates this.

Works that are a manifestation of the historiographical preoccupation with elite individuals include and are not limited to are Hlonipha Mokoena's *Magema Fuze: The*

[43] Andre Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 158-165.
[44] Odendal, *The Founders,* 158-159.
[45] Hughes, *The First President*, 1-303.

Making of a Kholwa Intellectual, Norman Etherington's "Religion and Resistance in Natal 1900-1910", Hughes' *The First President*, Zubeida Jaffer's *Beauty of the Heart* and "Theorizing Women" by Thozama April.[46] There is a paucity of studies on Black women of various walks of life and their contributions to the struggle for South Africa's democracy. Nonetheless, most of the aforementioned body of work is biographical and locates the lives of their subjects in the larger context in which they navigated their lives. Of particular significance within this body of work, is how the mission station and its schools are explored as a site of fostering political consciousness in its converts have been heavily theorized. We cannot understand the actors mentioned above outside of the world of the mission station. Mission stations such as Mpolweni Mission, which is not associated with any luminaries remain understudied: we know less about them, how they navigated the world of amakholwa and how class and status played themselves out.[47]

A mission station with significant connections to Mpolweni Mission is Edendale. These two mission stations share a founder in the form of Reverend James Allison. The denominations vary, however, since Edendale was Methodist and Mpolweni

[46] Thozama April, "Theorizing Women: The Intellectual Contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa" (PhD Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2012), 1-263; Norman Etherington, "Religion and Resistance in Natal 1900-1910" in Arianna Lissoni, Jon Soske, Natasha Erlank, Noor Nieftagodien & Omar Badsha (eds.), *One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2012), 55-76; Hughes, *The First President*, 1-303; Zubeida Jaffer, *Beauty of the Heart*: *The Life and Times of Charlotte Mannya Maxeke* (Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2016), 1-180 & Mokoena, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011), 1-326.

[47] Regardless of the fact that nothing much has been written about Mpolweni mission Mission, in his unpublished PhD dissertation "Connectedness and Disconnectedness in Thembeyakhe Harry Gwala's Biography, 1920-1995: Rethinking Political Militancy, Mass Mobilisation and Grassroots Struggles in South Africa" (University of the Western Cape, 2018), 5 Mxolisi Dlamuka states that Harry Gwala, a prominent SACP and ANC activist who was from KwaSwayimane, studied in Mpolweni Mission. KwaSwayimane and Mpolweni Mission are neighbouring areas and it is common for families to have relatives in each place or for intermarriage to take place among residents of these areas.

Presbyterian. The landowning arrangement also differed: the 'founders' of Edendale, the first converts, each had plots of land whereas in Mpolweni the Presbyterian Church owned and allocated communal land. Meintjes' *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen*[48] documents the profound transformations that took place in Edendale since the inception of the mission. She grapples with the history of the mission – the eclectic mixture of people the first converts, *amakholwa*, who were characterized by the landowning arrangement; and how the success of this area attracted the attention of colonial officials and settlers. Edendale's thriving *amakholwa* and their economic prosperity in the colony of Natal made it a model mission station. Shula Marks in *The Ambiguities od Dependence in South Africa*[49] concurs with Meintjes in terms of the formidable progress of Edendale since its inception, although the former takes it further to state that the economic difficulties facing Southern Africa in the late 19th century were also felt in Edendale. Nonetheless, the history of Edendale is important for this thesis on Mpolweni Mission and on the descendants at Mpolweni of the original Edendale convert, Bathengi Hlubi.

Sibongiseni Mkhize's PhD thesis and his subsequent book on Henry Selby Msimang[50] succeed in bringing to the fore the history of Edendale mission through studying the life of Msimang. In doing so, it shows how the notable families like the Msimangs were able to embed themselves in the social and political structures of the missions.

[48] Sheila Meintjes, *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen: The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal, 1850 – 1906* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Society Foundation, 2020), 1-347.
[49] Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth Century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 46-47.
[50] Sibongiseni M. Mkhize, "Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang, 1886 – 1982" (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2015), 35-45 & Mkhize, *Principle and Pragmatism in the Liberation Struggle: A Political Biography of Selby Msimang* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2020), 5.

The descendants of these families are thus able to lay claim to belonging in these places. What is noteworthy is that Edendale's prosperity continued even as Allison had left in the early 1860s.

The significance about the historiography on mission stations is that it does not entrench the distinctions between 'modern' and 'tribal', 'christianized' and 'barbaric', but instead looks at the entanglements that missionaries, African converts and those outside the worlds of these actors, operated in relation to each other. A study that does this successfully is Heather Hughes' PhD thesis on the Qadi chiefdom, "Politics and Society in Inanda, Natal: The Qadi Under Chief Mqhawe, c1840-1906".[51] Hughes illustrates how complex Mqhawe's relationship with the amakholwa and the missionaries in Inanda was. Their worlds were deeply entangled with each other. Hughes further complicates the concept of *kholwa* by choosing to use instead the notion of the outside and inside people to point to how the converts vacillated between the worlds of the tribal and the colonial modern.

Kholwa chiefships

The historiography on *kholwa* chiefships needs to be read in relation to the hereditary chiefships. The literature on the latter is vast since the main figure who played a central role in how it evolved was the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), Theophilus Shepstone. Many scholars have written about what they term the Shepstonian system, which was chacterized by Shepstone being intentional about chiefs he favoured and

[51] Heather Hughes, "Politics and Society in Inanda: The Qadi under Chief Mqhawe, c1840-1906" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1995), 1-247; Hughes, *The First Predident: A life of John L. Dube, founding president of the ANC* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 1-19.

those he did not.[52] In fact, through this system many chiefships were established as part of Shepstone's practice of rewarding his trusted allies with chiefships. John Lambert in *Betrayed Trust*[53] writes about the establishment of the institution of *kholwa* chiefship and the tensions that this created with the hereditary non-*kholwa* chiefships. What Lambert's book shows us is that with the former institution, custodians of it were elected by the mission committees before they were appointed by the colonial administration. In the book, Lambert further hints that, in its inception, this chiefship was never meant to be hereditary. However, as Sibongiseni Mkhize in his PhD thesis on Henry Selby Msimang shows, in the case of Edendale mission, the Minis, one of the prominent mission families, was accused of hogging the chiefship.[54] Inasmuch as Mkhize does not overtly state it, there are clues that an institution that was never envisioned to be hereditary became hereditary and the sole preserve of one family. Due to the intermarriage that took place among the prominent *kholwa*, it made it easy for them to distribute resources among each other. The chiefship was one of them.

Amakholwa and gender

The role of women in Zulu society has been studied extensively by historians. Notable studies that come to mind are Jeff Guy's "Analysing Pre-Capitalist Societies in

[52] For more on this see Jeff Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal: African Autonomy and Settler Colonialism in the Making of Traditional Authority* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013), 1-566 , Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1-294, Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1-384 & Thomas V. McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845 – 1878* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 1-171.

[53] John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 1995), 1-216.

[54] Sibongiseni M. Mkhize, "Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang, 1886 – 1982" (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 2015), 42.

Southern Africa"[55] and Sean Hanretta's "Women, Marginality and the Zulu State".[56] For Guy, the role of women in Zulu pre-colonial society was invaluable for not only agricultural production processes, but social reproduction too. The centrality of women in Zulu society provides key framing for how we may understand the role that women have played historically in the province that is today called KZN.

The focus on *amakholwa* has been mostly on elite men at the detriment of women – both elite and non-elite. We cannot talk about this class of Africans in isolation of elitism because what distinguished *amakholwa* from their non-Christian-and literate Africans is notably class as it is defined in economic and political terms. Gender has not taken centre stage in the studies of *amakholwa* and where it has, it has fallen short in its focus on the elite. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that even in the centring of gender and class with regards to the elite Black *kholwa* women, there is still more work that needs to be done in historicizing this category of women. The works that exist are biographical and have individualized their subjects. Individualizing subjects tends to exceptionalize them and runs the risk of not acknowledging the macro factors that have shaped their public and private lives. The book that comes to mind is *Beauty of the Heart* by Zubeida Jaffer.[57] Jaffer chronicles Maxeke's life from her early days in a mission school in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape to her travels around the world as a choir singer and later a political activist.

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[55] Jeff Guy, "Analysing pre-capitalist societies in Southern Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14, no.1 (1987), 18-37.
[56] Sean Hanretta, "Women, Marginality and the Zulu State: Women's Institutions and Power in the Early Nineteenth Century", *Journal of African History* 39, no. 3 (1998), 389-415.
[57] Jaffer, *Beauty of the Heart*, 1-180.

Christianity and its beliefs greatly shaped Maxeke as Jaffer shows, which is significant and thus shows that as someone socialized and educated in mission settings, Maxeke can be considered to have been a *kholwa* woman. Moreover, by virtue of frequenting spaces that were the preserve of elite Black activists at that time, Maxeke was an elite *kholwa* woman, which is why I have grouped this biography under the theme of elite *kholwa* women. While the book is an important contribution to archiving the life of a figure that has not been celebrated enough in comparison to her male counterparts, it does not successfully locate her within a broader network as has been highlighted above. Nevertheless, what is significant about this book is that "it is a story of a remarkable South African woman who has for long been written out of history and pushed aside in official school and university curricula."[58]

Another book that takes the form of biography is *The Calling of Katie Makanya* by Margaret McCord.[59] The book is on Katie who was Charlotte Maxeke's sister. Katie, like Charlotte, was socialized in mission settings and as such can be considered to be a *kholwa* woman. Katie's life journey is a poignant one since she endured hardships and poverty while also living her life as a political activist. It is thus harder to classify her as an elite *kholwa* woman. However, the fact that she has been canonized as an activist makes her an elite woman.

Meghan Healy-Clancy's *A World of Their Own*[60] historicizes and politicizes the history of Black women's education in South Africa. She focuses primarily on Inanda

[58] Ibid, 1.
[59] Margaret McCord, *The Calling of Katie Makanya: A Memoir of South Africa* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 1995), 1-252.
[60] Meghan Healy-Clancy, *A World of Their Own: A History of South African Women's Education*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013), 1-328.

Seminary, an all-girls' Black school renowned for producing luminaries who have occupied prominent positions in various sectors. Considering the fact that Inanda was an American Board mission station, the area was a *kholwa* community and the school was designed for *kholwa* girls. In this book, Healy-Clancy explicates the centrality of the idea of social reproduction in the education of African women prior to 1948. However, as Apartheid reared its head, African women who were being educated to become professionals, namely social workers, teachers, nurses, started using this very same education to advance the progress of Africans by borrowing from the ideals of the nationalist movements of the time.[61]

In studying Inanda Seminary, Healy-Clancy attempts to grapple with not only the education of Black women but the role of broader political, social, economic and historical factors in their education and how they navigated, manipulated and subverted systems that were meant to constrict their mobility – economic and otherwise. Her study is useful for understanding dynamics that while they are situational (Inanda Seminary), may also have applied in different mission contexts as well. For this research, I find it helpful in terms of thinking about Black women's education in a *kholwa* context since *amakholwa* placed immense value on education as an enabler of upward mobility. The book is not limited in its geographic focus since it moves beyond Inanda and the seminary but locates these places in historical contexts beyond them. I am able to draw from this book in situating the narratives of the three women interlocutors and thinking through the purposes of the education of *kholwa* young women, whether these purposes were achieved and the importance of moving

[61] Healy-Clancy, *A World of Their Own,* 2-4.

beyond a uniform study of *amakholwa* as this book does by centering a gender dimension.

Healy-Clancy's other work, "Women and the Problem of Family in Early African Nationalist History and Historiography"[62] continues on the same terrain of unpacking how Black women collectivities pre-and-post-1948 contributed to African nationalist thought and how ideas of public and private were blurred by these women. In this article, Healy-Clancy argues that "Prominent women make appearances as colleagues and kin in scholarship on powerful men and male-dominated political organisations. But women, women's groups, and family life have generally remained peripheral to scholars' discussions of the institutional and ideological development of African nationalism."[63] What Healy-Clancy alludes to is the disparities that exist in the scholarship in South Africa on Black women where even prominent women are not treated as standing on their own in comparison to their male counterparts. There has not been an approach that moves beyond the canonized individuals and attempts to study those that are on the margins of society individually or collectively. A study of less visible or non-elite *kholwa* women – of the kind that I attempt in this thesis – offers the possibility of adding nuance and depth to our understanding of *kholwa* women.

Nomavenda Mathiane's *Eyes in the Night*[64] is a contribution that does not fit into the category of biographies of public or prominent *kholwa* women. Mathiane stumbled upon a story of her late grandmother concerning how she had survived the Anglo-

[62] Healy-Clancy, "Women and the Problem of Family in Early African Nationalist History and Historiography", *South African Historical Journal* 64, no. 3 (2012), 450-471.
[63] Meghan Healy-Clancy, "Women and the Problem of Family in Early African Nationalist History and Historiography", *South African Historical Journal* 64, 3 (2012), 451.
[64] Nomavenda Mathiane, *Eyes in the Night: An Untold Zulu Story* (Johannesburg: Bookstorm, 2016), 1-263.

Zulu war as a young girl and decided to reconstruct her life. Mathiane spent many hours interviewing and recording her siblings as part of working on her grandmother's story and essentially telling it. The interviews culminated in the writing up of the book.[65] Relevant for this research's methodology, is the memory work Mathiane and her interlocutors were tapping into in writing the history of her grandmother, okaMakhoba. While her grandmother was not a *kholwa* woman, Mathiane, by making her grandmother the focal point of the book, shows the importance of the stories of Black women who have not been accorded the role of historical narrators by historians and scholars alike. Through Mathiane's work, we get a sense of how narratives that are narrated at the familial level can help us understand big histories.

Women and narratives

The stories of women especially African women have been conventionally reduced to folklore. The grandmother is often positioned as the narrator of folktales. It is further asserted that women tell fictional stories and men true or 'real' stories. In *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told"* Hofmeyr problematizes this view. She posits that:

> This predominance of women storytellers in Southern Africa, both now and in the past, has been so widely and consistently noted that it cannot, of course, be without substance. Yet in all the years that this situation has been observed, no one has thought to subject the stereotype to any form of critical scrutiny. Have women always predominated as storytellers? If so, how does this institutionalized speaking relate to the institutionalized silencing that characterizes women's subordination in precolonial Southern African societies? What, if any, have the traditions of male storytelling been? How, if at all, do male and female storytelling interact? These questions have never really been broached. Instead, the fact that women should tell

[65] Mathiane, *Eyes in the Night*, 1-10.

> stories is often taken as self-evident, an assumption that in turn effectively obscures a number of crucial questions about male traditions of storytelling and the politics of gender in oral literature.[66]

Hofmeyr is interested in the performance of oral historical storytelling and how male storytelling relates to female storytelling. This is useful for the study since in conducting the interviews, the women narrators referred me to men – elite men in particular– that they deemed knowledgeable about certain issues that they themselves felt limited in being able to talk about. I diverge from this since I am concerned with the narrations of history by three related *kholwa* women and what they tell us about history. While I juxtapose Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's oral historical narrations with that of Mkhulu Bongani, I am not interested in comparing male and female storytelling to each other. Instead I am interested in how the former's contributes to a matri-archive and the latter as an example of what a patri-archive looks like. I note the differences in these, but this is not my primary focus. Nonetheless, Hofymer's trenchant critique of the essentialist view of women as storytellers of fictional narratives shapes my thinking as I do not treat the narratives of the three women as fiction. I also attempt to look at the generational nature of storytelling by Black women and what each woman narrates and does not narrate.

Babalwa Magoqwana in "Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge" centres uMakhulu, uGogo in isiZulu, as a custodian and an institution of knowledge.[67] She is critical of the conventional ascriptions associated with this figure as a social

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[66] Isabel Hofmeyr, "*We Spend Our Years as A Tale That Is Told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993), 25.

[67] Babalwa Magoqwana, "Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge: Beyond 'Biologism' towards uMakhulu as the body of Indigenous Knowledge" in June Bam, Lungisile Ntsebeza & Allan Zinn (eds.), *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography* (Cape Town: AFRICAN SUN MeDIA, 2018), 75-90.

welfare safety net and the biological view of uMakhulu. Instead, she attempts to reposition uMakhulu as an institution of historical knowledge, values and a source of how we come to understand who and what we are in society. The motivation behind her work is due to:

> Elderly African women's role in the economy, markets and sustaining the rural communities has been reduced to a shadow of what it used to be and today sounds mythical to the younger generation as they see violence against women entrenched in the social fabric of our communities. It is the aim of this chapter to reclaim and recognize the elderly African women's bodies as institutions of indigenous knowledge, dissemination, and storage' in the pre-colonial and contemporary society.[68]

Unlike Magoqwana, I do not only treat uGogo (Gogo MaHlubi) in this instance, as merely an institution, custodian and disseminator of historical knowledge, but also as a producer of history. Magoqwana's work can be read as also pushing historians to be attentive to how custodians also produce and reproduce and mobilize history, which has not been adequately theorized. Moreover, Magoqwana's contribution is vital for this thesis because it boldly advocates for a different view when it comes to African grandmothers and troubles deeply entrenched conceptions synonymous with these figures. It also centres actors who have been classified in a particular way that has effaced their role by asking us to rethink what constitutes knowledge custodianship from the lens of oMakhulu/oGogo and those they have been socialized by. Moreover, this work has helped me be more attentive to what women who are not classified as grandmothers narrate and the impact (if there is any) of their social roles in shaping their narratives, how they narrate and why they narrate. It is important to reiterate

[68] Magoqwana, ''Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge:" in June Bam, Lungisile Ntsebeza & Allan Zinn (eds.), 76.

that, in the thesis I am not only interested in what oMakhulu or oGogo narrate, but what and how women of three different generations narrate history.

Black feminist scholars in South Africa have been concerning themselves with studying the various networks that Black women have created and used to forge solidarities against the intersectional oppressions marked by race, gender, class that they have faced across time. One of these networks is the Umanyano, which is the women's guild in protestant churches such as the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Lihle Ngcobozi in "Lizalise Idinga Lakho [Honour Thy Promise]" explores uManyano as a site of political activism, solidarity and a public shere that has a long history in South Africa. She "argues that Manyano women's publicness is not limited to gendered expressions of the public and private sphere. Instead Manyano women demonstrate that their publicness in post-apartheid South Africa ought to be understood through a combination of the varied identities that they straddle, such as those of a politically and culturally defined womanhood and communally based motherhood, which express their understanding and performance of citizenship."[69] The women interlocutors in this thesis are not part of Umanyano themselves, but as people who were socialized in a *kholwa* setting, Ngcobozi's intervention is still useful in contextualizing the world they once inhabited, which was marked by the centrality of the church and its institutions in their lives. While Ngcobozi's intervention is significant for theorizing the kinds of work being a part of Umanyano does, this thesis

[69] Lihle Ngcobozi, ""Lizalise Idinga Lakho [Honour Thy Promise]: The Methodist Church Women's Manyano, the Bifurcated Public Sphere, Divine Strength, Ubufazi and Motherhood in Post-Apartheid South Africa" (MA Dissertation, Rhodes University, 2017), 9-10.

takes it further by thinking about the engagements with the past in the present that women outside of structures such as Umanyano do.

Black women as archives and producers of history

Uhuru Portia Phalafala explores the notion of the *matri-archive* in the work of the poet, Keorapetse Kgositsile. Phalafala makes the argument that,

> oral traditions passed on from matrilineal members of the family to their (grand)children [are] a key system of knowledge that has informed and shaped black intellectual culture and the black radical imagination in South Africa and its transnational iterations. I focus on the work of Keorapetse Kgositsile who attributes his cultural and political consciousness to his grandmother and mother, and asserts that they equipped him with the wisdom to survive the hostile environment of colonial modernity and apartheid…the matriarchive…holds together locally-specific matrilineally-inherited worldviews, intersubjective relations, vernaculars and aesthetics.[70]

For Phalafala, Kgositsile's grandmother and mother were major influences in his life and transmitted Setswana oral traditions, which are embodied in his poetry oeuvre. The idea of the matri-archive is useful to me in thinking about the narratives that I grew up with as told by my grandmother, mother and aunt. For Phalafala, Kgositsile's grandmother and mother represent the matriarchive.

In this thesis, the argument I am making is that these narratives in and of themselves are histories, which the women mobilize for numerous political reasons. These narratives constitute a matriarchive that I as a relative of these women have had access to ever since I was a child. However, while this is personalized to the women and me,

[70] Uhuru Portia Phalafala, "Polyglot Internationalism and the Matriarchive: The Case of Keorapetse Kgositsile", *Interventions* 22, no. 3 (2020), 346.

this thesis makes the argument that this matriarchive exists everywhere and as such pushes us to rethink what an archive is and where it is located and who has access to it. These questions are at the heart of what constitutes history, the production and mobilization of history and the multiple locations and actors involved in such processes and activities.

The production and reproduction of history

There are no singular actors and structures that monopolize the process of producing and subsequently mobilizing history. Where it was previously held that only professional academic historians are responsible for producing historical knowledge and what counts as history, historians such as Jan Vansina and David William Cohen, among others, have problematized this prevailing notion. For Cohen, "the realm of historiography so construed is reserved for an arena of scholarly practice on the reconstruction of the past. As a field of scholarly activity, "historiography" privileges the written document and the learned and scholarly literatures on the past developing over the centuries. It omits…the practices of history outside the academy."[71] The case of the three women and the men that they refer me to and their discourses and mobilizations of the past in the present, take place outside of academic spaces. They happen in families and even filter beyond the families. As the cases of Ubumbano (clan groupings) and Umanyano also illustrate, these engagements with the past also take place in organized structures and the kinds of histories that get mobilized predate the formation of the Zulu kingdom. The people who make these claims make them as part of laying claim to belonging, identity and essentially political resources. People

[71] David William Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago University Press, 1994), 2.

from all walks of life are aware of what the past can do for them. My argument is that the post-Apartheid moment opened a way for people in individual and collective capacities to use the past to do all sorts of work for them as the case of the three women illustrates.

Social identities and mobilizations of history in contemporary KZN

In contemporary KZN, many people today focus on the histories of their own clans. The claims that emanate from these histories are tied to specific geographic location(s) that the clan traces as either its place of origin or its epicentre – where it is settled presently. There is a deeply entrenched history of mobilizing the past in KZN for political reasons. This history can be traced back to the aftermath of the destruction of the Zulu kingdom in 1879 and how certain actors, namely *amakholwa* in collaboration with others, grouped around the figure and symbolisms inscribed to the Zulu royal family from the late 1880s to the 1890s. As Michael R. Mahoney explores in *The Other Zulus: The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa*. Mahoney posits that "Natal Africans now became Zulus, in striking contrast to their animosity toward the Zulus during the precolonial and early colonial eras."[72] Moreover, the "new Zulu ethnicity of Natal Africans became a vehicle for two things: protest against the colonial state and the reconciliation among the different groups of Natal Africans who had come into increasing conflict with one another."[73]

Inkatha invoked the history of the Zulu royal family and the cultural symbols associated with this institution in the 1970s and 1980s. In the post-Apartheid era, there

[72] Michael R. Mahoney, *The Other Zulus: The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 150.
[73] Mahoney, *The Other Zulus*, 150.

have been numerous clans who have spoken back at the idea of the Zulu as a unified social, cultural and political category by mobilizing their pre-Shakan histories. The works of Mbongiseni Buthelezi, Grant McNulty and the submissions that were made to the Nhlapo Commission, cement the attempts to critique the Zulu nationalist histories that have become synonymous with KZN.[74] The existing work does not focus on the gendered aspect of women's mobilizations of history and how through evoking different versions of the past, the women themselves are mediating in a pre-existing practice of invoking the pre-Zulu past in a way that does not only privilege the patrilineal side of the family. Nonetheless, these studies succeed in forging the way for understanding the ubiquity of producing and mobilizing history and that institutions that are sanctioned by the state, in this case, the Zulu Royal House do not have a monopoly on KZN's history. In fact, there are multiple histories that are being explored and most of them contest the version of history that the Zulu Royal House mobilizes for various reasons.

The three women's narratives and their mobilizations of history can be located within this history and show how the mobilization of history is not only the preserve of the state, but extends to people from all walks of life. As the historiography shows, people have typically come into groups such as Ubumbano to mobilize history and make claims to political resources such as land.

[74] See Mbongiseni Buthelezi, "Sifuna umlando wethu" (We are Looking for our History): Oral Literature and the Meanings of the Past in Post-Apartheid South Africa", (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2012); Grant McNulty, "Custodianship on the Periphery: Archives, Power and Identity Politics in Post-Apartheid Umbumbulu, KwaZulu-Natal", (PhD Dissertation., University of Cape Town, 2013); Nokuthula Cele, "Building a Community on the Zulu Frontier: The History of the Machi Cheiftaincy from the Early 19th Century to 1948." (PhD Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2006); Submission to the Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims, (2004), http://www.mkhangelingoma.co.za/heritage/history.pdf, (Accessed 25 February 2019).

Methodology

I drew mainly on three bodies of material for this study. The first was the recollection and memory of stories I heard from the women narrators *before* starting work on the thesis. When I began this research, I was already familiar with the set of narratives I grew up hearing, which means that I did not have to start from scratch: I was merely building on and tapping into a rich archive. This was useful because it meant I was able to tap into my memory of 'unrecorded' instances of narration I had experienced

previously from those whom I set out to interview for this thesis. As part of my method I have attempted to separate out and distinguish between my memories of what I heard before starting the thesis and the narratives I have recorded as part of the research exercise.

The second body of material was a series of in-depth oral history interviews undertaken for the thesis. They were at once both 'familiar' and the 'unfamiliar'. The familiar was my actual home, namely the lounge, the kitchen and Gogo MaHlubi's bedroom and the home of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle. The unfamiliar were the homes of Mkhulu Bongani, kaMpolweni, Malume Mafezwe and the other secondary interlocutors. I must state though that while the secondary interlocutors' homes were unfamiliar spaces to me, these people are related and from the same circles as my family since I was referred to them by the main interlocutors, the three women. This means that inasmuch as I do not frequent their homes, they are familiar in the sense that I know of them; but unfamiliar due to the fact I am not personally close to them notwithstanding the relations that exist.

I gained the support of the three women (primary narrators) about the research before I registered for the degree. This ensured that they were kept in the loop from the beginning. Moreover, even as we were setting times to meet for the interviews, they had started suggesting potential secondary narrators in the form of relatives or family friends. I was able to tap into the close networks that the primary narrators had. I can attribute the ease with which I accessed the narrators due to the way I framed the research: I framed it in a way that made it clear that I was interested in what the women had to say about their families' histories in Mpolweni Mission. This enabled

me to then have access to my intended pool of narrators who have a close link to the area. These are people of status and have crafted their sense of selves to be deeply enmeshed in the history of Mpolweni Mission: for them, they cannot talk about Mpolweni without invoking their rooting in Mpolweni. The result of such an approach is that I have ended up with an expansive body of material that can be used in writing up a history of Mpolweni Mission, or as Mam Phindile suggested at the end of our interview, the final product of this thesis could be in the form of "a book that they would read" – "they" being the newcomers.[75]

I was also lucky in that one of the secondary narrators who is considered to have a good grasp of the history of Mpolweni Mission due to the position he occupied in the 1960s and his significance presently, wanted to talk to me. He was eager and kept on asking when I would come see him, way before I was thinking of conducting fieldwork. Even when I had interviewed him, he would contact me for follow-up interviews instead of the other way round. Moreover, it shows that it is not only researchers who have an agenda but narrators too. I got a sense that there was a heightened need for the history to be recorded and subsequently written from the narrators. This is something that reverberates in the narrations, which raises the point that there is an expectation that this research has to do something bigger and beyond. That thing is probably restorative in nature and/or the rendering visible that which has been forgotten.

I note here an intersubjective element since the narrator and the researcher co-produce history as Alessandro Portelli observes that it is "what the source and the historian do

[75] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission.

together at the moment of their encounter in the interview."[76] In addition, since there were instances where I was referred to people who were considered to be on one hand family historians and on other hand knowledgeable on certain aspects of the history the women main narrators were not, I had to be mindful of the fact that "the interviewee can be a historian as well as a source."[77]

My methodological approach has been to treat the narrators and narratives as not mere informants and sources, but as producers of history and histories in their own right. This raises the question: are the narrators historians then?

For this research, I made use of in-depth interviews to expand on the conversations I had had with the women interlocutors while growing up. Since I am working with the oral narratives of the three women and secondary narrators, I had to make use of oral history as it enables narrators to tap into their recollections of the past while also subjectively producing history. I decided to use in-depth interviews since I wanted to explore complex questions and in turn get layered narratives out of them. My interview guide was not heavily structured because I wanted to allow narrators to drive the interview. This also forced me to improvise sometimes since I had not confined myself to sticking to the guide all the way through the interviews.

I conducted interviews in May, July, October, and December 2017 and January 2018. In May, I interviewed Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile in Cape Town. In July I interviewed kaMpolweni, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, and Mkhulu Bongani in their homes respectively. In October, I interviewed KaMpolweni and Mamkhulu

[76] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia, Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 3.
[77] Robert Perks & Allistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), ix

Ntombenhle. In December I interviewed Gogo MaHlubi. In January I interviewed Mam Phindile, Gogo MaHlubi and Mamkhulu Ntombenhla. My interviews with Gogo MaHlubi were spontaneous: I live with her in the same house and we converse all the time. On the days that we had interviews, they were unplanned: a random conversation started, which I saw as linked to the questions I wanted to ask for my research and I would make use of these chance openings by asking to record her. She would agree and then I would proceed to have a discussion with her.

The pre-interview process would be spontaneous and I appreciated this since I felt like we were able to have a conversation rather than an 'interview.' She would be more relaxed as well and this is what I wanted. With the other narrators, I had to set time for the interviews since they have busy schedules. My interviews were conducted mostly in IsiZulu. Only one interview was conducted in English, namely on the occasion I interviewed both Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile in 2017 while they were both in Cape Town. Sometimes interlocutors would use phrases in English as the transcripts show. I have fourteen interviews in total for this research although I ended up not using all of them in writing up this thesis. The length of the interviews varies. The shortest is 30 minutes long. The longest is 2hrs 45 minutes.

The third body of material I used is archival. I conducted archival research in October and December of 2017, and again in January 2018 in the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository. In January 2018 I conducted archival research in the National Archives of South Africa (NASA) in Pretoria. I also made use of the James Stuart Archive (the

published volumes[78]) and the online material as part of the First Hundred Year Archive (FHYA)[79], housed in the Archive & Public Culture Research Unit (APC) at the University of Cape Town. Since the direction of the research changed from being about the history of Mpolweni Mission to being about how the women mobilize history, I make relatively little direct use of the archival material in this thesis. The material in future may be used to write a history of Mpolweni Mission that I have not been able to produce in this thesis.

My sources are thus a combination of interviews, archival material; published and unpublished scholarly books and journal articles.

The full transcripts of the interviews are included in the appendix. Since I conducted most of the interviews in IsiZulu, I did not translate them into English as I felt the meaning would be lost through translation.

Ethical considerations

The thesis emanated from discussions that took place while I was growing up. These conversations happened even before I started the thesis. They are still taking place to this day. When I was thinking about doing this research, I discussed the proposed research with the women about my intention and they stressed that they would be willing to participate as narrators and even refer me to those who would be willing to talk to me about issues that they felt they had limited information on. When I started doing my fieldwork, it was imperative for me to ask again for permission from the

[78] Coli De B. Webb & John B. Wright, eds., *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples Volume 1* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976), 149-154.

[79] "The Five Hundred Year Archive (FHYA)", *The Archive & Public Culture Research Initiative, University of Cape Town*, 2018 & 2019, https://fhya.org/about

women interlocutors and to also find out about their willingness to do this research with me because of the ethical issues that are at play. They reassured me that they were still eager to participate in exploring this umbilical archive with me. I mention this because for my own personal politics, I do not want to do an injustice by exploiting the narratives that I have been entrusted with by turning them into an academic piece of work without having been given the blessings by the people whose lives are deeply entangled into them. It would be a travesty.

There are challenges that come to the fore with doing research on your family and in this case interviewing my mother, grandmother, and aunt. Many issues are bound to arise and have implications for not only this research but other sensitive issues that many may not have known about – including me. I made it my responsibility to inform the interlocutors about what this research entails well in advance, informed them of their rights and sought their verbal consent to conduct the interviews.. While it is hard to distance the personal from the intellectual, I have tried by all means to maintain professionalism in conducting the interviews by ensuring confidentiality to the interlocutors. Before writing up this thesis, I have had numerous discussions with my supervisors about what to include and not include in the thesis while factoring in what was requested to be excluded by the interlocutors.

While I was conducting interviews, I made it clear to my interlocutors that they had the prerogative not to continue with interviews or not answer any questions should they feel uncomfortable during the interview. Moreover, I made it my responsibility to ensure that I did not divulge the details of what came out of the interviews to anyone outside of my supervisors especially considering the personal aspect of this

research as it could happen that each of the three interlocutors will ask me what each individual interlocutor said as the fieldwork was happening. In addition, I had to be mindful of what my interlocutors signaled as being something other interlocutors were aware of (commonly known details) and what they considered to be confidential and as such could not be shared share with anyone else. To uphold confidentiality, I decided not to share any of the narratives that came out of the interviews with any of the individuals I interviewed during fieldwork although I am aware that by reading the thesis, they will come across the information that came out from their respective interviews.

I am aware that while I aimed to maintain confidentiality between what each interlocutor shared with me, it is inevitable that they will all find out about what was shared to me in interviews they were not a part of by reading the thesis. It was imperative that I clearly state upon writing that there was a certain material which exists which cannot be discussed in this thesis as part of protecting the identity and sensitivity of the cases. This required me to be able to draw conclusions about this material being a secret without revealing its contents. I thus made it clear that I could not divulge some things from the interviews to any of the interlocutors.

Since this research is taking place amidst a protracted land claim that involves the Hlubi family, I have treated the information that comes up in relation to this case with the sensitivity that it deserves. Whenever sensitive information presented me with ethical dilemmas, I made a point of discussing the issues with my supervisors as part of my effort to develop appropriate ethical research practice. I have read the UCT Research Ethics Code for Research Involving Human Participants and the UCT

Historical Studies Department Research Ethics document and understand my responsibilities as a researcher with regards to consent, anonymity and providing a safe and conducive space for my interlocutors and I. My interlocutors gave verbal consent for the interviews and that is captured in the interview transcripts in the appendix.

My narrators consisted of elderly people and making them comfortable was a necessity for me. I am also aware of my limitations as a researcher and in this case I have relied on the support of my supervisors. Any shortfalls with regards to ethical considerations are the only mine, nonetheless.

Positionality: straddling multiple strands of identity

The nature of this research requires that I actively locate myself within it and not assume the role of an 'objective' observer since I bring many aspects of my identity – albeit conflicting – to the table. Therefore, I cannot divorce my entire being from this research as I am using oral narratives of three Black women who are close to me (namely my grandmother, mother, and aunt) to write family history while simultaneously beginning to think about writing up larger history (the history of Mpolweni Mission). In addition, my being and background are intrinsic features that have inadvertently shaped the methodological choices that I have made in conducting this research. The aspects of my identity (or in precise terms the roles that I occupy) that have shaped how I approach this research are that of a grandson, son, nephew, intellectual and someone who is still considered a child regardless of current esteem as a graduate (not only a graduate, but a UCT graduate) by both old 'community' and

family members.[80] This means that each role I occupy requires me to perform tasks in certain ways as part of my socialization as an African child. Each role brings with it numerous challenges, which are hard to navigate as ultimately I need to produce written family and community histories at the end of this research. Nonetheless, it is important for me to be aware of these roles and the challenges that accompany them as they have implications for this research and the end-product. I now explicate these challenges in paragraphs that follow.

This research was shaped by conversations I used to have with my maternal grandmother as a young boy when I was growing up in Mpolweni Mission. These conversations stemmed from the fact that I went to a primary school, which I found out during the course of my studies there, that it was named after my maternal great-great-grandfather. I then began probing my grandmother upon making this discovery about how it came to be that our primary school was named after one of my forebears. As I matured with age, these conversations turned into larger engagements about Zuluness, Zulu identity, and history and the state of affairs in our former mission station area, Mpolweni Mission.

When I started my undergraduate studies at the University of Cape Town, the conversations kept on gnawing in my mind and it was upon discovering Hlonipha Mokoena's *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual*[81] in a second year South African Literature lecture that I began to start thinking differently about amakholwa

[80] UCT – the University of Cape Town in full is considered to be a prestigious university in South Africa and it is very rare for people from my area to gain entrance to it. Hence why those who do are accorded esteem. I am probably one of the few (if not the only one) who have made it to UCT.

[81] Hlonipha Mokoena, *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011), 1-338.

and their significance in South African history. It did not dawn on me that my maternal great-great-grandfather then was a kholwa intellectual and chief himself at the time. This became clear when I started doing this research in 2017 with the assistance of Prof John Wright. Essentially, the fact that these conversations were constant particularly when I was at home for university holidays or not, was one of the things that motivated my decision to move into Historical Studies for my Masters and finally dedicate time, energy and effort to writing about this fascinating history that was carried by my grandmother and mother, which remained obscured in professional historical productions and the statist historiography.

While this research aims to fill the lacunae in the historiography, it is also immersed in doing so in unconventional ways, by enabling people who do not have the privileges of writing scholarly work or nationalist historiographies to be narrators and documenters of their own histories and how they have come to make sense of them. I offer this brief description in order to highlight my investment in this research and what it is predicated upon, but more so, to contextualize my positionalities as they have evolved over the years. This is important as my development as a person and ultimately an intellectual itself is tied and implicated in this research in complex ways. I cannot, therefore, divorce the personal from the intellectual. While I am an 'insider', I am also equally an 'outsider': I vacillate between these two roles in a fluid manner. I am implicated in the oral histories of my main and secondary interlocutors.

I have an investment in what they have to say although I also have the privilege of selecting what they say and presenting it in ways that further my own objectives. In what ways is this advantageous or disadvantageous to my narrators? Does it create

any forms of conflict? Does it mean that the histories that will be written officially as part of this thesis will not be contested? Will they be read as they are presented in whatever form I have decided on or will there be a gross misrepresentation? What are my own ethical obligations as a researcher, son, grandson, nephew, insider, outsider? These are the questions I have attempted to be mindful of and to consider as I do this type of work. While I may never fully answer them due to their enormity, they point to broader challenges that are associated with the intersubjective nature of oral history as theory, methodology, and practice.

Choosing who gets to speak and be listened to by me

Questions may arise as to why I have chosen to have my maternal grandmother, aunt, and mother as main interlocutors? The response is simple. My maternal family has had a very prominent position in Mpolweni Mission: my great-great-grandfather was the first *kholwa* chief, my great-grandmother was a leader of the women's guild at the local Uniting Presbyterian Church and my great-grandfather an induna (headman) of one of the Mngadi kholwa chiefs who succeeded my great-great grandfather. It is this prominence that has made me want to explore in detail the positioning of my family within the histories of Mpolweni and how this came to be. Notwithstanding this prominence, the fact that ngatholelwa ekhaya/ngaphandle komshado (which means I was born out of wedlock in English) means that I belong to my maternal side of the family.

As a result of this, the history that would be passed on to me and the one that I have come to know would be my maternal one due to the dynamics that have characterized who I am and the location I occupy in society (read 'Zulu 'society). As an African

person, the type of socialization that I receive shapes my outlooks, values and what I have come to know. This socialization has been shaped or is a product of the socialization that my parents and their parents have received: it is transmitted from one generation to generation. It becomes the norm although of course, this does not mean that it does not get challenged. This socialization taught me that I have to respect adults and that no matter how educated I become, I would always be a child in my mother's and aunt's (umamkhulu in IsiZulu; aunt in English) houses, a grandchild in my grandmother's house and ingane yakwaMahlaba to other residents – especially the elderly – in my area. Amidst all of this, how then do I approach this research? How do I choose what I listen to, who gets to speak and how they speak? These questions are rhetorical, but I pose them anyway to illustrate that this research is subjective and I cannot divorce myself from it. I straddle these subjectivities and they are read differently by each interlocutor. Ultimately, their reading shapes what they reveal and what they do not reveal. What they narrate is selective and political just like what I myself, choose to ask and why. This is the nature of oral history: it is intersubjective. The researcher and the narrator have commitments to the research.

Chapter One: Gogo MaHlubi

"Ifa lonke kwakuyelakhe" – *"The whole inheritance was his"*: Invocations of the Maiden Family's Inherited *Kholwa* Status, Identity, Belonging and the Matri-Archive

> Engikwaziyo yi lokhu kokuthi umhlaba ufanele ukubuyela kubantu ngoba nami ubaba wami wayenomhlaba eMpolweni angisho njalo. Kangangoba ubaba wami wakhishwa eplazini lakhe weza eMpolweni.[82]
>
> What I do know is that the land is supposed to return to the people because even with me, my father owned land in Mpolweni; let me put it like that. My father was even removed from his farm and moved to Mpolweni.

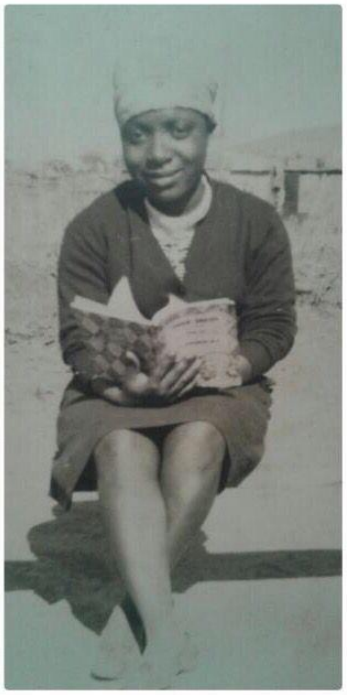
This chapter explores the oral narratives of Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, my maternal grandmother. As the person who has been the most instrumental in narrating the history of our families – the Mahlabas and the Hlubis, and shaping my interest in the discipline of history broadly, it is important that I first begin the women-centered chapters with her and her oral historical narrations. My interest in this chapter is what

[82] The author's follow-up interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 32 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

and how Gogo MaHlubi narrates about the past. Building on from Babalwa Magoqwana's conception of uMakhulu as an institution of knowledge, I observe that Gogo MaHlubi not only is an institution but that she also carefully produces and mobilizes the past in intricate ways to do particular things. I note that her account has two dominant themes: the Hlubi's Swazi pre-colonial origins and their arrival in the Mpolweni area; and the circumstances of her marriage into the Mahlaba family.

In terms of the first theme, she carefully distinguishes this clan from the amaHlubi of Inkosi Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu, with whom they share a name. My reading of this part of her account situates it in the context of wider attempts by individuals living in KZN to assert their pre-Zulu identities in the present. She goes on to make a claim, bolstered with historical references that her maiden family, the Hlubis, were prominent early African landowners in Natal and the custodians of the first *kholwa* chiefship in Mpolweni Mission. Asserting this status is at the heart of laying claims in being the 'first-comers' in the area at a time where presently newcomers have cemented themselves as the elite thus effacing the history of first families such as the Hlubis and the Mahlabas. This claim speaks to respond to societal changes taking place in the area.

There is a protracted land claim involving the Hlubis and so for her there are resources, in the form of land and monetary compensation, that are at stake. The past of the Hlubis is entangled in this land claim. She relates the implications of these stakes to the ongoing discussion concerning the local Uniting Presbyterian church's custodianship of land in Mpolweni Mission and its attempts to return land to the residents. The version of the past that she mobilizes as it pertains to the Hlubis and



their positioning in Mpolweni Mission, suggests that the land of the area belonged to the family or the Hlubi patriarch, Bathengi, who contributed to the purchasing of the land. Archival material seems to point more to the idea that the land belonged to the Free Church of Scotland and not individual families such as the Hlubis. However, there may be merit in Gogo MaHlubi holding the view that the Hlubis contributed to the purchasing of the mission land although this aspect falls outside the ambit of this research.

Figure 1. Picture of Gogo MaHlubi in her early 20s at the Hlubi Homestead in Mpolweni Mission. Mahlaba Family Album, Early 1960s.

Introducing Gogo MaHlubi

Gogo MaHlubi was born Duduzile F. Hlubi in Empangeni, a town in the north-eastern parts of KZN, to the late Martha Jabulile MaNtuli and Phineas Bathengi Hlubi, in 1943. MaNtuli was Phineas' second and youngest wife; the first wife was MaMtshali whom Gogo MaHlubi and her siblings referred to as Mamkhulu.[83] Her paternal grandparents are Bathengi Josiah Hlubi and Serafiya MaMazibuko Hlubi. Bathengi and MaMazibuko had two sons, namely Phineas and Bathengi Hlubi. Gogo MaHlubi is the only surviving child of her parents. She is also the only surviving direct grandchild of Bathengi Josiah Hlubi who was the first *kholwa* chief of Mpolweni Mission.[84] To her peers in Mpolweni Mission, she is affectionately known as MaHlubi.

[83] Mamkhulu is usually the designation of the senior wife. The young wife would be referred to as Mamncane. In other contexts, Mamncane is also one's mother's big sister or cousin.

[84] It is worth noting that one of the secondary narrators interviewed for the thesis provided a contrasting view that actually the Hlubi patriarch initially was not the first chief of Mpolweni Mission; it was

Young people like myself either call her Gogo MaHlubi, Gogo kaAyanda or Gogo kaAndiswa.[85] Peers of her children refer to her as Maka Bongi, Maka Thami, Maka Xoli or Maka Zama.

Gogo MaHlubi is currently a pensioner who has lived in Mpolweni Mission since her early twenties after getting married to the late Mkhulu Malcolm Mahlaba in 1964. They had four children; three daughters and one son, namely Thami who is the first-born, Bongi, who is late is the first-born daughter. The other daughters are Xoli Shabangu and Phindile who is one of the narrators consulted in the course of this research. (See chapter three).

Gogo MaHlubi's grandparents both passed away before she was born. Bathengi Josiah's death was announced on 1 January 1915 in *Ilanga lase Natal:*

> URev. M. Sililo, umfundisi wase Mgu'ndhlovu we United Free Church, ubese Tekwini ngoMgqibelo ekape uSeth Hlubi, indodana yomufi uChief Josiah Hlubi. Le ndodana iya utekela imfundo eLovedale.[86]
>
> Rev. M. Sililo, the minister in Pietermaritzburg of the United Free Church, was in Durban on Saturday accompanying Seth Hlubi, the son of the late Chief Josiah Hlubi. This son is going to study at Lovedale.

somebody else related to this narrator. It is worth noting that archival evidence does not support this narrator's view, but instead supports Gogo MaHlubi's that indeed the first chief in Mpolweni Mission since the establishment of the mission was Josiah Hlubi.

[85] Gogo MaHlubi has six grandchildren from her immediate family. Three currently do not live with her, and I have not discussed them in this thesis, and the three that I refer to in the text, including myself, live with her. Local young people therefore refer to her as the grandmother of the grandchildren that she lives and are familiar with and they do so interchangeably of the specific grandchildren. Doing so essentially does two things: it denotes her role as a grandmother in society and goes on to tie her to specific grandchildren whom she is the biological grandmother of.

[86] "Izindatyana Ngezinto Nabantu", *Ilanga lase Natal* (Durban), 1 January 1915.

It is possible that this notice is referring to Phineas Hlubi, Gogo MaHlubi's father, who was Josiah's first-born son. Josiah had only two sons, Phineas and Bathengi. According to Gogo MaHlubi, Phineas studied at Lovedale as well.

On Tuesday, the 27th of July 2020 as I was reading for my thesis, my phone screen lit up and I saw the name "Home" (Gogo MaHlubi's contact name on my phone) flash up. I picked up with a bit of worry because we usually talk over the phone in the evenings after dinner. She told me she was calling to tell me about a dream she had about my grandfather, uMkhulu. It was a beautiful dream. As we were talking, she told me about a recent occurrence involving the Mahlaba extended family, which had annoyed her. What struck me the most as were talking, which she repeated more than once was, "Angisiyena owakwaMahlaba mina; ngingo wakwaHlubi!", "I am not a Mahlaba; I belong to the Hlubis!". This was a bold and significant statement because it concretized the gist of her narrations of history and her centering of Hlubi history over Mahlaba history. The Hlubi identity is of importance to her regardless of the fact that she married into the Mahlabas; she still belongs to her people – the Hlubis. As we will see in the next chapter on Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, there are similar sentiments both these women share about belonging to their maiden families and not their matrimonial ones.

Figure 2. Picture of Phineas and MaMtshali Hlubi. MaMtshali was Phineas' first wife and Gogo MaHlubi's Mamkhulu. Hlubi Family Album, Late 1950s.

Framing the pre-thesis narrations

For as long as I can remember, Gogo MaHlubi and I have conversed about the history of the Mahlabas and the Hlubis, and the prominent positioning of these families in the history of Mpolweni Mission. The Mahlabas and the Hlubis are my families because they are my mother's paternal and maternal families. As someone who was born 'outside of wedlock', I thus belong to both these sides of the family. The conversations with Gogo MaHlubi would take place at different sites and moments. We have had two homes: the first being the home I grew up in, ekhaya elidala, ezansi and the second where we currently live, which we call ekhaya phezulu. We have been living in the second home since 2013, my first year of university. Both these homes have attached to them different sets of memories and histories that are explored in detail in the thesis.

In the early years, the conversations would happen either in the lounge, the late Gogo MaNtuli's, Mam Phindile's bedroom or the kitchen.[87] We would gather at different

[87] Gogo MaNtuli is Gogo MaHlubi's late mother and Mam Phindile's maternal grandmother.

times of the day and this enabled multiple conversations to take place, sometimes at once. When we moved to our current home, the conversations continued to take place in Gogo MaHlubi's room, the kitchen and the lounge. At random moments, we would find an opportunity to talk about the past in relation to these families and Mpolweni Mission. When relatives who did not stay in Mpolweni Mission were visiting, a form of camaraderie among the elders would erupt because it would be a perfect moment for them to start reminiscing about the past and in them doing that, we the children, would listen in with envy for snippets of what their worlds before we were born looked like. To me, my family members, particularly the women I call my parents, have always seemed like they had something to say not only about the past but about the present. In order to make sense of the present, they would most often find an opportunity to invoke something from the past be it as part of lamenting or lauding.

In Grade 6 when I was 11, a group of friends and I wanted to start a school magazine for our primary school, Bathengi Senior Primary School – also in Mpolweni Mission. This school was under-resourced and inasmuch as we wanted to do something noteworthy, we faced immense constraints. In a social context where impoverishment, unemployment, and poverty were rife, we were not going to make much money from selling the magazines to our target market. In retrospect, it is clear our schoolmates could not afford it. The motivation behind the magazine was to document the history of the school, which was named after Gogo MaHlubi's paternal grandfather and my maternal great-great-grandfather, Bathengi Hlubi, who was also the first chief in Mpolweni Mission. I discovered this not at home, but at the school by chance and I remember feeling excited that I was associated with 'great' people.

This was a big deal to me, and on the day I discovered this, after school, I ran to Gogo MaHlubi to ask her more questions about her grandfather. The history of Batengi whom the school was named after was not easily accessible and was not much spoken about in the school and the community, which is why I was very excited when I first found out about him. In fact, I remembered that whenever Gogo MaHlubi sighs, she usually evokes Bathengi through, "We Bathengi!" I was thus able to connect the dots and get a sense of where this evocation was coming from and why it was sentimental to Gogo MaHlubi. Upon being bombarded by my questions about the figure of Bathengi, Gogo MaHlubi then explained to me that the Uniting Presbyterian Church building in Mpolweni was built by Bathengi who owned a wagon and carried stones from the river to build the church. I also remember occasions where Gogo MaHlubi and her late friend who were both tasked with cooking for the church deacon's court, would show me a plaque with Batengi's name on it and the date of the establishment of the church whenever we were there. I would accompany Gogo to church and help with serving the members of the church who would be meeting. I did this as a teenager. When we were there, she would often say, "Umkhulu wami wakha leli sonto. Uyalibona igama lakhe?" which means, "My grandfather built this church. Do you see his name?" asking me this while pointing to the plaque. She mentioned this again when she was being interviewed, which shows the consistency in her narrative and the importance of this fact to her.

What I found striking about these narrations was the centrality of the Hlubis and how Gogo MaHlubi defined herself as a descendant of chiefship, ubukhosi bakaHlubi. I recall vividly how she would evoke and assert her chiefly status although we were

not even well-off then. For me at that time, it was contradictory how she was tapping into that history regardless of that present saying the opposite since materially there was nothing to attest to that status. I would ask myself what happened as there were contradictions. To be precise, she seemed to be clinging onto the memory of what had disappeared materially but remained deeply etched in her heart. The history of the Hlubis was spoken positively about by my immediate family because Gogo MaHlubi and our family had not been treated well by the Mahlaba clan. When she spoke about her pre-marital life and the schooling she had, I could pick up that she had had hopes of having a better life than the one she ended up living. This was repeated whenever she mentioned how, if her father had not fallen sick, she would have not been forced to drop out of school but would have instead furthered her studies and made something big out of her life. The unfortunate circumstances surrounding Gogo MaHlubi's life were poignant to me. Notwithstanding this, certain joyful and humorous events that took place when they all lived in the Mahlaba homestead were also spoken about. What I remember vividly though is that most of the time the narrations would centre on the status of the Hlubis and their location in the history of Mpolweni Mission.

Figure 3. Picture of Bathengi Josiah Hlubi and his wife Serafia MaMazibuko Hlubi at the Hlubi Farm in Albert Falls. Hlubi Family Album, Early 1910s.

Interviewing Gogo MaHlubi

Interviewing Gogo MaHlubi was not difficult because I live with her and therefore have direct access to her. Our relationship is very tight in the sense that we talk about almost everything all the time, whether we are physically together, or not. We have always had such a close bond, which is why it is also easy to remember the

conversations we had in the past. What triggered the interviews for this thesis was our daily congregations in her room in preparation for bedtime, where my mother, little sister, Gogo MaHlubi and I, come together and talk about all sorts of things. It is a daily practice whenever I am home or not. On this specific occasion, the 27th of December 2017, we were in her room and my mother and I started talking about the birth of King Shaka and Queen Nandi's treatment subsequent to this birth. My grandmother chirped in and offered her take. As this conversation was unfolding, I thought it would be ideal to ask Gogo MaHlubi for permission to conduct the first interview on Hlubi history. She agreed and that is when our discussion on Bathengi Hlubi began. Framing the interview in this manner also worked because at the time I was conducting archival research on Mpolweni Mission and Bathengi Hlubi, and so grabbing this opportunity was also part of my research process.

The second and last interview with Gogo MaHlubi happened in the afternoon of 31 January 2018. This interview was also spontaneous in the sense that it took place after I had finished washing dishes in the kitchen. My grandmother was sitting there and as I was wrapping up my task. We randomly started talking and that is when I got the idea to ask for her permission again to ask her thesis related questions on the record. She agreed. Our interview, rather than having a clear beginning, started in the mid-way of another conversation.

Making use of these spontaneous opportunities to have conversations about seemingly discrete topics in the manner explained above proved to be productive for me because it is part of something my family and I partake in almost daily. There is something to be said about these kinds of engagements, particularly how they centre

on everyday topical issues and enable individuals to make sense of the political landscape. I believe that it is possible that they may exist in every household. For me the historian though they also proved to be a vivid instantiation of how historical narrations exist in structures outside of the academy and are ongoing. The household and the family are examples of such structures.

The content of the discussions with Gogo MaHlubi can be grouped into two main concerns: the first being the history of her maiden family, the Hlubis – this family's pre-colonial history, movements from Swaziland to Natal, the status of the family as reflected through its custodianship of the *kholwa* chiefship and land ownership, the loss of status of the family, Gogo MaHlubi's unfortunate circumstances that were related to the loss of status of the clan and her navigating the marginalization in her matrimonial family, the Mahlabas. The second entails offering reflections on the present state of affairs in Mpolweni Mission by evoking the past order and linking the attempts to return land to the 'people' by the church as necessary while also commenting on the Hlubi land that was taken away, which is the subject of an ongoing land claim. The content of the discussion reveals how the past is mobilized for numerous reasons.

Early Swazi Hlubi clan history and settlements in Natal

One of the topics that have always been at the heart of Gogo MaHlubi's narrations is that of the Hlubi's clan origins, which are not in KZN. Through numerous conversations that I have had with her, she has always emphasized that the Hlubis are from Swaziland. This specific theme is worth exploring because it provides the background for understanding the status of the Hlubis that is central to Gogo

MaHlubi's mobilizations of the past in the present. However, in order to understand how she and her family found themselves in Mpolweni Mission, we have to start with where they came from. For Gogo MaHlubi, the Hlubi's origins, indabuko, are in Eswatini. The Hlubi's Swazi origins were told to Gogo MaHlubi by her father. She concretizes these claims, by drawing on clan names as an archive; "UNkosi uHlubi: abakwaNkosi abakwaHlubi, eh Dlamini…"[88] (Nkosi is Hlubi: the Nkosis are from the Hlubi, eh Dlamini…) In greater detail, the Hlubi izithakazelo, clan names, are "Nkosi, Dlamini, Hlubal'donga, uMavuso, uMlangeni" as she expanded upon them.

The evidence provided by Gogo MaHlubi in the form of zithakazelo illustrates that Hlubi, Dlamini and Nkosi are related and all originate from what was then called Swaziland. This account is also bolstered by the secondary literature on the history of the Swazi royal Dlamini and its relatives. Michael Westcott and Carolyn Hamilton's *In the Tracks of the Swazi Past*.[89] They provide an account of a narrative by Simbimba Ndlela:

> Hlubi was the son of the early king, Ludvonga. Hlubi had three brothers, Loziyingile, Mamba, and Dlamini. Certain people were jealous of Hlubi because he was the heir. So they planned to kill him. But before they could carry out their plan, Hlubi's mothers decided to protect their son. They burnt his right hand so that he could not use it. As a left-handed person cannot become king, Hlubi's brother, Dlamini, was chosen as king instead. The people who were Hlubi's followers decided to seek a new home. They climbed the Lubombo Mountains and stayed on

[88] The author's follow-up interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 31 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

[89] Michael Westcott & Carolyn Hamilton, *In the Tracks of the Swazi Past: A Historical Tour of the Ngwane and Ndwandwe Kingdoms* (Matsapa: Macmillan Boleswa Publishers, 1992), 1-88.

> the top. They stayed with the Myeni people. Ndlela, from whom my people get their name, was born there.[90]

They also provide an account by Logwaja Mamba, which diverged from Ndlela:

> Dlamini was the son of the early king, Langa. He had one brother called Hlubi. Langa felt that even though Dlamini was the eldest son, he was not suitable for the kingship. So he thought up a plan to take the kingship away from Dlamini and give it to the younger son, Hlubi. He ordered Hlubi and Dlamini each to skin one head of cattle. The one who skinned their beast quickest would become the king. But Langa gave a blunt knife to Dlamini and a sharp knife to Hlubi. Hlubi finished skinning his beast first and so gained the kingship. Then the two groups left their home in the east. We Mamba people, the descendants of Dlamini, went up the Ngwavuma River on our journey. The descendants of Hlubi went up the Phongolo River. The groups who later became known as 'bakaNdlela' and 'bakaDlamini' travelled southwards, skirting around the bottom edge of the Lubombo Mountains. The people who later became known as 'bakaMamba' migrated westwards from Mavaneni and crossed the Lubombo through the Ngwavuma breach in about 1750. They settled in the Lowveld, west of the mountain range in a wide area around the Lucolweni Hills.[91]

Historian Bonginkosi Bhutana Sikhondze explores the journeys of Dlamini and Hlubi, their respective supporters and where they ended up after the contest that was to crown the next leader was over.[92] What is noteworthy from his paper is that both Dlamini and Hlubi end up with supporters in different locations of Swaziland. Josiah Bathengi Hlubi was born in Mahamba, which means that his clan settled in this part

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[90] Westcott & Hamilton, *In the Tracks of the Swazi Past,* 11-12.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Bonginkosi Bhutana Sikhondze, "State within a State: The History of the Evolution of the Mamba Clan of Swaziland", *Transafrican Journal of History* Volume Number 15, (1986), 2-4.

of Swaziland after the dispersals as a result of the tensions between the two brothers discussed above. What is of particular interest to this chapter are the relations between Hlubi and Dlamini clans and their Swaziland roots. The reason behind this is because it puts into conversation Gogo MaHlubi's part of the narrative about her paternal grandfather's Swazi origins and what other sources reveal about this with the existing historiography on Swazi clans.

Whose story about the origins of these Swazi clans is true and whose is not, is not the concern of this chapter. Instead what is of interest are the clues of the history of the Hlubi clan that are carried by these different stories and how Gogo MaHlubi's invocation of the Swazi origins of her Hlubis can be read in relation to them. These stories do not merely function to further give credence to Gogo MaHlubi's Swazi origins story of the Hlubis, but are other discourses that her narrative can be understood in relation to. What Gogo MaHlubi's account shows, is that this branch of the Hlubis, resident in KZN, like many other people who today are regarded as Zulu, and in many cases who regard themselves as Zulu, are cognisant of their histories of other identities. In certain contexts they mobilize these pasts in the present, in the way that Gogo MaHlubi does. This can be seen vividly in Jill Kelly's seminal book, *To Swim with Crocodiles: Land, Violence, and Belonging in South Africa, 1800-1996* where the Mdluli who are presently settled in the Table Mountain area - trace their origins and their past in Eswatini and not KZN.[93]

[93] Jill E. Kelly, *To Swim with Crocodiles: Land, Violence, and Belonging in South Africa, 1800-1996* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2019), 15-17. Kelly is not the first scholar to make such an argument. If one looks at the contemporary mobilizations of the past in KZN, various groupings have advanced notions of their pasts that can be traced to areas outside of KZN and even beyond South Africa.

The Two Hlubis: Langalibalele's amaHlubi and the Swazi Hlubi

When I was growing up, most people assumed that our Hlubi clan was the same as the amaHlubi of Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu. These two groups are distinct from each other. Gogo MaHlubi elaborated on this, noting that, "Angithi oLangalibalele abakaHadebe. Isizwe sabo amaHlubi, thina samaSwazi"[94] (Langalibalele is from the Hadebe. Their isizwe (nation) is the amaHlubi, we are amaSwazi.") The reason for the conflation between these two Hlubis is rooted in the shared name although they have different histories. Historians can interpret these diverse pasts in numerous ways. As the research progressed, I moved away from attempting to judge these claims historically. Rather, I became interested in understanding what work they do in the present. Therefore, I treat them as a form of discourse, and I pay attention to the kinds of arguments about the past that someone like Gogo MaHlubi is engaging in when she discusses the past.

The Hlubis & Settling in Mpolweni Mission

How Gogo MaHlubi and her family found themselves in Mpolweni Mission was narrated in the following way by her:

> Angithi ukuhamba kwa…ubaba wami…umkhulu wakhe [ubaba wakhe] wayehamba enezindawo njengako Edendale uyabona? Ehhe… Enezindawo lapho…afike athenge indawo lapho aphinde ayothenga indawo koAlbert Falls… aphinde azothenga indawo eplazini…iplazi lakhe umkhulu wami elikhulu ileli [Albert Falls]…lokhu okunye nje kwakuyizindawana ezincane uyabona.[95]

[94] The author's follow-up interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 31 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.
[95] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

> You see, his movements…my father's…his grandfather [his father] would move around because he had land plots in places such as Edendale, you see? Yes… He had land plots there…he would buy a plot somewhere and then go and buy a plot in a place like Albert Falls….and then buy a plot in a farm…his farm – my grandfather's – his biggest farm is this one [Albert Falls]…the others are small plots, you see?

Sheila Meintjes' book, *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen* confirms that indeed Bathengi did own plots of land in Edendale. He was among the original landowners who purchased land from Allison. From 1862-1925, Bathengi owned 13, 7.50, 4.25 and 0.50 acres. From 1862-1912, he owned 13.75 acres.[96]

Allison, the Hlubis & the Nkosis

KaMpolweni, a narrator considered by the women interlocutors to have a good grasp of the history of Mpolweni Mission and the status of the Hlubi family and other prominent families, frames the context within which the Hlubis found themselves in Mpolweni this way:

> UAllison usuke weza eMpolweni ngoba uAllison umthetho wakhe wayeyiChurch of Scotland kodwa esesuka manjena kumaWeseli ngoba wayekade eseSwazini esebenza namaWeseli kodwa uthe mayefika eEdendale wase eza eMpolweni. Wayesebuyela-ke kwi…wayesevusa iChurch of Scotland. Iyona-ke le eze nayo nokhokho bethu. NabakaHlubi babelapho: kwakuyinto yinye. Ngoba phela abakaHlubi abakaNkosi. Ehhe. Weza la eMpolweni-ke. Waqala-ke ibandla. Waqhubeka-ke manje esenza iChurch of Scotland. Ehhe. UBabamkhulu, angingasho ukuthi uBabamkhulu, angithi ukhokho. ULot, wayewu-right handman kaAllison kodwa ngokukholwa wangayithanda le nto. Umthetho wakhe

[96] Sheila Meintjes, *In the Shadow of the Great White Queen: The Edendale Kholwa of Colonial Natal, 1850-1906* (Pietermaritzburg: The Natal Society Foundation, 2020), 225.

> wayebekwe ngengoChief: ukhokho wami kwasho ukuthi kule nto yakhe yokukholwa, uthanda…uyakugxumela. Usekulahla kwabakaHlubi. Kwase kuthathwa abakwaHlubi kanjalo.[97]
>
> Allison left for Mpolweni because technically Allison was part of the Church of Scotland, but then he had left from the Wesleyans because before he was in Swaziland working under the Wesleyans. However, after being in Edendale he then left for Mpolweni. He then returned to…he then revitalized the Church of Scotland. He then arrived with it with our ancestors. The Hlubis were also there: they were one thing because the Hlubi are Nkosi. Yes. My older father, actually let me not say my older father, let me say my forebear. Lot, he was Allison's right hand-man. But because he was an ikholwa he did not like that. He was initially assigned as the chief; my forebear, but because he was a believer, he loved…he jumped into. He then dumped it to the Hlubis and then the Hlubis took it.

KaMpolweni continued to say that, "Babezalelwe bonke eSwazini nabakwaHlubi. Bonke nabakwaHlubi. Babeyinto yinye."[98] ("They were all born in Swaziland including the Hlubis. Them and the Hlubis. They were one thing.")

Through this, she suggested that her grandfather was a land-owner in various places, which enabled him to be mobile at a time when this ability was extended to only a few Africans, in this case, mission-educated *amakholwa*.

Gogo MaHlubi's father Phineas had two wives, namely MaMtshali (the first wife, whom they referred to as Mamkhulu), and MaNtuli, the second wife, Gogo MaHlubi's mother. As she explained below, the reason behind this extended family structure was as a result of,

[97] The author's interview with KaMpolweni, 20 July 2017, Hayfields, Pietermaritzburg.
[98] Ibid.

> Angithi njengoba ngichazile ukuthi ubaba wami wayehamba ehamba ehamba ehamba… Ngafunda… Kwasho ukuthi i-head office yakhe yayiseMnambithi phela. Basuke lapho behamba noGogo: uMaNtuli. Unkosikazi omkhulu [MaMtshali] phela uhlezi ekhaya angithi ubhasobhe imfuyo…bafuyile izinkomo, amagusha… Bami kahle…ehh…nje…yonke into…Kuyalinywa lapha…kulinywa umbila, kuyathuthwa umbila uyiswa kaMadonela. UMamkhulu-ke wayegade izinto ezinjengalezo ngoba indoda yakhe yayihamba izindawo zonke.[99]
>
> As I explained before that my father used to move around a lot…I studied… His head office was in eMnambithi [Ladysmith], you know. They then left from there with Gogo: MaNtuli. His first wife [MaMtshali] was back home because she was looking after livestock…they had livestock…cattle, sheep…They were well-off…eh…they had everything. They used to plant there…mealies, they transported mealies to Madonela. Mamkhulu then looked after such things because her husband moved around all over.

The Hlubis as a typical *kholwa* family

When she narrated this, she further provided an illustration of a well-off family that had livestock and produced mealies. This is emblematic of the prosperity of *amakholwa* at a time before the increasing laws constricted their mobility. This part of the narrative can be read in two ways: first, as providing commentary to how things were at that time and second, as giving a glimpse into what Gogo MaHlubi remembers to be what characterized her family. If we take the former, then it is necessary to contextualize the statement. Gogo MaHlubi was born in 1943 and as she says before she moved to Mpolweni to live with her matrimonial family, she had lived on the

[99] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

Hlubi farm in Albert Falls with her Mamkhulu, MaMtshali. At this time she was either 3-or 4-years-old according to her.

Therefore, the period she is referring to would be 1946/1947. This was before the National Party (NP) came into power in 1948, which means that the promulgation of laws that introduced the notion of Black Spots had not been effected yet. However, the Natives Land Act of 1913 and its successor the Natives Land and Trust Act of 1936 had been promulgated before. Both these pieces of legislation bolstered the massive land dispossession of Africans and constricted their ownership of land. Nonetheless, the Hlubis were unscathed as they had not purchased the land plots after these laws were put in place. Important to note here too is that both Gogo MaHlubi's grandparents, Bathengi and MaMazibuko had already passed away. The former in 1915 and the latter in 1935.[100]

The year before MaMazibuko passed away, the mortgage bond that Phineas and Enos had taken, was passed in favour of John Beer for the sum of £350 under the Natives Land Act of 1913.[101] This bond included all the three properties that Bathengi had owned and subsequently bequeathed to his sons. Serafia's role as life usufruct was also renounced. The reasons behind this transaction are murky, but it can be speculated that it happened since both Phineas and Enos could no longer pay off the bond and thus had to settle for an arrangement with Beer. As a result of this then, it meant that the Hlubi sons lost the properties that their father had left for them. If we take this into consideration, Gogo MaHlubi (born in 1943) would have been born after

[100] Estate of the Late Josiah Bathengi Hlubi, 1925, Death Notice and Inventory Union of South Africa, UDJF 243, Secretary for Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

[101] Minute Number 1361 Prime Minister's Office, 1936, URU 1923/653, Minutes of the Meeting, National Archives of South Africa Pretoria.

the Hlubis had lost their land and their status as material landowners would have waned. This means that her evocation of this status stems from what her father may have narrated to her about what they used to have before they lost it and so when she narrated it to me at different moments, she was still holding onto that status and narrating in a way that felt like she had grown up to it; whereas she did not. This is not an oversight from her side, but instead it is an indication of how sentimental the past of her family, particularly the status, has been for her and thus evoking it through narration in ways that appear to seem like they had been lived experiences for her. It is the memory of this history that is symnbolic for her.

Loss of Status

Showing us how harshly the loss of the material status of the Hlubis manifested itself in her life, she goes on to narrate that the situation worsened since she studied until Standard 8, which was in 1957/1958 when she was 15/16-years-old, because,

> Kwasho ukuthi ubaba wami useyagula-ke. Uyagula ubaba ugulela emsebenzini khona lapho sihlala khona la ethenge khona umuzi [KwaMachibisa]. Wagula-ke ubaba wami kwasho ukuthi-ke bamphutha off emsebenzini. Futhi phela babengaholi imali… Ingakakabikho imali njengamanje. Ngoba ukube kwakuyinjengamanje ngabe hhawu… Kwasho ukuthi vele wayengenandaba nalutho ubaba wami ngoba kubo kwaku-rich: kwakhe. Ifa lonke kwakweyelakhe… Izinkomo…iziklabhu…ingulube ini kuthi phakathi nesikhathi nje kuhlatshwe izinkomo abantu baseMpolweni bayodla… Abanye behlala khona… Nje kugaywe utshwala…kuvuthwe umbila…uyabona nje…[102]

[102] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi, 26 December 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

> It was then that my father fell sick. He was sick while still working and we were living in the house he bought for us in KwaMachibisa. He was sick and was then put off from work. Also they did not earn much money. There was not as much money as there is nowadays. If it was like nowadays I am sure… But then he did not care much about such things because he came from a rich family: his family. All the inheritance was his. Livestock. Cattle. Sheep. Pigs…all of. During the week they would slaughter a cow and the people of Mpolweni would go there to feast. Some stayed there. They would brew Zulu beer. They would harvest the maize…you see.

Here she paints a picture of a family that had abundant resources and took care of other community members. The inheritance that she is alluding to forms part of the estate that Bathengi Hlubi had left whose value was £300 in 1925.[103] There is a hint in this part of the narrative that the Hlubi farm may have had tenants who rented parts of the property, which highlights how these *kholwa* landowners were able to make money through renting out some plots of land. Again, in this part of the narrative, she portrays the Hlubis as living prosperously despite Phineas' low-paying job. It is contradictory to what other forms of evidence show as I have described as it is unlikely that the Hlubis at the period she is talking about still had significant wealth.

In addition, I knew that Bathengi Hlubi had been a chief in Mpolweni Mission as I highlighted how I discovered this fact as a little boy. It is also something those within the family know about. I then brought it up – the fact that Bathengi was a chief and she agreed that he was. I then asked the following question,

[103] Estate of the Late Josiah Bathengi Hlubi, 1925, Death Notice and Inventory Union of South Africa, UDJF 243, Secretary for Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository.

> And then-ke…ubaba…umkhulu wakho-ke phela njengoba mayeyinkosi I'm sure kwakusho ukuthi mawukuthi useyashona kuzoba ubaba wakho… Kwenzakala lokho? Ukuthi mase eshonile umkhulu wakho?[104]
>
> And so…your father… your grandfather since he was a chief I am sure that meant that if he passed away your father was going to be next in line… Did that happen? After your grandfather passed away?

She responded by saying,

> Ehhe mase eshonile umkhulu…ubaba wami waba yinkosi yaseMpolweni. Kusho ukuthi noma engabanga yena inkosi yaseMpolweni ngokuthi i…iplazi lakhe lalila. Izingane zakhe…yonke into yala eMpolweni yayisibiza yena…Ehhe.[105]
>
> Yes, when my grandfather had passed away…my father became the chief of Mpolweni. However, inasmuch as he did not become chief directly but since…his farm was here. His children were here…everything of Mpolweni was under his name…yes.

In response to this I asked,

> Kwakuwuyena mnikazi weplazi…lase Mpolweni?[106]
>
> Was he the owner of the farm…the Mpolweni farm?

She offered the following response,

> Phela angithi wayengaphansi kw*amakholwa*…ehhe ukuthi yiwona…umcebo wonke ngaphandle kweplazi wawunika amakholwa lawo.[107]
>
> I mean he was under the *amakholwa*…yes so they…all the wealth except for the farm he gave to *amakholwa*.

Custodianship of Mpolweni Mission Land

[104] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

The official records pertaining to the mission in Mpolweni show that the Free Church of Scotland was the official custodian of the land and not certain families who owned plots of the land as was the case in Edendale. Thus the land arrangement in the former could not be such that families such as the Hlubis owned the mission land as Bathengi Hlubi himself owned plots of land in Edendale and later Albert Falls. However, it may be the case that Gogo MaHlubi views the close proximity of Mpolweni Mission to the Albert Falls farm as showing how the ownership of the latter by Bathengi meant he de facto owned the former. Moreover, it may also be that she reads the custodianship of the *kholwa* chiefship in Mpolweni Mission by Bathengi as rendering him in possession of the land in Mpolweni. So then it could be that for her the custodianship of the chiefship is synonymous with owning the land. This points to the meanings that individuals of status attach to institutions they have been custodians to as an intergenerational inheritance.

Above Gogo MaHlubi suggested that her father Phineas was meant to be the chief after his father Bathengi passed away. However, he ended up not talking over his father because he associated the chiefship with constantly talking and he was naturally a quiet person. She then described that since he was not going to be the next chief, he then:

> Wathatha ubukhosi bakhe, kwakufanele kube obakhe, wabunika izihlobo zakhe zakaMngadi.[108]
>
> He took the chiefship, which was supposed to be his, and gave it to his relatives the Mngadis.

[108] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

This part of the narrative introduces us to the notion of 'passing on' the chiefship among the *kholwa*. What needs to be noted is that the *kholwa* chiefship was never designed to be hereditary. To understand how the institution of chiefship was extended to *amakholwa*, I now turn to John Lambert who writes:

> …the Native Code of 1891 eventually provided for the appointment of *kholwa izinduna* over mission reserves. Indeed, the Code went considerably further. It gave to the *kholwa izinduna* the legal status of appointed chiefs, so enabling them to hear civil cases; they could try homestead Africans according to African law and could try *kholwa*, in Johannes Kumalo's words, 'as near as I know to White man's law.These measures in effect created distinct chiefdoms on each reserve, a step which increased rather than diminished friction and resentment.[109]

Moreover,

> The appointment of Christian chiefs was part of a process whereby the government was blurring the distinction between *kholwa* and non-*kholwa* in the colony. Whereas previously *kholwa izinduna* had exercised jurisdiction only over fellow *kholwa*, now as chiefs they exercised territorial authority and could accept men who had changed their allegiance.[110]

Lambert's discussion sheds light to how the *kholwa* chiefship was able to mirror that of the hereditary one since the Native Code that led to the introduction of the latter created confusion. It thus makes sense why the kholwa chiefship became the preserve of certain families such as the Hlubis and Mngadis although this was never meant to be the case.

The first *kholwa* chief of Mpolweni Mission, Bathengi Hlubi

[109] John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), 126.
[110] Lambert, *Betrayed Trust*, 126.

In the context of Mpolweni Mission, if we work with the archival material and the oral accounts of Gogo MaHlubi and other Hlubi relatives, Bathengi Hlubi was the first *kholwa* chief in Mpolweni Mission from the inception of the mission under the Free Church of Scotland until he passed away in 1915. It is my argument that the *kholwa* chiefship, in its creation, was never meant to be hereditary but instead have 'democratic' elements, since incumbents had to be nominated and elected by the mission before the outcome of that election culminated in a ratification of the appointment by the colonial administration. However, as the Edendale and Mpolweni Mission cases show, the chiefship became amenable to being monopolized by certain individuals and their families as the Minis in Edendale did and the Mngadis in Mpolweni.[111] The *kholwa* chiefship thus took on the shape and form of the hereditary one, which worried colonial administrators, who were clearly intent on mitigating this from happening. For Gogo MaHlubi, the eligibility for the *kholwa* chiefship was based on the following,

> Kwakuya ngokuthi u…u…ubukhosi…ake ngithi wena uyiNkosi…udlule mhlawumbe emhlabeni umntanakho bese bethi, "isikhundla sa…sikababa wakho njengoba nje eyiNkosi sizothathwa ubani? Uyabona kwakuhamba kanjalo: iziteji, iteji, iteji, iteji.[112]
>
> The chiefship depended on…let me say you are a chief, and maybe you passed away, they would say to your child, your father's position since he was a chief, who is going to take over from it? So you see, it worked like that. It was stages, stages, stages, stages.

[111] Andre Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 158-165.
[112] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

Here she was stressing how successive obtaining the chiefship was and based on lineage. I then asked how the Hlubis obtained the chiefship and for her,

> Angithi babenamaplazi. Ukuma kahle kwasho ukuthi vele indawo yaseMpolweni iyindawo yamakhosi: yamakholwa. Umkhulu naye kwasho ukuthi vele uyikholwa. Uyalibona leli sonto elilapha ezansi? Lakhiwa umkhulu wethu ngamatshe ayewalanda lapha phesheya ebophela izinkabi. Uyazibona lezi zinto mawuhamba ngasemgaqweni eyithe engathi zibabambe? Kubhaliwe lapho lakhiwa ngo1941 [1841] angisazi noma June noma July. Kubhaliwe.[113]
>
> The thing is they owned plots of land. They were well-off and this coincided with the fact that the area of Mpolweni was an area of amakhosi: the amakholwa. My grandfather was an ikholwa even. Do you see that church further down? My grandfather built it using stones that he fetched over there [the river] with his ox-wagon. Do you see these things when you pass by the main road? It is written that it was built in 1941 [1841], but I am not sure whether it was in June/July. It is written.

Amakholwa, land ownership and mobility

Upon getting a sense that her grandfather Bathengi moved around frequently because he was a landowner and purchased land, I then asked if he was an *ikholwa* and Gogo MaHlubi agreed that he was. The reason behind asking this question is because in archival material accessed while working on the research proposal for this thesis, there is a reference to Batengi J. Hlubi as a chief of the 'Kolwa' 'tribe' in the divisions of Umgeni and New Hanover. He had 44 followers in the former and 146 in the latter

[113] Ibid.

divisions as shown in the annual report of 1909.[114] Moreover, in the historiography of *amakholwa* in Natal, there are indications of converted Africans buying and owning land in this region. Gogo MaHlubi described *ikholwa* as,

> …ilabantu abangaphansi kwamasonto. Basho njalo phela ukuthi bakholiwe…kodwa kusho ukuthi bangene ngaphansi…njenge-ANC. Ukube uzongena ngaphansi kweANC. Mhlawumbe siqambe igama ukuthi 'amakholwa'.[115]
>
> It is those people who are under the auspices of the churches. What they say is that they are believers…but then they fall under…like the ANC. Like how you would be under the ANC. We would then name them 'amakholwa'.

The analogy of the *amakholwa* with the ANC was striking to me because it suggested that she was alluding to the latter as being an offshoot or subsidiary of something, in this case the church, just like the ANC has many affiliates and offshoots that amalgamate within it.

Kholwa family relations

Gogo MaHlubi also narrated extensively about the relations between the Hlubis and Mtshalis. Intermarriage between these two families was common. Before MaMtshali married into the Hlubis, another MaHlubi had a few years before, married into the Mtshalis. This MaHlubi was the great-grandmother of Dumisa Mtshali. Dumisa Mtshali is a notable member of the Mpolweni Mission elite and a relative of ours. He

[114] I am indebted to John Wright who kindly provided me with a copy of this annual report. The report is referenced as follows: "Alphabetical List of Chiefs showing, showing Status, Names of Tribes, the Divisions in which Members are Resident, the number of Huts, and Stipends paid"; Native Affairs Department, Annual Report, 1910.

[115] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

occupies a prominent role in the land politics in the area as he is from a family that has an established positioning in Mpolweni Mission, like the three women.

Our conversation about the Mtshalis veered to another Hlubi relative I came across in the archive whom I thought I should ask Gogo MaHlubi about since we were still on the relations between these two families. This one was Tabitha Hlubi. As the conversation continued what struck me was her phrase, "unawo umlando futhi" ("He has a sense of history"), referring to Dumisa Mtshali as she felt like there were certain aspects of this specific Hlubi-Mtshali history she could not remember and that Dumisa could. As the other chapters will show, there is a trend where the women refer me to elite men for 'history'. This was one of them.

Curtailed Life Ambitions

Let us recall that Gogo MaHlubi had been forced to drop out of St Lewis in Standard Eight as her father could no longer afford the fees since he was ill and receiving no income. Gogo MaNtuli was not working, which meant Phineas was the only breadwinner. Since she was now back at home, it meant that she had free time. She was the only child, since she was the last-born, that her relatives in Mpolweni Mission had not met. A meeting was then set up for her to visit the family. The visit was fateful as it is through it that she met the man that later became her husband, my grandfather. She narrated the details of the visit in greater detail.

She then went on to talk about what culminated from Mkhulu Mahlaba verbalizing his intentions to marry her, which involved him sending people to ask for her hand in marriage to her father. At that time they were still living in KwaMachibisa. Her future

husband came from the home of the induna, and in a mission setting, this family was considered to be prominent.

The status of the Mahlabas

In another part of the narrative she mentions that the grandmother, MaNdlovu Mahlaba, was the leader of the church's women's guild. Both these prominent positions of the heads of the household cemented the well-off status of the Mahlabas and rendered this family as one of the elites in the mission station. When Gogo MaHlubi got married in 1964, at first, "…kwakukuhle nje; kwakungekho lutho. Phela emzini baqale bakufihlele ububona kuthi ngokuhamba kwesikhathi kuvele ububona ukuthi thina sabantu abanje. Umuntu owayengakhulumi uMkhulu.[116]", "…everything was going well; there were no problems. Your in-laws initially hide their true colours, it is only after a while that you discover who they really are. The person who did not say much was Mkhulu." After their wedding, Mkhulu Mahlaba was moved to Cramond and would only come home on weekends. At the beginning, her relationship with the mother-in-law was cordial. However, what changed was,

> Kwashintsha ethini ngangilokhu ngizwa ukuthi kunentombazane enabantwana uyayibona nje? Ngithi name mangizothola umntwana, naye uthola umntwana: uyabona nje. Umkhulu wakho unengane uMorris, cishe abe untanga kaBongi. Unengane ecishe ilingane noXoli. Unengane ecishe ilingane nalo [esho uPhindile].[117]
>
> Things changed since I would always hear that there was a woman who had your grandfather's kids. Whenever I would give birth, this woman would too: you see. Your grandfather has a son Morris, he is almost the same age as Bongi. He also has

[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.

a daughter that is almost the same age as Xoli. He also has a daughter that is the same age as Phindile.

In contrast, her relationship with Mkhulu Mahlaba, her father-in-law was described like this:

> Woo! Wayengeve engithanda loyo muntu. Oh Nkosi yami ngabe ngidlala ngaye noma elele. Wayengeve, kwakungeyena futhi umuntu…uyazi umkhulu walayikhaya, wayengeyena umuntu okhulumayo. Umkhulu wenu kodwa ubugebengu. Uyamazi umuntu othule ukuthi uthule nalo… UBaba wami aze abuze ukuthi, awungitshele mntanami, wamgana kanjani lo muntu ongakwazi ukubheka abantu? Mayekhona nje akabheki abantu…wayenamahloni okubheka abantu. Awu ngithi mina, awu ngamgana. Ngamgana nje phela kumina wayekhuluma kodwa nje kungeyena umuntu othanda ukukhuluma njengamadoda amanje. Bekuthi uma kufike umuntu ekhaya aphume; sesihlala-ke emzini wethu, aphume aye ekamelweni.[118]
>
> Woo! He truly adored me that person. Oh my God I would be lying about him in his death. He truly, he was not one to…you know the elder man, was never a man of many words. Your grandfather though was crooked. You know someone who would keep quiet about…My father used to ask me, "Tell me my child, how did you marry someone so shy?" When he was around, he never looked people in the eye…he was extremely shy and could noty look people in the eye. I would then respond and say, "I married him." I married him because to me he was chatty but he was not as talkative as the many of today.

Navigating difficult circumstances in the Mahlabas

One of the most tragic events she related was about is of losing an infant that had asthma,

[118] Ibid.

Phela bawu-4 abantwana bami abashona. Mhm. Owokuqala nje washona eno-18 months egula. Egula nje engathi wayene-Asthma. Uyabona ephefumula ehefuzela, ehefuzela ngenhlanhla samyisa kadokotela. Sithe masesisetekisini yakoHlophe abahlobene noNtombiningi [umakhelwane wethu], umkhulu kaNtombiningi. Umfana wakhona kwakuthiwa uBhabha odayisa izinkomo nezimbuzi lapha phezulu. Mhm. Wayenetaxi abangithola endleleni abuze ukuthi siya edolobheni yini? Ngimtshele siya edolobheni. Hhayi-ke ngigibele-ke. Uma ngigibela, ingane yami yathi i…i…i… awuthi kuthe makuhamba isikhathi…oh Nkosi yami, ngihlezi ngemuva khona abanye abahlezi la eceleni kwami sengimbeke la umntanami sengimbhozile: sengimbeke lapha, sengimbhozile. Awe a…aphefumule ngaleyo ndlela aphefumula ngayo kanti sekokokugcina. Washonela…sathi sifika kudokotela, babebemphuthumisa bathatha bamfaka, umphefumulo waphumela khona lapho.[119]

Four of my children passed away. Mhm. The first one passed away at 18 months. He was sick. He was sick, he had Asthma. You see his breathing was like he was panting. This other time when he was panting, we took him to the doctor. We then got into a taxi that belonged to the Hlophes who are related to Ntombiningi. There was a boy who was called Bhabha who used to sell cattle and goats. Mhm. He owned a taxi and they picked me up along the way and asked if I was going to town. I then told him we were. We then got into the taxi. When I got into the taxi, my child…after a while…oh my God, I was at the backseat and there were others next to me and I was carrying my child, covering him: I put him on my lap, covering him. He then continued panting in the same way he used to only to find out that was his last breath. He died…when we got to the doctor's, they took him quickly to the consulting room and he died then.

[119] Ibid.

Lokhu kwamphatha, "kabuhlungu, kabuhlungu, uyezwa kabuhlungu." (It hurt me, it it hurt me, you know it hurt me"). The other children that passed away, for her, was due to the fact that they were born not well due to, "isimo sami sokuhlukumezeka." I then asked her if she was feeling abused at the Mahlaba homestead and her response was,

> Ehhe ngangihlukumezekile nje. Yonke into ibheke mina….yonke…into ibheke mina, amabhodwe, amanzi emfuleni what what. IkaNduna la, makufike amakhosikazi omanyano kufanele ngisukume ngenze itiye noma ngisancelisa ingane athi umamezala, letha kumina ingane MaHlubi wenzele naba itiye… Ayi! Izingane zami zancela ububi enhlizweni yami; ngingaphathekile kahle.[120]
>
> I was extremely burdened. Everything was my responsibility…everything… I had to take care of it, I had to cook, fetch water from the river…what what. This was the induna's household. If there were women of Umanyano, I had to make tea even if I was breastfeeding, my mother-in-law would say give me the child MaHlubi and make tea for the women… Ayi! My children suckled all the pain that was in my heart; I was not happy.

The above represents an instance where she would be in the middle of breastfeeding her infant and the mother-in-law would disturb her by saying there are guests that needed to be attended to. She then had to make tea for them and the mother-in-law would look after the child while she was busy. In describing the deaths of her children, sadness was written all over her face regardless of the fact that it was not the first time I was hearing about these tragedies. The prominence of the Mahlaba homestead as a house of the induna and the leader of the women's guild became a burden on Gogo MaHlubi as a young wife since it was a busy household. These burdens and the

[120] Ibid.

financial difficulties pertaining to her own immediate family are what contributed to her deciding to leave the homestead and build her own home. Her husband had stopped sending remittances home and economically it was tough for her since she was not employed. She thus saw it a viable option for her to leave the homestead seeking employment opportunities and leaving her three children with her mother, MaNtuli, who was living with her brother, Shebi in Mpolweni Mission. This decision was a first attempt at liberating herself and her children as the Mahlaba homestead did not offer her any support.[121]

Phineas Hlubi in Mpolweni Mission

Her father Phineas passed away in 1966. When he passed away he was, "Wayesebuyile phela esehlala ekhaya [Mpolweni]."[122] ("He had returned back home [in Mpolweni].") This supports the observation that the bonds arrangement led to the loss of the land for the Hlubis since Phineas passed away when he was living in Mpolweni Mission and not on the farm in Albert Falls nor the house he had bought for his other family in KwaMachibisa. We do not get a glimpse of where MaMtshali endeded up since she was living on the farm in Albert Falls, however, it can be assumed that she also moved to Mpolweni Mission after the bond was approved.

For Gogo MaHlubi, the now Uniting Presbyterian Church played a vital role in Mpolweni Mission since,

> Kwakuthi uma seliphumile isonto, bese amadoda-ke aseyahamba-ke engena emzini-ke lapho la kukhona khona utshwala bayophuza. Babengaphuzi nje isonto lingakangeni. Babephuza uma isonto seliphumile: kufana nokuwasha nokulima.

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

> Kwakungalinywa eMpolweni ngeSonto; kwakulinywa phakathi nezinsuku. NgeSonto nje, cha.[123]
>
> It is only after the service was over that men would go to families where there were events to drink alcohol. They would not drink before the church service had started. They only drank when the service was over: just like we did not do laundry or plough the fields before. You would not plough the fields in Mpolweni on Sunday; you would do so on weekdays. On Sundays, no. Laundry too.

The church's centrality in the lives of the mission residents in the period that she is talking, which is the 1960s- early1990s meant that Sundays were respected since they were days of worship and therefore certain activities could not take place. This was because these were, "Umthetho wesonto." (The law of the church.")[124]

The political violence as driven by youth

Mpolweni experienced the political violence of the 80s and 90s between the Inkatha and UDF that ravaged the Natal Midlands as a whole. Gogo MaHlubi said that she has limited knowledge of this violence since,

> …ngangibona kwenzeka bebhiyoza benza yonke into kodwa ngangingavumelekile mina ukwenza lezo zinto ngoba ngangiyinto yasekhaya ngengoba ngiyinto yala. Kwakuba bayabhiyoza nje lapha. Izingane nje nabanye abantu abadala. INkatha yebo yayikhona kodwa ingekho mningi kakhulu…mhm…ngengoMalema nje…udadewabo kamamezala wami wazala ingane eyagana uGatsha. UGatsha wayewumkhwenyana.
>
> …I would see them marching and doing all sorts of things, but I was not allowed to do that since I spent most of my time at home as you see even now, I spend most of my time at home. I would see them marching afar. It was mostly young people

[123] The author's interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.
[124] Ibid.

> and a few elderly. Inkatha yes it had some presence, but it was not that strong just like Malema's party… My mother-in-law's sister was the mother of Gatsha's wife. Gatsha was an umkhwenyana.

Here she is suggesting that this violence was youth-led and therefore since she was also confined to the Mahlaba homestead, she could not fully participate as she was not allowed to. We also get a sense through this that Inkatha's presence in Mpolweni was not as strong as it was in other parts of Natal and she compares this to the EFF's same position contemporarily in the area. The relations of her mother-in-law with Prince Buthelezi are highlighted as the prince was married to the mother-in-law's niece. The status of the Mahlabas is also stressed here.

Using the past to lament in the present

Gogo MaHlubi compared the orderliness in terms of how the church and the chief regulated the affairs of the mission, particularly when it comes to land allocation to what happens today where anyone can sell land plots in Mpolweni Mission, according to Gogo MaHlubi. People do whatever they want and no longer get access to the land through the church and its structures as they did in the past. This has led to lawlessness and a lack of order. A solution for this would be to have a chief again, but she quickly questioned the feasibility of this by stating that it is too late now for that since how would a chief work when people accept money in exchange for land plots? Moreover, the fact that there are now councillors would create difficulties since it would be hard for councillors and chiefs to co-exist together peacefully. Gogo

MaHlubi is aware of the complexities characterizing the institutions of traditional leadership and councillors, who are democratically elected representatives.[125]

Yearning for the old Mpolweni

In Gogo MaHlubi's narrative, there is nostalgia that is palpable since she wishes that the residents of Mpolweni Mission could live together peacefully now as they used to then. She feels as if in this day and age, there is a lot of individualism and residents have isolated themselves from each other: nowadays neighbours do not visit or check up on each other. Then people who lacked food and other basic necessities would freely go ask for assistance to their neighbors without any form of obligation to return the assistance expected. Mpolweni Mission is thus presented as an idyllic, peaceful and caring community and not the Mpolweni Mission of today where people do not care about each other. This Mpolweni Mission of today does not have development, but instead, the only development that has come out of it is the scourge of drug abuse. The Mpolweni Mission of the past did not permit the selling of alcohol: only traditional Zulu beer was consumed. The scourges that are now rampant in the area can be attributed to the newcomers, the abantu bokufika who bring all sorts of evil things with them to Mpolweni Mission. When they do this, those who lived in the Mpolweni Mission of the past, feel and get marginalized. Thus, for Gogo, the social ills in Mpolweni Mission can be attributed to the abantu bokufika. The tensions between those who claim to be the original inhabitants and the newcomers are what Jill E Kelly in *To Swim with Crocodiles* also explores in relation to Mkhambathini – also

[125] There is an expansive body of work on how conflicts have arisen between these actors and the politics of such a phenomenon in post-Apartheid South Africa.

in the Natal Midlands like Mpolweni Mission. At the heart of this as Kelly shows are land, identity and belonging. In the context of Mpolweni these three theme are enmeshed to status as the thesis conclusions explore in detail.

Centering the Hlubis

Gogo MaHlubi when commenting about the church's attempts at returning the Mpolweni Mission land to the residents links this process that is currently underway to the historical injustice her family endured when her father's Albert Falls' farm was taken away and his family had to relocate to Mpolweni Mission. She makes the point that the land needs to return to the people because her father also had a land plot in Mpolweni Mission before he was even forced to relocate to the area,

> Engikwaziyo yi lokhu kokuthi umhlaba ufanele ukubuyela kubantu ngoba nami ubaba wami wayenomhlaba eMpolweni angisho njalo. Kangangoba ubaba wami wakhishwa eplazini lakhe weza eMpolweni.[126]
>
> What I do know is that the land must be returned to the people because even my father owned land in Mpolweni let me put it like that. More so my father was evicted from his farm and he moved to Mpolweni.

Through this, there is a claim in the present of the past landowning status of the Hlubis and the intergenerational nature of it since Batengi left land plots to his sons as an inheritance. These land plots were taken away when the Apartheid laws of the 1950s and subsequent years intensified and constricted Black land ownership and thus leading to dispossession. Gogo MaHlubi, in the present, makes a claim to this land as

[126] The author's follow-up interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 31 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

a descendant of Batengi. It is not only the claim to the land that is made but the role that Batengi played in the establishment of the mission station as he carried the stones that built the first church building using his ox-wagon, according to Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba. For her then the land of Mpolweni Mission and the prominence of her family are inextricably linked since her grandfather, Bathengi was at the forefront of the establishment of the mission. Through this, it is clear that Gogo MaHlubi's sense of self lies in the status of the Hlubis and their location in the history of Mpolweni Mission.

Gogo MaHlubi as an institution and an archive

Elderly people are conventionally considered to be archives that are used to elucidate different forms of knowledge. Some scholars, like Babalwa Magoqwana are of the view that the grandmother is an institution of knowledge.[127] I take it further to say that if she is an institution, then she is also an archive because archives in and of themselves are institutions. While the knowledge that this group is associated with is expansive in its form, for the thesis, what is of interest is what might be called historical knowledge. The constitutive elements of this historical knowledge range from clan origins to specific ancestral practices as grandmothers and grandfathers, inherent figures of seniority in a clan setting, depending on who is alive and not, are seen as the actors that have the leadership and spiritual powers to intercede for the living to the dead. Carolyn Hamilton in "Archives, Ancestors and the Contingencies of Time" advocates for ancestral practices to be treated as archives and doing so for

[127] Babalwa Magoqwana, "Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge: Beyond 'Biologism' towards uMakhulu as the body of Indigenous Knowledge'' in June Bam, Lungisile Ntsebeza & Allan Zinn (eds.), *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African pre-colonial Historiography* (Stellenbosch: AFRICAN SUN MeDIA, 2018), 75-90.

her would "challenge dominant epistemic practices", which I argue continue to strip these practices – their custodians and producers and the various contexts within which they engage within – of their archival potency.[128]

The way that these archives are configured enable for elderly people to be producers and mobilizers of historical knowledge. As custodians and even producers of this history, elderly people get consulted by those younger than them in instances where their interventions are needed. In the case of Gogo MaHlubi, the remaining descendants of Bathengi Hlubi, including herself, who have come together to put pressure on the government to process the land claim, constantly consult her about the history of the clan. I make the observation that her role as the only surviving grandchild of Bathengi also renders her salient as a figure that is responsible for providing guidance. In many clan gatherings she has to be present physically as this is seen as blessing the gathering and ensuring that whatever is being requested to those who are no longer with us – our ancestors – is attended to by them. She thus mediates between the living and the dead for us.

Conclusion

Gogo MaHlubi's role as a narrator can be read in conjunction with Babalwa Magoqwana's notion of uMakhulu, uGogo in this context, as an institution of knowledge. When she was narrating to me therefore, before and during the thesis, she was imparting in me historical knowledge about the history of the Hlubis, Mahlabas and Mpolweni Mission and not mere folktales that the African grandmother has been stereotyped as offering to as Hofmeyr rightly critiqued. However, this did not stop at

[128] Carolyn Hamilton, "Archives, Ancestors and the Contingencies of Time" in A. Lüdtke and T. Nanz, eds., Laute, Bilde, Texte: Register des Archivs, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2015, pp. 103-18.

her imparting historical knowledge to me, she was in the process of narrating history, mobilizing the status of the Hlubis as landowners and the first custodians of the *kholwa* chiefship in Mpolweni Mission. In mobilizing this past of the Hlubis in the present, she was also positioning herself as a woman of status (her identity) and tapping into the *matri-archive*. Poignant as her story is, there is no indication of victimhood, but instead what comes to the fore are the fluid and complex ways with which the history of the Hlubis is being mobilized to lay claim to resources and belonging in the present moment by Gogo MaHlubi. By also narrating, Gogo MaHlubi renders visible the history of Mpolweni Mission.

In the face of marginalization by her matrimonial family, she looks to her natal family history to confer on her and her descendants a form of historically-rooted status and standing. It is a source of pride for her. It is also something of a claim to lost resources. The status of the Hlubis as *kholwa* landowners and custodians of the first chiefship means a lot to Gogo MaHlubi. The history of this family too. She takes time to narrate about the Swazi 'pre-colonial' origins of the family. Through this chapter, we get a glimpse of the way in which women narrate about the past while centering the hardships that they faced. The hardships and the historical accounts are interwoven. This has a sense-making element. While Gogo MaHlubi is an institution of historical knowledge, she discourses with others and draws her historical knowledge from other sources. Thus the trope of the African grandmother as mere storyteller cannot be applied to her as it is limiting.

Chapter Two: Mamkhulu Ntombenhle

Mobilizing the Maiden Family's *Kholwa* Past, Marginalization and Sense-Making

> Kwakuwumndeni owawaziwa kakhulu umndeni wakaMahlaba. Enye yezinto eyayenza lokho uMkhulu uyinduna yenkosi. UKhulu wayewumkhokheli ebandleni lasePres so kwakuyi-family impela eyayaziwa kakhulu eMpolweni. Enye into eyayenza lokho kwakwaziwa njenge-family efundile. Abantu babehlonipha: babesihlonipha as a family ngoba-ke kwakubukeka sengathi siwumndeni ongcono kuneminye imindeni.[129]
>
> It was a very prominent family, the Mahlaba family. One of the things that made it prominent was because our grandfather was an induna of the chief. Our grandmother was a leader in the Presbyterian Church so it was a very prominent family in Mpolweni Mission. Another thing is that it was a family of educated individuals. People respected us: they respected us as a family because it seemed like we were better than other families.

This chapter turns its attention to another of my female relatives, this time on the Mahlaba side, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, who is not biologically related to the Hlubis. Although of a younger generation – she was born in 1958 – she, like Gogo MaHlubi, mobilizes the history of her maiden family, in this case that of the Mahlabas.

In this chapter, I discuss the similarities between the marital situations of the two women while also showing the differences. The similarities center around how both

[129] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 05 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

women married into new families, and continue to privilege the history of their pre-matrimonial identities in the present. Both women, and as will be shown in the following chapter, also the still younger Mam Phindile, have been marginalized in the Mahlaba homestead. The difference between the three women is that only Mamkhulu Ntombenhle embraces the history of the Mahlabas whereas the two privilege the Hlubi history. Her family and Mam Phindile's – my family – are very close since at some stage while living in Mpolweni Mission, she was taken care of by Gogo MaHlubi. This was because her mother, MaNdimande, was working in Mpophomeni as a teacher and could not be an active caregiver for her children.

Mamkhulu Ntombenhle narrates extensively about the Mahlaba side of the family as it is her natal family. Because MaNdimande and Gogo MaHlubi are both outsiders who married into the Mahlaba family, they forged an intimate relationship, which made them treat each other as sisters. She evokes the past centrality of Mpolweni Mission contrasting it to the present. Neither Gogo MaHlubi nor Mamkhulu Ntombenhle narrate in detail about their maternal sides of the family because of the nature of the questions I asked during our discussions. Their narratives revolve around their paternal families, respectively the Hlubi and Mahlaba.

In Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative, like that of Gogo MaHlubi, the marginalization of women who married into the Mahlaba homestead –features prominently. The marginalization that Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and her siblings were subjected to was as a result of the isolation their mother had faced as a wife, an isolation much like the experience of Gogo MaHlubi. This is the first instance where

we see a generational aspect to this kind of marginalization, and it is something that we will explore further in the next chapter in relation to Mam Phindile.

This chapter first provides a biography of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle as part of introducing her. Second, the key themes that emerge in her narrative are discussed, namely the clan origins of the Mahlabas, the idyllic depiction of Mpolweni Mission, her close relationship with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba and her family, the making of the rifts in the Mahlaba homestead, her father's death, their move from Mpolweni Mission to Mpophomeni in 1976 as a result of being pushed out of the Mahlaba world, and later, their move from Mpophomeni to Edendale in the 1980s, which can be read as a recovery of status that they lost in the Mahlaba homestead. Like Gogo MaHlubi, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and as we shall see, Mam Phindile, register the experience of a further form of marginalisation, that is felt by those who were born in Mpolweni Mission as a result of the arrival of newcomers to Mpolweni, abantu bokufika. I go on to read Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative in conjunction with that of Mkhulu Bongani Mahlaba who can be viewed as a Mahlaba family historian.[130] When I had discussions about the past with both Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile, they both felt like there were certain aspects of history that they were not familiar with and therefore referred me to Mkhulu Bongani, their senior in the family. I highlight contrasts in the ways of narrating between these two Mahlaba interlocutors, noting the gendered dynamics at play. Finally, I conclude that while Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narration speaks to a loss of status and marginalisation, we also see that Mamkhulu Ntombenhle gains some form of social capital from mobilizing the history

[130] At the time of conducting the interviews for this research and the early stages of writing this chapter, Mkhulu Bongani was still alive. As I write this, in August 2020, he is no more.

of the Mahlabas in much the same way that Gogo MaHlubi gains from mobilizing the history of the Hlubis. While Mahlaba-ness is embraced, it is also contested and this is where ambiguities in Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative surface.

Introducing Mamkhulu Ntombenhle

Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango (MaMahlaba) was born in 1958 in Mpolweni Mission. She is the third child of Isabel Dumisile MaNdimande Mahlaba and Absalom Bhekuyise Mahlaba who was affectionately known as AB. AB was born in Zinyoluka (York Farm), which is in New Hanover and MaNdimande in KwaMaphumulo mission. AB was a principal at Swayimane High School, Pietermaritzburg, and MaNdimande taught at various farm schools in Howick also in Pietermaritzburg. Both her parents are late. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's siblings, in their order of birth, are Nonhlanhla, Phumelele (brother) who is late and then the last-born, Nomusa, who is also late. Currently, she is employed at Bongudunga Secondary School, Dambuza, Greater Edendale area in Pietermaritzburg where she has been working as a principal for eight years.[131] She refers to Gogo MaHlubi as Mamncane because Gogo MaHlubi was married to one of her father's younger brothers, Malcolm Mahlaba, and as such is a mother to her since one's father's brothers are considered one's fathers and would either be referred to as 'Babomncane' or 'Babomdala' based on their age in relation to the biological father.[132]

Initial Conversations about the Past with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle

[131] The author's joint interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 4 May 2017, Mugg & Bean (V&A Waterfront), Cape Town.

[132] I do not want to generalize and say this applies to everyone, which is why I have confined this to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's socialization so as not to run the risk of applying this to everyone when it does not.

I did not grow up in the same household as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, which means that unlike with Gogo MaHlubi and Mam Phindile, I do not have recollections of conversing with her about the history of the Mahlabas and Mpolweni Mission in my childhood. Although she is not from my immediate family, it was inculcated in us as children that our relatives, izihlobo, especially distant ones, are our siblings.[133] That is why I never saw Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and others as distant: I regarded them as part of my family. When I began my undergraduate studies, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and I became very close and that is when we would converse about all sorts of things. Her daughter, Nqobile, is based in Cape Town and whenever Mamkhulu Ntombenhle was in town, we would meet up. She took a keen interest in my academic development and social well-being and would constantly provide the support I needed.

Through this, she and I started conversing about not only general politics, but the state of Mpolweni Mission. Her reflections were those of someone who, while she no longer lives there, still has a connection to Mpolweni and visits from time to time because her relatives are based there. Moreover, what I do remember vividly about our conversations is that there was a time when I was reading Mokoena's *Magema Fuze* and I told her what the book was about and why I was intrigued by it. She then mentioned to me that she had taught at Amakholwa High School, in Snathing, in the Greater Edendale Area. This school, as I would later discover, was established by the *amakholwa* of Edendale. In restrospect, our discussion about this book was somehow fateful as some of the broader themes of that conversation are broached in the thesis, including her immediate family's move to Edendale in the 1980s.

Interviewing Mamkhulu Ntombenhle

I interviewed Mamkhulu Ntombenhle for the first time, with Mam Phindile, when they were both in Cape Town in May of 2017 for my Honours graduation. The second interview I had with her, individually this time, was in July of that same year at her home in Pietermaritzburg. The following day she took me to interview Mkhulu Bongani Mahlaba who is their Babomncane, their father's brother, at his home.

When we were done with the interview, her husband who was in the area for work joined us in the dining room for lunch and he jokingly remarked that I should write the history of the Thangos, his clan. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle boldly responded by saying, "Cha! Ngingowakwa Mahlaba mina. UAyanda kumele abhale umlando wakwaMahlaba!") ("No! I am a Mahlaba. Ayanda must write the history of the Mahlabas!") This claim shows that while she married into the Thangos, the Mahlaba part of her identity is something that she embraces fully and is still part of how she makes sense of herself. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gogo MaHlubi also made a similar claim about her Hlubi heritage when she stated that, "Angisiyena owakwaMahlaba mina; ngingo wakwaHlubi!", "I am not a Mahlaba; I belong to the Hlubis!" For both women then their maiden identities and what they stand for – materially and symbolically - is at the heart of how they have made sense of the worlds they now occupy. The memories of what these identities represent are at the heart of how they mobilize the past and situate themselves and their people (clans) in the history they choose to privilege. It needs to be noted that the nature of the questions posed to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle did not explore her experiences with her matrimonial family, the Thangos, and how she navigated life as a wife may have

shaped how she privileged Mahlaba history over Thango history. However, it is fair to postulate that married life may have been tough for Mamkhulu too, and her Mahlaba side of the family – particularly Gogo MaHlubi, offered her resources and networks to cope with the challenges and marginalization she faced.

The third interview I had with her was on 5 October 2017 when I was conducting the first phase of archival research for the thesis in Pietermaritzburg. The final interview took place on 20 January 2018. The topics of my interviews with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle were the history of the Mahlaba family and their prominent location in Mpolweni Mission, the localized IFP-UDF violence of the 1980s and her reflections on the present state of affairs in the area. The narratives moved across time and space and the questions that were posed to her were driven by the direction that she took as the narrator.

"…kunomndeni owakaMahlaba owawuqhamuka ngala koMsinga…", "…there was a Mahlaba family that came from Msinga…"

The story of the clan origins of the Mahlabas as narrated by Mamkhulu Ntombenhle came to the fore in an interesting way. The topic of discussion between us was the history of the amaZulu. She felt that her knowledge on the history of amaZulu was inadequate, but went on to say that the topic where she felt most knowledgeable on, was on the clan origins of the Mahlabas. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle recalled a story about the clan origins of the Mahlabas, which involved a family from Msinga who used to go around selling goats. Due to the nature of their business, this family found itself in Mpolweni and encountered her family. This meeting led to realizations that actually these two families share ancestors. For her,

> …baze bafika nalaphana ekhaya kwase kubakhona ubudlelwano phakathi kwabo kubantu bakaMahlaba kwathola ukuthi okhokho babo-ke babezalana.[134]
>
> …they then arrived at home and then there was a relationship that was forged between them as people with the same surname – Mahlaba, and they in turn found out that their ancestors were from the same lineage.

My analysis of her recollection of this story is that it is hinting at the fact that the origins of the Mahlabas may be in uMsinga since these two families were able to connect with each other based on lineage and not just on a shared name only. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle did not say this explicitly in her own words, but the fact that she narrated about it shows that there was an awareness of the importance of the clan's history. In grappling with this centrality, this story came to mind to illustrate the significance of such an encounter and how in her mind the Mahlaba's origins are in uMsinga. To provide more details on the clan history of the Mahlabas, I now turn to Mkhulu Bongani below.

Interviewing Mkhulu Bongani

When I initially interviewed both Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile in 2017, they both felt that there were certain details about the Mahlaba clan history that they were not well-versed in and they referred me to Bongani Mahlaba whom they felt would be best positioned to narrate about since he is considered to be the family historian. He is also more senior than they are in terms of age and experience. When I went to interview Mkhulu Bongani Mahlaba, I had told him beforehand that I was interested in the clan history of the Mahlabas. At the time that the interviews were

[134] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 05 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

being conducted, he was working as a teacher in one of the local primary schools in Imbali Stage 2.[135]

Mkhulu Bongani as the Mahlaba clan historian

As someone who was not born in Mpolweni Mission nor grew up in there, he was limited in terms of its history. He could only speak about his Babomncane, Simon Mahlaba (Mkhulu Mahlaba) and his children since he is related to them.[136] Simon's father and his father are brothers. When I arrived at his home for our interview, I found that he had done prior research, which entailed calling relatives and asking them questions about things he did not know about and based on it had compiled a comprehensive clan tree. The clan tree traced its roots to our Mahlaba ancestor, Sewula, whose name also happens to be one of our clan names. In the interview, Mkhulu Bongani narrated extensively about the various Mahlaba sub-clans (izindlu) and how they are all linked to each other; where the descendants of the ancestors are located; and those who are alive and who are no more.[137] The family tree and ancestors invoked in the interview with Mkhulu Bongani was very lengthy and detailed. Below I only provide the ones relevant to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's family:

> Sikhuluma ngomlando wakaMahlaba. Ulwazi esinalo silususa kuZwenjani noSewula noBhosmani. La esigxile khona sigxile emlandweni kaSewula. USewula owabe ezeke uMaMkhize kanye noMaMbanjwa. KuMaMkhize-ke uSewula la esigxila khona, wazala amadodana amane. Okwaba uLudwengu, uNdoni, uKhotho kanye noMandlana. Ake siye kuLudwengu: uLudwengu unonkosikazi owabe ewuMaKhanyile. ULudwengu-ke wabe esedlula emhlabeni. Umfowabo

[135] Imbali is one of the townships outside of Pietermaritzburg. It is close to the Greater Edendale Area.
[136] Simon Mahlaba is the paternal grandfather of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile.
[137] I read 'izindlu' as an offshoot of the clan (macro), hence why I have decided to refer to them as 'sub-clans' (micro) in this thesis.

> omelamayo uNdoni wangena umkakhe uMaKhanyile wabe esethola amantombazane amabili okunguEsther noEsteli wagcina ngoSimon esimbize kakhulu ngokuthi uMavumengwana owumyeni kaMaNdlovu, uKatie. USimon ube esezala indodana yakhe yokuqala, kwaba uAbsalom, kwayindodakazi uSheila, kwayindodakazi uNana, kwawuMalcolm indodana, kwawuBuzani, uthunjana wabo kwaba uYo.[138]
>
> Here we are talking about Mahlaba history. The information that we have, we trace it from Zwenjani, Sewula and Bosman. Our specific focus will be Sewula's history. Sewula married MaMkhize and MaMbanjwa. From MaMkhize, this is where our focus on Sewula will be; he begot four sons, namely Ludwengu, Ndoni, Khotho and Mandlana. Let us go to Ludwengu. Ludwengu had a wife called MaKhanyile. Ludwengu then passed away. The brother that came after him, called Ndoni, inherited MaKhanyile and made her his wife and they had two girls, namely Esther and Esteli, and the last born was Simon whom we affectionately called Mavumengwane who was MaNdlovu, Katie's husband. Simon then begot his first-born son, Absalom, a daughter called Sheila, a daughter called Nana, Malcolm his son, Buzani his daughter and the last born, Yo.

The quote above has been chosen because it is about the comprehensive family tree of the Mahlabas and locates Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's family into it. In the quote, and the narration as a whole, there is an interesting genre that comes to the fore: it is performance-like. Mkhulu Bongani rendered the genealogical information as if a marshalled audience was listening to him whom he wished to take through while invoking, historically, the family's ancestors. While the family tree narrated above

[138] The author's interview with Mkhulu Bongani Mahlaba, 21 July 2017, Imbali Unit 13, Pietermaritzburg.

formed the basis of what he had to say, he expanded on it in response to questions I then asked as the interview progressed.

Structured and linear narrative

His style of narration was in stark contrast to the interviews I had with my women interlocutors: their styles of narration were fluid and not as structured as Mkhulu Bongani's was. Isabel Hofmeyr observed in a different context that "male storytelling…was seen as more important and, partly because of its content which dealt with the 'real' world, partly because of its more sober performance, but also because it was enacted in a prestigious public, male space and concerned itself with the socialization of men."[139] If we take Hofmeyr's work into consideration, then it makes sense why Mkhulu Bongani had to do prior preparation and use the mode of narrating that he used as a senior man who was not only conversing with a grandson, but also formally imparting history in that conversation. However, we also need to understand the context that framed his style of narration: I was referred to him for clan history and the complexity of the history that I was looking for requires prior research. Thus, the style is emblematic of what I, the historian and grandson, was looking for from him. There might then be a need to move beyond gendering his narrative and contrasting it to the women, factoring in the role of his narration in relation to the objectives of the interview. His role as an elder in the clan and a custodian of clan history means that in performing his duties he has to tap into what we may call a patri-archive, which consists of elements of the history of the clan, izithakazelo and traditions that have been preserved for posterity.

[139] Hofmeyr, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That is Told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom*, 30.

Kholwa principles and growing up in Mpolweni Mission

Mamkhulu Ntombenhle narrated in great detail about the *kholwa* nature of Mpolweni Mission and how this played itself out in how the mission was organized. The Free Church of Scotland, which later became known as the Presbyterian Church, was the only church denomination in the area. Believing in Christ was a fundamental principle in the mission and among mission residents. For her,

> It was nje a must ukuthi umndeni nomndeni was expected ukuthi kube umndeni okholwayo, oya esontweni ngamasonto, abantwana baye kuSunday School and abantu abadala baye esontweni. Kwakuphilwa ngokukholwa nje: it was encouraged even na during the week kwakubakhona ama-mid-week service nje. KwakuyiNkosi ephambili nje everyday.[140]
>
> It was a must that each and every family was expected to believe [in Christ], every Sunday they would go to church, children to attend Sunday School and adults attend the main church [service]. People lived by faith: it was encouraged. Even during the week, there would be mid-week services. God was at the center daily.[141]

This quote provides a sense of how Mpolweni Mission was a typical *kholwa* community that was characterized by one church denomination dominating in the area and how Christian principles of attending church regularly, believing in God and living by faith daily, constituted the social fabric of this area and how residents were socialized in espousing Christian tenets. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle goes on to make the point that this socialization,

[140] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.
[141] The translated version of the author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

> …had a positive influence nje kukona konke because abantu babe-behaver even abantu ababephuza utshwala babengekho chaotic: babe…noma sebehlangene ndawonye bephuza behlalela Ukhamba, they would sing amaculo esonto nje uyabo. Kuculwe nje amaculo esonto nje babengaculi amaculo esi…e…traditional songs babecula nje amaculo enkonzo nje. Yayikhona le nto yokuthi-ke babantu benkonzo.[142]
>
> …had a positive influence on everything because people behaved even people who were drunkards were not chaotic: they were…even when they were together drinking from Ukhamba, they would sing church songs. There was this thing that they were church people.

Here Mamkhulu Ntombenhle seems to be asserting that kholwa-ness was deeply entrenched in the psyche of everyone and in the various publics of the mission station as the case of the men who would congregate over ukhamba shows. She also seems to be making a statement about how *kholwa* communities were distinguished from the rest by their strong adherence to Christianity and about the salience of the church in these areas.

An idyllic image of Mpolweni Mission in the past

In Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative there is an evocation of Mpolweni Mission as having been a united, safe, and ordered place. The way she captured this account is worth being quoted in length below:

> Ukukhula eMpolweni ngalesikhathi esasikhula ngaso kwakumnandi ngoba ingane yayingane yawo wonke umuntu. Uma kwakukhona okwenzile, abantu babekwazi ukuku-discipliner baphinde bakucebe nakini ukuthi wenzeni ngoba imindeni yayazana futhi ibambisene. Imindeni yayazi ukuthi le ngane eyakwabani.

[142] The translated version of the author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

Inhlonipho yayihamba phambili ngalezo zikhathi ngoba yonke indawo la owawuhamba khona, abantu babekubhekile futhi bezokwazi ukukuceba uma kukhona okubi okwenzile. Sakhula sihloniphana. Sasibazisa abantu abadala sibahlonipha futhi. Wawubabingelela ubazi noma ungabazi. Inhlonipho nokubingelela kwakungeve kubalulekile ngalezo zikhathi. Umfana wayengadluli eduze komuntu omdala egqoke isigqoko noma ikepisi. Kwakumele bakhumule isigqoko ngaphambi kokudlula umuntu omdala. Wonke umuntu omdala wayehlonishwa futhi ebingelelwa. Uma uhlangana nomuntu ephethe izimpahla, wawumbuza ukuthi uyaphi bese uyamsiza umphathise aze afike la eya khona.[143]

Growing up in Mpolweni at the time we were growing up was nice because a child was everyone's child. If you did something, everyone was able to discipline you and could report it to your family because families knew each other and had strong ties. Families knew which child belonged to whom. There was a lot of respect at the time because wherever you walked you knew everyone was watching you and could report you if you did something wrong. We grew up respecting each other. We knew older people and respected them. You greeted them whether you knew them or not. Respect and greeting were the order of the day those days. A boy would not walk past an elderly person with a hat or a cap on. If they walked past an elderly person, they had to take these off. Every elderly person was treated with respect and was greeted. If you came across someone carrying stuff, you would ask them where they were going and help them carry their things and until they got to their destination.[144]

Mpolweni Mission as a typical *kholwa* community

[143] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 4 May 2017, Mugg & Bean (V&A Waterfront), Cape Town.

[144] The translated version of the author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 4 May 2017, Mugg & Bean (V&A Waterfront), Cape Town.

With this account, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle claims that *kholwa* communities were notable for being small in number, which meant that it would be easy for residents to know each other and also know who belonged to which family. This also meant that these communities were close-knit and united. What was also synonymous with these communities was the aspect of collective solidarity that was not only visible in their entrepreneurial endeavours, but how children were raised. In raising children, there was an emphasis on morality and respect. This, coupled with the oneness of the church and chiefship as discussed by Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, are the evidence she offers of how things were ordered in Mpolweni in the past, or at least, the ideal thereof. This evidence helps us understand the shifts that have taken place in Mpolweni from the 1950s to the present. With the death of the last Mngadi chief in the early 1990s, no chief was appointed in Mpolweni Mission. This period was accompanied by the dawn of democracy, which opened up an opportunity for more church denominations and people from other areas to come into Mpolweni Mission in large numbers. With this, the hegemonic status of the Presbyterian Church and its control over communal land was challenged by numerous actors. It is these present activities that have also made those who were born in Mpolweni Mission (including Gogo MaHlubi, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile) feel marginalized and invoke the past order of things so as to contrast them to the present.

Exploring the Status of the Mahlabas

In Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative there is an evocation of the Mahlabas as a united family. This was predicated upon the fact that:

> …kwakunalento yokwazisana ukuthi siwumndeni futhi sihlobene. Sasihlala sonke endline eyodwa. Abazali bethu babesebenza kude nasekhaya. Sasikhuliswa ukhulu

> nomkhulu. Sasazisana ukuthi siwumndeni. Umndeni wawungaphathisi muntu okwentandane. Ugogo nomkhulu babethatha nezingane zezihlobo zize zizohlala nathi.[145]
>
> …there was this thing of knowing that we were a family and related to each other. We lived together in the homestead. Our parents were working far from home. We were raised by our [paternal] grandmother and grandfather. We placed value on family. The family treated no child as an orphan…our grandparents even took children from extended family to come stay with us.[146]

The grandparents and heads of the homestead – affectionately known as Khulu MaNdlovu and Mkhulu Mahlaba –were instrumental in raising their grandchildren since their children were working far from home and thus could not actively raise their own children. In doing so, they crafted a definition of family that moved beyond that of biological or immediate family, ensuring that there were no differences among their grandchildren: they were all one family, as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle narrated. As will be seen, while there was an active attempt to suppress differences among the grandchildren, this was not successful as the homestead itself was stratified based on who was favoured or not favoured by the grandmother. As Mamkhulu Ntombenhle narrates about growing up in the Mahlaba homestead, she mentioned how it moulded her into being a compassionate individual since they were taught how to share and treat each other as a family.

> Kwangisiza. Ngasizakala kakhulu kukona ngoba sasibaningi…sasicazelana izinto, sasifundiswa ukunakekelana. Kwakunokuhle nokubi…okubi kwakuwukukhetha

[145] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 4 May 2017, Mugg & Bean (V&A Waterfront), Cape Town.
[146] The translated version of the author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 4 May 2017, Mugg & Bean (V&A Waterfront), Cape Town.

kukaKhulu. UKhulu wayethanda kakhulu izingane zamadodakazi engenaso isikhathi sezingane zamadodana. Yingakho umkhulu agcina ethatha izingane zamadodana njengezakhe. UKhulu-ke wayesenakekela izingane zamadodakazi kodwa nje ukukhula sasindawonye sonke si-share izinto. Sasazisana as a family ukuthi-ke we are one family and though sizalwa abantu abahlukene; nokunakekelana, nokusebenza ngokubambisana ikona okwaku…okwakukuhle. Ne…nokutshala: sasitshala, siphila ngokudla ukudla kwasemasimini sibambisene sonke siye esikoleni. Sasiqala ngokusebenza kuqala ngaphambi kokuthi sihambe siye esikoleni. Impilo yayi-right nje ngoba sasidla ukudla esasikutshala thina… so okwaku-fresh from the ground.

It helped me. It helped me a lot because there were many of us…we used to share things, we were taught to care for each other. There was good and bad…the bad was that Khulu had favouritism. Khulu [grandmother] used to love a lot her daughters' children and did not have time for her sons' children. That is why Mkhulu [grandfather] ended up adopting his sons' children and treated them as his own. Khulu therefore took care of her daughters' children but we grew up together and shared things. We treated each other as family even though we had different parents; we cared for each other, worked together and that is what was good. Even planting: we used to plant and we ate food fresh from the soil and in that we worked together and went to school together. We used to first work before going to school. Life was alright because we ate food that we planted ourselves, which was fresh from the ground.

Through the quote above, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle introduces us to the ill-treatment that the children of the sons faced while the children of the daughters were favoured more by MaNdlovu. This gives an indication of how the wives themselves were not favoured by their mother-in-law, MaNdlovu. Gogo MaHlubi too, had narrated extensively about how she, as one of the wives, was marginalized by MaNdlovu in

the homestead. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle describes the marginalization that she, as one of the children of the sons, faced at the hands of the grandmother. (And, as we shall see in the next chapter, Mam Phindile, another of the children of the sons in describes in detail how she felt disliked by the grandmother and that her aunts' children were treated much better than she was.)

Figure 4. Mam Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile in Cape Town. Ayanda Mahlaba Album, May 2017.

The marginalization of wives and their children in the Mahlaba homestead

While these women were all marginalized by MaNdlovu, it needs to be noted that Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's father, AB, was in a better economic position than Gogo MaHlubi's husband, Malcolm. Despite Mamkhulu's father being economically comfortable however, his wife and children were not exempt from sidelining by MaNdlovu. We also see how Mkhulu Mahlaba had to take on the role of looking after his sons' children as he saw that their grandmother did not. In the midst of these differences in how the grandchildren were treated, Mamkhulu Ntombehle posits that they were nonetheless able to work collaboratively and embrace one other as one family.

The prominent positions of the Mahlaba patriarch and matriarch

The heads of the Mahlaba homestead occupied prominent positions in the mission station, which is why the Mahlaba family was considered to be a family of status. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle emphasized that their grandfather was an induna of the Mngadi chief and the grandmother the leader of the women's guild at the local church. It is this status that is also at the heart of how Mamkhulu Ntombenhle positions herself to this day and when she discusses growing up in Mpolweni Mission and the history of her maiden family, the Mahlabas. Another reason for why the Mahlabas were among the elites in the mission is because:

> Enye ento eyayenza lokho kwakwaziwa njenge-family efundile. Abantu babehlonipha: babesihlonipha as a family ngoba-ke kwakubukeka sengathi siwumndeni ongcono kuneminye imindeni.[147]

[147] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

> Another thing is that it was known for being an educated family. People respected…respected us a family because it looked like we were a better family than others.[148]

The elite nature of the Mahlabas stemmed from how this family also produced professionals such as teachers and nurses, as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle posited. And, indeed, it was a characteristic of *amakholwa* families that they produced professionals because of the strong emphasis that was placed on education as a tool for achieving upward mobility. The *amakholwa* of Edendale, for instance, established the Amakholwa High School in Edendale because of the value they placed on education. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle herself taught at this school before moving to where she is currently employed.

The double stratification of *amakholwa*

Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative is of interest because it points to a double stratification: the elite status of *amakholwa* in relation to their non-*kholwa* neighbours - and stratification within *amakholwa* homesteads, like the Mahlaba homestead. Not only did Khulu MaNdlovu favour her daughters' children and neglect her sons' children, but MaNdlovu and Mkhulu Mahlaba's children themselves were hierarchized. The first-born AB was liked more than the other sons because he was considered to be highly educated since he was also a school principal whereas the others (including Gogo MaHlubi's husband) were not as educated as he was. The

[148] The translated version of the author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

favoring of AB does not translate into the good treatment of his wife and children nonetheless because they were not the children of the daughters. For how this favoritism played itself out, I now turn to the making of the rifts in the Mahlaba homestead as told by Mamkhulu Ntombenhle.

Lamenting the disunity in the Mahlaba clan

I have highlighted above how Mamkhulu Ntombenhle spoke about the unity that was entrenched among her siblings and relatives when they were still living in the Mahlaba homestead. Whenever there were events at their relatives, they would show up for each other as a family. They knew that they were one entity. This is no longer the case as now people are scattered all over; their children do not even visit their cousins, which is not what used to be back in the day when they were all living in Mpolweni Mission as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle lamented.

When asked about how she felt about the fact that things are no longer what they used to be like in the past, she expressed her feelings as follows:

> Akumnandi, akumnandi ikakhulukazi ukubona abantu ekade nikhule nabo sebenihlehlela njengezingane za-aunty Sheila esikhule nazo sazana ukuthi-ke siwumndeni owodwa kodwa sibona sekukhona leyo-rift between thina nabo; sekuhlehla kakhulu kuthina sekukhona lokho ukuthi bazazi ukuthi bawumndeni akusekho le nto eyayikhona ekuqaleni ukuthi siwumndeni owodwa sonke.[149]
>
> It is not nice. It is not nice especially seeing people you grew up with…seeing them distance themselves like Aunty Sheila's children who we grew up with and we knew that we were one family but we [now] see that there is a rift between them and us. The distance has widened a lot and to us, there is this thing that they see

[149] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

> themselves as a family and this thing of the past that we were all one family no longer exists.[150]

In the above account, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle give us a glimpse of how the rifts in the Mahlaba homestead started. Already we had been alerted to the division of the caregiving between her grandmother and the grandfather was a precursor to the rifts which came about when members of the homestead started leaving Mpolweni Mission. Her account vividly captures the enormity of the difference in care given to the two grandchildren, in particular, the favoritism towards the daughters and their children by the grandmother. This manifested itself in how the daughters and their children upon leaving the homestead distanced themselves from the rest – in this case – the children of the sons, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle being one of them.

The specificities of the Mahlaba wives' and their families' marginalization

Tied to the way the daughters isolated themselves from the rest is how the daughters-in-law, the wives of the sons were marginalized in the homestead. These wives were MaNdimande, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's late mother and Gogo MaHlubi, her Mamncane. According to Mamkhulu, while her father was still alive, he had an extramarital affair with a woman whom he had three children with. This woman was favored by the Khulu MaNdlovu and her daughters – Mamkhulu's aunts – while her mother, MaNdimande was side-lined. For Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, her mother MaNdimande was also from humble beginnings and through the support of missionaries from KwaMaphumulo where she grew up – was able to acquire an education and become a teacher. The mistreatment that MaNdimande was subjected

[150] The translated version of the author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

to at the hands of Khulu and her daughters was different from that of Gogo MaHlubi however, because she was 'educated' whereas the latter was not.[151] Nonetheless, both these two women were marginalized in the homestead and their children ultimately were marginalized because of how the mother-in-law and her daughters perceived the status of their mothers as outsiders.

Detailing her own family's hardships

The affair influenced MaNdimande's decision to go back to work in 1966 after many years of staying at the homestead. She needed to take care of her children since her husband was then living with the other woman and things were financially tough for her and her children. This is similar to how Gogo MaHlubi was forced to leave the homestead in search of work opportunities so she could take care of her children when her husband had stopped sending money home. These two women were forced to forge an alliance in the face of the marginalization they experienced as wives of apparent little value. The relationships continue to this day; Mamkhulu Ntombenhle as she describes Gogo MaHlubi's side of the family as having been there for her and her family over the years.

The death of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's father in 1975 came at a time when the rift between MaNdimande and MaNdlovu had already widened. This was also exacerbated by the fact that the other woman who was having an extramarital affair with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's father was allowed to attend the funeral by the mother-in-law and daughters. The chief and the reverend at the time had to intervene

[151] MaNdimande is late, which means that I was unable to interview her to get a sense of the history of her marginalization and the reasons behind it. Due to these constraints, I have had to rely on others who have knowledge of this marginalization and what I grew up hearing.

to address this since it was not allowed in the mission. These two leaders also felt that the woman had caused many tensions in the family and thus she was not welcome. She eventually left.[152] In 1976, MaNdimande and her children left the Mahlaba homestead for good for Mpophomeni. In 1985, they moved to Edendale where they still reside. For Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, the stark differences between Mpophomeni and Edendale lay in the fact that Mpophomeni was like a 'skomplazi' where people did whatever they wanted and whenever. The way people behaved was reckless. Whereas in Edendale,

> …abantu bakhona babe-civilized and be more educated. Kune-tolerance nje nokwazisana ukuthi-ke abantu baseYideni used to call themselves 'ononhlemvu': bona bayazazi, bawosiyazi, bangcono kodwa safika samukeleka kahle futhi ukufika kwethu khona. Sayingxenye yabo.[153]
>
> Edendale was…people from Edendale were very civilized and more educated – there was tolerance and acknowledging others in Edendale, and also residents used to call themselves 'ononhlemvu' – that they knew more. They were 'osiyazi', they were better, but when we arrived there, they warmly welcomed us. We became a part of them.[154]

It is significant that in providing the differences that existed between Mpophomeni and Edendale, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle was able to identify more with Edendale

[152] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.
[153] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.
[154] The author's interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 5 October 2017, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

because it was similar to the setting she was familiar with, in contrast to Mpophomeni. That is why she was able to speak highly of Edendale and critique Mpophomeni. [155]

Commentary on the political violence in the Natal Midlands

In commenting on the political violence that engulfed the Natal Midlands in the 1980s to 1990s, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle evoked the relations that exist between Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Ndlovus/Mahlabas. The late wife of Prince Buthelezi was Khulu MaNdlovu's niece. It is these relations that according to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle made her family support Inkatha.

The time that the political violence started in Mpolweni Mission, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and her immediate family had already left the area. However, since they still maintained contact with the family back in Mpolweni Mission, she would hear about what was happening in relation to the violence. She recalled that eMhlangeni, one of the sections in Mpolweni, was considered to be a stronghold of the ANC. She cited a specific example where there was a funeral of one of the ANC comrades and the reverend was administering the funeral service. The Mpolweni Mission chief was also in attendance. Those in attendance were chanting ANC slogans and the reverend also participated in this. This somehow did not sit well with the chief who had felt the reverend was supposed to be neutral and not participate in politics. This event led to the breakdown in relationship between the iNkosi and the reverend according to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle.

Edendale and udlame, the violence

[155] For more on the elite nature, economic and political activities of the *amakholwa* of Edendale see Andre Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 158-165.

After noting Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's account of how the political violence took place in Mpolweni Mission and what characterized it, it is important that I now turn to Edendale to get a sense of how according to her, this area experienced the violence. For Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, if people did not like you in Edendale they would label you an IFP supporter, which would put you at great risk. It was conventionally believed that Vulindlela was an IFP stronghold and there were even many cases of people who came from Vulindlela to Edendale who would be killed and burnt alive. Edendale and Vulindlela are in close proximity to each other, which is why it was easy for the upheaval to spread from one area to the other. She recalled a tragic event where,

> …indoda eyayihambise umkayo eyoteta esibhedlela, imoto was burnt nje. Abantu abaningi balimala; bafa ngoba yiyithi mayiqhamuka ngaPhezulu [Vulindlela] ishaywe; ishiswe lapha Eyideni ngoba kwakwaziwa ukuthi-ke imotot yeNkatha.[156]
> a man who was driving his pregnant wife to the hospital to give birth, his car was burnt down and there are a lot of people who were injured and even died because whenever cars from Vulindlela would come to Edendale they would be stoned, burnt in Edendale because they knew that it was a car of Inkatha.

In terms of contemporary land ownership in Edendale, for Mamkhulu Ntombenhle:

> Kuthathe isikhathi eside-ke Eyideni [Edendale] bekusaliwa namanje ukuthi uHulumeni ewufuna loya mhlaba abantu bengafuni bethi umhlaba wabo abantu abakholwayo. Angazi noma kugcine sebeze bawuthenga yini kodwa nje bekunempi kangangoba that's another thing nje isikole singa-developwa: it still has

[156] The author's follow-up interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 20 January 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

> old buildings ngenxa yokuthi-ke abantu baseYideni abafuni lutho nawo; bathi yindawo yabo.[157]
>
> It took a long time in Edendale…they are still fighting about it because the government wants that land, but residents do not want this since they were saying that it is their land as believers. I do not know whether they [government] ended up buying it but there was a huge fight and that is one of the reasons why the school [Amakholwa] has not been developed: it still has old buildings because the people of Edendale do not want anything to touch the land because they are saying it is their place.

The enduring legacies of *amakholwa*

In this account Mamkhulu Ntombenhle provided a view of *amakholwa* as someone socialized in a *kholwa* setting and proud of being associated with this group of Africans. The fact that the residents of Edendale, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle herself included, mobilize the history of Edendale as owned by *amakholwa* shows how the salience of this history lingers to this day. This situation in Edendale regarding the ownership of communal land and debates about ownership is similar to the current debates happening in Mpolweni Mission about land and who should be the custodian of it. In Mpolweni, those who are opposing the hegemony and custodianship of the Uniting Presbyterian Church argue that it is responsible for the lack of development in the area as the local municipality is limited in terms of what it can introduce as part of development since it does not own the land of Mpolweni. It is interesting to note that former mission stations like Edendale and Mpolweni grapple with land ownership politics in a way that is similar and is tied to the histories of their

[157] The author's follow-up interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 20 January 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

establishments in the 19th century. This raises the question of whether such tensions exist in other former mission stations in KZN and the country as a whole.

In Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's reflections on the present state of affairs in Mpolweni Mission, she tapped into her childhood, particularly how peaceful and safe it was. This is in stark contrast to the contemporary setting, where crime is rife. She attributes the crime to,

> Ukufika kwabantu bangaphandle kwenza ukuthi-ke kube nobugebengu obuningi…[158]
>
> The arrival of newcomers has contributed to the rampant crime.

Mobilizing Mpolweni's past to comment on Mpolweni's present

An idyllic representation of Mpolweni Mission is presented by Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and it is contrasted with the crime-riddled Mpolweni of today. The crime is attributed to the arrival of newcomers, abantu bokufika, and this is a sentiment that is shared by Gogo MaHlubi. This sentiment can be read as being a result of those who have lived longer in Mpolweni Mission feeling marginalized by the new arrivals and hence ascribing societal ills to them. The past order of things in Mpolweni Mission is thus invoked to make a political statement of how the present has led to changes that have destabilized the functioning of this place.

Contemporary tensions of the chiefship as an institution

On whether returning to the old way of having a chief could be a solution to the challenges facing Mpolweni contemporarily her view is that "the situation could be fixed right now since the situation is like this. However, I do think that having an

[158] The author's follow-up interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 20 January 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

iNkosi could maybe bring some form of dignity: it would foster unity because meetings would take place."[159]

The point that Mamkhulu Ntombenhle makes has been shared by other narrators. It is noteworthy that there are some people who believe that returning to the system of having a chief would be the solution considering the controversies that the institution of traditional leadership faces in South Africa at this very moment. However, those who advocate for the returning of this system may be pointing to the failures of democratic institutions to fulfill their objectives and as such, they mobilize the past order of things to stress these failures in the present. This is also a tactic that Gogo MaHlubi also deploys when lamenting on the contemporary setting in Mpolweni Mission.

Conclusion

The history of the Mahlabas as a family of status, which had under its banner educated professionals, the induna and leader of the church's women's guild, is at the heart of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrations. She mobilizes this past of her maiden family just like Gogo MaHlubi does with the past of the Hlubis, her maiden family. For Gogo MaHlubi, there are literal resources, for example compensation for the Hlubi farm that was taken away, whereas with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle this is not the case. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's comments on the issue of land custodianship function as a critique of the land restitution policies in South Africa. Moreover, the difference between the two women is that Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, while embracing the history of her family, also shows how she has been marginalized as a child of a woman who married into

[159] The author's follow-up interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 20 January 2018, Lincoln Meade, Pietermaritzburg.

this family. Gogo MaHlubi was marginalized as a wife that married into the Mahlaba family just like Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's mother, MaNdimande who was also subjected to the same treatment. Both of the children of the two women, MaHlubi and MaNdimande, also experienced this form of marginalization as the case of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle shows and as the next chapter on Mam Phindile shows. There is thus an intergenerational element to the marginalization that is evoked in the mobilizations of history of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile. In Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narration, we also see how their common struggles in the Mahlaba homestead contributed to them forming alliances that continue to this day.

Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative also sheds light to how women coped with marginalization in extended family settings. Her family left the Mahlaba world in 1976 as they were pushed out and this is similar to how Gogo MaHlubi had to leave the homestead to look for a job in order to support her family. Inasmuch as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle was physically disconnected from the Mahlaba homestead, her identity is still steeped into the history of this family although we do not know what her experiences in her matrimonial family are, and whether they make her embrace the maiden over the matrimonial identity.

In Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative, there is also a lament of the state of affairs in Mpolweni Mission in the present moment. The way things are is not good for her as someone who was born in the area but left and she attributes the social ills that are rife to the arrival of newcomers, abantu bokufika. She shares this view with Gogo MaHlubi and Mam Phindile and it can be concluded that the newcomers make those who were born in the area and have lived the longest feel 'marginalized' as they

'disrupt' the once peaceful and ordered structure of Mpolweni Mission. She is also hesitant of returning to the old ways of having a chief as the situation has worsened to an extent that this institution would not be ideal in dealing with it. To make sense of the present in Mpolweni, she mobilizes the past and the status of the Mahlabas. Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's historical narrations also contribute to the *matri-archive* that is constantly being made and remade.

Interestingly, in this chapter, the notion of the patri-archive comes to the fore in the form of Mkhulu Bongani's narration of the Mahlaba clan history. His narrative, in contrast to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's, was laden with genealogical information where the Mahlaba ancestors and their descendants, were invoked historically. His was more geared towards the clan origins and identity whereas Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's focused on her experiences growing up in Mpolweni Mission, making sense of the Mahlaba identity in an ambiguous manner and lamenting the contemporary setting in Mpolweni Mission as someone who no longer lives there, but still maintains close connections.

Chapter Three: Mam Phindile

Maternal Family Invocations of Status, the Usability of the Past, and Political Resources

> Ikona nje ukuthi ngifisa sengathi ingaqhubeka iMpolweni iqhubekele phambili. Nomlando lo wabanikazi bendawo yaseMpolweni uvele uphumele obala; abantu bakoHlubi, umlando wabo.[160]
>
> It is my wish that Mpolweni would continue to progress further. Even the history of the owners of Mpolweni, needs to come to the fore; the Hlubi family and its history.

In the Mamkhulu Ntombenhle chapter, I discussed how the intergenerational aspect of the women's marginalization in the Mahlaba homestead came to the fore, the contradictory way in which Mamkhulu Ntombenhle simultaneously privileged and critiqued the Mahlaba's history, and the ways in which the past was mobilized by her to lament the present state of affairs in Mpolweni Mission. I showed the similarities and differences in her narrative to that of Gogo MaHlubi's. In this chapter, I turn to the younger Mam Phindile and will also show how her narrative is similar and different to that of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Gogo MaHlubi.

Mam Phindile is my mother. She is the last-born child and daughter of Gogo MaHlubi and the late Mkhulu Mahlaba. With Gogo MaHlubi and the late Mamkhulu Bongi, her big sister, they collectively raised the author. As a result of this, the I spent much time with her while growing up in Mpolweni Mission and can recall vividly the numerous instances of the historical narration by Mam Phindile individually or in a group setting as part of the other women narrators. Mam Phindile's narrative, like

[160] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's, picks up on the dominant theme of the intergenerational mistreatment of women in the Mahlaba homestead. Her mother, Gogo MaHlubi was marginalized, which meant that her children, including Mam Phindile, were also subjected to this. As we saw in the case of Gogo MaHlubi, her maiden family's history as landowners and aristocrats in Mpolweni Mission, becomes a historical resource that Mam Phindile has continuously tapped into from the past to the present.

As the youngest of the women, her narrative delves deeper into the udlame, political violence that ravaged Mpolweni Mission in her formative years, the late-1980s-and-early-1990s. This is not surprising as in most studies on the political violence in the Natal Midlands, young people feature prominently as being the main actors of the violence particularly as adherents of the UDF whereas Inkatha as seen as enjoying the support of the elderly or senior residents.[161] It is during this time that she became a UDF activist.

The Hlubi family and its history offer her more resources than Mahlaba history does since her mother's family became a refuge when things were tough for her and her siblings as a result of the marginalization they faced in the Mahlaba household. This is different from what happened to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle whose maternal family – the Ndimande – did not offer her much since, as she recalled, her mother came from poverty. Mam Phindile also mobilizes her ANC activism that was sparked during the political violence in the 80s and 90s. The status synonymous with this activism enables her to assert herself as a woman of esteem at a time of increasing threat to her status

[161] For more on this, see Mxolisi R. Mchunu, "A History of Political Violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and its effects on the memories of the survivors (1987-2008)" (PhD Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 08 February 2013), 29-31.

by the newcomers, abantu bokufika, in Mpolweni Mission who have added another layer to her marginalization. Therefore, like the other two older women – Gogo MaHlubi and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, Mam Phindile's narratives can be read as her mobilizing the histories of the Hlubis and her ANC activism to highlight that she is a woman of status in the present and also to reject the IFP-aligned Mahlaba status.[162]

This chapter will first provide a biography of Mam Phindile Mahlaba as part of introducing her. Second, her narrative and what it evokes, namely her difficult upbringing in Mpolweni Mission in the 70s/80s; the idyllic representation of Mpolweni Mission as united and orderly in the past (reiterating Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's stance); the status of her paternal family, the Mahlabas; the status of her maternal family, the Hlubis and the chiefship associated with them; the political violence; her ANC activism and the contemporary land politics in Mpolweni Mission. Last, conclusions specific to this chapter will be made, and pointing to some similarities and differences from the narrations discussed in the previous chapters.

[162] Mamkhulu Ntombenhle has no biological relations with the Hlubis thus this applies only to Gogo MaHlubi.

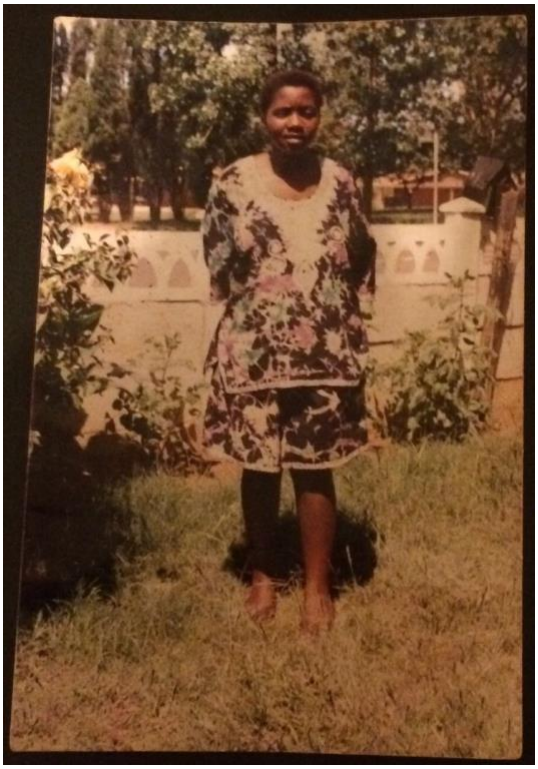

Figure 5. Picture of Mam Phindile in her early 20s in Edendale. Mahlaba Family Album, mid-1990s.

Mam Phindile's biography

Mam Phindile Mahlaba, who is affectionately known as Zama by her peers, was born in 1976 in Mpolweni Mission. She is the last-born child of Gogo MaHlubi and Malcolm Mahlaba, who passed away in 1983. Her formative years were spent in Mpolweni Mission where she went to school. It was during these formative years that she joined the UDF and later the ANC as an activist and assisted with voter education in the build-up to the watershed 1994 elections in Mpolweni. She currently works as a Child & Youth Care Worker in Pietermaritzburg. She is not married and has two children, a son and a daughter. Mam Phindile, her older siblings and maternal cousins were raised mostly by her maternal grandmother, Gogo MaNtuli who is late, since her mother Gogo MaHlubi was at the time working in Pretoria and would come home once in a while. Her father was already deceased at that time. She grew up in a household which consisted of not only her immediate siblings, but her cousins from

the maternal side who had been taken in by her mother. Another interesting point about Mam Phindile is that at the time of writing the thesis, she was serving as the secretary of the committee established to facilitate the processing of the Hlubi land claim. This committee consists of the surviving descendants of Bathengi Hlubi. The descendants came together to put pressure on the state to finalize the protracted land claim since to this day nothing substantive has come out of the claim.

I grew up with Mam Phindile since she and Gogo MaHlubi, my late Mamkhulu Bongi and my uncle Thami, collectively raised me. Having grown up with her, I have fond memories of the conversations about the past that I would hear when they took place either with me being involved or eavesdropping. What I vividly remember is how the Mahlaba side of the family when it came to Mamkhulu Phindile occupied not as much prominence as the Hlubis. Inasmuch as she was proud of being a Mahlaba, I got a sense that she spoke the most about the Hlubis and what they were renowned for more than Mahlabas. This detail struck my naïve child self the most then. When I was growing up, she would tell me stories about her maternal uncle, Mkhulu Papusi, whom I also knew and how she had to go live with him and his wife when she was a teenager since they did not have children. Mam Phindile was then like their child to them and had a close relationship with her uncle who would narrate the history of the Hlubis to her. The case of Mam Phindile, just like Gogo MaHlubi's and Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's, shows how important relatives on the side of the woman's natal family are.

Interviewing Mam Phindile

I started interviewing Mam Phindile in May of 2017 when she was in Cape Town with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle. This interview was part of the MA preparatory work I was doing. The second and last time I interviewed her was on the 28th of January 2018 in our home in Mpolweni Mission. The topics of our interviews were the histories of the Mahlabas and Hlubis and their locations within the history of Mpolweni Mission. I was interested in what she knew about these two families and who her sources were as well as how she made sense of these histories herself. We also spoke in-depth about the local politics in Mpolweni Mission as she had an awareness of what had been happening as someone who identified herself as a political activist of the UDF/ANC. I was thus interested in getting a sense of her understanding of how the political scene had changed from her days as an activist to the present. Moreover, like with Gogo MaHlubi, the interview took place spontaneously as it was unplanned. Mam Phindile was briefly home for the day and I took this opportunity to interview her before she left.

Transmission of Hlubi History

As a grandchild of the Hlubis, Mam Phindile had intimate knowledge about this clan's history since she also spent a lot of time with her maternal uncle while growing up and was subjected to occasional narrations of the family's history in addition to the stories her mother had told her. Therefore, what she had come to know about the history of the Hlubis was transmitted to her by her both her mother and uncle. It is somewhat similar to how I became privy to my maternal families' histories as a child. When it comes to the origins of the Hlubis, for her then,

> …bangamaSwati baphuma eSwazini. UGogo wabo kwakuwuMaMazibuko ozala ubaba wabo ohlobene ne-family yakwaMazibuko bese kuthi uMa wabo njengoba

> uMkhulu wayekade enamakhosikazi amabili uBathengi Phineas. Angithi uBathengi Phineas uzalwa uBathengi Josiah…UBathengi Josiah Hlubi wazala uBathengi Phineas noEnos. UPhineas waba namakhosikazi amabili okuwuMaMtshali Hlubi noMaNtuli Hlubi ozala uMa wami.[163]
>
> …They are amaSwati. Their grandmother was MaMazibuko who gave birth to their father who is related to the Mazibuko family and then their mother since my grandfather had two wives. You know Bathengi Phineas is the son of Bathengi Josiah. Bathengi Josiah begot Bathengi Phineas and Enos. Phineas had two wives who are MaMtshali Hlubi and MaNtuli Hlubi who is my mother's mother.

Here Mam Phindile seems to be invoking a widely held view within the clan, like Gogo MaHlubi does, that the Hlubis are originally from Eswatini and are thus amaSwati. While the clan finds itself in Mpolweni Mission today, its earlier roots is not there. This is significant because it shows how there is an intergenerational transmission of this notion of the Hlubis as amaSwati: in this case from the generation of her parents and uncles to her and possibly her siblings – a younger generation, which means that this is knowledge that has a longer history in the family as a whole and gets invoked from time to time. We also saw this in the previous Mamkhulu Ntombenhle chapter where she had an awareness of the Mahlaba clan history because discussions surrounding the origins would take place when they were growing up and would be narrated by her fathers.

Mam Phindile went on to make the point that,

> UBathengi Josiah Hlubi kwaku…uyena umnikazi wamaplazi; wayekade enamaplazi. Wafika la eMpolweni bephuma eSwazini; wafika wathenga iplazi Eyideni [Edendale] la osekwiyi-library khona. Waphinde wathenga iplazi

[163] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

> eCramond, waphinde wathenga indawo yala eMpolweni ngomlando engawutshelwa uMalume ukuthi-ke mase esethengile la eMpolweni wathola ukuthi akasa…washoda ngemali encane ukuthi ene umhlaba ubuyele kubona kwafika ke-ama-missionaries-ke athi ayayithatha-ke indawo yaseMpolweni-ke ngoba wayekade ngemali le okwakufanele agcwalisele ngayo. [164]
>
> Bathengi Josiah…was a landowner; he owned a few farms. He then arrived here in Mpolweni from Swaziland; he got to Edendale and bought a farm there – where it is now a library. He then bought another farm in Cramond, and then bought the Mpolweni Mission land according to the history I was told by my uncle that after he had bought this land he discovered that he was short of money to ensure that the land was on his name. The missionaries then arrived and then they took the Mpolweni farm because Bathengi was short of the money needed to finalize the purchase.

Conflated land ownership

This is a significant account by Mam Phindile because it is part of claiming that the land in Mpolweni Mission could have been owned by Bathengi – and essentially the Hlubis – had he not run short of money to finalize the sale. Mobilizing this version of history by Mam Phindile is important because it does two things: first, it cements the status of the Hlubis as prominent landowners in Natal as seen through the plots in Edendale, Albert Falls and Mpolweni Mission, and second and last, it is part of laying claim to belonging in Mpolweni Mission. I am not interested in the veracity of this claim, instead my concern is the kinds of work it does for Mam Phindile, which is to assert the status of the Hlubis and their prominence just like Gogo MaHlubi did. Both these women, interestingly, also highlighted the fact that the land in Mpolweni

[164] Ibid.

Mission could have belonged to the Hlubis and this I read as again cementing the status of the Hlubis and possibly extending the pending land claim. Interestingly, Mam Phindile's and Gogo MaHlubi's accounts regarding the notion that the Hlubis could have owned the land in Mpolweni Mission surfaces in kaMpolweni's narrative. KaMpolweni as we will recall from the Gogo MaHlubi chapter, is an individual considered to be well-versed in the history of Mpolweni Mission and the first families, the elites.

For kaMpolweni, Allison and his converts [ran out of money and thus reached out to the Church of Scotland to purchase the land in Mpolweni Mission. When it comes to the literature on the acquisition of Mpolweni Mission, Allison is presented as having been the sole actor involved in this process whereas kaMpolweni, Gogo MaHlubi and Mam Phindile seem to believe that the Hlubis and Nkosis – prominent converts of Allison – also played a role and this may have included financial contributions.[165] Therefore, the idea that the land in Mpolweni belongs to the Hlubis may stem from this fact although I have not been able to come across evidence which bolsters this claim in the archival material, which means that there remains some mystery when it comes to this aspect of the history of land ownership in Mpolweni Mission.

Hlubi history as Mpolweni history?

Nonetheless, the work that this claim does is to position the Hlubis as enmeshed in the existence of Mpolweni Mission and as elite. It lays fertile ground for descendants

[165] In the brief contextual background to Mpolweni Mission that I presented earlier in the thesis I introduce kaMpolweni's account. The complexity of what kaMpolweni, Gogo MaHlubi and Mam Phindile raise cannot be explored in greater depth in this thesis. I hope that I would be able to take it up further on future publications or that those interested in the history of Mpolweni Mission may do that as well.

of this family to mobilize as part of making sense of themselves as people of status, as the case of Gogo MaHlubi showed, and this chapter fleshes that out in detail.

Another theme that is tied to that of the Hlubis owning the land in Mpolweni Mission concerns the role that Bathengi played in the building of the first Uniting Presbyterian Church's building that Mam Phindile emphasized just like Gogo MaHlubi did in the previous chapter. According to Mam Phindile,

> UJosiah kuthiwa wayethatha amatshe emfuleni awafake enqoleni ngezimbongolo, athuthe akhe isonto leli elidala lasePres lamatshe. Walakha.[166]
>
> They say Josiah used to fetch stones from the river and would load them onto his donkey-wagon and that is how he built the old church Pres building that was built with stones. He built it.

A key take away from this part of the account is the significant role that Bathengi Josiah Hlubi played in the building of the Church in Mpolweni and with this centrality is his status as it is clear from both Mam Phindile and Gogo MaHlubi that Josiah was instrumental in a practical sense in the establishment of the mission. This then makes sense of why both women talk about Josiah in a manner that puts to the fore his relationship with the mission.

The notion of the Hlubis as owning land in Mpolweni Mission may also stem from the fact that the patriarch of the family, Bathengi Hlubi was a *kholwa* chief. According to Mam Phindile,

> …ngokuzwa kwami ngomlando wobukhosi bakaHlubi…abantu ababekade bebekiwe ukuthi babe amakhosi la eMpolweni kwakuyena uJosiah Hlubi. Ngokuthi uJosiah [Phineas] Hlubi wayengazithandi izikhundla, wayesenika

[166] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

> omzala bakhe ebabiza ngokuthi omzala bakhe o Chief Jerry Mngadi ubukhosi base ubukhosi buwela kuJonathan emva kokuba eseshonile uJerry kodwa ubukhosi, kwakuwubukhosi bakaHlubi.[167]
>
> …from what I heard about the history of the Hlubi chiefship…the people who were appointed as custodians of the chiefsip in Mpolweni, it was Josiah Hlubi. Since Josiah [Phineas] Hlubi was not a fan of positions, he then gave his relatives, he called them his relatives, Chief Jerry Mngadi the chiefship and after that the chiefship fell to Jonathan after the death of Jerry. However, the chiefship, the chiefship belonged to the Hlubis.

Through the above quote, Mam Phindile provides a history of the *kholwa* chiefship in Mpolweni by stating that this institution initially was the preserve of the Hlubis. Bathengi Josiah was the first chief and after him, Phineas was supposed to take over. However, since Phineas did not like positions, he passed it on to his relatives, the Mngadis. Through her understanding, the chiefship in Mpolweni initially belonged to her maternal family. She centers her family in commenting about the history of the chiefship, which is why then it makes sense why she also claims that the land in Mpolweni belonged to the Hlubis as this family's custodianship of chiefship translated into ownership of the land, for her. Mam Phindile reiterates the point that Gogo MaHlubi made about the history of the chiefship and the confusion about the Hlubi's ownership of the land, which signals to how this is the version of history the Hlubis mobilize in the present. Then work that this does is to cement the prominent positioning of the Hlubis in Mpolweni Mission's past.

[167] Ibid.

In the narration about the history of the Hlubi chiefship, the idea of passing on the chiefship surfaces. It needs to be noted that the *kholwa* chiefship in its inception, was never meant to be hereditary.[168] However, as the case of the Hlubis, just like the Minis in Edendale, shows, this institution was monopolized by certain families. All in all, this evocation by Mam Phindile serves to emphasize the status of the Hlubis because as the original custodians of the institution, they had the influence that enabled them to pass it on to their relatives, who initially did not have it and would not have access to it had Phineas decided to follow in the footsteps of his father. An exploration of the chiefship in Mpolweni Mission does not indicate the details surrounding the passing on of this chiefship. Nonetheless, the thesis is not concerned with doing such an examination. For me, what is of significance is how this idea surrounding the chiefship has been passed on from one generation to another in the Hlubi clan and the kinds of work it does when it is mobilized by those who belong to this clan, in this case Mam Phindile and in the previous chapters, Gogo MaHlubi.

Childhood Hardships

In Mam Phindile's narrative, there is an evocation of her difficult upbringing. She described it as,

> Kwakungelula Ayanda njengomuntu owashonelwa ubaba esemncane ngino-7 years. UMa esebenza e-creche; epheka e-creche. Kwakunzima kona ngizosho njalo.
>
> It was not easy Ayanda since my father passed away when I was just 7-years-old. My mother worked at the creche; she worked as a cook at the creche. It was hard, let me put it like that.

[168] For an insightful discussion of the blurring between *kholwa* and non-*kholwa* chiefships, see John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 126-127.

Here Mam Phindile takes further Gogo MaHlubi's account on how tough life was for her while she and her children were still staying at the Mahlaba homestead, and when they moved out to her own family home. In this part of the narrative though Mam Phindile specifically highlighted the difficulties they faced after the passing of her father. This is an important point as it introduces us to the aspect of the economic stratification that also existed in the Mahlaba homestead as she says that, "Futhi ngangibona engathi thina efamily-ni yethu engathi thina ekhaya si…yithina esi-poor kunabo bonke abantu efamily-ni yethu…kobhuti nakosisi baMa. Nganginalokho nje.[169]" "I also saw that our family, that in our family we were the ones who were poorer than others in comparison to my mother's brothers and sisters. I had that in mind."[170]

The prominence of the Mahlabas

I now turn to Mam Phindile's account of the status of the Mahlabas. For her,

> …kwakuwumndeni owawuhlonishwa kakhulu ngoba…njengoba ngisho ukuthi ene kwakwaziwa ukuthi uma kuqhamuka uMkhulu mabexoxa abangaphambi kwethu, ukuthi makuqhamuka uMkhulu intombazane imi nomfana, nehhashi uMkhulu wayefaka isiswebhu. Kwakuwumndeni owawuhlonishwa ngoba kwakwaziwa ukuthi umuzi wenduna futhi ikhehla lakhona lali-strict…uMkhulu Mahlaba.[171]
>
> …it was a highly respected family because…because people knew that if Mkhulu appeared according to those who were older than us, if Mkhulu appeared on his horse, and found a girl standing with a boy, he would whip them. It was a respected

[169] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission.
[170] The translated English version of the author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission.
[171] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission.

> family because they knew that it was the induna's home and the patriarch of the family was very strict, Mkhulu Mahlaba that is.

Like Mamkhulu Ntombenhle she also went on to invoke the prominent positions that her paternal grandparents occupied. Mkhulu Mahlaba was an induna of the Mngadi chief and MaNdlovu was a leader of the women's guild at church. In a typical mission setting where hierarchy in terms of economic and social positioning was key, these were influential positions. For Mam Phindile, Mkhulu Mahlaba was very affectionate towards her whereas she found the grandmother resentful of her. Her take on her grandparents is similar to that of Mamkhulu Ntombenhle where we saw a glimpse of the favouritism that was shown by their grandmother to the children of her daughters and the children of the wives were not given the attention and affection from their grandmother. We thus see a commonality of experience between the two women when it comes to the Mahlaba side of the family. It is noteworthy that in speaking about the Mahlaba grandparents, both the two women invoke the same theme.

Differences within the Mahlaba household

The Mahlaba homestead had the children of MaNdlovu and Mkhulu Mahlaba and their wives and children living with them. The daughters who had not married yet, but had children already, were also living in the homestead. That is why Mam Phindile makes use of families and not family so as to denote the multiple families that were living under one roof in the Mahlaba homestead. As a result of these multiple families living together, there were class differences between them: some were well-off, and others were not. The well-off families were treated much better than the rest and the lesser well-off were looked down upon. Mam Phindile's family fell under the latter. However, as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's narrative also showed,

inasmuch as they were economically better than Mam Phindile's family, they were still mistreated in the homestead for numerous reasons that were covered in her chapter. Theirs was a different type of marginalization that had its roots on their mother's family background, whereas Mam Phindile's marginalization was shaped by their impoverishment as her mother was unemployed. Nonetheless, for Mam Phindile, these differences were not only visible in the Mahlaba homestead, but in the families of her mother's siblings as she has stated.

It then makes sense why the refuge and affection that was provided by the maternal family, the maternal uncle to be specific, contributes to why the history of the Hlubis gets privileged more than that of the Mahlabas. The Hlubis and their history of status and prominence became a tangible resource for Mam Phindile, which she used to cope with the marginality that her immediate family faced in the Mahlaba homestead. Mam Phindile's narrative shows us how the marginalization of certain *kholwa* women manifests itself into which histories get privileged and which ones are not and the reasons behind this.

Prominent *kholwa* families in Mpolweni

I have mentioned that *kholwa* communities were highly stratified and that it was common practice for families to seek to consolidate their influence through intermarriage, acquiring the chiefship and using other mechanisms. Mpolweni Mission and Edendale are a perfect epitome of how this practice played itself out. Tied to this practice is how, there were families that were renowned for their prominence in the area. For Mam Phindile,

> Imindeni mhlawumbe efana neyothisha, oThish' Ndlela, umdeni wamfundisi futhi wawudumile, umfundisi uNkosi, imindeni eminingi nje oMnyandu owayenamabhasi – kwakuwumndeni owawudumile owawaziwa; hho nowakwaMkhize.[172]
>
> Families maybe like Thish' Ndlela's, the reverend's family, was very popular: Mfundisi Nkosi's. Many families like the Mnyandus whose head of the household owned a fleet of buses and they were a very well-known, popular family and the Mkhizes.[173]

What comes to the fore from the quote above is the fact that the prominence and status of these families stemmed from their influential positions and their material resources relative to the rest of the mission community. Mafezwe Khanyile, who is a secondary narrator for this interview, also commented on these families and how there was a select few of them that were known for producing teachers and being well-off at that time. He defined these privileges in tandem with these families having cars since at the time they were growing up in Mpolweni Mission this was a rarity. Mam Phindile's narration, read with Mafezwe Khanyile's comment[174], thus highlights the significance of this stratification and how *kholwa* communities like Mpolweni Mission were predicated upon status and prominence – particularly the visibility and influence of those who had these privileges.

An idyllic image of Mpolweni Mission

[172] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.
[173] The English translated version of the author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.
[174] Mafezwe Khanyile is part of the contemporary elite in Mpolweni Mission. He was one of the secondary narrators used for this research. The author's interview with Mafezwe Khanyile, 18 January 2018, KZN Office of the Premier, Pietermaritzburg.

Mam Phindile also evokes a depiction of Mpolweni Mission as ordered in the past. For her,

> EMpolweni bekwiyindawo nje efana nokuthi kusemakhaya futhi kuse-mission okwakunomthetho. Imithetho nje eqinile ukuthi izinto eziningi zazingenziwa. Mangabe kwakushoniwe yayingavulwa i-radio makushonwe kwamakhelwane; mangabe kade kunesiphepho – igeja, kwakungayiwa ensimini futhi. Mangabe kwakushoniwe eMpolweni, kwakushaywa insimbi esontweni kumenyezelwe kuthunyelwe izingane; kuhlatshwe umkhosi ukuthi kabani sekushoniwe.[175]
>
> Mpolweni was a place that was like rural and a mission where there were rules. Rules were stringent and a lot of things did not happen. If there was a death, the radio would not be on if there was a death in the neighbourhood; if there was a storm- the igeja, people would not go to the fields. The bell at the church would be rung to announce the death in Mpolweni and the kids would be sent around to announce the news; people would be alerted about the death that had occurred in a certain family.

Like the other two women, Mam Phindile entrenches the image of Mpolweni Mission as being orderly and peaceful in contrast to the present, which is marked by lawlessness, spatial expansions, rampant crime and other social ills. This quote gives an indication of how the mission governed and shaped the behavior of its residents. This is similar to the discussion on Edendale where Sibongiseni Mkhize illustrates that there were numerous committees and structures put in place to ensure that law and order were maintained in the mission station.[176] It is probably fair to say that most

[175] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission.

[176] For more on the structures that were put in place in mission stations to regulate the behaviour of residents, particularly for the case of Edendale Mission, see Sibongiseni .M. Mkhize, *Class Consciousness, Non-racialism and Political Pragmatism: A Political Biography of Henry Selby Msimang 1886-1982,* (Johannesburg, 2015), 1-427.

mission stations needed various mechanisms to ensure that they were run efficiently. Moreover, in the context of Mpolweni Mission, there was a clear chain of command between the offices of induna and iNkosi (the chief). This is seen through the statement that:

> …I knew maybe when there was a case, that case was first taken to the induna and then he would refer it to the iNkosi and then you would be taken to the iNkosi for the case to be heard.
>
> …However, if the case was minor, it would be heard by the induna, but if it had become big and could not be heard by the induna, it would be passed on to the iNkosi.

These clear functional areas of the induna and iNkosi ensured that the figures of authority knew what fell under their jurisdiction and would act accordingly. The hierarchy was key for maintaining law and order in the mission. The Uniting Presbyterian Church itself played a vital role in the area since it was the only church that was present at that time and shaped how things were done in the mission.

According to Mam Phindile, there was an institutionalized way of doing things in Mpolweni Mission. The roles of the church, the chief and the induna in the mission were well coordinated so as to ensure that orderliness and a strict adherence to rules took place.[177] These structures and how they operated were deeply entrenched in Mpolweni Mission, and it is this that ensured that peace and order prevailed. This is in stark contrast to what exists today as Mam Phindile's narrative later explores.

The political violence in Mpolweni

[177] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

Mam Phindile was able to narrate extensively on the IFP-UDF/ANC political violence in Mpolweni Mission because it took place when she was in her formative years. This violence as Gogo MaHlubi, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and other narrators posited, was driven mostly by young people in the area. This makes sense as to why then Mam Phindile would vividly remember and narrate about the events that unfolded in greater detail since she was in her teens at that time. Her narration indicates that rumour and suspicion played a role in fueling the political violence since the section of Mpolweni Mission, thet her home fell under, was considered to be a stronghold of the IFP. The scholarship on political violence in the Natal Midlands is extant. In his PhD thesis, Mxolisi Mchunu explores the complex ways in which the violence was sustained and the actors involved in Vulindlela, Pietermaritzburg. In his study, the role that rumor and suspicion in various izigodi (sections) and families played in fueling the violence are vividly grappled with. His study thus shows that there were resonances in the unfolding of this internecine violence in various parts of the Midlands. Showing how these manifested themselves in Mpolweni Mission, Mam Phindile states that,

> Umfundisi Nkosi ngesikhathi kuwudlame wayengcwaba noma ubani akekho umuntu ayengamngcwabi. Kangangoba kwaze kwahlanganwa ngaye abantu bethi shuthi umfundisi Nkosi uyi-ANC uyabona ngoba awukho umngcwabo ayengawuhambi. Wayehambela yonke imingcwabo nomngcwabo womuntu obulawe ngodlame wayewuhambela umfundisi Nkosi.[178]
>
> Reverend Nkosi, when the political violence was taking place would officiate at the funerals of those who were killed and would not choose any side. As a result of this,

[178] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

> some people ganged up on him and accused him of being an ANC supporter because there is not a single funeral he did not attend. He attended all funerals: even the funerals of those who were killed in the violence, Rev Nkosi would attend.

Here, Mam Phindile concurs with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle about how the Reverend was accused of being ANC.

The publicness of the status of the Mahlabas

Like Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, Mam Phindile mentioned that the Mahlabas were suspected of being IFP because of their relations with Prince Buthelezi through his wife who is the niece of MaNdlovu. In talking about this violence, Mam Phindile invokes the status that is coupled with the relations between these two families.

When residents from the other sections came to the realization that Mpolweni Enkulu was not an IFP stronghold, but instead all the residents were ANC, that:

> …is when people started joining the UDF and as time went by the UDF disintegrated and then the ANC came into the picture. I then came into the picture: I came in as an ANC volunteer. We were recruiting people to join the ANC, educating them about the Congress, doing door-to-door campaigns showing and educating them on how to vote. On the first-ever democratic election, I was an election voting assistant: helping people line up properly. We were working for the Congress, our organisation.[179]

This quote raises a set of complex themes for me. The first one being on how the IFP did not enjoy much support in Mpolweni, a typical mission station whereas the ANC did. The history of the ANC can be traced to the early generation of African converts

[179] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

who grew up and were trained in mission stations.[180] It thus makes sense why the ANC would appeal to Mpolweni Mission residents and for the area to become its stronghold. Second, Mam Phindile's membership of the ANC at the time of the political violence may be read as, at least in part, her rejection of the Mahlabas and their relations with the Buthelezi family. Her family was marginalized in the Mahlabas and as a result, she was predisposed to reject anything that is associated with this family, including their support of the IFP. The ANC, in turn, became a home for her. Perhaps the ANC would have found a home in her great-grandparents as well considering the strong relations between the *kholwa* and this political party. Joining the ANC is Mam Phindile charting her own political allegiance outside of that of her paternal family's.

Mam Phindile as an activist

Third and last, when she was narrating this to me there was a sense of pride visible. Her ANC activism since her teens is part of her identity and contributes to how she makes sense of herself as a woman of status. There is something also significant stemming from this narration: that of a mother of a different generation narrating to her child of another generation in a context where youth activism is in an interesting space. Moving beyond this though is also the assertion of the unsung activists who were not propelled into national prominence during and after Apartheid in South Africa. Mam Phindile is thus claiming for herself significant contribution to this nascent democracy through her localized ANC activism in Mpolweni Mission, which has been erased especially in the context of contributions that get canonized at the

[180] For an insightful discussion of this, see Andre Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa*, (Johannesburg, 2012), 1-551.

national level. The work that this part of the narrative does is manifold as it is speaks to the entrenched legacy of *amakholwa* in mission stations such as Mpolweni and how it has manifested itself in the lives and political decisions of descendants of this class across time, as Mam Phindile's political predispitions highlight.

An unfamiliar Mpolweni

As someone who comes from one of the first-comer families in Mpolweni Mission, the idyllic image of the place she came of age in is contrasted with the disorderly present. For her the root of this disintegration can be traced to,

> Mhlawumbe ngezikhathi zama-late 1990s sekufike abantu, sekushone naye uChief., sekufike abantu. Ibandla lokuqala nje esaqala nje ukulibona mangingaphosisi engathi elaseWeseli elafika nabantu bakaMajola kodwa nabo bafike bangena ePres. Emva kwalokho ….oh eh ngicabanga ukuthi elakaMajola kwase kweyelesibili iWeseli. Kwafika elinye labazalwane ababesindisiwe okwakuyiFaith Mission elalizibiza ngokuthi iGaraji. Becangcatha abantu mabesho. Lafika-ke hhayi-ke lafika nensindiso bakhuluma ukusindiswa kangangoba nje wawubona nje ukuthi kunomdonsiswano Phakathi kwePrese nalelo sonto.[181]
>
> Maybe in the late 90s when people had arrived, when the iNkosi had passed away too and when people had arrived. The first church denomination that arrived…the one that we saw first if I am not mistaken is the Methodist, which arrived with the Majola family members. However, initially, when this family came, they joined the Presbyterian Church but after a while…oh wait: I think the Majola's church was the second one. The first church that arrived was Pentecostal: Faith Mission. They called themselves the Garage. They were in Mpolweni to repair people. That is what they

[181] The author's interview with Mam Phindile Mahlaba, 28 January 2018, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg.

> said. They arrived with Pentecostalism and there were tensions between them and the Presbyterian Church.

This quote can be treated as providing insight into the changes in Mpolweni Mission that started taking place as democracy was looming in the country as a whole and how they manifested themselves in a once small, 'community'. Furthermore, it can also be treated as providing commentary on how the death of the chief itself contributed to these changes and subsequently the state of affairs in Mpolweni Mission today, as posited by the 'originals' of Mpolweni.[182] I find this significant because these changes are tied to how Mam Phindile has made sense of the present by invoking the past order of things and how that past order of things came to be destabilized by the arrival of new people.

An example of these challenges as we have been alerted, can be seen through one of the churches that challenged the hegemony of the Presbyterian Church. Challenging the church is akin to challenging the essence of the mission as a whole, and what those who were raised in the area have come to know as their way of life and being tied to how they make sense of themselves. People like Mam Phindile feel marginalized by the newcomers as their arrival is considered to be the cause for the social ills that are rampant in Mpolweni.

What is not discussed, however, is the fact that it is not newcomers that are solely responsible for the social ills that characterize Mpolweni contemporarily. There are multiple factors at play, which get obscured when all the challenges are ascribed to one actor, in this instance as the three women's narratives show, the newcomers.

[182] I use this term to denote to those who were born and grew up in Mpolweni Mission. I subvert it from the conventional ascription synonymous with the first *kholwa* families in Edendale as discussed by Mkhize & Meintjes respectively.

When commenting about the spatial expansions that are perpetually happening in the area and are as a result of the selling of land plots especially by people who have no authority to do so since no one owns the land of Mpolweni Mission.[183] The issue of numerous community members selling land plots remains contentious as more people flock into Mpolweni and as crime and other social ills increase.

Conclusion

Mam Phindile Mahlaba is the last-born child and daughter of Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba and the late Malcolm Mahlaba. She spent most of her formative years in Mpolweni Mission and it during the political violence between the IFP-UDF/ANC that she became an UDF/ANC activist. In her narrative there is an evocation of Mpolweni Mission as peaceful and ordered in the past, the Swazi pre-colonial origins of the Hlubis, the Hlubi's status as a landowning family and the first kholwa chief in Mpolweni Mission, the complexity of the *kholwa* chiefship, status and prominence as it played itself out in the mission, the localized nature of the political violence, the making of the destabilization of the previous order of Mpolweni Mission and the marginalization of the histories, namely the status and the belonging that is tied to this status, felt by those who were born and grew up in the area as a result of newcomers, abantu bokufika.

Since Gogo MaHlubi was mistreated in the Mahlaba homestead for numerous reasons that have been discussed elsewhere, Mam Phindile as her child was also subjected to this mistreatment. Like Mamkhulu Ntombenhle's, Mam Phindile's narrative highlights the intergenerational nature of marginalization from the

[183] Ibid.

perspective of 'non-elite' *kholwa* women. In line with the theme of the intergenerational nature of marginalization is how women who are marginalized look for strategies to cope with difficult situations in their lives. Like Gogo MaHlubi, Mam Phindile taps into the set of memories of the Hlubis as a family of status in Mpolweni Mission to cope with the marginalization that she was subjected to in the Mahlaba homestead by virtue of being a child of MaHlubi Mahlaba. As a result of this when she narrates she mobilizes the history of her maternal family, the Hlubis, while suppressing that of her paternal family, the Mahlabas. Moreover, in her narration is the invocation of her status as an ANC activist, which can be read as a claim in the midst of the feelings of marginalization of those who contributed to the struggle for liberation but have been erased. In the context of Mpolweni, it is a claim in the face of the rampant social ills, which have been attributed to the newcomers.

Mam Phindile's narratives further show the importance of the woman's natal family for not only providing refuge and support in the midst of challenges as I have mentioned, but also for enabling the woman to mobilize the past as a political resource at a time where this history is being marginalized by other actors, in this case, the newcomers. Hlubi history is part of the matri-archive that Mam Phindile not only mobilizes, but actively shapes it to do certain kinds of work that center her forebears and positions herself as a recipient of this rich, kholwa history herself. Mahlaba history cannot offer her this as it is synonymous with the hardships her family was subjected to and the relations with the IFP. Her identity as a UDF and later ANC activist can be read as speaking back and rejecting the status of the Mahlabas.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

In the historiography of mission stations in the former colony of Natal, the history of Mpolweni Mission does not feature prominently in comparison to other missions, such as Adams Mission, Edendale, Inanda. Where it appears, it is either in footnotes or mentioned in passing. My research indicates that Mpolweni Mission was a typical *kholwa* community where the Free Church of Scotland, now the Uniting Presbyterian Church, was the sole denomination. Since Mpolweni was a *kholwa* community, there were prominent families in the area who occupied significant positions in the wider mission, which ranged from teachers, chiefs, induna, reverend, leader of any of the church structures, and other professions that were considered to be of status. One of the features of the Mpolweni Mission that my research draws attention to is the way in which families like the Hlubis, the Mngadis and the Mahlabas make a claim on being firstcomers in the area.

While the thesis reveals a number of things of this kind about the Mpolweni Mission, it is not about the history of Mpolweni Mission per se, but about how three women from three different generations from my maternal family mobilize the past. In mobilizing the past, the women render the history of Mpolweni Mission in a way that centers the status of their families. Gogo MaHlubi focuses on her family, the Hlubis, drawing attention to her grandfather Bathengi Hlubi who was a prominent landowner and the first chief of the area, and who was central in the history of Mpolweni Mission. In turn, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle privileges her maiden family's history, the Mahlabas, whose heads of the family were both the induna of the chief and the leader of the

women's guild of the church. For her then, these positions cemented the esteem that the family was accorded. Inasmuch as Mamkhulu Ntombenhle is married, the status of her maiden family is at the heart of how she sees herself in the world, but most specifically in the role that her family plays in the positioning of Mpolweni's history. For Mam Phindile, the Hlubis are her maternal family, and like Gogo MaHlubi, she sees this family's elite status as being at the heart of the history of Mpolweni Mission. Thus, she hopes that this thesis will ultimately become a book so that people, especially the newcomers, will know the significant role that the Hlubis played in the founding and later years of the mission. All three women render visible the history of Mpolweni Mission that centers their maiden family histories, which is in contradiction to what appears in the established record, namely paternal histories.

The three women are all related and consider themselves as the first-comers in Mpolweni Mission. They also share an experience of being marginalized in the Mahlaba household. Gogo MaHlubi married in at a time when her maiden family, the Hlubis, had lost their wealth and resources in the mid-1960s. She was marrying into a well-off family of the induna and the leader of the women's guild. In the eyes of her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, she was not a professional, having been forced to drop out of school and being unable to further her studies due to her parents lacking finances to keep her at school. These circumstances contributed to how she was treated in her matrimonial family and subsequently to her marginalization as an outsider in the frame of being a wife, but also coming from a family that was no longer deemed to be prominent. However, for Gogo MaHlubi, the status of the Hlubis as kholwa, landowners, and people who were once wealthy remains etched in her memory and

she taps into it to survive the marginalization in her matrimonial family. For Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, her mother MaNdimande came from an impoverished family although she worked as a teacher. Since her father had an extramarital affair, with the other woman being favoured by the mother-in-law and her daughters, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and her siblings were sidelined. In the face of this marginalization, she continues to be proud of the history of her maiden family, the Mahlabas, since their prominence is at the heart of how she sees her place in the world of Mpolweni and outside. Significantly, her marginalization while growing up brought her closer to Gogo MaHlubi who looked after her and her siblings since her mother was working far from home. In the case of Mam Phindile, her family's impoverished status meant that they were positioned at the bottom of the Mahlaba hierarchy. Yet since she spent a lot of time with her maternal uncle while growing up, she became aware of the history of her maternal family, the Hlubis and was able to deal with the marginalization in the Mahlabas by finding refuge in her maternal family. In contrast to Mamkhulu Ntombenhle, she does not privilege the history of the Mahlabas because of the marginalization her mother Gogo MaHlubi and her siblings suffered at the hands of this family. Instead, she looks to Hlubi history as a descendant of this first generation of *amakholwa* in Natal. For all three women, their maiden family's histories confer a sense of pride and status, and they make sense of their lives as people who come from prominence even with some challenges in their immediate families. The ongoing significance of maiden family histories is not adequately recognized in the historiography, but as this thesis shows, they need to be given attention.

The image of Mpolweni Mission in the past that the women evoke is idyllic, namely of a peaceful, order, and stable past. The church was at the center of daily life and contributed to the orderly nature of the area. This is a departure from the present, which is characterized by social ills such as crime and newcomers, abantu bokufika, flocking into the area. The Mpolweni of today is not the ideal Mpolweni of the past. By invoking this ideal Mpolweni of the past, the women use history to lament and comment on the disintegration in the present. As the firstcomers, they can mobilize this past to lament the ills that have been brought by the newcomers as they feel marginalized in the contemporary.

If the past has multiple uses as the case of the women shows so far, then we need to shift our attention to how that use can translate into claims for resources for the women. As mentioned, the Hlubis were landowners – they owned plots of land in Edendale and Albert Falls. The farm in Albert Falls is currently the subject of a land claim lodged by the surviving descendants of Bathengi Hlubi. Gogo MaHlubi speaks about this land claim in a manner that illustrates that she is aware of the relationship between the status of the Hlubis as landowners and the role that that plays into claims for the land in the present. Mam Phindile, like Gogo MaHlubi mobilizes the landowning history of the Hlubis to make a claim for a resource in the form of the land claim. Interestingly, the two women at times see the Hlubis as owning the land of Mpolweni and this coincides with the church currently thinking of ceding ownership of the land. These debates about land ownership and the actual land claim mirror each other and these have a rooting in a resource, namely land.

The women mobilize history outside of formal structures such as Umanyano or Ubumbano. These mobilizations take place in social, familial, and even public settings (in the case of Mam Phindile, an activist). As discussed in the thesis, I grew up hearing these stories about the status of the Hlubis and the Mahlabas, from my grandmother to my mother and even Mamkhulu Ntombenhle. The fact that these discussions and mobilizations of the past take place outside of formal structures is significant because it illustrates that history is not only the preserve of people who are part of associations: even those outside of these forums discourse about the past. In the case of women, they do not have to belong to any structure to engage, mobilize, and claim resources as the three women show us.

The conventional view of women, in particular the grandmother as a relayer of stories and folktales to children, is limiting. The kinds of narratives that Gogo MaHlubi is actively involved in discussing are not folktales: they are historical knowledge that has multiple uses. While she is an institution of knowledge (to echo Babalwa Magoqwana), she is also a producer of history. However, it is not only women of a particular age who are both institutions and producers of history, namely the grandmothers; women of other generations like Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile are actively involved in producing, reproducing, and mobilizing history. Women mobilize history to navigate life and the demands it places on them – and as the lives of the three women explicate – they mobilize the past to cope with different forms of marginality, make sense of themselves, and lay claim to resources.

In the case of the three women, there were certain topics they could not discuss. Clan history was one of them. However, their discussions and narrations of the past

traversed a multitude of topics that ranged from the private to the public. Men on the other hand were considered to be well-versed in clan history as Mkhulu Bongani illustrates. When we were discussing Mahlaba clan history, Mamkhulu Ntombenhle and Mam Phindile felt like their knowledge of that topic was not enough and they then referred me to Mkhulu Bongani. Mkhulu Bongani had prepared an extensive clan tree. He narrated the clan history of the Mahlabas, tracing it from the founding ancestors and where each of our relatives fit in each part of the tree. His narrative was structured around familiarizing me with our clan's origins. In addition, it was laden with genealogical information, which can be read as a characteristic of the patri-archive. The patri-archive contains genealogy, clan history, and other historical details. It has, since the days of Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary of Native Affairs in the colony of Natal, been needed and mobilized to make claims to land and chiefship. Its appeal and usability is for specific purposes whereas as my research shows, the women's narratives can be said to be constituting a matri-archive.

For Uhuru Phalafala, the matri-archive is capacious: from "oral traditions passed on from matrilineal members of the family to their (grand)children [as] a key system of knowledge" to it being a repository that "holds together locally-specific matrilineally-inherited worldviews, intersubjective relations, vernaculars and aesthetics."[184] The narratives of the three women do fall under this definition of the matri-archive, but they also extend and go beyond it. For example, the narratives do not only influence my work as a scholar as Kgositsile's mother and grandmother did in his oeuvre, but the women are constantly making and remaking it for their own reasons: from sense-

[184] Phalafala, "Polyglot Internationalism and the Matriarchive", *Interventions* 22, no.3 (2020), 346.

making, lamenting on the present using the past to laying claim to political resources. At the heart of all of this are the maiden family histories. The ongoing significance of maiden family histories is not adequately recognized in the historiography, but as this thesis shows, they need to be given attention. When we pay attention to women's mobilizations of the past through oral historical narration as the thesis does, only then will we have an appreciation of the potent ways in which women of different generations use the past to secure all forms of recognition in a present that is becoming increasingly precarious for them and their descendants.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Interview with Gogo MaHlubi Mahlaba, 26 December 2017

Interview lenghth: 1 hr 11 minutes 02 seconds, Mpolweni Mission

This interview took place in the middle of a separate conversation, so introductions between the interviewer and the interviewee were not captured.

AM: Ayanda Mahlaba

DF M: Dudu F. Mahlaba (DF – her initials; in follow-up interview I just use DF to refer to her)

AM: Ya…uBatengi?

DF M: Angithi uBatengi wayezalwa…uBatengi umkhulu wathatha abantwana bakhe, angithi wayezale abafana ababili, uPhineas noEnos. UPhineas wamthatha wamyisa esikoleni samakhosi enzela ukuthi khona ezoba inkosi.

AM: Sasilaphi leso sikole, Gogo?

DF M: Angazi yazi. Yazi angisazi. Kwakungekhona koLovedale? Kulezindawo zako ka…Cape bani?

AM: Eastern Cape?

DF M: Hmmh…kulezo ndawo-ke. Ngoba uthi umkhulu wethu babengahambi bona ngebhanoyi. Babehamba ngomkhumbi baze bayofika-ke lapho. Angazi-ke ukuthi kwenzekalani mase befike lapho umkhulu wa…ubaba wami eselapho kuleso sikole. Ukuthi kwenzekani angazi. Anginayo nje incazelo engingayisho ukuthi kwenzekani.

AM: Umkhulu wakho kwakuwubani igama lakhe?

DF M: UJosiah.

AM: Elinye? Ngicela uwasho wonke amagama akhe?

DF M: Hhayi angilazi-ke elinye…uJosiah Batengi.

AM: Hlubi?

DF M: Hhmm (in agreement)

AM: Wayeshade nobani umkhulu wakho?

DF M: NoMaMazibuko.

AM: Igama lakhe kwakuwubani?

DF M: Engathi walisho… Igama lakhe sasithi…babethi….babethi…ubani bantu…ababemqambele lona nje…bathi uKaMazongwe….

AM: Mhhhmmm

DF: UMaZongwe… Ugogo wethu uwuMaMazibuko…kodwa uMaZongwe angazi ukuthi ungena kanjani? Noma mhlawumbe kwakuyisidlaliso yini angazi.

AM: Bahlangana…Bobabili nomkhulu wakho abaseSwazini?

DF M: Ehhene. Kodwa ugogo inzalo yakhe engathi u u u gogo wethu naye yayiseSwazini. Kodwa inzalo kaGogo iseMnambithi. (2:22)

AM: Hho iseMnambithi?

DF M: Ikhaya elikhulu…ikhaya lakhe…

AM: IseMnambithi?

DF M: Ehhe.

AM: Mhhmm…Okay-ke gogo. So umkhulu wakho…uthe wayenamadodana amabili kuphela?

DF M: Ehhe…

AM: Kwakuwobani amagama abo?

DF M: UPhineas noEnos…

AM: Ubani omdala?

DF: UPhineas…ubaba wami.

AM: Okay… UPhineas wayenabantwana abangaki?

DF M: (ukuthula)…Eyi uPhineas…Phela uPhineas wayenamakhosikazi awu-two.

AM: HHM…

DF M: Ehhe… Kusho ukuthi kuMaMtshali…unkosikazi wakhe omdala uMaMtshali…

AM: Owalaphi uMaMtshali?

DF M: Owala… Uzalo lwakhe angilazi ngabe nginamanga…kodwa engikwaziyo ukuthi uMaMtshali ubaba wakhe waye umfundisi uMtshali la eMpolweni…

AM: Hhhm…

DF M: Hhhm…

AM: Okay…

DF M: Ohlobene noDumisani…

AM: Okay… So-ke ubaba wakho wayenamakhosikazi amabili: uMaMtshali…uMaMtshali wayenezingane ezingaki?

DF M: (ukuthula) Zingaki?

AM: Ngicela uzisho amagama azo…

DF M: UZithulele, uPapusi, uSwazi…khona omunye umntwana…noma uRex…khona umntwana wakhe owashona…ithuna lakhe likhona lapha…uRex…bese kuba u…u…Shebi, uVincent bese kuba uGundani.

AM: UGundani? Okay… Mese kuthi-ke u…uMa wakho wayewunkosikazi wesingaki?

DF M: Two.

AM: Wesibili? Wazalelwaphi uMa wakho?

DF M: Le koZulu…

AM: Igama le ndawo?

DF M: KoNkandla lapho nje…

AM: Akusikhona eMfongosi?

DF M: IseMfongosi…(4:18) Bafuduka-ke omkhulu…ubaba wabo… bahamba-ke…bayofuduka…

AM: Bayaphi?

DF M: Bayofuna izindawo eMpangeni… Bafike bagxila-ke khona. (4:28)

AM: Banda khona?

DF M: Mhhm (Evuma)

AM: Ubani igama lakhe uMa wakho?

DF M: UMartha…

AM: Martha

DF M: …Jabulile Ntuli.

AM: UMartha Jabulile Ntuli? Okay. Bahlangana nomkhulu wakho kuphi…nobaba wakho njalo ngiyaxolisa…Bahlanganaphi?

DF M: Ubaba wami wayehamba zonke izindawo ngoba wayewudokotela womaskito. Ehamba ebheka omaskito ebahlola…ehamba ehamba imfula la emfuleni. Afike mhlawumbe kuleyo ndawo…i-office lakhe lithi, "Uzohamba wena uyosebenza…ake ngithi uzoyosebenza eGreytown. Mayeyosebenza eGreytown uzothatha uMamncane…uMa wami ahambe naye kube uyena muntu uzomenzela yonke into. Ahambe ke asebenze asebenze… Unkosikazi omdala wayesekhaya (5:30)

AM: Ekhaya phi? Lalilaphi ikhaya?

DF M: Lalila eAlbert Falls.

AM: Albert Falls? Okay… Uhm… Asibuyele emuva-ke…Uthe ubaba wakho wayekufundele lobudokotela?

DF M: Wayekufundele kona…Ukuthi wayekufundele phi angisazi. Uyabona nje mhlampe…kodwa uMaxy akazi lutho…(6:00) Akazi lutho kakhulu ngoba uMax uyingane…Ukuba kukhona mhlampe uGundane wayengazi kangcono…

AM: Okay-ke…Uhm uhm… And then… bengizothini? Wena Gogo uzalelwephi? Uzalwe nini? (6:25)

DF M: Ngizalelwe..koZulu… angithi babehamba noMa…baze bangithola-ke. Wayenabantwana uMa wami abawu5 yini…ayebathola… bashona-ke.

AM: Ebathola naye ubaba wakho?

DF M: Ehhe…ebathola nobaba wami.

AM: Babeshadile abazali bakho?

DF M: Ehhe… Kwenzeka kanje wena … (clears throat) Ukuhlangana kwababa wami…uGogo, uMaNtuli, ikhaya lakhe lalise Mpangeni. Engathi u u u ubaba bam'transferela eMpangeni ukuthi ayosebenza khona wafike wabona intombi…wafike wathola intombi-ke lapho-ke. Wathumela abantu ukuthi bayoyicela. Mabeyoyicela bebuza…ebuza uGogo ukuthi wena umthetho wakho awunayo inkosikazi…athi anginayo inkosikazi…aphike nje aphike aphike aphike…Kwathi ekugcineni kanti ubaba wami uzwana nomfowabo kusho ukuthi ubaba wami wayexoxela umfowabo…

AM: Umfowabo kaGogo? (7:51)

DF M: Umfowabo… uEnos

AM: Ohh uEnos?

DF M: Ehhe ukuthi manje ngihambile ngayocela ngayoshada kanti kanje kanje kanje kanje…

AM: Wayekhona uMaMtshali?

DF M: Yebo ehlezi…Ebe ekhona uMaMtshali. Umuntu owayazi izindaba umkhulu ka…kaNeli. Angithi babebabili wayethi mayenengxaki lo…axoxele umfowabo…

AM: Ima-ke Gogo…uhm…ubaba wakho wazalelwaphi yena? Uyazi ukuthi wazalelwaphi?

DF M: (shaking head) Cishe ukuba eSwazini.

AM: ESwazini?

DF M: Mmmhh (Agreeing) (8:31)

AM: Okay… okay. Mmmhhh… Nifika kanjani pho la e e eMgungundlovu? EMpolweni nizithola kanjani-ke?

DF M: Angithi ukuhamba kwa…ubaba wami…umkhulu wakhe wayehamba enezindawo njengakoEdendale uyabona…

AM: Mhhm (agreeing)

DF M: Ehhe…Enezindawo lapho…afike athenge indawo lapho aphinde ayothenga indawo koAlbert Falls…aphinde azothenga indawo eplazini…iplazi lakhe umkhulu wami elikhulu ileli… Lokhu okunye nje kwakuyizindawana ezincane uyabona…

AM: Wayeyikholwa umkhulu wakho?

DF M: Mhhmm (Agreeing)

AM: Yini ikholwa?

DF M: Ikholwa phela ilabantu abangaphansi kwamasonto.

AM: Abakholiwe?

DF M: Basho njalo phela ukuthi bakholiwe…kodwa kusho ukuthi bangene ngaphansi…njengeANC…ukube uzongena ngaphansi kweANC. Mhlawumbe siqambe igama ukuthi amakholwa.

AM: Uthe wazalelwa eMpangeni?

DF M: Mhhm (Agreeing).

AM: Wafundaphi?

DF M: Angithi njengoba ngichazile ukuthi ubaba wami wayehamba ehamba ehamba ehamba…Ngafunda…Kwasho ukuthi ihead office yakhe yayiseMnambithi phela. Basuke lapho behamba noGogo…uMaNtuli…Unkosikazi omkhulu phela uhlezi ekhaya angithi ubhasobhe imfuyo…bafuyile izinkomo…amagusha…Bami kahle…ehh…nje…yonke into…Kuyalinywa lapha…kulinywa umbila…kuyathuthwa umbila uyiswa kaMadonela…uMamkhulu-ke wayegade izinto ezinjengalezo ngoba indoda yakhe yayihamba izindawo zonke…

AM: Uyalazi igama lala ayesebenza khona ubaba wakho? Ukuthi kwakuthiwa ikabani?

DF M: (10:45) Ehh…ubaba wami wake wasebenza …. Uyabona esibhedlela…kwakuthiwani…ilocal health…kwakuthiwa yilocal health commission…

AM: Yilocal health commission?

DF M: Mhhmm…

AM: Wayesebenza lapho?

DF M: Ehhe…Uyabona esibhedlela iEdendale…kunehholo elilapho ngezansi uyabona mawungathi uqhamuka ngaseAshdown…ehhe

kwakuyindawo…kwakuyioffice labo lapho ubaba wami… Besebenza no… uyamazi uThish' Dlamini wala eMngeni? Hhayi ngeke umazi wawusemncane…Futhi mhlawumbe wawungakakabi khona. Wayesebenza nobaba wakhe-ke loyo. Kusho ukuthi babakhe lapha eAlbert Falls. Cishe ukuba uThish' Dlamini uhlobene nabo labo… Kunothish' uDlamini owayefundisa la… Ubaba wakhe lo Thish' uDlamini wayesebenza nomkhulu wenu… (11:57) UThish' Dlamini angazi wayeganwe yintombazane yakuphi la eMantshalini… Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: (12:03) Manje-ke… uhm… amabanga aphansi… wazalwa nini asiqale lapho? Sengikhohliwe nokusho ukuthi wazalwa nini?

DF M: 1943…

AM: January bani? I mean yiphi yona inyanga nosuku?

DF M: UJanuary 13 1943…

AM: (12:20) Amagama akho aphelele?

DF M: Igama lami… Elisemqoka nje elikaDuduzile. Elika Francisca angizulinaka ngoba ngasonta eMaromeni ngase ngiyabhabhadiswa emaRomeni. Uma wami wayesontaphi eLuthela.

AM: (12:43) So emaRomeni bakunikeza elikaFranscisca?

DF M: (12:45) Mhhhm (agreeing) Uyazikhethela wena…

AM: Olifunayo?

DF M: (12:48) Mhhmm (agreeing).

AM: Wa… Lalilaphi lelisonto lasemaRomeni?

DF M: KwaMachibisa.

AM: KwaMachibisa….

DF M: EHenriville…

AM: (12:58) Uze uzithola kanjani useHenriville?

DF M: Angithi-ke njengoba ngichaza ukuthi ubaba wami wayesebenza elocal health…ehhe… Sathola indawo la ayezohlala khona nomndeni wakhe… Wathenga indlu sahlala khona isikole sayongena…

AM: (13:20) So amabanga aphansi wawafundela eHenriville?

DF M: Mhhm (Agreeing)

AM: Mawuphuma eHenriville wayaphi? (13:24)

DF M: Mangiphuma eHenriville ngaya eNewcastle…emaRomeni futhi.

AM: (13:31) Igama lesikole kwakuyini?

DF M: ISt Lewis…

AM: (13:33) YiSt Lewis? Wafunda waze wagcinaphi eSt Lewis?

DF M: (13:38) Ngaya kuStandard 8…

AM: (13:40) KuStandard 8? So uGrade 10 loyo manje?

DF M: Ehhe… Cishe ukuba uGrade 10… Kwasho ukuthi-ke manje ubaba wami useyagula-ke. Uyagula ubaba ugulela emsebenzini khona lapho lapho sihlala khona la ethenge khona umuzi…

AM: (13:58) KwaMachibisa?

DF M: Ehhe… Wagula-ke ubaba wami kwasho ukuthi-ke bamphutha off emsebenzini. Futhi phela babengaholi imali… Ingakakabi bikho imali njengamanje. Ngoba ukube kwakuyinjengamanje ngabe hhawu… Kwasho ukuthi vele wayengenandaba nalutho ubaba wami ngoba kubo kwakurich kwakhe… Ifa lonke kwakweyelakhe… Inkomo (izinkomo)… iklabhu (iziklabhu)… ingulube ini kuthi phakathi nesikhathi nje

kuhlatshwe inkomo abantu baseMpolweni bayodla… Abanye behlala khona… Nje kugaywe utshwala… kuvuthwe umbila…uyabona nje…

AM: (14:47) So ubaba wababa wakho…umkhulu wakho kwakuyinkosi?

DF M: Mhhm (Agreeing)

AM: Inkosi yala eMpolweni?

DF M: (14:50) Mhhm

AM: Okay… Then-ke…ubaba…umkhulu wakho-ke phela njengoba mayeyinkosi I'm sure kwakusho ukuthi mawukuthi useyashona kuzoba ubaba wakho…Kwenzakala lokho? Ukuthi mase eshonile umkhulu wakho?

DF M: (15:11) Ehhe mase eshonile umkhulu…umkhulu wami waba yinkosi yaseMpolweni… Kusho ukuthi noma engabanga yena inkosi yaseMpolweni ngokuthi i i plazi lakhe lalila… izingane zakhe…yonke into yala eMpolweni yayisibiza yena… Ehhe…

AM: (15:32) Kwakuwuyena mnikazi weplazi…lase Mpolweni?

DF M: Phela angithi wayengaphansi kwamakholwa… ehhe kusho ukuthi yiwona…umcebo wonke ngaphandle kweplazi wawunika amakholwa lawo…

AM: (15:48) Ayengamele?

DF M: Mhhm (Agreeing)

AM: Ngaleso sikhathi babekhona abelungu ababe ngaphansi kwaleyo mission? Kwakuyi mission yini iMpolweni?

DF M: (15:55) Ehhene kwakuyi mission…

AM: (15:57) Yaliphi lona isonto?

DF M: Ye Presbyterian. Mhhm (Agreeing).

AM: (16:04) Okay. Then uthena-ke ubaba wakho wagula ngesikhathi usase St Lewis kwenzakalani-ke ngesikhathi egula?

DF M: (16:07) Kwasho ukuthi imali ayisekho phela…imali yokungikhokhela ischool fees what what. Useyagula, wagula ngempela, wagula, wagula, waze wayolala esibhedlela beza abantwana bakhe bazombona esibhedlela. Badlule ekhaya basibone bahambe sebebuyela ekhaya.

AM: (16:36) Seniyazana? Wena zingane zika MaNtuli nezikaMaMtshali niyazana?

DF M: Ehhene…

AM: Babezwana uMaMtshali noMaNtuli?

DF M: Yebo ngoba izingane zikaMaNtuli zazihlala…khona esinye isithombe la ngizoke ngisibheke kahle…Izingane zikaMaNtuli…bekuthi uMa mayethole ingane ayithathe ayiyise kuMaMtshali. Athole ingane ayithathe ayiyise kuMaMtshali.

AM: (17:20) Ayiyiselani?

DF M: Angithi phela yena uyehla uyenyuka nomyeni wakhe… Ehhe…UMaMtshali umuntu ohlezi ekhaya uyabona…

AM: (17:10) Azikhulise kahle uMaMtshali izingane?

DF M: Wayezikhulisa kahle ngoba angithi njengoba ngisho nje uma kuhlatshwe inkomo uzosilethela ucezi lwenkomo… Uma kuhlatshwe ingulube uMaMtshali wayengeke asho ukuthi hhayi angimniki umnakwethu ngokuthi uMaMtshali wayazi ukuthi izingane zikaMaNtuli zikaPhineas zikuMaNtuli nje… Ngisho umbila uma sekuvuniwe emasimini kwavunwa kwaqashwa amaloli ahambise umbila kaMadonela…kwakuyisaka Madonela ngaleso sikhathi nathi sithole…kugaywe kugaywe kugaywe umbila nathi sithole isaka le mpuphu.

AM: (18:00) Wayene lo… Okay… Wayefundile uMaNtuli?

DF M: Wayefundile uMaNtuli… wayefundile…UMaNtuli wayefundile…wafundela ukuthunga…wafundela ukupheka… Uthe engakashadi no no no noPhineas wathola itoho angithi kwakusekhona oprivate teacher… Ehhe wayofunda…

AM: Babenzani oprivate teacher?

DF M: Babefundisa.

AM: (18:36) Befundisa kanjani?

DF: Kushuthi babefundisa…angazi babefundisa kanjani. Kodwa u u u Ma wami wayefundisa khona eMpangeni.

AM: Kwakuhluke kanjani kunalokhu okujwayelekile?

DF: Phela loku okujwayelekile kusho ukuthi wawuhamba uyofunda uyabona… Ehhene uhambe uyokufundela kusho ukuthi u u u oprivate teacher wawungayi ukuyofunda wawufike ufundiswe khona la esikoleni ukuthi kwenziwa kanje kanje. Mhlawumbe ufundiswe uPrincipal ehhe akuthathe uqhubeka nezingane uze uzufunde. Uma usafuna ukuqhubeka bahambe mhlawumbe bayokufundisa unyaka owodwa uthole isitifiketi.

AM: (19:24) Uhmm… Ulo… u….Mase eseshonile… Sizobuyela kulokho… Mase eseshonile-ke u… uyamkhumbula njalo umkhulu wakho? Uyamkhumbula? Ukuthi wayewumuntu onjani umkhulu wakho?

DF: (19:36) Angimazi umkhulu…

AM: Awumazi?

DF: Mmmhh (evuma) Ngagcina ngimbona esithombeni.

AM: (19:53) Uzalwe eseshonile umkhulu wakho?

DF: Ukumazi nokumbona angimbonanga ngoba ngangingamazi, ngangisemncane. Mhlawumbe ngaleso sikhathi. Ukuthi lapha emathuneni kubhaliwe ukuthi washona nini. Angisakhumbuli kodwa nje…

AM: (20:02) Kukhona?

DF: Ehhe…

AM: (20:06) So kodwa-ke into engiyibuzayo ukuthi ngesikhathi eseshonile uJosiah wawusuzaliwe noma wawungakazalawa?

DF: Ngangingakazalwa.

AM: Wawungakazalwa ngesikhathi eshona?

DF: Mhhm (evuma) Ngangingakazalwa…noma ngangisemncane ukuthi angikhumbuli lapha emathuneni ukuthi ushone nini angisazi.

AM: Okay… KuMa wakho nanibangaki…kuMaNtuli?

DF: Engathi sasiwu5. Bashona bonke…

AM: Uyawazi amagama abo?

DF: Ngiyabazi (ngiyawazi) Abanye bashona bebancane. Umuntu engimaziyo uRose inkosazane yakhe… URose inkosazane yakhe.

AM: Okay…then… emva kwalokho…nizithola kanjani seniseMpolweni? Nizithola kanjani seniseMpolweni?

DF: Mina?

AM: Mhhm (evuma) Ufike kanjani eMpolweni? Wafika kanjani eMpolweni?

DF: Ngifike kanje: (echaza) e e e ekhaya…angithi ngike ngahlala phela nami eAlbert Falls (where the Hlubi farm is)… kuMamkhulu [MaMtshali]…

AM: MaMtshali?

DF: Ehhe…uMaMtshali…ngahlala eMpolweni…ngi…ngahlalanje impela eMpolweni nje ngaze ngamdlayana…

AM: Wawuhlala nobani eMpolweni?

DF: No… noMa uMaMtshali…

AM: NoMaMtshali?

DF: Mhhm (evuma) Ngase ngihleli noMaMtshali ngibuye phela ngibuyele kuMa wami… Mhhmm…

AM: Ngalesi sikhathi uhlala noMaMtshali usuyekile eSt Lewis?

DF: Cha ngangisemncane…

AM: Hho wawusemncane?

DF: Ehhe ngangimncane (21:36)

AM: Mhhmm (nodding)

DF: Ngangisemncane… ngaleso sikhathi…cishe kwakuwu 3-4 years. Sikhona isithombe ngoke ngisifune mhlambe ngizosithola…

AM: Mhhmm…. Okay…

DF: Konje ubusuthini?

AM: Ngabuza ukuthi…

DF: "Uzithole kanjani…"?

AM: Yes…uzithole kanjani eMpolweni…

DF: SengiseMpolweni sengizogana eMpolweni…?

AM: Ebuncaneni bakho usuchazile…obokuncane… Okokugana-ke? Ubaba wakho phela useyagula…asibuyele la othe ubaba wakho useyagula…eSt

Lewis…awusakwazi ukuthi uqhubeke…emva kwalokho kwenzekenjani-ke emva kwalokho?

DF: Okay, ubaba wami angithi ubehlala nathi wasithengela umuzi…ngesinye isikhathi abuye eze ekhaya lakhe…kaMaMtshali…ehhe… manje uMa wethu…umamkhulu wethu uMaMtshali wagana kaHlubi… ehhh… kunomunye uMaHlubi ogane kaMtshali…ugogo kaDumisa u u u ngizothini…

AM: (22:46) Loyo MaHlubi kwakuwo walaphi? Wayezalwaphi?

DF: Wayezalwa eMantshalini.

AM: Wayezalwa eMantshalini??

DF: UHlubi noMtshali bebeganiselana angazi kanjani njani…ngoba kuningi… Uyabona u umkhulu… uyabona kaVusi…la kaMaam Ngcobo ugogo wakhona…uwuMaMtshali…usashona…ugogo kaVusi kwakuwuMaMtshali owayegane kaNgcobo…ehhe… Eh ngezansi kwakukhona uMaMtshali u ugogo woBaby…ugogo woBaby…uMaMtshali waka…Hlubi… UMaMtshali wakaHlubi wazala abafana: ubaba kaBaby…uyamkhumbula ugogo Khalasi? (AM: nodding) Ugogo Khalasi wayethi gogo kuMaMtshali. UMa kaKhalasi…umamazala kaKhalasi uMaHadebe ohlobene noThemba noDolly Hadebe…

AM: (24:08) Okay so uthi ugogo kaDumisa kwakuwuMaHlubi wakaMtshali?

DF: Hhayi ugogo…angingasho ukuthi ugogo ngoba u u ubaba kaDumisa wayethi…gogo…ehhe wayethi gogo…Ugogo wakhe kwakuwuMaHlubi…

AM: Ubaba kaDumisa akusiyena uLloyd Mtshali?

DF: Cishe ukube uyena.

AM: Ngoba kuma-archives…

DF: (interrupts) Wayewuthisha…

AM: …kunoLloyd Mtshali engihlangane naye kuma-archives…then kunoThabitha Hlubi lo engangikubuza ngaye engihlangane naye kuma-archives…

DF: (interrupting) Cishe… AM: (continuing) Lo Thabitha Hlubi ngathi wayeshade noLuke Hlubi…noLuke Hlubi mangingaphosisi…but kunalabo engibatholile kuvela nje uLu…uLloyd Mtshali…kunoLloyd Mtshali ovelayo… Ngizoke ngiqinisekise kodwa…ngenze isiqinisekiso

DF: Ungamtshela futhi u… Njengoba uZama [my mother] wayesho nje ukuthi uDumisa uyazazi. Ngoba uyena phela osemdala phela ekhaya kanti noZodwa wakubo kaDumisa uyambona lo owumfundisi manje? (asking me)

AM: (25:18) Ngike ngizwe ngaye. Okay. Mhhmm.

DF: …*unawo umlando futhi*

AM: Okay-ke…ubusasho-ke uzithola kanjani eMpolweni-ke?

DF: Okay…belokhu bethi kubaba…ohh…uuuu ngesikhathi ubaba ehlala eAlbert Falls ubeza phela eMpolweni eza ezihlobeni zakh. Belokhu bethi hhayi bo kanti thina siyombona nini usban bani.

AM: Besho bani usbani bani?

DF: Besho mina. Kanti awusamlethi ngani ngoba phela abanye abantwana bakho siyabazi. Umuntu esingamazi yilo.

AM: (25:55) Wawuwumagcino wena?

DF: Ehhe. Ngase ngifana nomagcino phela ngoba kwakuyimina ngedwa owase esele. Hhayi-ke nangempela-ke kusho ukuthi-ke kusho uMaMtshali owumamezala kaGogo Khalasi…. Aze athi u u ubaba wami hhayi bo etshela uMa bayamfuna lo

eMpolweni…bafuna ukuzombona uyabona izihlobo zami ziyamdinga ukuthi zizombona ngoba phela abamazi… abangazi… abantwana abaziwayo yilaba bakoMa uMaMtshali. Hhayi-ke silwenze-ke usuku-ke ngelinye ilanga ngihambe-ke angiyazi phela mina iMpolweni. Angigibelise…

AM: Umngakanani ngaleso sikhathi? Wawumngakanani ngaleso sikhathi?

DF: Mhlampe ngangilana ko…18 years. Cishe ukuba ngangilapho…

AM: (27:08) Usuqedile…usuyekile eSt Lewis?

DF: Mhhmm sengiyekile eSt Lewis. Hhayi-ke kuthiwa ngizogibela amatekisi sengihamba-ke ngiya khona. Kwakusekhona itekisi eyodwa. I…i…i…yakaDladla phezulu. Uyabona kaDladla phezulu?

AM: Angazi…

DF: Kukhona umuzi wakaDladla phezulu. Kwakunetekisi lapho nakaHlophe. EyakaHlophe yeza kamuva kuneyakwaDladla. Ubaba wami akhulume-ke wangiphelezela-ke ubaba ayongigibelisa eMatsheni la osekwiyirenki khona kwakuyipaki okufike kume khona amatekisi uyabona aphumayo indawo nezindawo. Hhayi-ke afike ubaba angiphelezele athi niyongisiza-ke ni…ungithathele nangu umntanami uyomehlisa phi esontweni. Uma esesesontweni uyokwehla…uyokwehla nje uthi khilikiqi nakhu kaHlubi ngezansi. Hhayi nangempela-ke ngihambe ngize ngiyofika-ke ngehle-ke vele-ke ngiyisivakashi vele ngilindelwe. Ubaba ka…kaDudu…ka…kabana…kaBaby…kwakukhona uBaby…kwakungeyena ubaba omzalayo kwakuwumfowabo kababa wakhe ewuStation Master eMpolweni esebenza eSteshini. Kuwuyena odiliva amaposi uyabona bese kuza abaseMpolweni abasebenza estolo bezothatha isikhwama seposi wayesebenza lapha-ke yena ngoba wayefundile.

Hhayi-ke ngihambe ngize ngiyofika-ke. (Clears throat) Mangiyofika khona hhayi ngemukelwe kahle kunamantombazane uMaka Phumlani kukhona uDudu…angisho ukuthi uyamazi uhlala eThekwini. Kukhona uBaby…UBaby-ke wayemncane. Umuntu esasicishe silangane naye kwakuwuMaka Phumlani. Hhayi-ke sihlale-ke kube kuhle ngihlale nami angithi angijahe lutho. Hhayi (clears throat) Abese sithunywe esitolo…Sihambe siyothenga. Kukhona umkhulu wakho-ke esitolo. Edayisa khona. Wayesebenza kwakunomlungu ayesebenza kuyena oqhamuka eCramond emaplazini kodwa enesitolo la eMpolweni.

AM: (30:22) Uba igama la mkhulu wami?

DF: Usho?

AM: Igama la mkhulu wami uba?

DF: UMalcolm.

AM: Waka ba?

DF: Mahlaba.

AM: Mhhm (nodding).

DF: Hhayi… abuze-ke. Oh sifike-ke sithenge-ke phela ngithi ubuye adayise sithenge-ke esikufunayo…sithenge, sithenge abese ethi umkhulu wakho ayi ngizothi mangiphuma la emsebenzini ngizoza ekhaya ngizonibona. Awu ubani lo ohamba naye? Asho-ke uBongi ayi usis wami lo kanje kanje kanje kanje. Athi ayi ngizothi mangiphuma emsebenzini ngo5 ngizodlula ngizonibona. Angithi kubo yila ngezansi [ngezansi kwasesitolo]. Usebenza esitolo kubo ila ngezansi. A a aphume-ke emsebenzini ehle-ke aye ekhaya asuke ekhaya asivakashele-ke ezosibona khona intombi efikile hhayi-ke kusho ukuthi-ke ubabomdala kaBongi…angithi ubaba

woBongi usebenza eThekwini bahlala nalobaba wabo owumfowabo kababa wabo. Hhayi afike-ke ujwayelene ubaba umkhulu wenu…. no no Hlubi loyo oyistation commissioner [station master] ilokhuza. Hhayi ebese ethi-ke sizihlalele-ke edining room bahlezi ekhishini la kuhlala khona uBaby umuzi omusha lo kodwa isiza sakubo ehhe. Hhayi bese kuthiwa hhayi bo anibaze lo leso sivakashi sethu lesi sivakashi esisivakashele. Hhayi ngiye-ke ekhishini kwakunebhentshi ngihlale-ke ngithi Bongi woza ngiyasaba ukuyohlala lapha. Hhayi uBongi eze uMaka Phumlani. Hhayi-ke abese esho-ke uHlubi lo athi, udadewethu-ke lo uqhamukaphi, Eyideni [Edendale] la eqhamuka khona. Uqhamuka Eyideni [Edendale] udadewethu lo. Hhayi-ke avume u u u baba omkhulu. Athi hhayi hhayi ngizolokhu ngimvakashela njalo nje. Kusho ukuthi kaHlubi kugaywa utshwala utshwala nje njalo naye esaphuza-ke utshwala besiZulu. Hhayi nginele anele afike kuthiwa woza wesivakashi uzobona nangu umuntu uzokubona. Hhayi mina ngidineke nje nx ngithi, hhayi ulokhu uzongibhekani lo. Kukhona ubani, uMaka Khanyisile [one of Mkhulu's sister]. Atshele umfowabo ukuthi, hhayi bo kunentombi enhle laphayana efikile kaHlubu, uke wayibona nje. Athi hhayi ngimbonile nje kodwa angimjwayelanga. Umuntu nje esingaxhumani naye uyabona into enjengaleyo. Hhayi-ke ngibuye ngihambe-ke sengibuyela ekhaya-ke. Hhayi ngilo sengivakasha-ke…angithi sengimjwayele nami usengijwayele nabaseMpolweni sebengijwayele oMaka MaMbhele o o Zakhona uMaka MaMbhele uyambona indodakazi noZethu bonke nomfana lo wakaNyathi uba? AM: UNje? … uNje…wayesemncane uNje ngaleso sikhathi. Hhayi sengiwumuntu nje ojwayele eMpolweni. Hhayi-ke kwahamba kwahamba kwaze kwafika leso sikhathi (so)sekuthiwa nangu-ke umkhwenyane uyakufuna. Ngibuze

kulo bhuti wami lona owayeyiphuzela ukuthi uwumuntu onjani yena lo muntu? Athi, hhayi umuntu nje olungile…uzilungele nje. Manje-ke sengizokakwa-ke.

AM: (34:37) Ukakwa woba?

DF: OMaka Khanyi. Ehhe…oMaka Khanyi. 'Hhayi bo siyakufuna njalo, kwasha kwacima." Nxxx. Nginganaki nje bayangihhumela nje laba…Kodwa-ke masengitshelwa wumfowethu wakaHlubi…ikaNduna phela lapha…uyayibona…

AM: KaMahlaba? Kwakuyikanduna?

DF: (35:04) Ehhe. Hawu kunjalo…Athi-ke…Mina ngangingakhulumi nomkhulu wakho…umkhulu wakho wayekhuluma noHlubi lo adlulise inkulumo kuyena uHlubi ayidlulise kumina uyabona…Athi hhayi ngiyamfuna impela lo ngifuna ukumshada.

AM: (35:22) Kwakuyikanduna yangaphansi kwayiphi inkosi?

DF: Mhhmmm…ngaphansi kwaMngadi…

AM: Muphi yena uMngadi?

DF: Laphaya.

AM: (35:29) Muphi…UJerry, uJonathan, uEphraim? Muphi yena?

DF: UEphraim phela mdala…Eh bese kuba u uJerry bese kuba uJonathan. Kusho ukuthi waye la kunumber two.

AM: (35:45) Enga ngaphansi kwaJerry?

DF: Ehhe…kwakuyinduna nje impela yendawo. Angithi [izi]nduna ziyakhethwa.

AM: (35:53) Izi[nduna] zikhethwa wubani?

DF: …isizwe.

AM: Hho wayekhethwe yisizwe?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Mhhm…

DF: Hhayi-ke alokhu ethi kuyena ubhuti uMahlaba…

AM: (36:08) Uyamthanda wena?

DF: Ncayi (no) angimthandi. Ukuthi phela kuqala kwakukhuluma abantu abadala. Bese ubona ukuthi umuntu omdala mayekutshela ngalento iyiyona ngempela. Nawe kusho ukuthi sekufike leli thuba lokuthi ube nomngani wakho uyabona?

AM: (36:30) Wawumngakanani ngaleso sikhathi mhlawumbe? Minyaka mini futhi?

DF: Ngangino19/20…lapho.

AM: Iminyaka? Kwakuyimiphi iminyaka? Mhlawumbe kwakuyi yiphi?

DF: Uthi ngisazi ngoba ukushada kwami kwakuwu 1964. Angisazi ukuthi kwakuyinini [referring to my question].

AM: (36:53) Okay-ke…

DF: (36:54) Ngoba uThami (my uncle) oka1962 bese kuba uBongi oka1965 bese kulandela-ke bonke-ke.

AM: Ima-ke kusho ukuthi…asibuyele la…sizoza ezinganeni… Asibuyele la uthi khona-ke akutshele-ke umfowenu ukuthi ukuthi umfowenu shuthi kwakuyisithunywa sakhe? DF: Mhhm (nodding in agreement).

AM: (37:18) Ya-ke mase ekutshelile-ke umfowenu mese usuthini?

DF: Mese ngithi hhayi angiyiboni nje kahle le ndaba. Athi hhayi awuke uyizame mntaka Baba ngeke ngikukhohlise. Ngempela-ke thina sasilalela abantu abadala. Hhayi-ke ngiyizame-ke sihlale-ke nalo muntu kodwa hhayi ukuthi ngangihlala eMpolweni. No ngangingahlali eMpolweni. Ngangiza nje ngokuvakasha yabona.

Ngize nje ngokuvakasha. Angithi angisebenzi mina ngihlala ekhaya nobaba, ubaba wami naye waseyewumuntu impilo yayisintengantenga nje. Uma ngiphuma ekhaya angithumelele umkhulu imali. Ehhe…nansi imali yokugibela-ke uvakashe-ke. Ngiphume ekhaya ngoba ngithi ngiya kaHlubi.

AM: Kanti uyobona yena umkhulu?

DF: (38:15) Ngiyobona yena umkhulu.

AM: (38:17) Usuyamthanda? Wawusumthanda ngaleso sikhathi?

DF: Ehhe hhayi…

AM: (interrupting) Lase lukhona uthando?

DF: Ehhe lwase lukhona ngaleso sikhathi-ke.

AM: Ubaba wakho uyazi noma akazi?

DF: Ubaba wami wayengazi. Umuntu owayazi…

AM: (38:34) …ubhuti wakho?

DF: Ubhuti lo…

AM: (38:36) Wayemngakanani loyo bhuti kunawe?

DF: Hhawu wayesekhulile. Hawu! Umuntu owayenenkosikazi.

AM: (38:41) Ohh wayesemdala…

DF: Washonelwa yinkosikazi yakhe wayesethatha uMaMdlalose owudadewabo kaMaMdlalose wakaZondi. Ehhe…

AM: (38:53) UGogo?

DF: Ugogo wakaZondi uwudadewabo. Beqhamukaphi? EMhlangeni. Babeyinzalo yaseMhlangeni.

AM: (39:06) Mhhmm… Okay-ke…Umh then-ke Gogo-ke umvakashele-ke …ya?

DF: Afike-ke bazongibona-ke noZakhona, omakhelwane, bafike-ke uyabona-ke nawe uma usemuhle usa-creamer usa-creamer ukama ugeza kahle ungakabi yintshitane. Ehhe eyi naye udadewabo (uDova) afike-ke, uMaka Khanyi. Eyi intombi yakaHlubi madoda eyi… athi u udadewabo angithi bayalamana…uMaka Khanyi naye athi awu mntaka Ma kuyobe uhlulekile. Athi awu le mpi sizoyilwa uhlulekile. Eyi kwasho ukuthi-ke ngihlezi nomntomdala. Sengibambelele…ngathi uyabona-ke mangabe ungikhohlisa ngisho kuyena ubhuti. Wathi, hhayi ngeke ngeke ngeke adlale ngawe ngiyamthemba. Wahamba-ke wayongicela-ke.

AM: (40:17) Ekucelaphi? Ekucela eAlbert Falls noma la eMpolweni?

DF: Mhhm (disagreeing) Wangangicela la, wayengicelela emzini wakithi lo ubaba asithengela wona wafika.

AM: KwaMachibisa?

DF: Ehhe KwaMachibisa…. (silence) kwayi nto enjalo-ke.

AM: Okay, umalume Thami nimthole senishadile?

DF: Mhhm (disagreeing).

AM: Wawusuceliwe nimthola?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing) ngase ngiceliwe.

AM: Mhhm…

DF: Mhhm ngase ngiceliwe. Kwakufanele phela ayobona kithi…Kwakufanele ayobona ekhaya la ngihlala khona… Hhayi-ke kwasho ukuthi-ke weza-ke. Wathi ngizofika ngize ngizobona kini. Yize ubaba wami wayemazi wayaziwa nje ubaba ngoba inkosi yaseMpolweni.

AM: Wase eyiNkosi yaseMpolweni ubaba wakho, uPhineas?

DF: (41:15) Babemazi kodwa azange abe iyona iNkosi wathi akafuni ngoba uma uyiNkosi ukhuluma njaaallloooo wathatha ubukhosi bakhe, kwakufanele kube obakhe, wabunika izihlobo zakhe zakaMngadi.

AM: Okay… So-ke… usumtholile-ke umalume Thami usumtholile umalume Thami senishadile? Wayemngakanani umkhulu ngesikhathi…wayekushiya ngeminyaka emingaki?

DF: (41:44) Sishade mina ngino23 years. Wayeno29.

AM: Wayekushiya ngo6 years shuthi?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: (41:55) Akuzange kuze kube ne nomthelela mhlawumbe ukuthi mdala?

DF: Mhhm (disagreeing).

AM: Wawumthanda?

DF: Wayemncane umzimba wakhe ungemkhulu; waymencane nje. Kambe ngingamlinganisa nobani? Ubuncane bakhe? Uyabona uNde? WayengangoNde lo wakaMahlaba.

AM: (42:27) Ohh… okay… so-ke I mean uzwani ngalo muntu? Uqhamuka emndenini onjani lo muntu owawuzashada naye?

DF: U u uqhamuka phela kaNduna nje. Kufuyiwe kune[zi]nkomo, bayabusa yonke into ikhona kunogandaganda uyayibona nje into enjengalayo. Laphayana ani anithezi, anithezi kuboshelwa [izi]nkabi, ugandaganda uhambe kune[zi]sebenzi ezisebenzayo abathezayo balayisha izinkuni, ugandaganda.

AM: (43:09) Mhhm (nodding) so uthe mase usushada-ke uhm ushade nini? Uthe ushade ngo64' ngo1964?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Okay mawu…mase senishadile nahlala ndawonye, kwaba kanjalo?

DF: (43:21) Mhmm (agreeing) Sahlala ndawonye base bayamtransfera…umkhulu…

AM: Nahlala ndawonye laphi?

DF: …ekhaya…

AM: La eMpolweni?

DF: Ehhe lapha ekhaya kubo sesishadile bayamtransfera bamyisa eCramond. Kwasho ukuthi kudingakala phela mina ngihlale…ehhe…ekhaya.

AM: (43:45) Okay kwakunjani…mhlawumbe usanda kushada?

DF: Hhayi kwakukuhle nje; kwakungekho lutho. Phela e e e emzini baqale bakufihlele ububona kuthi ngokuhamba kwesikhathi kuvele ububona ukuthi thina sabantu abanje. Umuntu owayengakhulumi umkhulu.

AM: (44:05) Wafica bani-ke asiqale lapho? Emzini wafica bani?

DF: Umamezala.

AM: Kwakuwubani igama lakhe? Umamezala?

DF: UKate (Katy).

AM: Wakabani?

DF: MaNdlovu. Bese kuba umkhulu.

AM: Kwakuwubani igama likaMkhulu?

DF: Simon (pronounced it as Simeon)…Mhmm…Mavumengwane…

AM: Okay and uthe ngokuhamba kwesikhathi u umbona umbona isikhathi esingakanani umkhwenyana wakho njengoba esesebenza eCramond? Nanibonana nini?

DF: (44:33) Wayebuya nje ngeMigqibelo. Wayehlala khona… ukuze…wayehlala khona…ehhe abuye ngeMigqibelo. Umethanda wayebuya phakathi nezinsuku ngoba phela wayenebhayisikili kuyahambeka ukusuka la uye eCramond. Kusho ukuthi ngangingevele-ke nginendaba ehhe engikwaziyo kahle ukuthi wayeshiya ngoMqgibelo esevalile esitolo ebuye eze ekhaya ahambe ngoMsombuluko ekuseni kube njalo-ke.

AM: (45:05) Babunjani ubudlelwane bakho no lo nomamezala?

DF: Babubuhle nje ekuqaleni. Babubuhle nje kwahamba kwahamba phela isikhathi siyahamba umuntu ashintshe.

AM: Konakala kanjani? Yini eyashintsha?

DF: Kwashintsha ethini ngangilokhu ngizwa ukuthi kunentombazane enabantwana uyayibona nje ngithi nami mangizothola umntwana naye uthola umntwana…uyabona nje… u u umkhulu wakho unengane e uMorris cishe abe intanga kaBongi. Unengane e e e ecishe ilingane noXoli. Unengane ecishe ilingane nalo [esho uMama wami].

AM: (45:57) Ima-ke lo mndeni wakaMahlaba kwakuyinduna…babekholiwe babamakholwa?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing) Babemakholwa.

AM: Kwakuyini isikhundla sa…babesontaphi?

DF: EPres [Presbyterian Church].

AM: Kwakuyini isi…oh iPres kwakuyilona sonto nje elali…

DF: (46:08) (interrupting)…lodwa nje…

AM: …eMpolweni?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Okay…so wonke umuntu eMpolweni wayesonta ePres?

DF: (46:15) Yes.

AM: So u…waye mhlawumbe wayenaso isikhundla esiqavile…

DF: (interrupting) …umkhulu?

AM: …umkhulu noGogo ebandleni?

DF: Ebandleni uGogo wayewumkhokheli…

AM: 946:25) …wani?

DF: Womanyano ephethe amakhosikazi. Umkhulu kwakuyilunga [elder] ephethe esontweni.

AM: (46:37) Yi[zi]khundla ezinkulu lezo eziqavile?

DF: Yebo… yi[zi]khundla ezinkulu.

AM: So ungasho nje ukuthi umndeni wakaMahlaba nje kwakuyileyo mndeni le eyayine [zi]khundla ezinkulu eMission [Mpolweni] edumile eMission?

DF: Yebo…

AM: Yayidlala iqhaza elibalulekile endaweni?

DF: (interrupting) Uyinduna…uyilunga…umkhokheli umamezala…uyayibona nje…

AM: Okay…ubudlelwano bakho no nomkhulu wekhaya kwakunjani?

DF: Whoo (in adoration/admiration) Wayengeve engithanda loyo muntu. Oh Nkosi yami ngabe ngidlala ngaye noma elele…wayengeve…kwakungeyena futhi umuntu…uyazi umkhulu walayi khaya wayengeyena umuntu okhulumayo. Umkhulu wenu kodwa ubugebengu…Uyamazi umuntu othul' ukuthi uthule

nalo…Ubaba wami aze abuze ukuthi, awungitshele mntanami wamgana kanjani lo muntu ongakwazi ukubheka abantu. Maye e e ekhona nje akabheki abantu.

AM: (47:35) Unamahloni? Wayenamahloni?

DF: Ehhe wayenamahloni nje okubheka abantu. Awu ngithi mina, awu ngamgana. Ngamgana nje phela kumina wayekhuluma kodwa nje kungeyena umuntu othanda ukukhuluma njengamadoda amanje. Bekuthi uma kufike umuntu ekhaya aphume sesihlala-ke emzini wethu aphume aye ekamereni.

AM: (48:04) Yini into eyenze ukuthi nihlale emzini wenu?

DF: Kwase kuhambe isikhathi phela angithi sase sibaningi sekukhona o o o oSheila…oDova…abantwana oKhanyisile o o o oThuliwe nje nje oDes uyabona…mhhm…

AM: (48:30) Okay… umhhh… umhhm…umhmmm…abantwana…unabantwana abangaki?

DF: Mina?

AM: Mhhm (agreeing).

DF: Umthetho wami ngino8…Bashona-ke…bashona…

AM: (48:49) Sekusele abangaki manje?

DF: Kusele abathathu.

AM: Ngicela ubabale… ngokulandelana…

DF: Abasele?

AM: Mhhm (agreeing). Ngicela ubale abantwana bakho abaphila ngokulandelana kwabo mese ubala abantwana bakho asebesele ngokulandelana kwabo.

DF: Abantwana bami abaphilayo?

AM: Mhhm (agreeing) no…asiqale ngalabo nje aba owabathola baphila bangashona besabancane ubabale lab obese uphinda futhi ubale abantwana bakho abasaphila ngokulandelana kwabo.

DF: (49:21) Phela bawu4 abantwana bami abashona… Mhhm… Owokuqala nje washona eno18 months egula…egula nje ene engathi wayene-Asthma. Uyabona ephefumula ehefuzela ehefuzela ngenhlanhla samuyisa kadokotela sithe masisetekisini yakoHlophe abahlobene no noNtombiningi [our neighbour and family friend] umkhulu kaNtombiningi…umfana wakhona kwakuthiwa uBhabha odayisa izinkomo nezimbuzi lapha phezulu…mhhm…wayenetaxi abangithola endleleni abuze ukuthi siya edrobheni yini? Ngimtshele siye edrobheni…hhayi-ke ngigibele-ke. Uma ngigibela ingane yami yathi i i i awuthi kuthe nje makuhamba isikhathi…oh Nkosi yami ngihlezi ngemuva khona abanye abahlezi la eceleni kwami sengimbeke la umntanami sengimbhozile…sengimbeke lapha sengimbhozile. Awe a a phefumule ngaleyo ndlela aphefumula ngayo kanti sekokokugcina. Washonela…sathi sifika kudokotela babebemphuthumisa bathatha bamfaka umphefumulo waphumela khona lapho.

AM: (51:02) Bandla. Kwakuphatha kanjani lokho?

DF: Whoo kabuhlungu kanjani kabuhlungu kabuhlungu uyezwa kabuhlungu…

AM: (51:30) Ya-ke Gogo umntana wakho wokuqala…owesibili? Ushone nini?

DF: Eyi baba babevele bengaphilile kusho ukuthi isimo sami sokuhlukumezeka.

AM: (51:44) Wawuhlukumezekile ekhaya?

DF: Ehhe ngangihlukumezekile nje…Yonke into ibheke mina…yonke…into ibheke mina amabhodwe amanzi emfuleni what what ikaNduna la makufike amakhosikazi

omanyano kufanele ngisukume ngenze itiye noma ngisancelisa ingane athi umamezala, letha kumina ingane MaHlubi wenzela naba itiye…Ayi…I[zi]ngane zami zancela ububi enhlizweni yami ngingaphathekile kahle…mhmmm…

AM: (52:25) Kusho ukuthi zazibulawa yilokho?

DF: Ehhe…

AM: So-ke eza ezingazange zishone ebuncaneni babo kwaba wuba?

DF: UThami…

AM: Amagama abo ngicela usho amagama abo aphelele nje…

DF: UThami Patrick Mahlaba, UBongi Barbara Gugu ayi uBongi washona phela…ushone esemdala…ngiyambala…Emva kwaBongi kwaba u uXoli…uXoli kwa uLorraine…Xolile…Xoliswa…uXoliswa ngokuthi ngangishonelwa yingane sase sithi uXoliswa…siyaXolisa…mhhm…uLorraine igama lakhe. Bese kuba yilona-ke [esho uMa owayelele embhedeni oseceleni kowakhe]…

AM: (53:26) Uba igama lakhe?

DF: UPhindile…uwuPhindile igama lakhe langempela…Sharron Mahlaba.

AM: Izingane zaziqanjwa uwena?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing)

AM: Wambizelani ngokuthi uPhindile?

DF: Ngangithola amantombazane njalo umfana munye nje.

AM: Okay so-ke Gogo-ke uhm eMpolweni…ubaba wakho washona nini mhlawumbe? Usakhumbula?

DF: (53:55) 1966.

AM: 1966?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Kwase kuwunyaka wesibili usemshadweni?

DF: Yebo.

AM: Ushona nje usahlala…wayesahlalaphi?

DF: Wayesebuyile phela esehlala ekhaya lapho ka ka Manga…uyamazi uManga? Ehhe…angithi ukusuka kwabo…ngokusuka kwethu angisho njalo ngokusuka kwethu e e Albert Falls laphaya sazongenisa kwaHlubi kukhona isiza esingala la okwakuyika Manga khona….mhhm…

AM: (54:36) Usebuya uGogo MaNtuli yena muphi?

DF: UGog' MaNtuli-ke wayesele ekhaya…

AM: KwaMachibisa?

DF: Ehhe…emzini loyo…kwatholakala ukuthi ubhuti wami uShebi esasithi uShebi wathi ngeke kulunge uMa ngoba ubaba useshonile ayohlala yedwa laphayana ekubeni nawe usushadile ulaphaya ngizomthatha…sizohlala naye la wayakhe la la esikuyikaNdlela khona manje.

AM: (55:10) UShebi kwakuyingane yaGog' MaNtuli noma yaMaMtshali?

DF: KaMaMtshali.

AM: …kodwa wayemthatha njengoMa wakhe?

DF: Yebo…mhhm…nami uMaMtshali a a ezakwethu ngane wazithatha njengezingane zakhe…

AM: (55:25) So *amakholwa* ngokubona kwakho ayevumelekile ukuthi kanjena abe namakhosikazi amabili? Babe nesithembu?

DF: Ehhene ngizothi cha ngokuthi ubaba wami phela wayezalwa ebukhosini kwakufanele ukuthi abe namakhosikazi amabili.

AM: E e ebukhosini bobuthembu? Ebukhosi bobu ebukhosini ba*makholwa*?

DF: Yebo…

AM: ….okusho ukuthi mhlawumbe kwakuyinto eyayivumelekile engaphakisani neBhayibheli?

DF: Hhayi-ke lapho ngizothi yayingavumelekile kodwa ngoba vele wayezalwa ebukhosini babumfanele…kangangoba ngisho ubabomncane wami u umkhulu kaFelly…umkhulu kaNingi…umkhulu kaNingi ulama ubaba wami ngengoba ngangisho nje...

AM: …(interrupting) Enos?

DF: …babewutwo abafana. WayenoMaMakhathini unkosikazi omkhulu enoMaMngadi unkosikazi omncance.

AM: Mhhm…okay…so-ke…I mean ukulo eMpolweni-ke ebandleni uthe ibandla lali no…lalidlala iqhaza elibalulekile emphakathini?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing)…kakhulu…kakhulu ngoba ibandla ake ngithi yebo eMpolweni kakugayiwa utshwala uyayizwa leyo nto? Eh…kwakunga…yebo babevunyelwa ukugaya utshwala kwakungavunyelwa…kwakuvunyelwa…ogayayo utshwala kwakuba nesikhathi sokuthi abantu bangayi ukuyophuza utshwala isonto lingakaphumi. Kwakuthi uma seliphumile isonto bese amadoda-ke aseyahamba-ke engena emzini-ke lapho la kukhona khona utshwala bayophuza. Babengaphuzi nje isonto lingakangeni. Babephuza uma isonto seliphumile kufana nokuwasha nokulima kwakungalinywa eMpolweni ngeSonto kwakulinywa Phakathi nezinsuku; ngeSonto

nje cha. Ukuwasha futhi cha kodwa-ke uma isimo sikuphoqa wawuya kowasha emfuleni.

AM: (57:55) Mhmm (nodding) Kwakuwumthetho weMisssion?

DF: Umthetho wesonto.

AM: Umthetho wesonto?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: (58:00) Okay…uhm…ngabe…udlame lwa…phakathi kweANC neIFP uyalwazi?

DF: (interrupting) Hhayi angisho ukuthi ngizolwazi kahle hle…

AM: Ngobani?

DF: Ngoba izinto nje lezo enga yebo ngangibona kwenzeka bebhiyoza benza yonke into kodwa ngangingavumelekile mina ukwenza lezo zinto ngoba ngangiyinto yasekhaya njengoba ngiyinto ya la. Kwakuba nje bayabhiyoza lapha…

AM: (58:37) Obani ababebhiyoza?

DF: Hhayi yi[zi]ngane nje nabanye abantu abadala…mhhhm…

AM: Yi[zi]ngane ezazibhebhezela leyo nto?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Okay…Iliphi iqembu mhlawumbe okuyilona isizinda iMpolweni okuyisizinda salo phakathi kweNkatha neANC?

DF: I i iNkatha yebo yayikhona kodwa ingekho mningi kakhulu…mhhm…njengoMalema nje…

AM: Yayi…mhlawumbe obani laba ababamalungu eNkatha – uyabakhumbula?

DF: Hhayi angisazi…njengoba ngisho nje ngangingahambahambi mina…ngangingahambamba kodwa-ke engikwaziyo ukuthi umamazala wami

uGatsha wayehlobene no…wayewumkhwenyana…udadewabo kamamazala wami wazala ingane eyagana uGatsha…uGatsha wayewumkhwenyana….mhhm…

AM: (59:44) IANC mhlawumbe uyayikhumbula? Ukuthi iyiphi imindeni okwakuyiyona eyayishoshozela i-ANC?

DF: Ngangingaka ngangingakaxhumani kakhulu…yebo ngangibabona nje kodwa ngangingazi…ngangingaxhumani nje kakhulu nabantu.

AM: (1:00:01) Abafundisi uyabakhumbula abafundisi basePres ngesikhathi sa…se Mission?

DF: Abafundisi….awume ngicabange…oh umfundisi u u….konje umfundisi ubani loya? WayeyiXhosa…uMutwa…umfundisi uMutwa…wahlala la umfundisi uMutwa waze kwafika isikhathi sokuthi ahambe. Wabanjelwa….(clears throat)…owayeyibamba lakhe esehambile wayesefikile umfundisi waseMbali ePres eMbali…

AM: (1:00:54) Mhmm…unfundisi ubani?

DF: Konje kwakuwumfundisi ubani? Angisazi…umfundisi uMtshali…kwafika emva kwakhe…kwafika umfundisi uMaphosa…naye akahlalanga….isikhathi…wayeza nje noma kunemihlangano…imihlangano yakhona yayiba ngoLwesihlanu eze-ke…

AM: (1:01:26) Emva kwaloyo mfundisi kwaba uba?

DF: Kwafika umfundisi….uKheswa… UKheswa…

AM: Emva kwaKheswa?

DF: Kwafika u…Hhayi bo…umfundisi uNkosi…umfundisi uNkosi…umfundisi uNkosi anagazi noma wafika ngaphambi kwaMaphosa noma ngemuva kwaMaphosa angisazi kulapho nje.

AM: Okay….emva kwaNkosi kwaba uKheswa?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Emva kwaKheswa kwaba?

DF: ….UXaba.

AM: Kusawuyena namanje uXaba?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing).

AM: Okay…

DF: Kusho ukuthi uXaba wathatha isikhathi…wathatha isikhathi eside ngoba wayesafundela kodwa u umfundisi futhi nje owayesibambele umfundisi uMzinyathi waseMbali.

AM: So umhlaba waseMpolweni owabani? U u u ubani owengamele umhlaba waseMpolweni?

DF: Owayengamele umhlaba waseMpolweni kwakuyimission…mhhm…

AM: So yibandla?

DF: Ehhe…Yibandla kodwa la kwakuyinkosi.

AM: Umasipala pho?

DF: Hhayi-ke ezikamasipala nje angizazi…angizazi ngabe nginamanga nje.

AM: (1:02:58) Ubani…so uma umuntu mhlawumbe ela eMpolweni efuna umhlaba wenzenjani? Mhlawumbe efuna indawo, isiza?

DF: Kuqala?

AM: Mhhm (agreeing)

DF: Njengami nje ngafuna le siza [the plot we built our new home on] wawuya ku…kuqala wawuya e enkosini…ake ngithi uya kaChief ngizocela isiza ngifuna

ukwakha inkosi ibhale phansi abese ethi, hhayi-ke ngizoba nekomiti ngesonto eli…njengoba kukhona isession nedeacon's court ngizofike ngilufake-ke udaba lwakho…uma bethi woza-ke ekomitini uzokhuluma ngokuthumelela ngikutshele ukuthi woza-ke…ngempela-ke kube njalo-ke…

AM: Ohh kusho ukuthi kusebenza kanjalo?

DF: Kwakusebenza kanjalo.

AM: Manje-ke sekwenzekalani?

DF: Ayi okwamanje angisazi abantu sebeyazenzela…okwamanje kuyadayiswa iMpolweni…nofuna ukudayisa uyazidayisela…

AM: Akusekho umthetho?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing) awukho.

AM: Mhlawumbe isixazululo saleyo nto kungaba yini ngokubona kwakho?

DF: Isixazululo salokho sengathi kungaphinde kubeneNkosi kodwa futhi sekulate late for tears…nje u unga ungenza kanjani abantu sebamukela izimali abantu bedayisa iziza…

AM: (01:04:46) Yin indaba uthi sekulate ukuthi kubeneNkosi?

DF: Kulate phela ngoba manje iNkosi ngeke kusezwakala phela manje ngoba kumanakhansela phela.

AM: Oh ubona ukuthi ukuba khona kwa kwamakhansela neNkosi kuzodala kuzoba ne[zi]nkinga?

DF: Mhhm (agreeing) kuzoba nezinkinga.

AM: Awuboni ukuthi mhlawumbe bangasebenzisana?

DF: Hhayi…phela omunye uzothatha ngobukhansela kuqala wawuthi uma unenkinga…unecala ake ngisho njalo mhlawumbe uma uthe ngabe uye eMshwathi i athi…kuthiwe epolice station, udlulile e e enkosini? Ulubikile udaba lwakho? Uthi cha bese bethi, hamba-ke uyobika udaba lwakho-ke enkosini inkosi iyona ezoza kuthina izositshela ukuthi…angithi kwakunama minutes inkosi ibine langa elilodwa lokuthi iye eMshwathi [New Hanover] ihambise izinto ezinjengamacala….mhhmm…

AM: Bekwabantu abanjani ababekhethwa ukuthi babe amakhosi?

DF: Babe amakhosi?

AM: Mhhm (agreeing)

DF: Hhayi i[zi]nduna?

AM: Nje…mawufuna…abantu ababekhethwa kwakumele mhlawumbe babe…bafunde…baqhamuke emndenini e e ehloniphekile noma?

DF: Kwakuya ngokuthi u u ubukhosi…ake ngithi wena uyiNkosi…udlule mhlawumbe emhlabeni umntanakho bese bethi, isikhundla sa…sikababa wakho njengoba nje eyiNkosi sizothathwa ubani? Uyabona kwakuhamba kanjalo…iziteji iteji iteji iteji…

AM: Uyazi ukuthi ubukhosi bufike kanjani ku kubantu bakaHlubi? Ukuthi bakhethwa kanjani ukuthi babe amakhosi? Banikezwa kanjani?

DF: (1:06:55) Angithi babenamaplazi.

AM: Oh shuthi mhlawumbe ukuma kahle ikona okwenza ukuthi banikezwa lobu bukhosi?

DF: Ehhe… ukuma kahle kwasho ukuthi vele indawo yaseMpolweni iyindawo yamakhosi…yamakholwa. Umkhulu naye kwasho ukuthi vele uyikholwa. Uyalibona leli sonto elilapha ezansi?

AM: Yebo…

DF: Lakhiwa umkhulu wethu ngamatshe ayewalanda lapha phesheya ebophela izinkabi…uyazobona lezi zinto mawuhamba ngasemgaqweni eyithe engathi zibabambe…kubhaliwe lapho lakhiwa ngo1941 angisazi noma June noma July…kubhaliwe…

AM: Kubhaliwe?

DF: Mhhmm (agreeing).

AM: Okay…ngiyabonga kakhulu Gogo. Kukhona mhlawumbe ongathanda ukusho sesi sesigoqa?

DF: Sekuphelile njalo?

AM: Mhhm (agreeing) mhlawumbe kukhona wena ofisa ukukusho sesigoqa?

DF: E engifisa ukukusho e e enkulumweni yethu ayi…be…ngiyathanda nje ukuthi sihlale kahle noma phela sesaba baningi asazani mhhm…asazani…asicelelani futhi ngisho usawoti nomunye uhlezi kwakhe nomunye uhlezi kwakhe asambelani nje…akekho omunye ohambela omunye…Nami ngizothi ngifika ngiyifikela la kade ngizihlalela ezansi nginomngani wami la anginaye umngani nginomuntu nje esibingelelana naye asixabene uyabona kanjalo mhm…

AM: So izinto…yizikhathi esazashintsha?

DF: Mhhm…

AM: Ungathanda ukuthi sibuyele kwa…ezintweni zakudala ezazenziwa?

DF: Wawuthi uma ungadlile uye kwamakhelwane, anginayo impuphu akunane umakhelwane. Anga-expect ukuthi uzoyibuyisa…uMaka Njeza uyamkhumbula ukuthi wayefika azofuna utamatisi, uanyanyisi, amafutha uyabona nami ngiye kwakhe ngiyofuna angizukubuyisa manje la…

AM: Uthini mhlawumbe ikhona intuthuko eMpolweni?

DF: Hhayi mina angiyiboni. Intuthuko ekhona eMpolweni eyokudayisa izidakamizwa…omama impela nje laba abakholwayo bangene shi ekudayiseni utshwala…eMpolweni kwakungadayiswa utshwala babugaywa nje obesiZulu…

AM: So lezi nto esezenzeka manje zazingenzeki kudala?

DF: Cha!

AM: Kudalwa yini mhlawumbe lokho?

DF: Yile wunga edliwayo…nokuba baningi kwabantu angithi abanye baqhamuka ezindaweni zabo…mhlawumbe baxoshwa koMsinga uyabona bafike nezingqondo zale bafike beza-ke la bathola ukuthi…

AM: So abantu bokufika abenza lo…yonke le nto?

DF: Yes…

AM: Okay…siyabonga-ke sisi (laughs) sengithi sis Dudu…ngiyabonga kakhulu Gogo…unginikeze nje inala ngiyabonga makukhona okunye futhi sizophinde sikhulume. Uyanginikeza imvume yokuthi le interview le uhm njengoba sengikuqophile ukuthi ngiyisebenzise ekubhaleni kocwaningo lwami?

DF: Mhmm (nodding)

AM: Ngicela usho ukuthi, mina…usho amagama akho aphelele ngiyayinikeza uAyanda Mahlaba imvume…isho-ke.

DF: Mina, Dudu Mahlaba, ngiyamnikeza umzukulu wami imvume yokuthi aqhubeke…

AM: Uba igama lamzukulu wakho?

DF: UAyanda Mahlaba.

AM: Okay siyabonga Gogo…okay…Mantsha (her nickname).

DF: *Chuckles*

END END END

20 July 2017, Interview with KaMpolweni (not real name; requested that identity not be revealed) KaMpolweni Household, Cleland, Pietermaritzburg

Note: This was the first interview I conducted after being granted preliminary research approval. This interview gave me nuggets for when I went to the archives looking for the history of Mpolweni Mission.

KM: Okhokho bethu bafike befika nomfundisi uAllison.

AM: Yebo.

KM: …ngoba okuqondene neMpolweni awufuni okunye?

AM: Yebo.

KM: IMpolweni…UAllison usuke weza eMpolweni ngoba uAllison umthetho wakhe wayeyi Church of Scotland kodwa esesuka manjena kumaWeseli ngoba wayekade eseSwazini esebenza namaWeseli. Kodwa uthe mayefika eEdendale wase eza eMpolweni.

KM: Wayesebuyela-ke kwi…wayesevusa iChurch of Scotland. Iyona-ke le eze nayo nokhokho bethu. NabakaHlubi babelapho: kwakuyinto yinye. Ngoba phela abakaHlubi abakaNkosi. Ehhe. Weza la eMpolweni-ke. Waqala-ke ibandla. Waqhubeka-ke manje esenza iChurch of Scotland. Ehhe. UBabamkhulu, angingasho

ukuthi uBabamkhulu, angithi ukhokho. ULot, wayewu-right handman kaAllison kodwa ngokukholwa wangayithanda le nto. Umthetho wakhe wayebekwe njengoChief: ukhokho wami kodwa kwasho ukuthi kule nto yakhe yokukholwa, uthanda…uyakugxumela. *Usekulahla* kwabakwaHlubi. Kwase kuthathwa abakwaHlubi kanjalo.

AM: So ngicela ukubuza: ubukhosi ngaphambi kokuthi kuze kwaHlubi kwakukukhokho wakho wakwaNkosi? Kwasho ukuthi ngoba yena ukhokho wakho ukholiwe, wase ebona ukuthi okungcono akabunikeze abakwaHlubi?

Ehhe wavele waphelelwa nje indaba yothando lokuba uchief. Ehhe. Base kuthatha bona abakaHlubi.

AM: Ngabe ukhokho wakho wayeyi*kholwa*?

RN: Hmh (agreeing)

AM: Wayeyikholwa?

KM: Yeah. Besuka eSwazini. Wayewu right-handman wamfundisi uAllison. Ngokwenkonzo yamaWeseli. Ehhe.

AM: So…abakaHlubi-ke…njengoba uthi ukhokho wabo wayevela eSwazini. Wayezalelwe eSwazini?

KM: Babezalelwe eSwazini bonke nabakwaHlubi. Bonke nabakwaHlubi. Babeyinto yinye.

AM: Mhlawumbe ngabe iminyaka uyakhumbula?

KM: Oh…wayilanda-ke imbudambuda. Wena into engakusiza eh ukuba ngizothini? Ngoba likhona ibhuku likaAllison kodwa manje…ubani konje osanda kungitshela ukuthi uke wahlangana nalo? USibongile? Ubani kubantabami? Ukhona oke

wahlangana nebhuku likaAllison. Ngomthetho lona lalise, laliseSeminary esikoleni sethu sobufundisi. Okuthe makuhlakazeka ngangabona ukuthi i-library bayenzenjani. Sengikhohlwe ilo…ubani konje owathi wahlangana nalo? USibongile? Ngiyokufunela bese ngikutshela. (4:13) Ngoba lelo bhuku seliyokusiza.

AM: So manifika…mabefika okhokho bakho mase sebe…beza noAllison beya eMpolweni?

KM: Mhm.

AM: Bafika eMpolweni vele sekukhona abantu abahlalayo noma?

KM: Kwakukhona abantu ababehlala kodwa bengahlali ngokwemission. Ehhe. Kuyiplazi. Kwakuyiplazi.

AM: Abanikazi beplazi mhlawumbe uyabakhumbula ukuthi kwakuwobani?

KM: Ngibakhumbula kancane ngoba ngizothinil; angisazi ukuthi ubani ongakunika ibhuku laseMpolweni. Ngoba likhona ibhukwana lakhona engingasazi ukuthi liyakhomba yini. Kodwa into engakhomba yi-title deed ukuthi uAllison ngesikhathi efika kulo mlungu, walithenga kubani iplazi? Ngoba wafike walithenga iplazi.

AM: UAllison?

KM: Ehhe. Kodwa lingathengwa uyena, elithenga ngokuqoqa imali la kubantu. Waqoqa imali walithenga. Uma elithenga uAllison babenomkhuba wokuthi njalo la abathenge khona, bese leyo ndawo ibe necommon title deed eba ititle deed yawo…ibe leyo ndawo ibe yamuntu wonke olapho. Kodwa la eMpolweni, uAllison ufike wajika wangakwenza lokho ukuba iMpolweni ibe eyabantu. Wayijika wayenza kanje: kuthe uma kukhokhwa la, kukhokhelwa iMpolweni abantu ba…bashoda ngemali wayeseyocela imali iScotland ukuthi nakhu sekusele kancane anisilekelele ngemali.

IScotland yakhipha imali yabalekelela. Uma esebalekelela uAllison usejika manje indawo le useyibiza ngeChurch of Scotland. Ayisabi yilokhu akade ekwenza ukuba kube eyabantu njengoba kade enza koMnambithi; enza koYideni; enza koRichmond. Ubenze njalo kodwa la wafike wajika wayithatha indawo wayibiza nge; yathi ngoba iScotland imlekelele ngemali, wayesethi le ndawo yiChurch of Scotland property. Ilapho-ke lo ukhokho wami-ke kwamphatha kabi lokhu ukuthi uAllison enze kanje. Wayeseyothenga indawo khona eduze kwaseMpolweni. Indawo ekuthiwa…ebizwa ngokuthi yi-York. Abantu bathi bona, umthetho wayo kwakuyiNew York; abantu bathi yiNyoluka. UBabomkhulu wathenga indawo lapho eyayingavumelwe ukuba abantu bathenge; abantu abamnyama. Yayingavunyelwe. Wathandwa wumlungu ukhokho. Wathi umlungu, "Lot, ngizokudayisela le ndawo u-2 acre ngoba zisikiwe lezi ndawo o-2 acre, 2 acre, 2 acre, ngizokudayisela u2-acre. Uma bengibuza ukuthi kanjani, ngikudayisele kanjani ngothi kade ngidakiwe. Wayithola kanjalo-ke ukhokho. Eyithola kulo mlungu othi, "Ngizothi ngangidakiwe". Wayithola. He is the only person up to today kuseyindawo yakithi kuphela emnyama le…loyo 2-acre. Laba bakaHlubi ngobukhosi, baphiwa indawo le encike eMpolweni. La eyaseMpolweni. Basikelwa lapho ukuba njengoba kwakukhona ubukhosi bakaHlubi. Basikelwa umhlaba lapho. Okhona nanamhlanje; namhlanje kuliwa ukuba lowo mhlaba ubuyiselwe kwabakaHlubi. Kumi manje ekutheni kukhokhelwana kanjani kule ndawo yakaHlubi. Kangangoba sisalwa-ke ngoba abakaHlubi base bedidekile kanti mina ngizokuzwa ukuthi uHulumeni ufuna manjena ukubuyisa izindawo zabantu. Ngase ngibathinta-ke abafana bakhona ukuthi eyi nansi indaba ngapha. Bavuka-ke. Bayilandela-ke leyo ndawo. Bayilandela baze bashona. Njengamanje abasekho bona.

Mina-ke ngoba-ke bengibavusile ngase ngivusa nabantwana babantwana babo ukuthi qhubani lo msebenzi wokufuna ukuba nithole imali ngoba le mali…yathengwa ngesenti…amabhunu ayithatha ngesenti. Funani-ke manje imali ngoba nakhu sekuthiwa kuyakhokhwa. Basephezu kwakho-ke namanje. Lokhu kokufuna imali. Nami ngisabalekelela ukuba ngibone ukuthi bayayithola yini le mali le efunakalayo. Okufunakala ithengwe ngayo. Noma uHulumeni engekho othandweni la bantu abafuna imali; ufuna abantu abafuna babuyiselwe lona iplazi uqobo kodwa laba umqondo wabo uthi bona ngathi bafuna imali. Right. Kukhona okunye?

AM: (10:37) Yebo. So ilona, iYork angithi yayithe…yayidayiselwe…umlungu wayeyidayisele ukhokho wakho angithi?

KM: IYork kwakuvele kuyindawo yabelungu from overseas ababeyithenge bona ngesikhathi sabo. Ike yaphuma la emaphepheni beyilanda kahle-ke. Iphuma la ephepheni iWitness, iYork. Beyihlanganisa neKarla Kroof. Beyihlanganisa lapho iYork, bayifaka phakathi. So iYork yayivele sebefikile abelungu futhi from overseas bayithengela-ke leyo ndawo yase-York. Kusahamba ngakho?

AM: (11:24) Yebo.

KM: Yathengwa. Ukhokho yena uyafika-ke kubelungu asebafunga baqeda ukuthi umuntu omnyama ngeke aze athenge. Wangena lapho-ke. Ukuze abekhona endaweni yaseNew York abathi abantu iZinyoluka. Ehhe. Usayithola?

AM: Ngiyayizwa eyeYork. Mese kuthi uthe abakaHlubi, babenikezwe umhlaba lo oseduze naseMpolweni?

KM: Ehhe.

AM: Bafika kanjani? EMpolweni-ke uyazi ukuthi mhlawumbe bafika sebezohlala eMpolweni, bafika nini?

KM: Angithi bahamba bonke bewumshungu owodwa nakuAllison. Babeyinto eyodwa nje: bamakholwa kaAllison. Kodwa bukhona lobu-shif (chief) lobu obashiywa ubaba; lo ukhokho wami. Bathathwa abakaHlubi.

AM: (12:15) Lobo bu-chief lobo babu, kwakuhlukile kunalokho okufana noZwelithini?

KM: Hhayi buhlukile lobu; okwamakholwa lokhu. Kuyavotwa lokhu.

AM: Hho lobu buyavotelwa?

KM: Buyavotelwa ukuthi ubani ozoba yinkosi manje. Bese-ke abantu ngensila yoZwelithini lo okhuluma ngayo babenomkhuba wokuthi uma kuthathe lo athathe indodana, athathe indodana. Balandele lowo mkhondo kanti angithi phela bephuma eSwazini bekuba kanjalo oSobhuza bathi njalo njalo kodwa-ke bekulandela lokho kulokhu kokuthi mangabe ubaba wakho, akuthathe lo, indodana. Kade kuwubaba wakho, akuthathe indodana. Bakuthatha-ke laba bakaHlubi ubukhosi kodwa kwasho ukuthi bakuthatha nje, iplazi selikubona.

AM: Iplazi laseMpolweni?

KM: Cha! Leli abanikwe lona. Kuthe kusuka abakwaHlubi futhi, babulahla ubukhosi.

AM: Bebulahlelani?

KM: Babulahla kwathola ukuthi nabo bafuna…abakhululekile ngakho ukuze kukhethwe, bese kuthathwa abakwaMngadi. Kwathatha abakwaMngadi-ke manje. Nabo abakaMngadi abaqale bakulandela ngokuthi mawuzalwa ilo, kuzothatha indodana. Baze baphela-ke manje ubukhoso; buphelile manje ubukhosi eMpolweni abukho. Into engasekho manje. Engavuswa noma ngubani othandayo athi, “Hhayi

bo! La siyayifuna inkosi." Uma abantu bethi bayayifuna, ingabekwa inkosi. Uma kusho abantu. Abakasho-ke abantu ukuthi bafuna inkosi. So kuthe dwadwalala ngoba kusho ukuthi kwabakhona lokho ukungaphatheki kahle ehhe.

AM: (14:10) So njengoba uthe kanjena kwakudluliselwana mhlawumbe mase eshonile ubaba, engasabufuni akunikeze indodana, kaHlubi kwaqala…kwaqala kuBathengi. Uba owaba owokuqala inkosi kaHlubi?

KM: Inkosi yakaHlubi

Follow-up interview with Gogo MAHlubi 31 January 2018 – 42 minutes 44 seconds. Mpolweni Mission, Mahlaba Household.

This interview was also spontaneous in the sense that it took place after I had finished washing dishes in the kitchen. My grandmother was sitting there and as I was wrapping up washing dishes we started randomly talking and that is when I saw a perfect opportunity to start recording her. I asked for her permission to record her, and she agreed. This explains why the interview begins mid-way a conversation, which may explain to the listener or reader of transcript why it seems to not be in the usual interview format that begins with introductions.

AM: Mhm…

DF: Wehle uwele…

AM: Qala phansi Gogo, qala phansi. Qala phansi la, "uthi uyabona uma uya phesheya"

DF: (0:08) Mawuya phesheya, wehla ngomgwaqo lo osuka uyabona oshona phansi, bese uwela i… i… umhoshana. Uhambe lapho udlule la okwakuyikaChief omdala.

AM: (0:23) Usho eMngeni?

DF: EMngeni! (concurring) Uyabona la okunumfula khona? Indawo engikhuluma…mhm…

AM: (khuluma)

DF: Oh. Indawo yakaHlubi-ke ihl…ixhumene neyaseMpolweni.

AM: (0:39) Iqala lapho?

DF: Indawo yakaHlubi? Ehhene iqala lapho. Ngoba abakubo kaMaLungi babakhe emngceleni. Babakhe…

AM: (1:02) Mantsha. Babakhephi?

DF: Kumngcele waseMpolweni nowakaHlubi.

AM: (1:05) Oh…nanihlobene yini nabo?

DF: Mhm…

AM: (1:07)…abantu bakubo kaMaLungi?

DF: Mhm (agreeing). UMaLungi owakaMazibuko. UGogo wethu uMaMazibuko.

AM: (1:17) Okay. So lelo plazi-ke lelo, wahlala kulona wena?

DF: Ngake ngahlala.

AM: (1:24) Usamngakanani?

DF: Ngisemncane.

AM: (1:27) Kakhulu?

DF: Hhayi kakhulu kangako.

AM: (1:33) Mawukhumbula mhlawumbe ungathi wawungakanani nje? Mawuzama ukukhumbula?

DF: Ngangila ko-7 years.

AM: (1:40) Una-7?

DF: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (1:43) Okay. Nihlobene kanjani nomfundisi Nkosi?

DF: (sigh) Eh. Wathini yena? Wathi sihlobene…uNkosi, uHlubi, abakwaNkosi abakwaHlubi, eh, Dlamini…mhm.

AM: (1:59) Oh yizithakazelo ezinihlobi…?

DF: Ehhe.

AM: (2:01) Nihlobene ngezithakazelo noma nihlobene i-i-I nangegazi futhi ngokwazi kwakho?

DF: Nangegazi.

AM: (2:07) Nangegazi?

DF: Nangegazi, ehhe.

AM: (2:10) Oh. Okay. Nonke nidabuka eSwazini ngokwazi kwakho?

DF: Yebo.

AM: (2:15) Nonke nidabuka eSwazini?

DF: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (2:17) Ngicela usho-ke ngesikhathi usu…wawutshelwa ubani lokho ukuthi nidabuka eSwazini?

DF: Ngiyazi. Umkhulu wayesitshela, ubaba wami. Wayesitshela.

AM: (2:31) Ethini futhi? Enitshela ethini?

DF: Ethi eh, indabuko yethu iseSwazini. Ehhe.

AM: (2:39) Wayesho ukuthi laphi neSwazini?

DF: KoMbabane lapho. Phela nganginganaki, uyabona ngangisemncane. Kodwa nje siqhamuka eSwazini ngenzalo yethu.

AM: (2:56) Oh. Niqhamuka eSwazini?

DF: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (2:58) Okay…Izithakazelo zenu ubani?

DF: UNkosi, uDlamini, Hlubal'donga, uMavuso, uMlangeni.

AM: (3:10) UMlangeni? Okay. Anihlobene noLangalibalele?

DF: (3:18) Angithi oLangalibalele abakaHadebe. Isizwe sabo amaHlubi, thina samaSwazi.

AM: Mavuso, Mlangeni. Okay. Ake sibuyele-ke, ngesikhathi ushada wena, usakhumbula ukuthi kwakuwubani umfundisi? Ngesikhathi ushada, kwakuwubani umfundisi wasePres? Wasesontweni? Ushadela kaMahlaba?

DF: (3:45) Kwakuwumfundisi uMutwa.

AM: (3:47) Mutwa?

DF: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (3:48) Okay. Umfundisi uMutwa (writing). Inkosi kwakuwubani?

DF: KwakusewuJerry Mngadi.

AM: (3:55) Jerry Mngadi. Wayenaso mhlawumbe isikhundla uMngadi? Ebandleni?

DF: Ehhene wayenaso.

AM: (4:19) Wayeyini?

DF: Wayeyilunga.

AM: (4:22) Wayeyilunga?

DF: Mhm.

AM: (4:26) Okay. Ilunga isikhundla esihloniphekile nje ebandleni? Esikhulu?

DF: Ehhe. Esikhulu. Esilandela. Esingaphezu kwamvangeli.

AM: (4:36) Esingaphezu kwamvangeli?

DF: Ngiyacabanga, ehhe.

AM: (4:38). Okay. Ubabezala wakho wayesebenzisana neNkosi?

DF: Yebo. Ngoba wayeyinduna yenkosi.

AM: (4:52) Isolomzi?

DF: Isolomuzi.

AM: (4:56) Isolomuzi. Okay. Isolomuzi yini umsebenzi walo?

DF: Isolomuzi umuntu obhekele…uyabona…umuntu obhekele umsebenze njengokuthi nje nanku umlilo uyasha, uyabona, useyahamba, useyamemezela. Sekwenza ukuthi nokuthi, uyabona? Mhm. Namacala. Mhlawumbe umuntu ezomangala icala, ezolithatha. Uma limhlula, alithathe aliyise kuChief.

AM: (5:34) Oh. Okay. Uhm. Isolomuzi kwakuyinduna? Noma kwakungaphansi kwenduna, kwehlukene – isolomuzi?

DF: Mhm (disagreeing). Kwakungahlukene.

AM: (5:45) Kwakuyinto eyodwa?

DF: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (5:48) Okay. Umfundisi Nkosi ufike…emva kwaMutwa kube ubani ongenayo?

DF: Konje kube wubani? Yazi angisakhumbuli. Ngoba…kwakungeyena uNkosi? Ngoba ababefikile la babebambele umfundisi uMutwa…

AM: (6:11) Oh. Esehambile uMutwa?

DF: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (6:13) Uyakhumbula ukuthi…mhlawumbe kwakuyiminyaka emingakanani uMutwa esaphethe?

DF: Ayi. Yayimininingi. Angisazi.

AM: (6:20) No, I mean, iminyaka mhlawumbe kwaku19 bani? Mhlawumbe noma kwaku…ngesikhathi uMutwa ephethe wena wawuzele mhlawumbe? Iyiphi into oyikhumbulayo eyayenzeka empilweni yakho ngesikhathi uMutwa ephethe?

DF: Engikukhumbulayo uMutwa ephethe phela ngashadiswa uMutwa ngo1964.

AM: (6:39) Ngo1964. Officiated DF's marriage (writing). Okay. Uhm. Inkosi yayidlala ndima-ni emphakathini?

AM: (18:24) Ngokubona kwakho ibandla lisadlala indima ebalulekile eMpolweni? Kulesi sikhathi samanje?

DF: Alisadlali.

AM: (18:29) Ngobani? Yin indaba usho njalo?

DF: Ngishiswa ukuthi kuqala kwakungadayiswa utshwala, kungekho izingane ezenza ukuphuza nensangu kwakungabhenywa nje. NgeSonto wauwngawuthinti umsebenzi noma mhlawumbe ugayile unomsebenzi, umsebenzi eMpolweni wawungenziwa ngeSonto. Wawenziwa ngoMgqibelo. Isikhathi seSonto, kwakuyisikhathi seSonto.

AM: (18:47) Kwakungcatshwa ngeSonto?

DF: Ehehe. Kwakungangcatshwa. Kwakungcatshwa uma kunesidingo. Nalapho ubuhamba uya kaChief, uyocela. Akuvumele-ke uChief.

AM: (19:13) Manje ubona ukuthi kanjena ukwanda kwalezi hlava kunge nxa yokuthi isonto alisenawo amandla ekulawuleni umphakathi?

DF: Yebo, alisenamandla isonto ngoba abantu sebebaningi kakhulu. Kukhona abaqhumuka ezindaweni, abanye babalekiswa yini udlame, abanye babulala abantu. Uyayibona nje into enjengaleyo.

AM: (19:28) Oh manje usola ukuthi mhlawumbe ukufika kwabantu, ukwanda kwabantu abaningi eMpolweni ikona okudale lezi zihlava lezi?

DF: Ehhe (agreeing).

AM: Yin indaba usho njalo?

DF: Ngishiswa ukuthi bekungenzeki kade kungakabi nabantu abaqhamuka ngaphandle bengena ngalolu hlobo, bengangeni ngohlobo lwesonto. Sebeyazingenela nje, sebeyazidavuzela nje abantu. Awukho nje manje umthetho.

AM: (20:12) Manje leyo nto ingalungiswa kanjani?

DF: Angiboni ukuthi ingabe isalungiseka mina. As from my side.

AM: Ngeke isalungiseka?

DF: Hmh (agreeing) ngoba sebebaningi abantu asebafika eMpolweni.

AM: (20:29) Useke wezwa mhlawumbe mayelana nodaba lokubuyiselwa komhlaba waseMpolweni kubantu?

DF: Engikwaziyo yilokhu kokuthi umhlaba ufanele ukubuyela kubantu ngoba nami ubaba wami wayenomhlaba eMpolweni angisho njalo. Kangangoba ubaba wami wakhishwa eplazini lakhe weza eMpolweni.

AM: (21:04) Wakhishwa wobani eplazini?

DF: Abelungu phela, amabhunu.

AM: Emkhiphelani?

DF: Ethi leya ndawo ayimfanele.

AM: Ngoba?

DF: Kwathiwa yindawo yani? Kwakuthiwa yindawo yani?

AM: (21:18) Abashongo ukuthi iWhite Spot?

DF: Mhm. Indawo yabelungu.

AM: Basho njalo? Kwathiwa iMpolweni…so iMpolweni kwakuyindawo yabantu abamnyama, kuyiBlack Spot? (DF: Yebo) Ingakho bethi kumele akhe eMpolweni?

DF: Yebo.

AM: (21:33) So abantu abamnyama ngalesi sikhathi ngokubona kwakho mhlawumbe babengavumelekile ukuthi babenamaplazi? Babenomhlaba?

DF: Eyi. Babevumelekile ukuthi babenomhlaba hhayi kodwa umhlaba waseMpolweni ngoba umhlaba waseMpolweni kwakuwesonto.

AM: (21:54) Pho ubaba wakho wayewuthole kanjani loya mhlaba? Leliya plazi leliya?

DF: Ubaba phela walithola ngokuthi abazali bakhe babeyizinto ezinkulu.

AM: (22:05) Babemshiyelile lelo plazi?

DF: (22:06) Ehhe bamnika. Wayeyinkosi.

AM: (22:10) Ohho, walithola kanjalo-ke? Okay. So manje umhlaba…

Interview with my Mother, Miss Phindile Mahlaba 28 January 2018

Mahlaba Household, Mpolweni Mission, Pietermaritzburg, KZN, South Africa

Interview Length – 1hr 01 minute 07 seconds

AM: Ayanda Mahlaba

PS: Phindile Sharron Mahlaba

AM: Uhm…Sawubona Ma, unjani?

PS: Ngiyaphila unjani?

AM: Ngiyaphila…Igama lami nginguAyanda Mahlaba. Ngenza i-MA in Historical Studies at UCT…Uhm…so ngenza ucwaningo la ngemilando wakaMahlaba…wakaHlubi njalo wakaHlubi-Mahlaba kanye neMpolweni Mission. So…kunezinto nje ezimbalwa ekumele ngizidalule ngaphambi kokuthi siqhubeke. Ukuthi kanjena ngizoyirekhoda lengxoxo yethu izorekhodwa ngoba kumele ukuthi ngiyitranscribe ngiyibhale phansi for ucwaningo. Mese kuthi ngaphambi kwalokhu futhi singene odabeni kune…kumele ngikwazise ngelungelo lakho. Uma mhlawumbe kukhona…kunemibuzo ozizwa sengathi ibucayi kakhulu angeke uze ukwazi ukuthi uyiphendule unalelolungelo lokuthi ungitshele ukuthi ungayiphenduli. Uma ufuna sime sithathe ikhefu unalo futhi lelolungelo lelo lokuthi sime sithathe ikhefu. Uma mhlawumbe kunemibuzo ozizwa sengathi kanjena uhm awuyizwisisi kahle ngeke sisaqhubeka nayo i-interview ozizwa sengathi kanjena kunezinto ezingakuphathi kahle ngizocela ukuthi ungitshele mese sesiya…uyabo…ukuze ungazitholi usesimweni lapho ophoqeleke khona ukuthi kube khona izinto ozishoyo. So kule interview kunezinto ongaphoqelekile ukuthi kube khona izinto okumele uzisho…Okay…Ngabe ikhona imibuzo onayo? (1:39)

PS: Cha…

AM: Ngisacela ungitshele ukuthi engabe uwubani igama lakho?

PS: Igama lami ngiwuZama….uPhindile wakaMahlaba.

AM: Wazalwa nini?

PS: (1:51) 1976 March 8.

AM: Wazalelwaphi?

PS: EMpolweni.

AM: EMpolweni?

PS: Mhhm (agreeing)

AM: Okay. EMpolweni laphi nendawo mhlawumbe?

PS: (2:00) IMpolweni iseNew Hanover.

AM: New Hanover?

PS: Yes mawuphuma nje ePietermaritzburg uhamba ngoR33 okuwuGreytown Road after Albert Falls before New Hanover uzoturna kune turn off ungene eMpolweni.

AM: Okay…Ngabe…wenzani ukuziphilisa?

PS: (2:25) Mhm ngiyasebenza Esos Children's Village as a Child and Youth Care Worker.

AM: Mhhm… Ilaphi i-SOS Children's Village?

PS: Ise….Grange 59 Charles Baxter, The Grange.

AM: (2:42) Okay… Uhm abazali bakho ngabe ngobani?

PS: Abazali bami…Mina ngizalwa yintimbi yakaHlubi uDudu Mahlaba benoMalcolm Sambulo Mahlaba.

AM: (2:55) Okay…Uhm nibangaki kini?

PS: Mina ekhaya ngikhule ngazi ukuthi siwu4: khona ubhuti wami omdala okuthiwa uThami kube khona usisi wami okuthiwa uSibongile osashona, kube khona omunye okuthiwa uXoli onguMrs Shabangu bese kuba yimina ilast born.

AM: (3:19) Okay uwena ilast born? Ngabe ukukhula kwakho kwakunjani? Kwa…ukukhula kwakho kwakunjani asiqale lapho?

PS: (3:29) Ukukhula kwami Kwaku…ngizothini…kwakungelula Ayanda njengomuntu owashonelwa ubaba esasemncane ngino7 years. UMa esebenza ecreche, epheka ecreche e…kwakunzima kona ngizosho njalo…

AM: (4:01) Mhmm…

PS: Mhhm…Futhi ngangibona engathi thina efamily-ni yethu engathi thina ekhaya si…yithina esipoor kunabo bonke abantu efamily-ni yethu…kobhuti nakosisi baMa…Nganginalokho nje…

AM: Kwakusekelaphi mhlampe lokho?

PS: Kwakusukela ekuthenini nga…nje indlela esasiphila ngayo…siphila ku-four room…Mina ngakhula sesihlala ekhaya ezansi ku-four room nje obonayo nje ukuthi la bandla kuxakekiwe impela kuwusizana.

AM: Mhhmm…

PS: Mhmm…Sihlukile nje kunanezinye izingane ngoba sa…mina ngakhula ngigqoka izinto zasemasekenini.

AM: (4:55) Ezinye izingane…mawuthi ezinye izingane zalaphi lezo zingane?

PS: Izingane zoAunty bami nezoBabomdala noBabomncane zona zazi…ngangibona ukuthi ziright ziyakwazi ukuthengelwa izinto ezintsha…mhmh…

AM: (5:10) So nikhulele emndenini omkhulu? (Gogo enters the kitchen as can be heard from the background).

PS: Ehhe sikhulele emndenini omkhulu…

AM: Ubumkhulu? Benihlalaphi? (5:19)

PS: Sasihlala sonke ekhaya laGogo noMkhulu kodwa-ke thina bese sinomuzi wethu ezansi njengoba kade ngichaza ukuthi kwakuwu-four room.

AM: (5:30) Phezulu…umkhulu wakho kwakuwubani? UGogo noMkhulu wakho kwakuwubani?

PS: UGogo noMkhulu…Umkhulu kwakuwuMavumengwane induna yeNkosi. UGogo kuwuKatie Mahlaba eyi…ewumkhokheli esontweni. Umkhokheli womama.

AM: Umkhokheli womama?

PS: Mhhm (evuma)…khona ePres: Uniting Presbyterian Church…

AM: Umkhulu kwakuyinduna yayiphi inkosi? (5:57)

PS: Ya Chief J. Mngadi.

AM: UGogo uthe wayewumkhokheli womama?

PS: Ehhe esontweni.

AM: Okay…Uhm…u u ulo…umkhulu wkho kwakuwumuntu onjani mhlawumbe?

PS: Umkhulu mina angihlalanga naye isikhathi eside futhi ngoba ngangisamncane ngesikhathi…ba…abamaziyo mabemchaza bathi wayewumuntu owayestrict owayengayifuni into engasile. Umkhulu wayengayifuni intombazane efake ibhulukwe kuthiwa nje impela mawubonakala ufake ibhulukwe kwakuba inkinga. Mina umkhulu ubenehhashi efika ngalo ekhaya afike kumina athi ufuna ngimuphe umlotha…ngimuphe umlotha…uyabona wayazi vele ukuthi ihhashi ngiyalisaba kodwa wayefika nalo ekhaya. Afike athi angimuphe umlotha-ke…ngimuphe umlotha.

AM: (7:02) So wayekukhonzile umkhulu wakho?

PS: Ehhe wayengikhonzile kakhulu.

AM: UGogo yena?

PS: Eyi...Ngizothini nje…Kusho phela mhlawumbe naye wayengikhonzile kodwa mina ngangingakuboni ukuthi wayengikhonzile…

AM: …Yini into eyenza usho njalo?

PS: (7:20) … Ngoba njengoba ngichaza ukuthi sakhula sihlala nezingane zo-Aunty into engangiyibona ngangibona engazuthi uthanda izingane zo-Aunty kakhulu. Mhlawumbe ukuthi mina angihlalanga naye yingakho ngizitshela ukuthi mhlawumbe wayengangithandi ngoba angihlalanga naye…ngangifika nje ngaleso sikhathi nginyuke mhlawumbe ngiphuma ezansi noma uMa engilethile mangabe wayengekho uMa kaMa esikade sihlala naye ezansi angilethe ukuthi ngizohlala naye. Mhlawumbe mangibuya esikoleni ngibuyele kuyena uGogo…nje kwakungekho engikubonayo ukuthi uyangithanda ayekwenza okwakwenza ukuthi ngize ngibe impela ne-sure ukuthi uyangithanda.

AM: ((8:05) Yakuphatha kanjani leyo nto?

PS: Ya…ya…ngangingayinaki ngisakhula. Into eyenze ukuthi ngiyinake, ngiyinake sekumanje ukuthi mangiqhathanisa izinto…kanti kwakwenzeka kanje ngoba kwakukanje…Mhhm…

AM: Ubalule udaba lokuthi amadodana…izingane zamadodana ngathi zazingathandwa kakhulu ezabafana…ezama…ezamantombazane zazithandwa kakhulu…mhlawumbe engabe ile nto nina zingane zamadodana nonke enizizwa ngayo?

PS: Ehhe sonke masithi siyikhuluma leyo…noma bekhona-ke abanye-ke ayebathanda bamadodana kodwa thina wayengasithandi.

AM: (8:48) So kukhona enye into oyishilo futhi ukuthi kanjena naniwumndeni naniphansi…wawuzibona sengathi inina umndeni eniphansi kakhulu kunamanye…Laba abanye emndenini mhlawumbe babe…babe..babefundile noma?

PS: (09:02) Mhmm…babefundile abanye ngoba uBabomdala wayewuthi…uprincipal. UBabomncane wayewu-HR e…ekhampanini enye eyayiseThekwini…uAunty omunye wayewunesi eyiDeni [Edendale]…omunye kuthiwa wayewuthisha…

AM: Mhm…Ngabe babunjani ubudlelwano bakho noAunty noBabomncane?

PS: Mhhm…

AM: …(continuing) noBabomdala?

PS: UBabomdala angimazi…washona ngingakazalwa…kodwa ubudlelwano bami nonkosikazi wakhe babubukhulu kakhulu…babubuhle futhi wayengifisela futhi izinto ezinhle unkosikazi wakhe futhi nezingane zakhe uBabomdala zankosikazi wakhe zazingifisela impumelelo mina kangangoba nje ubhuti wami washona washona esezongithatha ethi ufuna ngiyohlala naye wayewuthisha ethi ufuna ngiyohlala naye ukuze ngikwazi ukumphekela ufuna nokuthi ngifunde.

AM: (10:04) Okay…uhm then mese kuthi-ke oAunty bona?

PS: OAunty phela kwakuba yilokho nje Ayanda ngi ngingasho ukuthi ene angikuboni…njengoba ngisho ukuthi ngikubona manje ukuthi ene vele kusho ukuthi kwakuvele kungekho ubudlelwano ngoba kwamanje vele abukho ukuba nje ukuthi masihlangana kube yilokho ukupretenda kube ngathi umuntu uyakuthanda kodwa ubone ukuthi hhayi umuntu la akakuthandi.

AM: (10:34) Mhhm…

PS: Mhhm ngoba phela manje usuke usukhulile usukwazi ukuhlukanisa izinto usubona usuzwa futhi ukuthi indlela akhuluma ngayo ukuthi hhayi vele kusho ukuthi kuyacaca kwasekuqaleni wayevele engakuthandi wayevele enganithandi lowo muntu. Mase ubona izinto nangendlela eziye zenzeke ngayo.

AM: (10:51) Okay mhlawumbe u u uMa wakho wayephatheke kanjani e emshadweni ngesikhathi eshadile? Uyazi ukuthi uMa wakho wayephatheke kanjani…wawubonani wena usayingane?

PS: (11:01) Eyi mina ngangingaboni lutho kakhulu njengoba ngisho ukuthi ene mina kwakuhlwile kakhulu kumina kodwa izinto uMa ayethi mase ezixoxa ngi…ezinye sengiyazibona sengiyaye ngizikhumbule. Njengakho nje ukushona kwakhe uGogo ukuthi uMa wayengasahlali ekhaya kushona uGogo. UGogo esagula…uMa wayehlala kaGogo, emnesa emenza yonke into ethi mayebuya etohweni uMa ahambe ayomwashela ngoba uGogo kwakuwumuntu owayenecancer. Ahambe ayowasha uMa emfuleni kodwa kuke kuthi manje mase sengibona u uAunty ese e e esezoshona uGogo wamthatha ngoba phela wayewunesi wayesebona vele ukuthi ayisekho indaba. Wamthatha uAunty u ukuthi uGogo ayoshonela kuyena. Yingakho-ke kwaze kwathi mase eshonile uGogo u Aunty kwa-praiswa yena ukuthi uyena muntu o o o obephethe kahle uMa wakhe. Kwakhohlwa ukuthi umuntu obekade ephethe kahle u u u uMa wakhe uye uMa beshintshana naye uMa MaNdimande, uMa MaNdimande wayefundisa le eHowick kodwa wayebuya ezophumuza uMa ukuthi bahambe bayomwashela emfuleni njengoba sasingenawo amanzi kusakhiwa amanzi emfuleni.

AM: (12:22) Ngicela nje siyibambe kanjalo. Asibuyele ekukhuleni kwakho…mawukhula iMpolweni bekwiyindawo enjani ekukhuleni kwenu?

PS: (12:30) EMpolweni bekwiyindawo nje efana nokuthi kusemakhaya futhi kusemission okwakunomthetho…

AM: (12:41) Imithetho enjani? Efana nani?

PS: Imithetho nje eqinile ukuthi izinto eziningi zazingenziwa. Mangabe kwakushoniwe yayingavulwa iradio makushonwe kamakhelwane mangabe kade kunesiphepho igeja kwakungayiwa ensimini futhi mangabe kwakushoniwe eMpolweni kwakushaywa insimbi esontweni kumenyezelwe kuthunyelwe izingane kuhlatshwe umkhosi ukuthi kabani sekushoniwe.

AM: (13:06) Mhhm… Kwaku…leyo mthetho leyo yayisukelaphi? Obani ababeze naleyo mthetho?

PS: (13:11) Eyi…Ayanda-ke phela ngeke ngaba nolwazi kangako nami nje ngakhula ngathi mangikhula ngakhula kuyinto eyayivele yayikade yenzeka. Mhhm…

AM: (13:20) Mhhm… Okay then umndeni wakho ungasho ukuthi kanjena kwakuwumndeni…lapha kaMahlaba kwakuwumndeni owawuhlonishwa endaweni?

PS: (13:27) Ehhe kwakuwumndeni owawu owawuhlonishwa kakhulu ngoba njengoba ngisho ukuthi ene kwakwaziwa ukuthi uma kuqhamuka uMkhulu mabexoxa aba abangaphambi kwethu ukuthi makuqhamuka uMkhulu intombazane imi nomfana nehhashi umkhulu wayefaka isiswebhu. Kwakuwumndeni nje owawuhlonishwa ngoba kwakwaziwa ukuthi umuzi wenduna futhi ikhehla lakhona lalistrict…uMkhulu Mahlaba.

AM: (13:51) Abazali-ke balezi…mhlawumbe balezingane…masithi umkhulu kwenzekile wahlangana nomfana nentombazane mase esebashayile abazali babengaphatheki kabi?

PS: No. Kuthiwa babefika futhi nabo abazali baphinde futhi bafike bashaye.

AM: (14:07) Kusho ukuthi kwakukhuliselwana? Ingane…

PS: (interjecting) Ehhe wawukwazi ukukhulisa ingane yakamakhelwane.

AM: (14:14) Okay…Mese kuthi-ke umndeni wakho wakaHlubi esayidini likaMa wakho uyabazi?

PS: Mhhm…Ngazi uMamncane kaMa wami no….nezingane zodadewabo ka ka wakhe u u kaMa ozalwa uBabomncane wakhe…Bese ngazi noMalume umfowabo kaMa omdala noMamkhulu-ke odadewabo kaMa abadala.

AM: (14:44) Ba…uyayazi mhlawumbe imvelaphi yabo ukuthi bavelaphi abantu bakaHlubi?

PS: Mhhm (pause)… Ukwazi kwami uMalume wayengitshela ukuthi bona bangamaSwati baphuma eSwatini…mhm…

AM: (14:57) Babephuma eSwatini? Izihlobo mhlawumbe…banazo izihlobo…bahlobene nobani?

PS: Baphuma eSwatini ba ba ba…uGogo wabo kwakuwu uGogo uGogo wabo kwakuwuMaMazibuko ozala uBaba wabo ohlobene nefamily yakwaMazibuko bese kuthi uMa wabo njengoba umkhulu wayekade enamakhosikazi amabili uBatengi Phineas…angithi uBatengi Phineas uzalwa uBatengi Josias [Josiah] wayesezala uBatengi Josia[h] Hlubi wazala uBatengi Phineas noEnos. And then uBatengi eh eh

Phineas wabanamakhosikazi amabili okuMaMtshali Hlubi noMaNtuli Hlubi okuwuyena uMaNtuli ozala uMa wami.

AM: (16:00) Okay uMaNtuli uyazi ukuthi uvelaphi yena?

PS: (16:05) UMaNtuli uGogo wayengitshela ukuthi kubo kule eNkandla koMfongosi babedabuka khona.

AM: (16:11) EMfongosi? Okay… Then mese kuthi wayeyini uBatengi Josiah Hlubi?

PS: (16:16) UBatengi Josiah Hlubi Kwaku…uyena mnikazi wamaplazi wayekade enamaplazi wafika la eMpolweni bephuma eSwazini wafika wathenga iplazi eyiDeni [Edendale] la osekwiyilibrary khona. Waphinde wathenga iplazi eCramond, waphinde wathenga indawo yala eMpolweni ngomlando engawutshelwa uMalume ukuthi-ke mase esethengile la eMpolweni wathola ukuthi akasa…washoda ngemali encane ukuthi ene umhlaba ubuyele kubona kwafika-ke amamissionaries-ke athi ayithatha-ke indawo yaseMpolweni-ke ngoba wayekade eshoda ngemali le okwakufanele agcwalisele ngayo…

AM: (17:03) UBathengi loyo?

PS: UJosias yebo.

AM: (17:06) Okay…ngabe isonto leliyana ngike ngizwe ukuthi isonto leliyana lakhiwa uyena uJosiah kuyiqiniso lelo?

PS: Yebo.

AM: (17:14) Walakha kanjani?

PS: UJosias? UJosiah wayekuthiwa wayethatha amatshe emfuleni awafake enqoleni ngezimbongolo athuthe akhe isonto leli elidala lasePres lamatshe. Walakha. Kuthiwa

walakha ngo1943 ngoba nalo isonto mangase ulibheke lapha libhaliwe ukuthi 1943…Mhmm…

AM: (17:41) So wayenobudlelwano obuhle nalo isonto?

PS: (17:43) Yebo wayenobudlelwano obuhle ngoba wakwazi ukulakhela isonto-ke.

AM: (17:48) Okay…Wayeyi…wayewumuntu shuthi owayenemali uJosiah?

PS: Ehhe uJosiah wayewumuntu owayenemali.

AM: (17:55) Wayesebenzaphi mhlawumbe? Waye…wayeyini isikhundla sakhe?

PS: (18:01) Mhmm (pause) Engabe nginamanga ukube ngiyazi ukuthi wayeyini…uJosiah ngabe nginamanga kodwa engikwaziyo ngazi ngoBathengi Phineas ukuthi wayekade ewudokotela womaskito….mhhm…

AM: (18:15) Esebenzaphi? UPhineas?

PS: (Pause) Yazi angina…angi…anginalwazi kakhulu ngoba uMalume wayengixoxela omunye umlando kusho ukuthi-ke nami umlando ngangingawubhali phansi…ehhe kodwa wayengixoxela uMalume okunye ngiyakulibala.

AM: Wayekuxoxela ngesikhathi…wawukaHlubi ngesikhathi ekuxoxela?

PS: (18:38) Ehhe ngesikhathi…kukhona isikhathi la engike ngahlala khona naye uMalume. Ngoba uMalume wayengenabantwana so ngahlala naye ngimhlalisile enonkosikazi wakhe egula ngikwazi ukuthi ngimphelezele sambe uMalume ilapho-ke engangikwazi uku…engangithola khona umlando-ke wakaHlubi.

AM: Wawuneminyaka emingaki ngalezo zikhathi? (silence from PS) Wawuneminyaka emingaki ngaleso sikhathi?

PS: (19:07) Ngangino…16/17/18 lapho nje….

AM: Okay…Ngabe amabanga amabanga okufunda wagcinelaphi? Wagcinaphi?

PS: Ngagcina kaGrade 1.

AM: (19:19) KaGrade 11?

PS: Yebo.

AM: Kwakuyini imbangela yokuthi ugcine kaGrade 11?

PS: (19:22) Kwakuwukuthi ngathola umntwana.

AM: (19:26) Ubani lowo mntwana?

PS: Kwakuthiwa uAyanda Mahlaba.

AM: Wamthola nini? Loyo mntwana loyo?

PS: (19:32) Ngo1995 March 2.

AM: March 2?

PS: Yes.

AM: Ngesikhathi umthola ngo1995 isimo sasinjani eMpolweni? Kwakwenzekalani mhlawumbe ngokwezepolitiki?

PS: (19:44) Eyi eMpolweni ngaleso sikhathi Kwaku…kwakunodlame kakhulu (emphasis added in enunciation), kwakunodlame eMpolweni ngesikhathi ngimthola uAyanda ngangi ngangiyisishoshovu nami impela.

AM: (19:55) Isi…udlame kwakowolani?

PS: Kwa…kwakunezimpi nje i…izigodi zonke zazihlanganyela iMpolweni Enkulu…la kwakuthiwa iMpolweni Enkulu zithi iMpolweni Enkulu iyisizinda seNkatha ngoba kusukelaphi na? Kusukela ekuthenini u uGogo wethu u u uGogo…wethu ozala uBaba uMaNdlovu ingane…umka ka ka ka umkaButhelezi…umkaButhelezi uBab' Buthelezi…uBab'…uMntwana wakwaPhindangene i…ingane yakhe…umkakhe uzalwa udadewabo kaGogo wethu.

Shuthi u u ucousin nobaba bethu so babefika eMpolweni kuqala bejoyinisa abantu iNkatha so lezi zigodi lezi zayibamba-ke ley onto ukuthi eMpolweni Enkulu i…kunodlame…ku…ku…iseNkatheni kanti akusenjalo uGogo wayeseshonile futhi ngaleso sikhathi se…kodwa lezi ezinye izigodi zazinalokho nje ukuthi ene kusho ukuthi kusaqhutshekekwa umndeni wakwaMahlaba kusho ukuthi usaqhubeka nendaba yobuNkatha…uyabo? Ngoba kuthiwa kaGogo kwakujoyinisiswa iNkatha…

AM: (21:28) KaMahlaba?

PS: KaMahlaba (concurring).

AM: (21:30) Wawusuzelwe ngaleso sikhathi? Usuzwa lokho wena?

PS: Mi…mina ngase ngi…ehhe kodwa ngangisasemncane. Ngiyakhumbula nje uGogo ngimbona efake iuniform ewukhakhi…befake amauniform awukhakhi eNkatha…Kangangoba namanje sisanabo lobo budlelwano nabantwana bakwaPhindangene nomntwana wakwaPhindangene…mhm…

AM: (21:51) Manje-ke lolu dlame kwakushaywana kwakubulawana?

PS: (21:55) Kwakubulawana abantu bebulawa abanye…ku…ingafunwa nje iMpolweni Enkulu kuthiwa iyisizinda seNkatha kodwa-ke ngokuya ngokuya kwabuye kwabanezimpi…ngokuya ngokuya babona baphinde futhi babona ukuthi hhayi ayikho leyo nto siyiANC sonke. Nakhu-ke sekujoyinwa Iudf kwahamba kwahamba-ke yaphela-ke i-UDF kwase kuba yiANC-ke…Mina-ke sengiqhamuka-ke lapho-ke sengiqhamuka ngiba yivolontiya leANC. Sesijoyinisa abantu u-ANC, sibafundisa abantu ngoKhongolose siba…senza i-door-to-door campaign sibatshengisa sibafundisa nangokuvota. (AM: Mhmm) (continues) ngoba ukhetho

lokuqala la1994 ngangiyi…ngangivotisa ngalelokhetho lolu lokuqala sasimisa kahle abantu ulayini sisebenzela uKhongolose inhlangano yethu.

AM: (22:55) Okay…obani ababe…abantu laba…mhlawumbe amalunga aqavile e…e…aKhongolose owakhumbulayo ngalezikhathi kusanodlame?

PS: (23:04) Amalunga aKhongolose engiwakhumbula kahle kwakukade kuwu…umuntu engangisebenzisana naye nje kwakuwu…uThabisile Mkhize, u…u…umama uMaNtuli Mkhize ozala u…ubaba wethu…oyikhansela…obekade eyikhansela uMoses [Mkhize]…kube u…Phila wakaNgcobo abantu esasisebenzisana nabo….(pause)….mhm…mhm…Ayi Ayanda sebebaningi kakhulu abanye sebephumile engqondweni yami…

AM: (23:50) Usubakhohliwe?

PS: Sengibakhohliwe.

AM: (23:51) Ubalula umndeni waka…amalunga amaningi akaMkhize ngoba umdeni wakaMkhize nje kwakuyizona zishoshovu zayo?

PS: (24:00) Yebo kwakuyizona zishoshovu umndeni wakwaMkhize…

AM: Ngiyazi…

PS: (interjecting AM)…Nathi sancela kuwona uKhongolose.

AM: Mhlawumbe…kwasukelaphi leso…leso sizinda…sasisukelaphi?

PS: (24:11) Sasisukela ekuthenini ubaba wakhona wayekade eboshiwe eboshelwe wona uKhongolose lowo…

AM: (24:17) Wayeboshelwephi loyo baba?

PS: (24:19) Eyi mangingaphosisi engathi kuthiwa iseRobben Island, but I am not sure kahle…

AM: (24:26) Uba igama lakhe? Uyalazi igama lakhe?

PS: Ubab'…engathi ubab uDavid Mkhize.

AM: (24:31) David Mkhize?

PS: Mhm (agreeing)…

AM: (24:32) Okay…

PS: Ozala ukhansela uMoses Jabulani Mkhize.

AM: (24:41) Okay… Ake sibuyele…uthe ku…kwakubani iNkosi mhlawumbe…iNkosi eMpolweni…yayikhona iNkosi? Asiqale lapho? Yayikhona iNkosi eMpolweni?

PS: (24:51) Yebo ngikhule iNkosi eMpolweni ikhona…uChief Jonathan Mngadi…mhm…

AM: (25:02) Ngaphambi kwakhe kwakubani?

PS: (25:04) Kwakuwu Chief omunye futhi uMngadi owayekade ewu…unkosikazi wakhe…unkosikazi wakhe owayekade esebenza eposini…okwakuthiwa uChief Jerry Mngadi…mhm…

AM: (25:23) Ngaphambi kwaJerry kwakuwubani?

PS: (silence) Kahle kahle mina Ayanda ngokuzwa kwami ngomlando wobukhosi bakaHlubi…bakaMngadi (25:34) eh u…abantu ababekade bebekiwe ukuthi babe amakhosi la eMpolweni kwakwa…uyena uJosiah Hlubi ngokuthi uJosias [h] wayengazithandi izikhundla wayesenika omzala bakhe ebabiza ngokuthi omzala bakhe oChief Jerry Mngadi ubukhosi base ubukhosi buwela ku…kuJonathan emva kokuba eseshonile uJerry kodwa ubukhosi kwakuwubukhosi bakaHlubi…

AM: (26:17) BakaHlubi…Lobo bukhosi lobo kwakuwubukhosi lokhu bokweselwa…bokweselwa noma ilobu la ukhethwa la ukhethwa la kwakukhethwa khona?

PS: (26:27) (yawning) Hheyi angifuni ukuqamba amanga mangase ngithi ngingakwazi ukuphendula loyo mbuzo kodwa ngokucabanga kwami ngicabanga ukuthi mhlawumbe ila kwakukhethwa khona njengokuthi mhlawumbe ba…abantu babekhethela ukuthi babefuna ukuthi kube-fair ngoba phela kwakuvele indawo le yayikade kwiyindawo yakaHlubi ngokubona kwami ngingazi-ke noma ngiqinisile yini mhlawumbe abantu babefuna ukuthi kube-fair ngoba vele babazi ukuthi indawo le yayikade ithengwe abantu bakaHlubi…mhm…

AM: (27:01) IMpolweni ngabe kwakuyindawo yamakholwa?

PS: (27:04) Yebo ngokuzwa kwami. Yingakho kuthiwa Mpolweni Mission.

AM: (27:08) 'Mission' ngenxa yokuthi kwakwamakholwa?

PS: Yebo.

AM: (27:12) Okay…ilona-ke iNkosi yayidlala ndimani eMpolweni? Iyiphi indima eyayidlalwa yiNkosi eMpolweni?

PS: (27:20) (pause) Mhm…Eyi noma ngingasakhumbuli kahle phela Ayanda ngoba mina okunye kwakwenzeka nje ngimncane kodwa ngangazi mangabe mhlawumbe kunecala icala lalihamba liyiswe enduneni induna bese ithi izolidlulisa enkosini bese uyabizwa uyiswe enkosini-ke kuyokhulunywa-ke lelo cala liyoqulwa. Kodwa mangabe kwakuyicala nje elincane laliqulwa liphelele enduneni kodwa mangabe selilikhulu liyihlula induna lalidluliswa liyiswe eNkosini.

AM: (27:54) Okay… Induna yayikhethwa yiNkosi?

PS: (27:58) Yayikhethwa umphakathi.

AM: (28:00) Yayikhethwa umphakathi?

PS: Mhm (concurring).

AM: Ungasho ukuthi abantu ababamakhosi babantu abafundile?

PS: (28:08) Mhm…(pause) Ngiyacabanga…ngiyacabanga…(pause)…

AM: (28:15) Mhlawumbe ngaphambi kokuthi abe yiNkosi uChief Mn…uChief Jonathan Mngadi kwakuyini isikhundla sakhe?

PS: (28:26) Eyi angeke…angeke ngazi Ayanda njengoba kade ngisho ukuthi ene ngangisamncane ngalapho ngabe nginamanga mangithi ngithi ngingakwazi ukukuphendula lapho.

AM: (28:35) Okay…uhm…kwaku..i…isonto lalidlala ndima yiphi emphakathini? Iyiphi indima eyayidlalwa yisonto emphakathini?

PS: Long pause (Phela Ayanda endaweni kwakwaziwa ukuthi ene eMpolweni umuntu kwakwaziwa ukuthi uma ushada ngizokwenza umzekelo uma ngabe ushada eMpolweni, usunengane kwakwazeka ukuthi awungeni esontweni elikhulu u…u…isonto nemission kwakuba umthetho owodwa: mangisho ukuthi nemission ngisho ukuthi neNkosi kwakuhlalwa phansi bebanama meeting bakhulume ukuthi endaweni kufanele kwenzeke kanjani kwenzelwe njengoba ngike ngachaza ekuqaleni ukuthi ene umuntu wayethi makushoniwe kwaziwe ukuthi kuzoyoshaywa insimbi esontweni kumenyezelwe ukuthi kabana kushoniwe. Shuthi kwakuyinto eyodwa isonto nenkosi nekomidi.

AM: (29:44) Ikomidi lalenzani?

PS: (29:45) Ikomidi elalithi mangabe ene mhlawumbe kwakukhishwa irenti la eMpolweni, kwakurentwa lelo komidi lalenza njalo kurentwa, kukhokhelwa i…i…kwakukhokhelwani kambe? Gogo from the background interjecting with (izinkomo)… izinkomo, kukhokhelwa i…izinja, kukhokhelwa nediphu, kukhokhelwa nerenti, isiza ukuthi ene wena uyaowner lana u-owner indawo le.

AM: (30:30) Hho shuthi kwakukhona abantu ababeqashile? EMpolweni? Ukuhlala njenga…noma?

PS: (30:35) No babengekho abantu ababeqashile kushuthi kwakuthiwa yirenti kwakushiwo i….ngokucabanga kwami ngicabanga ukuthi mhlawumbe kwakushiwolo ukuthi ene ngoba kwakunocingo olulabiyiwe lubiyale amaplazi lawa abelungu ukuthi ene izinkomo zingajombi ngale kocingo mhlawumbe leyo mali kwakwenzelwa ukuthi ikwazi ukuvimba mhlawumbe izinkomo kuthengwe ucingo mase selufadabele kuthengwe olunye nediphu likwazi…ikwazi leyo mali ukuthi ene kuthengwe imithi yokudipha izinkomo njengoba sonke sasabahlali bala eMpolweni. Umuntu owayenezinkomo nje wayekhokha lalibakhona lelo bhuku lokuthi ene ukhokhela lezo zinkomo…inkomo…inkomo yizinja yini yini yini.

AM: (31:26) Okay…ngapha…ngiyakuzwa…ngaphandle komndeni wakaHlubi…wakaMahlaba…iyiphi eminye imindeni eyayidumile eMpolweni? Okwakwaziwa ukuthi nje le mindeni imindeni enohlonze endaweni?

PS: (31:41) Imindeni mhlawumbe efana neyothisha oThish' Ndlela, umndeni wamfundisi futhi wawudumile, umfundisi Nkosi, imindeni nje eminingi oMnyandu wayenamabhasi kwakuwumndeni owawudumile owawaziwa, namuphi? Hho

nowakaMkhize njengoba sengiwubalile…(pause)…ya eminye mhlawumbe ngingasho ukuthi sengiyikhohliwe.

AM: (32:18) Okay…Ubalule umfundisi Nkosi kwakuwuyena…kwakuwuyena mfundisi ngaleso sikhathi?

PS: (32:23) Ngaleso sikhathi mina ngikhula.

AM: (32:25) Wayenza muphi…njengomfundisi ngesikhathi kwenzeka udlame wa…kwakuyiyiphi indima yakhe? Wayenzani mhlawumbe?

PS: (32:34) Umfundisi Nkosi ngeiskhathi kuwudlame wayengcwaba noma ubani akekho umuntu ayengamngcwabi kangangoba kwaze kwahlanganwa ngaye abantu bathi ene shuthi umfundisi Nkosi uyiANC uyabona ngoba awukho umngcwabo ayengawuhambi wayehambela yonke imingcwabo nomngcwabo womuntu obulawe ngodlame wayewuhambela umfundisi Nkosi.

AM: (33:02) Kwakubuluwa…kwa..ngesikhathi shuthi abantu babebulawa kanjani…babegwazwa, badutshulwe noma?

PS: (33:08) Ehhe…kwesinye isikhathi babegwazwa, badutshulwe, uyabona nje…

AM: Ikhona mhlawumbe izihlobo enisake…ezabulawa ngodlame?

PS: (33:18) Mhm…hhayi mina ezami cha hha ezami cha.

AM: (33:24) Omakhelwane?

PS: Omakhelwane kwakuwubhuti wakaMsomi…umuzi wangapha eMpolweni Enkulu kaMsomi owabulawelwa eMseni.

AM: (33:26) Ebulawa…ebulawelani?

PS: Ukuthi phela owangala [eMpolweni Enkulu] njengoba kade ngichazile ukuthi ene umuntu wangala wayengafunwa ngale kwezinye izigodi.

AM: (33:47) EMseni bona babeyi…uKhongolose?

PS: (33:49) Mhm (agreeing) Babezibiza kanjalo.

AM: (33:52) Bezibiza ukuthi uKhongolose?

PS: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (33:53 INkosi yona yayiyini?

PS: INkosi nayo futhi yayikade ifakwa lapho kuthiwa iNkosi iyiNkatha.

AM: (34:01) Ngobani?

PS: Ngoba phela iNkosi yayikade iclose kakhulu noGogo wami ingathi nayo yayikade ijoyinile vele iyiNkatha.

AM: (34:09) Hho kwakusolakala ukuthi iyiNkatha iNkosi?

PS: Mhm (concurring).

AM: (34:11) Yasiyi…yayiphatheke kanjani mhlawumbe emphakathini?

PS: (34:16) Hhayi yayingathandwa nje beyidelela kangangoba yake yabhonywa nokubhonywa umuzi wayo kodwa-ke yangalimala.

AM: (34:25) Obani ababesolakala ngokubhomba?

PS: Hheyi engabe nginamanga….angazi…

AM: (34:31) Okay…so emva kwamfundisi uNkosi imuphi umfundisi owangena ebandleni?

PS: (34:37) Mhm… Kwafika abafundisi abaningi ababesabambile engakatholakali umfundisi. Kwafika umfundisi Maphosa, kwafika umfundisi…konje kwakuwumfundisi ubani? Kwafika nje abafundisi abaningi ababebambile Ayanda bethunyelwe iPresbytery…omfundisi Sokhela, babefika nje…

AM: (35:04) Yena eyenza ukuthi umfundisi uNkosi ahambe?

PS: (35:07) Wayesephelelwe yisikhathi.

AM: Sasiphelile isikhathi?

PS: (35:09) Isikhathi, yes. Kwakufanele ukuthi ahambe aye…ayoserva elinye ibandla. Emva kwalokho umfundisi owaba permanent emva kwaNkosi kwaba umfundisi Kheswa.

AM: (35:23) UKheswa mhlawumbe wafika nini? Asithi ngayiphi iminyaka?

PS: (35:26) Mhm (sighing) I'm not sure ngeminyaka angisakhumbuli…(pause)

AM: (35:35) Okay…so ngalezikhathi lezi nisakhula kwakunebandla elilodwa lapho eMpolweni?

PS: Yebo, lalilodwa ibandla eMpolweni. Kwakuyiyona iUniting Presbyterian Church.

AM: (35:44) Wonke umuntu wayesonta khona?

PS: (35:44) Yebo.

AM: (35:46) Kwakuphoqelekile noma kwakuwumthetho nje?

PS: Ngicabanga ukuthi kwakuwumthetho.

AM: (35:52) Awekho amanye amabandla mhlawumbe aqalwa ngalezo zikhathi?

PS: Mhm (disagreeing) Amabandla aqalwe nje manje.

AM: (36:02) Mawuthi manje mhlawumbe…

PS: (36:02) Mhlawumbe ngezikhathi zamalate 1990s sekufike abantu, sekushone naye uChief, sekufike abantu. Ibandla lokuqala nje esaqala nje ukulibona mangingaphosisi engathi elaseWeseli elafika nabantu bakaMajola kodwa nabo bafike bangena ePres emva kwalokho…oh eh eh eh ngicabanga ukuthi elakaMajola kwase kweyelesibili iWeseli. Kwafika elinye labazalwane ababesindisiwe okwakuyiFaith Mission elalizibiza ngokuthi iGaraji. Becangcatha abantu mabesho. La lafika-ke hhayi-ke lafika

nensindiso bakhuluma ukusindiswa kangangoba nje wawubona nje ukuthi kunomdonsiswano phakathi kwePres nalelo sonto.

AM: (36:51) IPres…lo mdonsiswano wawusukelaphi?

PS: (36:56) Angiwazi ukuthi wawusukelaphi kodwa nje kwakukubi ubona ukuthi noma kuwumngcwabo mhlawumbe ubona ukuthi kunalokho kugxekana nje ukuthi uma kuwukuthi ene kushone umuntu wangapha ePres, iPres ingafuni ukunika i…ilo…laba abazibiza ngokuthi bayi..abaseGaraji abasindisiwe ithuba nabo abaseGaraji bengafuni mhlawumbe uma kuyibona abaphethe loyo mngcwabo bengafuni ukunika iPres kanjalo nje. Kodwa-ke ihambe kwahamba kwagcina isilungisiwe leyo nto sekwamukelwa wonke amabandla manje akhona la eMpolweni.

AM: (37:32) IGaraji yini? Lisuselwaphi lelo gama?

PS: (37:33) Kwakuthiwa yiFaith…IGaraji yiFaith Mission kahle kahle kodwa bazibiza ngokuthi iGaraji ngoba lafika lazo lazo lathi lifika nensindiso ezocangcatha yonke into…

AM: (37:47) Hho lenze umfanekiso wezimoto? Ukucangcatha?

PS: (37:48) Mhm (concurring)

AM: Hho, okay… Uhm… ubalule abantu bokufika ngesikhathi befika kwakuba namabandla amashe mhlawumbe. PS: mhm (concurring). Ngesikhathi zobandlululo…zodlame-ke lwezepolitiki o1960, 1970, ngabe phakathi kwayo i-IFP (iNkatha) neUDF ngabe bakhona abantu ababesuka kwezinye izindawo befudukela eMpolweni?

PS: (38:17) Mhm (sigh) Lapho-ke mawukhuluma ngo1960 no1970, hhayi mntaka Ma angazi…anginalo ulwazi…mhm…

AM: (38:25) Kodwa bakhona abantu mhlawumbe owaziyo ukuthi kunemindeni engadabuki…engazalelwanga eMpolweni eyasuka iza eMpolweni ngenxa yokuthi ibalekela udlame?

PS: (38:83) Yebo njengoba kade ngisho ngithi mina ba…bakhona engibaziyo impela abafika emva kokuba sesilibonile isonto okuthiwa yiGaraji kwafika nabanye umdeni wakaMajola wakubo kaMbuze, wafika futhi waphaphamisa iMpolweni ngoba phela kwase kuphele konke amakhwaya yonke into, wafika namakhwaya umndeni wakaMajola wacula, wafaka abantu baseMpolweni wasibuyisela kuleya Mpolweni endala esasiyazi. Kwaba nomculo, wavusa imiculo, kwaculwa, kwavuswa ihlahla, into eyayingasekho eMpolweni.

AM: (39:09) Ihlahla yini?

PS: (39:11) Ihlahla ilapho kuthi uma…ngeChristmas…after Christmas lolo suku langomhlaka 26 kuhanjwe kuyohlanganwa kudlalwe imidlalo, kuphiwane amapresent, kuculwe kanjalo nje.

AM: (39:25) Babevelaphi abantu base…eh…

PS: BakaMajola?

AM: (39:28) BakaMajola?

PS: (39:28) Babevela eMkhambathini.

AM: (39:30) IMkhambathini mhlawumbe idume ngani? Wazini ngeMkhambathini?

PS: IMkhambathini idume ngalo udlame.

AM: (39:36) Ngalo udlame?

PS: (39:36) Mhm (concurring).

AM: (39:38) Babefa abantu?

PS: (39:39) Babefa abantu (concurring).

AM: Babe…Mhlawumbe bona abantu bakaMajola babebalekela lona udlame?

PS: (39:43) Ngicabanga kanjalo ngoba bafika ngazo impela izikhathi zodlame.

AM: (39:49) Izikhathi zodlame kwakuyiyiphi yona iminyaka mawukhumbula?

PS: (39:52) Eyi angisayikhumbuli kahle Ayanda iminyaka…o90…90 lapho…

AM: (39:57) 1990?

PS: (39:58) Mhm (concurring) mangingaphosisi. O89/90…

AM: (40:01) Iyiphi imindeni eyafika neGaraji?

PS: (40:06) Imindeni eyafika neGaraji umama wakaNdlovu eMvundlweni okwakuthiwa uVirginia uyena owafika…kwangena abakoMncube, Mncube e…ngapha koJig Shoba…la okuthiwa ikoJig Shoba khona.

AM: (40:21) Mhm…loyo mama loyo wayevelaphi?

PS: (40:23) Angimazi ukuthi wayevelaphi.

AM: (40:26) Wayezalelwe eMpolweni noma wayefika?

PS: (40:27) Angazi, anginalwazi, kodwa usehlala eMpolweni.

AM: Okay…Ekushoneni…UChief washona nini?

PS: (40:36) Eyi angisakhumbuli Ayanda iminyaka…

AM: (40:40) Yabakhona enye iNkosi ngesikhathi eseshonile?

PS: (Interjecting) No ayibange isabakhona.

AM: (40:45) Ayizange isabakhona?

PS: Mhm (concurring) Kwabe sekuqhubeka-ke kuqhubeka ikhansela-ke.

AM: (40:50) Hho kwase…lokho kwahlangana nokungena kwekhansela – ukushona kukaChief?

PS: (40:53) Ehhe ngicabanga ukuthi mhlawumbe ukuthi yenye eyenza ukuthi kwangabe kusanakwa kakhulu indaba yeNkosi kwabe sekuqhubeka-ke le nto-ke ye lezi zinto zokuvota kanjalo nje kanjalo.

AM: (41:03) Hho kwasekungene intandoyeningi…yokhetho…

PS: (41:05) (interjecting) Mhm (concurring)

AM: (41:06) Kwakuwuba ikhansela lokuqala?

PS: (41:08) Kwaba uMoses Jabulani Mkhize.

AM: (41:12) Loyo Moses loyo uyena lo owaye owaye owayevela kulo mndeni wakaMkhize owawudume ngokuba yiwo uKhongolose?

PS: (41:20) Yebo.

AM: (41:21) Okay… sibenjani-ke isimo eMpolweni sekungena ikhansela nentandoyeningi kubo khona ushintsho mhlawumbe olubekhona?

PS: (41:30) Phela emva kokuvotwa kwafika ugesi kwabakhona ugesi…sakwazi-ke nokuthola namanzi…mhm…

AM: (41:41) Ubudlelwano bekhansela nomfundisi babunjani?

PS: (41:46) Mhm….(pause)…really angazi ngizosho njalo ngizothi angazi kahle but nje ngathi kwakuba kwakunaleyo tension…mhm.

AM: (42:00) Yani? Idalwa yini itension?

PS: Mhlawumbe phela kuyiyona babe…angazi ngingathini kodwa nje wawubona nje ukuthi sengathi kunetension phakathi noma wawungeke usho ukuthi eyani…

AM: (42:17) Okay…indaba yeziza…ngoba ngokwazi kwami ibandla yilona eli eline elinetayitela le ndawo yaseMpolweni…Iziza zisebenza kanjani-ke? Indaba yeziza isebenza kanjani eMpolweni?

PS: (42:31) Ayi mina indaba yaseMpolweni neziza (yawning) kwamina angisayi-understand ngoba sekunamakomidi amaningi ekuthiwa amakomidi okuthiwa amakomidi lawa yiwo adayisa iziza nabanye abantu bayazidayisela iziza. Umangale ukuthi ene ungadayisa kanjani isiza ekubeni iMpolweni akusondawo yamuntu manje?

AM: (42:50) Mawuthi akusiyo indawo yamuntu uchaze ukuthini?

PS: (42:53) Ngichaze ukuthi akekho umuntu oyi-ownayo, akunaNkosi la ekuthiwa ene akuhanjwe kuyokhulekwa eNkosini…kufunwe iziza.

AM: (43:03) Kudala kwakwenziwanjalo?

PS: Kwakwenziwa njalo wawufike uthi mawufika ufuna isiza uhambe uye enduneni, induna ikuthathe ikuyise enkosini, inkosi ikutshele ukuthi fika neremove yala okade usonta khona bese iyakutshela iNkosi ukuthi-ke usuzosonta ePres-ke manje ngoba wena usukhethe ukuza eMpolweni, emission yePres.

AM: (43:23) Hho mase uze eMpolweni ukuze uthole indawo kumele uvume ukuthi uzosonta ePres? Ngoba indawo kwaku eyesonto?

PS: (43:32) Yes…

AM: (43:33) Lama komidi amaningi uthe sekudayiswa iziza, kudala kusho ukuthi iziza zazingadayiswa?

PS: (43:38) Zazingadayiswa iziza wawukhipha nje leyo mali uyihambise enkosini njengoba kade ngisho ukuthi bekurentwa, urenta nje futhi lokho ukuthi kuyikona mhlawumbe kwakwenzelwa ukuthi kuthengwe ucingo, ucingo lokuthi kubiyelwe izinkomo emaplazini. Zingangeni emaplazini lawa abelungu azo zidle umoba.

AM: (44:00) Okay so umkhulu wakho naye ngesikhathi eseyinduna shuthi wayenza lowo msebenzi wokuthi ayise abantu?

PS: (44:060 Agade futhi umkhulu futhi ukuthi makusha imililo kusebusika umlilo aweqeli yini ngale eplazini lomlungu kuze kushe umoba.

AM: (44:17) Yiziphi izigo ezazikhona kudala? Ezazikhona?

PS: Kwakukhona uMkhangala lokhu osekubizwa ngokuthi iMpolweni Enkulu, uMkhangala noGudludonga, kube khona uJig Shoba mawusuka e…uJig Shoba uhlukanise uMkhangala noMvundlwa, kube khona uMvundlwa , kube khona uMhlanga, kube khona iZitholeni, kube khona uMseni , kube khona aMantshali, kube khona uGcongco koGcwabaza, kube khona uVundla Road ngale ngasemfuleni.

AM: (45:07) EMhlangeni?

PS: (45:08) UMhlanga bese ngiwubalile. Kodwa manje sekukhona oKwenzokuhle, oLindokuhle, oNew Town, oKhalathini, oMseni, oZitholeni, ezinye izigodi azikavaleki.

AM: (45:29) EKwenzokuhle yilaphi?

PS: EKwenzokuhle yila okuthiwa iseKhalathini khona.

AM: (45:34) ELindokuhle?

PS: (45:35) ELindokuhle shuthi yila eMpolweni Enkulu la esekuthiwa iseMpolweni Enkulu la okuhlanganisa uGudludonga noMkhangala.

AM: (45:43) Oh iseLindokuhle lapho?

PS: (45:44) Mhm (agreeing).

AM: KaMahlaba la esenihlala khona manje ilaphi?

PS: (45:47) IseLindokuhle.

AM: IseLindokuhle. Ngabe zonke lezigodi zidalwa yini ukuthi kube nezigodi eziningi kangaka? Yini imbangela?

PS: (45:56) Mina ngicabanga ukuthi phela isonto lona lalenzela kona ukuthi likwazi ukuhlukanisa. Imission – nemission babenzela kona ukuthi bakwazi ukuhlukanisa.

AM: (46:09) Kahle kahle…ikomidi leli…uthe sekunabantu abadayisayo iziza ngabe umthelela wokudayisa iziza yini?

PS: (49:19) Uchaze ukuthini mawuthi umthelela?

AM: (46:20) Kukhona…ikuphi okubi, ikuphi okuhle?

PS: (46:34) Kubi phela ukuthi ungadayisa isiza..udayise indawo yaseMpolweni kade ingadayiswa isiyadayiswa mase idayisile imali iyakubani? Ubani oyithengayo? Uyenzani yena loyo muntu imali? (Tone very critical of sellers here) Kube kuyindawo yethu sonke iMpolweni.

AM: (46:41) Okay…amathuna engamelwe uban: umphakathi noma umasipala?

PS: (46:47) Mhm…bathi lawa aseMhlangeni ngokuzwa kwami bathi awamasipala…kodwa lawa uNomgqobhela-ke kusho ukuthi kusawo mphakathi.

AM: (46:57) Yin indaba kuthiwa ikaNomgqobhela?

PS: Waqanjwa u…kuthiwa waqanjwa abantu bakhona la eMpolweni…amakhehla amadala…

AM: (47:08) Kuchaze ukuthini uNomgqobhela?

PS: (47:10) Eyi angazi.

AM: (47:14) Kuye kube namatruck angenayo naphumayo, asuke ethweleni lawo matruck?

PS: (47:20) Asuke ethwele isihlabathi.

AM: (47:21) Isihlabathi esaba? Ubani owengamele isihlabathi ngokomthetho?

PS: Ngokomthetho isihlabathi kufanele ngokucabanga kwami ngicabanga ukuthi isihlabathi mina kufanele masithengwa sithengwe kube mhlawumbe sithengwa ekomidini elo komidi okuyilona elizokwazi ukuthi lenze impucuko eMpolweni leyo mali leyo yezihlabathi.

AM: (47:47) Impucuko mhlawumbe ingabanjani?

PS: Ukuphucuka…kuphucuzeke nje iMpolweni mhlawumbe kwenziwe ama-internet cafes aseMpolweni, kwenzelwe iyouth – iyouth eningi ayisebenzi kuvulwe nje amathuba emisebenzi ngaleyo mali yezihlabathi. Kunabantu abaswele lana kwenziwe amasoup kitchen, kubantu abaswele mhlawumbe kuthengwe amauniform alemindeni eswele, ngaleyo mali yezihlabathi kodwa akwazeki ukuthi kahle kahle owabani…akhokhelwa kubani?

AM: (48:20) Akwaziwa?

PS: (48:21) Ehhe…

AM: So kunobubha obuningi?

PS: (48:24) Mhm…buningi ububha.

AM: (48:27) Ngabe ikhansela nomasipala benzani endaweni? Badlala yiphi yona indima? Iliphi iqhaza abalidlalayo?

PS: (48:35) Ikhansela phela leli elikhona njengamanje lisa…likhala ngokuthi lona lisafika alikanikwa ibudget. Malisho. Lithi lisasebenzisa ibudget endala sizobona-ke ngoApril-ke mase sekuthulwa-ke isabelozimali-ke. Mhlawumbe-ke ila lizobe-ke lisitshengisa khona-ke.

AM: (49:00) Selokhu lelikhansela lithathe izintambo…lizithathe kubani?

PS: (49:03) Lithathe kuMoses.

AM: (49:05) Ubesephathe isikhathi esingakanani?

PS: (49:08) Ayi ngicabanga ukuthi uphelile u20 years or 15 ngoba wake waphatha uMoses mhla kuqalwa nje ukukhethwa amakhansela wabayikhansela wahamba kwahamba waphatha ngicabanga ukuthi mhlawumbe waphatha ten years waphinda futhi kwaba uThisha uHadebe ikhansela yena ngesikhathi eseyiMeya yena uMoses yaseMshwathi waphinda futhi kwashintsha-ke wabuyela ebukhanseleni lokho lokho njengoba eseze wathatha manje uMrs Dube.

AM: (49:40) Ube…ngesikhathi kusaphethe uMoses kubekhona ushintsho olwenzekile?

PS: (49:45) Hhayi…alubonakalanga kakhulu ushintsho…

AM: (49:52) Nga…ungananaza mhlawumbe…ukuthi alubonakalanga?

PS: ((49:57) Alubonakalanga kakhulu ushintsho abantu vele babenjalo…kwakuya ngokuthi uwubani…kwakukhethwa abantu…kwakukhethwana ngabangani…kusebenza abantu ababodwa kube yibona abasebenzayo. Abanye abantu uthole ukuthi bayahlupheka noma kufike mhlawumbe belethe amafood parcels njalo kuzothola abantu ababodwa abanye abantu bangatholi okuyibona futhi mhlawumbe othola ukuthi bahlupheke ngempela. Mhm.

AM: (50:24) UMoses-ke waziphumela yena esikhundleni noma mhlawumbe kukhona okwenzeka ukuthi aphume esikhundleni?

PS: (50:30) Bamkhipha abantu baseMpolweni. IMpolweni yonke yahlangana yamkhipha.

AM: (50:34) Bemkhiphelani?

PS: (50:34) Yathi sekwanele akubonakali ukuthi wenzani. Seside isikhathi akade esiphethe.

AM: (50:40) Ukube akakhishwanga mhlawumbe ngabe usaphethe?

PS: (50:43) Ngiyacabanga.

AM: (50:46) Hho uthe mase ekhishiwe esikhundleni kwase kwangena lona ikhansela elisha?

PS: (50:49) Yebo.

AM: (50:50) Ikhansela elisha engabe ihlukile indlela elenza ngayo izinto kunoMoses?

PS: (50:56) Mhm njengomuntu ongahlali la eMpolweni, ayi anginalwazi kakhulu ngalo…mhm…

AM: (51:03) Okay…assize kwikomidi nebandla: mhlawumbe ikomidi leli ungathi liyahluleka ekunqandeni ukwanda kwabantu abadayisa iziza?

PS: (51:20) (exasperatedly) Hheyi ngizocabanga…ngizosho kanjalo impela…

AM: (51:24) Ngoba?

PS: (51:25) Ngoba abantu bayqahubeka nje baya…baba neziza…ngokwazi kwami kade ngezwa kuthiwa ene kubekwe iziza zokuthi amadodakazi aseMpolweni mayefuna ukubuya kunendawo yawo kanjalo namadodana aseMpolweni mayefuna ukubuya…kodwa manje akusekho lokho sekwakhiwe ayisekho indawo eMpolweni iphelile. Kangangoba abantu sebefuna ukungena nasezindaweni zamathuna bangacabangi ukuthi amathuna phela nawo afuneka ukuthi ashiyelwe indawo yawo njengoba sanda nje la eMpolweni.

AM: (51:55) Amadodana – obani amadodana namadodakazi?

PS: (51:59) Abokuzalwa la eMpolweni.

AM: (52:02) Bayaphi pho njengoba sebefuna ukubuya nje? Babeyephi?

PS: (52:04) Mhlawumbe bahamba bahamba phela sebefuna ukubuya.

AM: (52:10) Oba abayingxenye yaleli komidi?

PS: (52:14) Hhayi angazi.

AM:…Lase sontweni awazi ukuthi oba?

PS: (52:16) Angazi.

AM: (52:19) Okay…isimo sentuthuko ngabe sinjani eMpolweni?

PS: (52:26) Ayi mina angikakayiboni nje kahle intuthuko…

AM: (52:32) Ucabanga ukuthi abantu bokufika ibona aba…abenza ukuthi intuthuko mhlawumbe kube nobugebengu, kungabe kusabanamthetho eMpolweni?

PS: (52:44) Yebo kungasacontrolleki.

AM: (52:46) Yin indaba usho njalo?

PS: (52:47) Hhayi ngoba kade kungenzeki lokhu…

AM: (52:53) Ngicela unezezele…

PS: (52:59) Bekwaziwa nje ukuthi ene mangabe isigebengu sigangile lapho saleyo ndawo eMpolweni besikwazi ukunqanda mhlawumbe sithathwe kubizwe amaphoyisa siyoboshwa manje awusakwazi njengoba sekungene nanewunga (yawns), amadrugs, yiwona asewande kakhulu la eMpolweni…

AM: (53:17) Lokho…usholo ukuthi zonke lezi zihlava ziza nabantu bangaphandle?

PS: (53:22) Not…angisho ukuthi kukanjalo nabo abala eMpolweni banawo lowo mthelela…

AM: (53:31) Kanjani?

PS: (53:32) Nabo phela kusho ukuthi sebefundile ngamadrugs, sebeyazi ngamdrugs, futhi akuse…abasecontrollwa ngalutho kanti kuqala wawazi ukuthi mangabe umntwana egangile wayehamba athathwe ayiswe ekomidini, ikomidi likwazi ukudealer naye makubonakala ukuthi liyahluleka liyiswe kaChief, uChief akwazi ukukhuluma. Makubonakala ukuthi kuyahluleka lapho ila sekuzongena khona amaphoyisa-ke.

AM: (53:57) Hho shuthi kwakunezinhlaka ezazikwazi ukuthi zibhekane nazo zonke izinto emphakathini ngaphambi kokuthi amaphoyisa angenelele?

PS: Yes (agreeing).

AM: (54:04) Usholo ukuthi ukushona kweNkosi nokuthi kungabikhona kwenye iNkosi ikona okwenze ukuthi izinto zibe nje eMpolweni?

PS: Cha, kwase kuvele kuqalile nje iNkosi babevele bengasayihloniphi.

AM: (54:20) Ngenxa yokuthi yayisolwa ngokuthi ibandakanyeka ekubeni yilunga leNkatha?

PS: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (54:28) Okay…Mhlawumbe kungaba yini izisombululo kulezi zingqinamba iMpolweni ebhekene nayo?

PS: (54:40) Mhm (sigh) Kusafunakala ukuthi ikhansela like lisebenze njengoba njengoba kuqala kwakunamakomidi nje libuyise lawo makomidi isigodi nesigodi esizokwazi ukuthi sihlangane kwenze ikomodi elilodwa kudealwe nabo laba bantu…nakho lokhu kuganga ukugqekezelwa kwabantu nani nani nani lazi leli komidi ukuthi lizokwazi ukusebenzisana nomphakathi lisebenzisane namaphoyisa.

AM: (55:09) Usola ukuthi mhlawumbe…ngokubona kwakho makungangena umasipala izinto zizoshintsha? Isona sisombululo leso?

PS: (55:15) Ayi angiboni mina umasipala…ukungena kukamasipala ngibona sengathi kuzoqala olunye usizi ngoba phela siyobe sesikhokhela amanzi, sikhokhela ugesi, sikhokhela, kuba amarates, sikhokhela nomgodi manje…

AM: (55:28) Akusiyona leyo mpucuzeko eniyifunayo leyo?

PS: (55:31) Hhayi ukukhokhela umgodi? Ukukhokhela amanzi, amarates ebiza kangaka kunemizi esaswele impuphu, imali yokuthenga impuphu, uthole ukuthi kusebenza ugogo, eminye imizi izingane kuphela amachild-headed family?

AM: (55:48) Oh so lokho kuzokwenza isimo sibe sibi?

PS: (55:52) Sibe worse, sibe sibi mina nje angikuphasisi ukungena kukamasipala.

AM: (55:58) Awukuphasisi ukungena kukamasipala?

PS: Angikuphasisi.

AM: (56:00) Okay…mhlawumbe engabe…ngingathini…iNkosi…makungabakhona iNkosi kungaba khona ushintsho?

PS: (56:09) Hhayi angiboni…

AM: (56:13) Yin indaba usho njalo?

PS: Hhayi izikhathi zamakhosi manje Ayanda mina ngibona sengathi zidlulile…

AM: Ngoba?

PS: (56:23) Hhayi…kuright nje kuhleli kanje kunalo ikhansela elizokwazi…mali…as long as lizokwazi ukusebenzela umphakathi lizokwazi ukuthi lanelise abantu…noma phela ngeke baze banele abantu ngendlela okuyiyona kodwa nje malizokwazi ukuthi lihambisane nezidingo zomphakathi.

AM: (56:54) Ngike ngezwa ukuthi ngo2000, mhlawumbe 2005/2006 kwake kwabakhona ukubangisana phakathi kw…umfundisi owayesawumfundisi nekhansela ngendaba yeziza mhlawumbe kukhona okwaziyo ngalokho?

PS: (57:04) Ayi nami ngake ngezwa ukuthi impela baze babophana bayisana enkantolo.

AM: Obani owawina icala?

PS: Sengathi umfundisi?

AM: Ngoba?

PS: Ngoba phela engathi wayevele emile esho ukuthi ene indawo le yindawo yaseMpolweni indawo yemission.

AM: (57:27) So ikhansela le nto elaliyenza yayingavumelekile?

PS: (57:30) Mhm yayingavumelekile.

AM: Lalenzani lona ikhansela?

PS: Lalilwela phela indaba yazo iziza lezo.

AM: (57:40) Ukuthi?

PS: Ukuthi ene babefaka abantu noma ikanjani kodwa umfundisi wayefuna ukuthi kuqhubeke njengoba kwakuvele kwenzeka njengakuqala ukuthi umuntu mayefika ureportwa ekomidini.

AM: (57:54) Ilo…ngo2011 kwabakhona ukhetho loHulumeni basekhaya lolo khetho lolo okwasolakala ukuthi kunezinto ezingahamba kahle ngabe uyazi ngalo.

PS: (58:08) Weh yazi angazi.

AM: Awusakhumbuli?

PS: Angisakhumbuli.

AM: (58:16) Okay…Kukhona ezinye izinto zokugcina…sisalelwe amaminute awutwo ngoba kukhona izinto nje usugoqa ongathanda ukuzisho?

PS: Hhayi…ikona nje ukuthi ngifisa sengathi ingaqhubeka iMpolweni iqhubekele phambili nomlando lo wabanikazi bendawo yaseMpolweni uvele uphumele obala abantu bakoHlubi umlando wabo.

AM: (58:45) Lowo mlando awubhaliwe?

PS: Ngiyacabanga ukuthi ubhaliwe…waziwe nala eMpolweni bawazi abantu bakhona…

AM: (58:53) Bangawazi kanjani mhlawumbe?

PS: Mhlawumbe ukuthi kube nencwadi nje abazoyifunda.

AM: (59:00) Incwadi kuzoba yinto yanini mhlawumbe ukuthi lowo mlando waziwe?

PS: Mhlawumbe nokunye phela…

AM: (59:08) Okunjenganani?

PS: (59:10) Nje okuzokwenza nje ukuthi bazi.

AM: (59:14) Mawuthi bazi usho obani?

PS: (59:15) Abantu baseMpolweni bokufika babazi abantu bakaHlubi babahloniphe.

AM: (59:23) Babahloniphe…Ubona sengathi mhlawumbe ababahloniphi?

PS: Ngibona sengathi ababahloniphi, abanikiwe leso ley onto nje yokuhlonishwa kangangoba ngisho isikole lesi iBathengi…mhm…

AM: (59:45) AbakaMahlaba bona?

PS: (59:47) Nabo abakaMahlaba…

AM: (59:50) Okay…ikhona eminye imibuzo onayo?

PS: (59:53) Cha.

AM: (59:55) Kukhona okokugcina mhlawumbe sesiphetha.

PS: Hhayi ayikho.

AM: (59:59) Ngicela unginike…uyavuma ukuthi le le ngxoxo esibe nayo ibe kwi…uyangi…uyayinikeza iUniversity yaseKapa imvume yokuthi kanjena le ngxoxo le igcinwe kuyona futhi le ngxoxo isetshenziswe ekubhalweni kwalolu cwaningo?

PS: (1:00:21) Yebo.

AM: Uyaphinda futhi uyayinikeza iUniversity yaseKapa imvume…uyanginikeza mina njengomuntu owenza lolu cwaningo imvume yokuthi ngisebenzise igama lakho noma ungathanda ukuthi ufihlwe?

PS: (1:00:35) Ungalisebenzisa.

AM: Lingasetshenziswa igama lakho?

PS: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (1:00:38) Ngicela usho-ke ukuthi mina Phindile Mahlaba ngiyayinikeza…

PS: Mina Phindile Mahlaba Zama ngiyayinikeza imvume yokuthi mina lisebenziswe igama lami kulengxoxo ebesiyixoxa…

AM: (1:00:50) Uphinde futhi unikeze iUniversity yaseKapa…

PS: Ngiphinde nginikize imvume iUniversity yaseKapa iqhubeke nocwaningo…

AM: Nanokuthi iyigcine…

PS: Iyigcine.

AM: (1:01:01) Uhm…uhm…That's it…Ngiyabonga.

PS: Sure.

END END END

Interview with Mamkhulu Ntombenhle Thango, 05 October 2017, Lincoln Meade

Interview Length: 45 minutes 55 seconds

AM: Ayanda Mahlaba

NT: Ntombenhle Thango (Mamkhulu)

AM: (0:01) Okay…mhm (clearing throat) so uyakhumbula ukuthi ngesikhathi ngiku-interviewer ngiseKapa wadalula ukuthi…mhm (clearing throat)…mhm (clearing throat) nakhulela eMpolweni. Kwakuwumuzi omkhulu nje eMpolweni nibaningi…ngabe ukukhula ngaleyondlela kwakunjani? Kwakusiza kanjani ukukhula ngaleyondlela?

NT: (0:25) Kwangisiza… mhm (clearing throat) Ngasizakala kakhulu ekutheni-ke sikhula sibaningi…we were sharing izinto sifundisana nanokunakekela. Kwakunokuhle nokubi on the other side u…ububi obabukhona i-favouritism eyayikhona kakhulukazi kukhulu. Ukhulu wayethanda kakhulu izingane zamadodakazi so enganaso isikhathi. That is why umkhulu ended up esethatha izingane zamadodana yena sekuba ezakhe. Ukhulu eseba responsible ezinganeni zamadodakazi kodwa nje ukukhula sasindawonye sonke si-share izinto, sasazisana as a family ukuthi-ke we are one family though sizalwa abantu abahlukene nokunakekelana nokusebenza ngokubambisana ikona okwaku…okwakukuhle. Ne…nokutshala: sasitshala, siphila ngokudla kwasemasimini sibambisene sonke siye ensimini ekuseni before siye esikoleni sasiqala ngokusebenza kuqala ngaphambi kokuthi sihambe siye esikoleni. Impilo yayi-right nje ngoba sasidla ukudla esasikutshala thina…so okwaku-fresh from the ground.

AM: (1:57) Okay…ngiyabonga…uhm…so udalule ukuthi kanje…nani…nani…nani…nanazisana ukuthi niwumndeni…mhlawumbe nanibizana ngokuthi umzala noma yayingekho le not yokuthi umzala: kwakuwubhuti, usisi noma mhlawumbe yiyikhona?

NT: (2:16) Yayingekho indaba yokuthi umzala: kwakuwobhuti nosisi sasazi ukuthi siyi-family sonke: singabandawonye.

AM: (2:25) (Nodding) Uba owafaka leyo not yokuthi nazisana njengomndeni nanokuthi umzala wami lo?

NT: (2:33) Abazali bethu kodwa mawubheka kusukela from komkhulu noKhulu ngoba sikhula sikhule ne-family yakaKhulu – her brothers akhulele kithi kaMahlaba azange aze abandlululwe ukuthi awakaNdlovu. Sasibathatha as members of the family. Kwa-instillwa kakhulu omkhulu noKhulu ukuthi singabandawonye: we are one. Asibandlululani. Sasi-share even izinto – ongenakho i-uniform mhlawumbe yomunye mayigugile omunye akwazi ukuboleka omunye. Sikhule nje sifundiswe lokho ukuthi-ke singabandawonye ukuthi uzalwa u-Aunty, uzalwa ubani kwakungekho lokho sasiyinto eyodwa nje as a family.

AM: (3:20) So umndeni wakini wawudumile endaweni?

NT: Kwakuwumndeni owawaziwa kakhulu umndeni wakaMahlaba. Enye yezinto eyayenza lokho umkhulu uyinduna…yenkosi…ukhulu wayewumkhokheli ebandleni lasePres so kwakuyi-family impela eyayaziwa kakhulu eMpolweni. Enye into eyayenza lokho kwakwaziwa njenge-family efundile. Abantu babehlonipha…babesihlonipha as a family ngoba-ke kwakubukeka sengathi siwumndeni ongcono kuneminye imindeni. Nokunye okwakukhona amongst obaba

bethu bonke babezwana: beyinto eyodwa kukhona nje lolo thando olwaluvele sikhuliswe ngalo futhi nabo babekhuliswe ngalo noku-supportana umuntu njengoba ngishilo umuntu mayengenayo into wayecela komunye kanjalo nobaba bethu babebanjalo uma kukhona into anganayo ayidingayo wayekwazi nomunye amulekelele ukuze athole ayithole leyo nto ayidingayo.

AM: (4:32) So…udalule indaba ya ilo…yezi…yabakaNdlovu…so uuu…ukhulu wakho wayewuMaNdlovu?

NT: (4:42) MaNdlovu mhm (agreeing).

AM: Wayezalwa…wayezelelwephi mhlawumbe?

NT: (4:45) Babezalelwe eNyoluka…eNyoluka ila ababevela khona ngicabanga ukuthi uBab Nkosi ukhulumile ngeYork…iYork la ababevela khona lapho kuzalelwe khona umndeni wakaMahlaba owawudabuke khona ngale ngapha. Kwakubizwa ngendawo okuthiwa iseMahlathini la ababevela khona. Ingakho uthola ukuthi kunobudlelwano obukhona phakathi kwaMahlaba nabakwaNkosi ngenxa yokuthi la bevela khona babevela endaweni eyodwa.

AM: (5:16)…endaweni eyodwa (emphasizing). Okay…uKhulu wayewumkhokheli wani?

NT: (5:21) Webandla lasePresbyterian Church.

AM: (5:24) Ekhokhela obani?

NT: (5:26) Ekhokhela omama. Ewumkhokheli womama benkonzo yasePresbyterian Church. Wayengagcini lapho wayephekela iconference kwakuba namaconferences and conventions ayebaseMpolweni so wayaziwa nje ngokupheka: wayepheka. Wayewomunye womama…kwakunomama abawu-2 ababepheka: kwakuba uKhulu

nomunye ugogo wakaSithole. Yibona okwakwaziwa ukuthi bayapheka mangabe kunemihlangano nje yebandla, isession ebandleni kwakuyibona ababepheka njengoba ubona noMamncane [my grandmother] usuka khona lapho ukuthi kwakwaziwa ukuthi ikaMahlaba. KaMahlaba kwakwaziwa…njengoba ngishilo kwakungathi umuzi owawungcono. Kangangoba abafundisi mangabe befika makunezinkonzo, abafundisi indawo yokulala babeke bafunelwe lapha kaMahlaba nomfundisi osuke ezobamba njena ibandla mhlawumbe umfundisi mayekade engasekho kunomfundisi okufanele athi take over anagazi babembiza ngani…ngizothini? UReverend like uBab Xaba – wayefike ahlale lapha ekhaya enzelwe izinto ekhaya ngenxa yokuthi uKhulu wayekade enesikhundla enkonzweni. NoMkhulu naye wayeyilunga: wayeyinduna yeNkosi aphinde futhi abe yilunga esontweni so as an elder ebandleni kwakuyiposition eyayi-high elontweni yabesilisa ngoba wayengagcini nje ngokuba ubudodana kwakhe wayeyi-Elder – one of the Elders ezazibalulekile ebandleni ezazisupporta ezazi-supporta umfundisi ngayo yonke indlela nangenqubo yebandla ukuthi ihamba kanjani.

AM: (7:18) Okay… and then…ngesikhathi uKhulu ewumkhokheli kwakuwubani iNkosi ngaleso sikhathi? I mean sorry iNkosi kanye nomfundisi – kwakuwubani?

NT: (7:29) INkosi kwakuwuMngadi kwakungayena uJonathan sengikhohliwe – ngicabanga ukuthi uBaba uNkosi ukutshelile ukuthi ubani? AM interjecting – uJerry?

NT: Yes, kwakuwu-Jerry. Umfundisi kwakuwumfundisi – ihistory yaleliya bandla ngiyakhumbula ukuthi kwakuwumfundisi – kwafike kwabakhona umfundisi uZwane, kwabakhona umfundisi Nzimande, kwabakhona umfundisi Mutwa so

uKhulu wayekade ewumkhokheli-ke ngalezo zikhathi kusuka kudala nje ngesikhathi eside ewumkhokheli kwaze kwaba-ke kufika umfundisi Nkosi.

AM: (8:05) Mhm…ubudlelwano ba…ba…baKhulu noMaHlubi babunjani?

NT: (8:13) Ubudlelwano babo..kwaku…ngizothi kwakuwubudlelwano obabubuhle wayewuyenamakoti owayehleli ekhaya. E…ebalekelela enza yonke into and umsebenzi wasekhaya uyena owayebanakekela ebabhekile ngoba kwakuwuyenamakoti owayekhona abanye babengekho like uMa wayekade esebenza engahlali ekhaya ebuya mangabe kwamaholidi so-ke uMamncane – uMaHlubi uyena owayebabhekelela nje kukona konke izidingo zabo ehlangabezana nazo.

AM: (8:48) Mhm..so uMamncane wathi uzalwa wayesevele ekhona?

NT: (8:53) Mhm (agreeing) UMamncane wafika sengikhona, sengikhona, ngiyakhumbula nje futhi ngesikhathi ayeshada ngaso ngangikhona siseyizingane siya emshadweni wabo.

AM: (9:05) Bashedalaphi?

NT: Bashadela le kaMfundisi. Sasuka ekhaya saya ngezinyawo. Ekhaya kaMfundisi kwakune-vestry eyayikhona eminye imishado eyayenzelwa khona owabo waba khona lapha kaMfundisi.

AM: (9:19) Usamkhumbula u uBabncane wakho?

NT: Kakhulu ngisamkhumbula.

AM: (9:24) Wayewumuntu onjani?

NT: Wayewumuntu owayengeve elungile, wayenenhliziyo enhle enothando…enakekela. Wayewazisa futhi umndeni wakhe.

AM: (9:33) So oBabncane benu o…o…oAunty benu kwaku…babababazali kunina – ungasho njalo?

NT: Ya ngizosho njalo babababazali ku…kuthina noma isikhathi esiningi nabo babefika nje ngalezo zikhathi kodwa nje babababazali bonke – bonke babababazali kuthina.

AM: (9:56) Ngabe kukhona okwaziyo ngomlando nje wabantu abamaZulu?

NT: AbamaZulu?

AM: (10:04) Yebo.

NT: (10:07) Uhm…akukho kakhulu engikwaziyo. Engikwaziyo nje ngazi ngomndeni wakaMahlaba ukuthi-ke kunomndeni owakaMahlaba owawuqhamuka ngala koMsinga ababehamba bedayisa izimbuzi baze bafika nalaphana ekhaya kwase kubakhona ubudlelwano phakathi kwabo kubantu bakaMahlaba kwathola ukuthi okhokho babo-ke babezalana. So kwabuye kwathi-ke mabehamba bedayisa izimbuzi besuka le koMsinga behamba ngezinyawo babuye bafike ekhaya kule ndawo la ababefika baphumule khona-ke balale khona bese bezovuka-ke baqhubeke nohamba lwabo bahambe bedayisa imfuyo yabo.

AM: (10:51) Mhm…okay…ngabe ngesikhathi usakhula uKhulu wakho noMkhulu wakho nabazali bakho babenitshela ngomsuka womndeni wakaMahlaba ukuthi thina sidabuka la, yilezi izithakazelo zethu, kube khona ukudluliselwa komlando nisakhula? Naniba nazo lezo zingxoxo?

NT: (11:10) Yes, kodwa-ke ukuthi-ke nganginganakile kakhulu kodwa umlando wawukhona, izithakazelo zazikhona ziziwe zaziwe yiwona wonke umuntu ngoba kwakubakhona isikhathi lapho kwakuhlanganelwa khona as umndeni – uzalo lwabo lwasuka eNew York (Ezinyoluka) luza lapha eMpolweni base beyahlakazeka

iMpolweni yonke njengoba wazi kukhona abakoMvundlweni nabaseZitholeni nabo bawuzalo olulodwa kakhulukazi njengoba uBongani kade echaza ukuthi-ke bavela kuphi la kade bevela khona. Umndeni owodwa okuwuzalo olulodwa nalaba abahamba bayakoSweetwater bakwaMahlaba uzalo.

AM: (11:56) Kwakukhulunywa nje ngomsuka?

NT: (11:57) Yes kwakubuye kukhulunywe ngayo ngoba bekuthi mangabe kunemicimbi bamenywe bonke abantu bakaMahlaba beze bewumndeni othandanayo, osupportanayo uma kukhona into ekuvelele noma ngabe yisifo noma ngabe kuthiwa umshado uma ngabe kuyinto emnandi bayeza bazojabula nani besuka ezindaweni ezihlukene abakhohlwa ukuthi-ke bawuzalo.

AM: (12:24) Mhm…Leyo nto isaqhubeka namanje ukwazisana?

NT: Isaqhubeka namanje ngizosho njalo ngithi isaqhubeka ngoba sisazisana nathi sesikhona laba abasele. Noma kungasekho kakhulukazi kakhulazi nalaba baseMpolweni, sesibona nje njengoba sesila edolobheni ukuthi sesixhumene kakhulu nabala edolobheni. Uthole ukuthi-ke laba baseZitholeni nabakoMvundlweni ikakhulukazi sasihambelana mangabe kuyizifo. Akusafani njengakuqala la esasiseMpolweni ukuthi-ke kwakuhanjelwana sazana ukuthi siwuzalo manje ngokukhula kwezingane kubakhona lokho kuqhelelana abantu sebahamba baya ezindaweni ezihlukene akusekho lokho okwakukhona ekuqaleni. Abantu esesazisana nabo kakhulu nabo ilabo esebesizungezile khona la.

AM (13:11) Mhm…Ikuphatha kanjani leyo nto yokuthi akusafani nakuqala?

NT: (13:15) Akumnandi, akumnandi ikakhulukazi ukubona abantu ekade nikhule nabo ubona sebekuhlehlela njengezingane za-Aunty Sheila esikhule nazo sazana

ukuthi-ke siwumndeni owodwa kodwa sibona sekukhona leyo rift between thina nabo sekuhlehla kakhulu kuthina sekukhona lokho ukuthi bazazi ukuthi bawumndeni akusekho le nto eyayikhona ekuqaleni ukuthi siwumndeni owodwa sonke. Bona sebeyahlehla: izinto zabo sebezenza bodwa uthole ukuthi abasasitsheli, abasasi-involve kulawoma-activities abakhona nakuma-ceremonies ababanawo sebeyakhohlwa yithina.

AM: (13:59) USheila uyini kuwena?

NT: ((14:00) USheila uwudadewabo ka… kaBaba wami bazalana – balamana noBaba wami so uwumalumekazi…uwu-aunty angithi kumina kodwa nje nako into esengike ngiyithole ukuthi uAunty – odadewabo ba… boBaba bethu sebehlehlile sesibona bona kuyibona asebethandana bodwa, sekunokuthi bayasibandlulula. Abasasi-involve ezintweni zabo konke njengoba seba-mover koThekwini usuthola ukuthi bakwenza bodwa nezingane zabo nalezi ezila eMaritzburg baxhumane nazo kuphela ezingane zabo akusekho…Thina izingane zabafowabo sebeyasibandlulula sebesihlehlisile.

AM: (14:50) Mhlawumbe leyo nto iqale nini ukwenzeka?

NT: (14:53) Leyo nto iqale ngo…ngesikhathi behamba eMpolweni – ukusuka kwabo eMpolweni bezokwakha ngala edolobheni. Kwaba-worse-ke sebehamba bonke sebeyoba eThekwini. Bagcina sebazana nje bona baseThekwini sekunalokho ukuthi izinto bazenza bodwa asisebona ingxenye zabo. Bahambe ngonyaka yama-90s – bahamba.

AM: (15:22) Mhm…Okay. Then mese kuthi nina eMpolweni nihambe nini nomndeni wakho?

NT: (15:29) Umndeni wami uhambe eMpolweni ngo1980…though sasivakasha kodwa ukuhamba kwethu nje ukusuka eMpolweni ngabo-70…emva kokushona kukaBaba wami. UBaba wami ushone ngo1975. Ngo76' sase sihamba siyahamba eMpolweni kodwa besazi ukuthi likhona ikhaya njalo mhlawumbe mangabe kwamaholidi size, sivakashe ekhaya noma besingahlali isikhathi eside.

AM: (16:04) So ukushona kwaBaba wakho ikona okwenza ukuthi nahamba?

NT: Ikona okwenza ukuthi kwabakhona izinto eziningi eze…ezenzeka ngaphambi kokushona kwakhe. Ngikhumbula ukuthi uyazi ngendaba yaMaka Mthandeni? AM: (agreeing) So leyo nto yenza ukuthi-ke sigcine engathi-ke akusekho kahle uzwano kahle njengasekuqaleni. Kwabakhona izinxushunxushu eziningi ezagcina sezenza uMa wethu ukuthi akathole indawo wase ethola umuzi eHowick, eMpophomeni. Ngokuthola kwakhe umuzi eMpophomeni sase sisukela-ke ngo76' sesihlala eMpophomeni sezia nje kwaze kwathi-ke ngo85' sabuya seza eEdendale salo ntu…EMpolweni bese siya nje sesivakasha isikhathi esiningi noma kukhona izinto ezivelile besibakhona.

AM: (16:58) Okay ngesikhathi ni…mhm (clears throat). Ngesikhathi nihamba eMpolweni kwa…kwasala bani – obani abasala? Uyakhumbula ukuthi kwasala bani?

NT: (17:06) Ngesikhathi sihamba eMpolweni kwasala uKhulu noMkhulu, kwasala izingane za-Aunt Dova – uAunt Dova uhlala eThekwini naye udadewabo kaBaba oyena omncane – udadewabo kaBaba omncane, kwasala izingane zakhe ayezitholele ngaphandle kwakungekhona emshadweni kwayiziona izingane ezihlala ezisala noKhulu noMkhulu kanye noDesmond – uDesmond uzalwa udadewabo kaBaba

owashona washona uDesmond emncane. Izona zingane ezasala-ke lezo ekhaya. UMamncane wayesehlala emzini wakhe-ke vele yena.

AM: (17:48) Esehlala ezansi?

NT: Esehlala ezansi ehhe.

AM: (17:50) Uyazi…ngesikhathi uMamncane ehlala ezansi nina naningakahambi?

NT: (17:54) UMamncane wahlala ezansi singakahambi – yes: sasingakahambi.

AM: (17:58) Uyazi ukuthi yini eyenza ukuthi ahambe ayohlala ezansi?

NT: (18:02) Anginalwazi kodwa kukhona lokho ayekukhalela…initially uMamncane wayekade efuna ukuhlala…uBabomncane wayemthembise ukuthi bazohamba bayohlala eSobantu ngoba waye…babenokuthi kufanele bephumile ekhaya kube abantu abazohamba bayohlala eSobantu kodwa kwagcina kungasenzekanga. UBabomncane wagcina esethole lesiya siza esisezansi-ke sebehamba-ke bephuma-ke. Ngoba nathi sasinesiza ngenhla kwakufanele lapha esekuyika Mafezwe khona kwakuyisiza sasekhaya kwakufanele si…kwakungathi sizokwakha khona noBaba wayeza wahamba wagcina engakhanga-ke. UBabomcane wahamba-ke yena waya ezansi esenomndeni wakhe.

AM: (18:43) Okay. So ukuba khona…udalule ukuthi kanjena uMa wakho…makukhona mhlawumbe imibuzo sensitive ngicela ungitshele (NT: No, it's fine.) Ukuhamba kwaMa wakho uthe wayengasaphathekile kahle ngesikhathi kushona uBaba wakho: ngabe ucabanga ukuthi yilokho kungaphatheki kahle kwabanomthethela kulezingane zaBaba wakho ayezitholile 'ngaphandle' – ngendlela mhlawumbe enizwana ngayo?

NT: (19:10) Kwaba nawo umthelela – umthelela owaba khona kakhulu wabangwa kakhulu uKhulu wami, uMaNdlovu, okuwuyena owakhombisa noAunty ababanokuthi bathanda kakhulu uMa walezi ngane ezizalwa uBaba wami. Ba…ba-clicka [clique?] kakhulu naye, kwaba izinkulumo ezabakhona ngoMa wami nathi bahlehla nje kakhulu kwadaleka lapho-ke uqhekeko, uqhekeko lwabakhona lapho yagcina indodakazi kaAunty wami omncane uKhanyisile lo oshadele eMthatha, wagcina esehlala khona – esehlala kaMaNyawo – eseyingane kaMaNyawo so kwase oAunty basebevakashela khona. Konke lokhu kwabanomthelela ekutheni isimo singabe sisaba kahle ekhaya. Although aka…angizusho…u…u…ukuzwana kwethu nabo akukho – asikho close kangako nabo kakhulukazi ngenxa yokuthi intombazane le yakhona uPhilile wangena kakhulu ezinganeni zoAunty kwanokuhleba okuningi kwabakhona lokho kwasenza saba distant kubona. Umuntu ingeke ngicishe ngithi siyazwana naye uMthandeni – uyena muntu okwaziyo nanokusiza siyaxhumana kakhulu naye. Intombazane hhayi kwaba nezinto eziningi ezenza ukuthi siqhelelane kakhulu nayo.

AM: (20:49) Kukuphatha kanjani ukuthi akukho khona ukubumbana? [Phone rang in the middle of this conversation] (21:07) NT: Okay. AM: (Recapping) Ukungazwani nalaba?

NT: (21:10) Khona ngokwesiZulu ukukhula kwethu kwakukhona lokho ukuthi-ke uma niyizingane zandawonye niyathandana kodwa ngenxa yezimo kwagcina kungasenzeki lokho kona akuyinto emnandi ukuqhelelana – akuyona into emnandi nanento enhle ngoba phela siyizingane zomuntu oyedwa. Ngicabanga lolo thando kufanele engabe luba khona alukho-ke. Aluzange lube…lusimame kodwa-ke

ngiyathanda uku-blamer nabantu abadala lapha they contributed kulesi simo sibe nje ngoba ukube kwakukhulwe ngendlela yakuqala babosihlanganisa sizoba njengoba sasikade sikhula ekuqaleni kungekho ukuthi uzalwa ubani ubani: sasikhula ndawonye, sidla ukudla okukodwa okuthengwe yinoma wubani lo osuke ethengile kwakungekho ukuthi kuthengwe umzali, umzali wami kushuthi-ke laba abanye abazukudla. Sasifundiswa nje uku-sharer yonke into okugcine lolu thando seliphela ekugcineni lungasabi bikho okuyinto engemnandi kakhulukazi uma ubheka eminye imindeni ubonaengendlela ezwana ngayo ukuba nhlakanhlaka komndeni wethu akubanga yinto enhle emva kokuba behambile abantu abadala isimo kwagcina kuba nje worse kungasekho nje lokho esikhule nakho.

AM: (22:46) Ngabe u…oh izingane zikaBaba wakho lezi zangaphandle zazivakasha kaKhulu?

NT: (22:56) Eh zazivakasha babehlala kaKhulu ikakhulukazi uMthandeni owayehlala kaKhulu: babevakasha uPhilile ngicabanga ukuthi uBaba wami washona mhlawumbe enonyaka nama-months so wayesemncane yena. Zaziye zivakashe esekhona uBaba zaziye zivakashe mhlawumbe ngoba uKhulu wayaziwa kakhulu ngokuchatha izingane ziphile. Ikakhulukazi uMthandeni wayenenkinga yering worm enye into eyayimenza ahlale ekhaya-ke wayesondelele ukuzochathwa.

AM: (23:33) Mhm…ngesikhathi beza nanikhona?

NT: (23:35) Sasikhona. Sasihlala…sasibamukela futhi as izingane zaBaba wethu.

AM: (23:41) UMa wakho wayekhona?

NT: UMa wami isikhathi esiningi wayesebenza ngaleso sikhathi ngoba uMa uhlale kakhulu isikhathi esiningi ehleli ekhaya uze wabuyela ukuyosebenza kuqala

kwakunokuthi-ke uma ngabe uwunkosikazi kufanele uhlale ukhulise izingane. Wawungakwazi… kwakungavumelekile ukuthi umuntu wesifazane athathe i-maternity leave. Uma uke wakhulelwa usemsebenzini wawuxoshwa so isikhathi esiningi-ke noma kungathiwa abantu babefundile babengakwazi ukusebenza ngenxa yokuthi babesazozala izingane kufanele bazikhulise. UMa uze wabuyela emsebenzini ngo1966 esebuyela ngokubona isimo ukuthi isimo sasingekho sihle: ukuze naye akwazi ukuthi aziphilise a-supporte kahle nezingane zakhe. Akukhona ukuthi uBaba wayesesilahlile kodwa isimo – kwakungasafani nasekuqaleni.

AM: (24:38) Mhm…Ngaleso sikhathi leso lezi ezinye izingane zase sezikhona?

NT: Zase sezikhona.

AM: (24:43) Nanimbona isikhathi esingakanani uBaba wakho?

NT: Ayi wayengasavamisile ukufika. Wayengikhonzile-ke mina yena: ngangiye ngikwazi ukuthi ngimvakashele nasemsebenzini eseSwayimane – ewuThish' omkhulu eSwayimane High School. Ekhona-ke uMa woMthandeni. Ngangiye ngivakashe iweekend ngibuye. Isikhathi esiningi wayengasabuyi ekhaya ngoba kwakubuye kuthi noma kwamaholidi – wayeneplazi eHarding – uMa kaMthandeni kwakuvele engawakhona eHarding – wayesehlala khona isikhathi esiningi-ke aye koHarding makuvalwe izikole. Abuye nje ukuza ekhaya. Ngicabanga ukuthi ileyo nto-ke futhi eyenza uMa ukuthi-ke aze afune indawo azohlala khona nezingane zakhe.

AM: (25:30) Mhm…Uma uyobona uBaba wakho wawumbona uMaka Mthandeni?

NT: (25:34) Ngangimbona…ngangibafica…ngangimbona…babehlala naye ecotage yasesikoleni.

AM: (25:41) Ubudlelwano bakho naye babunjani?

NT: Ngangiseyingane, ngangingenandaba, ngangibanabo, kodwa abantu ababebanezindaba othisha bakhona eSwayimane. Babebuye bangithethise bathi-ke ngifunani la ngoba babazana noMa so-ke kwasho ukuthi uBaba wami wayengithanda-ke wayeke angilande-ke kodwa-ke kwagcina kungasajwayele kakhulu nabo ukuthi-ke ngiyekhona.

AM: (26:10) Manje njengoba usumdala ubudlelwano benu bunjani?

NT: Siqhelelene asibonani. Asibonani kodwa mangabe ngimbona ngiyambingelela nje kodwa akukho lokho. Usondelene kakhulu nezingane zoAunty noAunty. Mhm.

AM: (26:27) Mhm…okay..Ubudlelwano bakho nomndeni kaMaHlubi bunjani?

NT: Hhawu bukhulu kakhulu. Ibona bantu engibathatha njengezingane zakithi. Sizwana kakhulu nabo. Kwayena ngikhule ngifunda eMpolweni esebenza ecreche – ephekela izingane – ngangiye ngithi mangiya esikoleni ngiqale khona ecreche afike angenzele ucocoa, isinkwa esinejam nepeanut butter ngidle ngisuthe. So isikhathi esiningi ngikhumbula izinto angenzele zona ngiyingane uMa wami engekho. That she played a role of being a mother to me. Then ikona lokho okungenza ukuthi sibe-close kakhulu naye sengimthatha njengoMa wami njengoba uMa engasekho sekuwuMa wami osesele.

AM: (27:29) UBab'ncane nanivamisile ukumbona?

NT: (27:33) Yes, uBab'ncane wayathi mayefikile njalo mase ehamba waye adlule ekhaya so wayesithatha njenge…ngoba uBaba…abazali bethu babengekho bobabili wayesithatha nje…kwakuyi-responsibility yakhe ukuthi asibheke ngoba wayehlala

edlula njalo ekuseni noma ntambama mayefika wayeqala ekhaya esibuza ukuthi si-right yini. Wayewumuntu owayenothando nje kakhulu.

AM: (28:00) Mhm…UMa wakho noMaHlubi – ubudlelwano babo babunjani?

NT: (28:05) Babazisana kakhulu ngoba babethathana njengodadewabo – babezwana nje kakhulu. Bazisana. Njengomakoti kwakubakhona lokho ukuthi amadodakazi akaMahlaba ayenakho ukubabandlulula ngicabanga ukuthi enye into eyayibahlanganisa kakhulu ukuthi bona babokufika so babethathana nje as sisters.

AM: (28:29) Mhm…kusukela beshadile?

NT: Kusukela beshadile – yes.

AM: (28:31) Bengasahlali ekhaya?

NT: Sesingasahlali ekhaya ngoba bekuthi uma enza izinto ebeke asibize ngoba ngikhumbula ngesiZulu kuthiwa umuntu uma eshone ngengozi kuyavalwa – uBabomncane eseshonile uMamncane evala ingozi wasilanda thina njengezingane zakaMaNdimande seza ukuzovala ingozi. Okwenza oAunty baphatheka kabi kakhulu bathi bona ba-excludiwe kodwa wathi mase echaza wathi phela bona akusebona abakaMahlaba. Ubenza, enzela abantu, ubenza le nto yakaMahlaba.

AM: (29:17) Engabe uyazi ukuthi uMaHlubi yena ubudlelwano bunjani namadodakazi aKatie nezingane zabo?

NT: (29:24) Eh ngi…ngokwazi kwami noma kungaxoxiswana ngiyazi ukuthi-ke kwakungemnandi – babembandlulula naye njengomakoti njengoba babenzile kuMaNdimande. Babeba-accuser nje ngezinto eziningi…nabo babekwazi lokho ukuthi babekwenza njengoba bewomakoti… Bagcina sebebabandlulula uMaNdimande noMaHlubi. Umuntu owayazabe ngcono ilo kaBabomncane,

uMaMbambo ngoba wayehlala naye eThekwini. Abagcina naye sebehlangene ngoMaHlubi, noMaNdimande naye.

AM: UMaMbambo?

NT: Yes.

AM: Namadodakazi?

NT: (30:14) Namadodakazi.

AM: (30:17) So ubudlelwano babungekho?

NT: (30:19) Babungebuhle – babekhohlisana. Kwakunokuhleba okuningi okwakukhona okwakuze kufike ezindlebeni zabo.

AM: (30:29) Oh uMaMbambo njengomakoti naye waye…

NT: (interjecting) Wayesehlangene…Ekuqaleni babebabandlululula bonke bobathathu kodwa kuthe ngokuhlala kwabo eThekwini – amadodakazi onke eThekwini – uMaMbambo bamncamela bagcina sebebandlululula laba bobabili.

AM: (30:52) Ngabe bunjani ubudlelwano bakho nomndeni wakaMaMbambo?

NT: (30:56) Njengamanje sesiyazwana – sesiyazisana emva kokuhamba kwabazali sonke lesi sikhathi besiqhelelene kodwa manje sengibona sesizwana nje kakhulu sesixhumene.

AM: (31:14) Okay…umh…then into ebengifisa ukuyibuza ngabe lokungabikhona kobumbano emndenini ku…ezinganeni zenu akubinawo umthelela?

NT: (31:23) Kunomthelela omkhulu kangangoba izingane zethu azazani. Sinezingane ziningi kodwa azazani kanti thina sasikhule sonke sazana, sithandana, siwumndeni owodwa. Njengamanje izingane zethu azazi izingane lezi ezizalwa amadodakazi obaba laba abanye naboaunty kangangoba kwathina izingane asizazi. Sigcina

ngokwazana nezingane zabo oAunty ukuthi-ke ubani uzalwa uAunty bani kodwa izingane zabo kwathina asizazi. Ukuqhela kwabo kwagcina kusenza singabe sisazana. Ngicabanga ukuthi-ke nama-achievements abakhona emndenini akukho lokhu yakuhalaliselana okwakukhona: sasijabulelana kuyona yonke into siwumndeni owodwa kodwa ukuhlehla kwabo kwagcina sebesidistancer-ke nabo kuthina sagcina singasazwani – singasazi ukuthi kwenzakalani ezimpilweni zabo nabo bengasazi ukuthi kwenzakalani ezimpilweni zethu.

AM: (32:41) Ngabe ngesikhathi senisuka eHowick niya Eyideni [Edendale], kwaku…Iyideni [Edendale] kwakuyindawo enjani?

NT: (32:50) Iyideni kwakuyindawo enokuphucuzeka – isemi, isemi-…kuthiwani isemi-rural or semi-urban? AM: Peri-urban. NT: Yes…Intuthuko eningi ibikhona, ziningi izinto ebezenzeka Eyideni. Ayifani ne…yayingafani neMpophomeni: eMpophomeni kwakuyi…angazi iskomplazi ukuthi yini ngesiNgisi? Kodwa nje kwakuyileyo ndawo lapho okwakwenziwa noma yini, noma ingasiphi isikhathi: like izingane zaziphuza utshwala zincane, kwakuyimpilo nje engeyinhle eyayiphilwa lapha. Eyideni kwaku…abantu bakhona babe-civilized and be more educated – kune-tolerance nje nokwazisana ukuthi-ke abantu baseYideni they used to call themselves 'ononhlemvu' – bona bayazi, bawosiyazi, bangcono kodwa safika samukeleka kahle futhi ukufika kwethu khona. Sayingxenye yabo.

AM: (34:10) I-Edendale akusiyo indawo yamakholwa?

NT: (34:10) Yes, kwakuyindawo yamakholwa, yes kwakuyindawo yamakholwa.

AM: (34:14) Iyiphi imindeni edumile eyayamakholwa Eyideni?

NT: Umndeni uMsimang – kwakuyimindeni eyayaziwa kakhulu eEdendale, oMsimang, oMoleko, oNkolomba – kwakwaziwa ukuthi yindawo yezifundiswa – kwakwabantu ababefundile ababedumile futhi – imindeni eyayidumile eyayaziwa.

AM: (34:33) Mhm…kambe useke…wafunda eMakholwa noma wawufundisa?

NT: (34:48) EMakholwa ngangibasebenzela khona – ngangifundisa khona.

AM: Uyazi ukuthi yin indaba yayibizwa ngokuthi iseMakholwa?

NT: (34:55) Anginayo i-history engako kodwa ngiyazi ukuthi-ke yakhiwa iAmakholwa Tribe kwakuhlangenwe nento eyayibizwa ngokuthi yiAmakholwa Tribe basakha-ke lesiya sikole.

AM: (35:06) Silaphi nendawo?

NT: (35:07) Sise Snathing.

AM: (35:10) So le Snathing kwakuyindawo yaMakholwa?

NT:(35: 14) Yes, iSnathing kwakuyindawo yamakholwa kodwa amakholwa ahlangana ukwakha – kwakuyikakhulukazi abantu bakoEdendale bebona ukuthi izikole zazingeningi endaweni. Kwahlangana no…noNyembezi futhi omunye engikhohlwe ukumbala imindeni eyayaziwa Eyideni.

AM: (35:33) UNyembezi wayedume ngani?

NT: UNyembezi wayekade ewuProfessor, ewumbhali wezincwadi so yeah wayedumile nje aziwa njengoProfessor waseEdendale/.

AM: (35:48) Then ezepolitiki zazinjani Eyideni ngesikhathi nisakhula?

NT: (35:53) Kwakungekho kangako ngoba kwakuyiANC isekhona kodwa kwakunepolitical tolerance ngoba nje ngiyakhumbula ukuthi iNkatha yayike imashe

nje emgwaqeni yaseYideni izo iyofika eWardley Stadium mabenama-meetings kwakungekho ukuthini kwakuye kuphunywe kubukelwe.

AM: So udlame lwalungekho?

NT: (interjecting) (36:17) Lwalungekho udlame. Udlame nje lwaqalwa ukubakhona ngabo1990 – ama90s kwaqala ukuthi-ke kubenakho ukuthi iyiphi le nhlangano.

AM: (36:31) Ngabe umndeni wenu awuzange uze uthinteke ekutheni mhlawumbe uwuyile nhlangano?

NT: (36:39) No, awuzange uthinteke lapho.

AM: (36:42) Nina naningesiwo amalunga ezinhlangano zepolitiki?

NT: Ehhe sasingewona amalunga ezinhlangano zepolitiki kodwa-ke emndenini wasekhaya kwakukhona ukuthi-ke ubuhlobo obukhona phakathi koMntwana waKwaphindangene umkakhe – umka Mntwana waKwaphindangene wayezalwa udadewabo kaKhulu wami uMaNdlovu. Iyona le nto eyayenza ukuthi bayithande-ke iNkatha babenakho ukuyithanda oBaba noKhulu ngenxa yalobu budlelwano obabukhona ngoba kuyahanjelwana…kuyaziswana.

AM: (37:25) Ngaleso sikhathi awuzange…abazange baze bathinteke umndeni – awuzange uthinteke ngesikhathi sobandlululo – kuba nje ne...

NT: Ehhe awuzange uthinteke ngoba nje izinto ngikhumbula ngo75 kushona uBaba wami ukuthi-ke emathuneni kwafundwa itelegram eyayivela kuMntwana waKwaphindangene ebakhalisa. Unkosikazi ngokushona kukaKhulu – unkosikazi woMntwana waKwaphindangene wayekhona emngcwabeni. Kwakungakabi bikho…kwakungakangeni kakhulu ngoba waphakanyiswa nje impela waziwa.

Kwakungakabibikho lokho noma sekukhona kodwa asizange sithinteke njengomndeni thina ukuthi simatanyiswe neIFP. Akubanga njalo.

AM: (38:12) Ubuhlobo nisanabo noMntwana waKwaphindangene nomndeni wakho?

NT: (38:17) Bukhona noma sebuxegaxega ngenxa yokuthi-ke ikakhulukazi abantu abadala abebazisana kakhulu abasekho ngokuthi thina zingane besingazani ngikucabanga ukuthi yileyo nto edala ukuthi-ke kungabe kusabakhona. Ngizwe kuthiwa uAunty Sheila uyafuna ukuthi ayobabona ngaphambi kokuthi ashone. Ngicabanga ukuthi-ke ukwazisana sekuphela lapho kubona oAunty Sheila.

AM: (38:49) Mhm…Ngabe zikhona izindlela mhlawumbe esenizizamile zokuthi nixazulule lokungabikhona kobumbano emndenini?

NT: (39:00) Akusafani manje njengakuqala sekukhona lokho kuxhumana noma kungengakanani ngicabanga ukuthi kodwa abantu abebevele kakhulu kulokho kuxhumana ibona oAunty-ke bethu kodwa sekubakhona lokho ukuthi-ke siyahlangana mangabe kunemicimbi siyabonana kube kuhle akusekho lokhuyakuqhelelana okwabakhona – akusafani.

AM: (39:26) Sekungconywana?

NT: (39:27) Sekungconywana ngoba sike sa-exchanger namanumbers nje siyathintana nakwi-social media siya-commenta mhlawumbe umuntu mayesho into ethile akusafani nje nakuqala.

AM: (39:41) Ngabe eMpolweni usaya?

NT: (39:45) EMpolweni Siyaya kodwa ukuya kwethu eMpolweni sisuke siye kaMaHlubi. Asisavamisile ukuya ekhaya elikhulu ngoba kufana nokuthi akusekho muntu ngoba noMthandeni akahlali khona.

AM: (39:58) Loya…ekhaya elikhulu elaba – umuzi – ngokomthetho umuzi kaba?

NT: (40:04) Umuzi woKhulu noMkhulu – washiywa oKhulu noMkhulu kwagcina kuyisiza sakaMahlaba. Kuthe noma uMthandeni esakha wafuna ukumisa lelo gama lakaMahlaba: isibongo sakaMahlaba.

AM: (40:20) Oh vele leya ndawo kwakuyindawo nje edume ngokuthi ikaMahlaba?

NT: (interjecting) KaMahlaba, yes. Kwakwaziwa nje ukuthi ikaMahlaba.

AM: (40:27) Insimi…mhlawumbe ilo…kwakuyi…zazikhona izihlahla – zikhona izindawo ozikhumbulayo ebaleni la enanidlala khona, enanenza izinto ezithile khona?

NT: Yes, ebaleni kwakukhona ipromegrenate – uyabona lesiya sihlahla – kwakukhona…kwakugcwele izihlahla zamapetshisi – kwakwaziwa ekhaya nje kunezithelo, kunamapetshisi, ama-grapes, kukhona nesinye isihlahla esengisikhohliwe okwakuthina yini, but kwakuwumuzi ogcwele izihlahla, ogcwele izithelo ezazithela ngempela nama-apula futhi ayekhona. Kwakuwumuzi owawaziwa ngengoba ngisho ukuthi uKhulu wayaziwa ngokuchatha izingane so babaziwa ngokuthi izingane zabo mazigula kufanele baziyise kaMahlaba so kwakuwumuzi nje owawaziwa-ke.

AM: (41:17) Izihlahla lezo zazitshwalwe wubani?

NT: Izihlahla sikhule zikhona kunama nomkhiwane: sikhule zikhona izihlahla nje zikhona. Izithelo sikhule zikhona kangangoba nakaMfowabo kusho ukuthi ngicabanga ukuthi-ke mhlawumbe uKhulu wayenesandla ngoba even nakamfowabo omncane lo owayehlala khona laphana ngezansi wayengeve enezithelo kusho ukuthi

nje kwakuwukukhuthala kwabo ukuthi-ke batshale angazi iqiniso ukuthi ubani owayetshalile.

AM: (41:52) Ubhuti waKhulu wakho kwakuwubani igama lakhe – uyamkhumbula?

NT: Kwakuwu Enos – lo owayehlala ekhaya kwakuthiwa uSigonofana wayengenalo igama lesiNgisi, wayebizwa ngoSigonofana. Bese kuthi-ke owayehlala esizeni sakaNdlovu kwakuwuEnos: uyena-ke owayehlala kulowo muzi owawugcwele izithelo futhi.

AM: (42:15) Wawusezansi kaMahlaba?

NT: Wawusezansi…uhm ngakaNyongwane…mawuya ngakoNyongwane wawulapho ngasekuqaleni.

AM: (42:26) Nisanazo izihlobo zabantu bakaNdlovu – nabantu bakaNdlovu?

NT: Zikhona kwakuwuthi asisazisani kangako: zikhona noma sekwabantu abakude nathi ngoba akuzange kusabakhona lokho kuxhumana nokwazisana. Kugcine kakhulu ngoAunty khona omunye nje obekade ehlala la eThekwini ekade kuthiwa uBafana owuzalo lakaKhulu – yakaKhulu usanda ukushona nje kulezi nyanga ezidlulile sezwa nje futhi-ke ukuthi ushonile. Thina asazani – kugcine ngoAunty.

AM: (43:07) Mese kuthi izingane zenu ziyazana: izingane zenu nje – njengamadodana namadodakazi ezingane zaKatie noSimon?

NT: Mhm (disagreeing). Akusekho ukwazana sesazana sisodwa: abakwaMaNdimande nabakwaMaHlubi. Ngale koAunty sigcina ngokwazi izingane zoAunty, izingane zethu azazi izingane zikaAunty, izingane zika…izingane zoAunty ngenxa yokuqhelelana [noqhekeko] okwabakhona. Izingane zethu zikhule nje zinga…azazi lutho.

AM: (43:50) Kukhona mhlawumbe njengomndeni enikuzamayo ukuthi nikulungise lokho?

NT: Sike sakuxoxa kodwa manje ngibona engathi uqhekeko libakhona kakhulu kade uNokuthula ozalwa uAunty Sheila esasondele sasikade sikhulume naye ukuthi kuyadinga as umndeni mhlawumbe sasi-identify iAlbert Falls ukuthi mhlawumbe kuyadinga ukuthi-ke sike si-invite-ne siye eAlbert Falls noma siye eMpolweni ekhaya elikhulu sihlangane izingane zazisane. Emva kwalokho uthe mayehlehla-ke kwaphelela lapho akusekho ukuthi eh noma sike sazama ukuvula la kwisocial media kuWhatsApp wokuthi isizukulwane samaNdlovu. Nawo ngibona usufa nje uphela noma kube kwangathi impela siyabuyisana siyafuna ukwazana kwagcina sekufana-ke nakudala nje.

AM: (44:46) Mhlawumbe nizozama ukuthi nikulungise lokho?

NT: (44:48) Siyafisa ukuthi-ke kulunge siyafisa ukuthi sihlangane as imindeni as umndeni kaMaNdlovu noSimon ukuthi-ke sibe nayo leyo reunion sihlanganeni sazi - izingane zethu zazane ngoba kubalulekile ukwazana kwabantwana bethu.

AM: (45:11) Izihlobo zakubo kaSimon zona niyazazi? Kubo kaMa kaSimon?

NT: Ezaka…Cha, asizazi kusaphelela lapho koAunty. Kusagcina koAunty ukwazana ukuthi-ke koMaKhanyile kuhamba kugcinephi thina asizazi.

AM: (45:31) Okay… Ngabe kukhona mhlawumbe okunye ongathanda ukuthi ukusho ngaphambi kokuthi siqede?

NT: Hhayi akukho ngaphandle uma kusekhona mhlawumbe ongafuna ukukubuza?

AM: (45:42) No hhayi ayikho eminye imibuzo. Makuwukuthi kukhona mhlawumbe ongafuna ukukusho usuyongazisa noma inini siyoqhubeka lapho. Ngiyabonga kakhulu.

END. END. END.

Follow-up interview with NT (Mamkhulu Ntombenhle), 20 January 2018, Thango Household, Lincoln Meade

Interview Length: 00:29:24

AM: Okay…uhm…Mamkhulu, unjani?

NT: Akudingi ukukhanyisa, uright?

AM: No, ngiright, ngiyabona. Uyaphila?

NT: Mhm (agreeing).

AM: (0:12) Uhm so the last time sikhuluma was in October so sasikhulume – i-interview yethu sakhuluma nje ngezinto eziningi ukuthi wazalelwaphi, wakhulelaphi, umndeni wakaMahlaba nayo yonke leyo nto. Le eyanamhlanje is just on ukukhula kwakho eMpolweni. Into ebengithanda ukuyazi ukuthi ngokubona kwakho ngesikhathi kusaneNkosi ngabe iNkosi yazama mhlawumbe ukuthi kubekhona i-order emphakathini: yaletha i-order noma iziphi…iyiphi indima ngokukhumbula kwakho eyayibalulekile eyayidlalwa iNkosi ngalesiya sikhathi nisakhula?

NT: (0:54) INkosi played a major role in bringing peace kwicommunity because if abantu bexabene, iNkosi had to intervene uma ngabe sekukubi kakhulu: let's say

mhlawumbe omunye ucabanga ukuthi omunye uyamthakatha so izinduna would report leyo nto eNkosini. INkosi bese iya-intervena nezinduna zayo kunoma iyiphi ingxabano. Babengagcini ngengxabano, babengenelela, yayingenelela ngisho even emizini, emakhaya abantu uma ngabe because bekwiyimission, uma ngabe indoda ingaziphethe kahle, ihlupha unkosikazi, iNkosi yayingenelela uku-bringer iharmony within that particular family. So uma ngabe ufanele ukuthi-ke uxoshe-ke I remember in the case of my father, when he passed away, there was this woman uMa kaMthandeni owayengashadile, but ifamily called uMa kaMthandeni to come and mourn ekhaya on hearing that uChief acted weza ekhaya ehamba nomfundisi – kusewumfundisi Nkosi ngaleso sikhathi, and batshela ifamily – my grandfather and my grandmother ukuthi they don't want her ngoba she wasn't married and u-cause i-disharmony within the family so and they made it – he made it a point ukuthi uhamba esehambile. So if – izwi lakhe lalilalelwa: he was respected by the entire community. Anything eyenzekalayo kwicommunity or emzini othile, they would report eNkosini even ngisho nanokudayiswa kwezinkomo – uma kuthi inkomo idayisiwe kwakubakhona isibindi nani okwakuhanjiswa eNkosini okukhombisa ukuthi iNkosi yayi-honourishwa nje kakhulu.

AM: (3:01) Mhm…okay…ubalule ukuthi kanjena ngesikhathi kunalolu daba lolu loku…iNkosi yeza ihamba nomfundisi – ingabe iNkosi nomfundisi babesebenzisana kahle?

NT: (3:13) Yes, ngaleso sikhathi iNkosi nomfundisi babesebenzisana kahle kakhulu ngoba they were leaders elentweni nasenkonzweni: iNkosi played a major role as umfundisi naye as i-leader ngokwenkolo wayenerole and they ended up working

together even in bringing peace nasekukhulekeni umfundisi wayeke ahambe ahambise izwi, akhuleke and iNkosi nayo yayimthanda uNkulunkulu.

AM: (3:44) Oh so iNkosi yayiyikholwa?

NT: (3:46) Yayiyikholwa, yes.

AM: Yayiyikholwa? IMpolweni kusho ukuthi kwakuyindawo yamakholwa nje?

NT: (03:51) Kwakuyindawo yamakholwa. That is why iMpolweni kuqala belingekho elinye ibandla: it was only iPresbyterian Church ngoba kwakwaziwa ukuthi-ke leya ndawo kwakuyindawo yaseScotland.

AM: (4:05) Free Church of Scotland?

NT: (4:06) Free Church of Scotland, yes.

AM: (4:07) So ekukhuleni kwenu kwakuyinto elindelekile ukuthi nizokhulela esontweni lase Pres, Sunday School, nize niyophuma?

NT: (4:18) Yeah, it was nje a must ukuthi-ke umndeni nomndeni was expected ukuthi kube umndeni okholwayo, oya esontweni ngamaSonto, abantwana baye kwiSunday School and abantu abadala baye esontweni. Kwakuphilwa ngokukholwa nje: it was encouraged even na during the week kwakubakhona ama-mid week service nje. KwakuyiNkosi (God) ephambili nje everyday.

AM: (4:42) Ngiyabonga. Usholo ukuthi mhlawumbe lokho kwabanomthelela omuhle lokho?

NT: (4:46) I think it was, it had a positive influence nje kukona konke because abantu babe-behaver even abantu ababephuza utshwala babengekho chaotic: babe…noma sebehlangene ndawonye bephuza behlalela Ukhamba, they would sing amaculo esonto nje uyabo. Kuculwe nje amaculo esonto nje babengaculi amaculo

esi…e…traditional songs babecula nje amaculo enkonzo nje. Yayikhona le nto yokuthi-ke babantu benkonzo.

AM: (5:21) Mhm…okay…uhm…so ngesikhathi…usola ukuthi…oh ngesikhathi i…kuqala manje udlame phakathi kweIFP neANC endaweni: wawusahlala khona eMpolweni noma nasenisukile?

NT: (5:38) Sasesisukile kodwa ngangizwa nje kakhulu izinto ezazenzeka kakhulu phela oKhulu noMkhulu they were still there sasiye siye – yes. Ngiyazi ukuthi-ke kunamaqembu awu-two ikakhulukazi the other side laseMhlangeni eyayaziwa njengeANC and iyona le nto eyadingidwa-ke umfundisi noChief ngoba ngikhumbula kwakungcatshwa omunye wamaqabane and umfundisi kuwuyena owayephethe leyo nkonzo so washo ama-slogans Eanc so-ke ile nto-ke eyabuye yashaya-ke bahlukana-ke manje neNkosi ngoba kwase…iNkosi yabuka sengathi usengene ipolitiki kanti kufanele babeneutral. Shuthi yayisim-regarder as a brother shuthi akanakuyenza into angayenzi so njengeNkosi-ke yaba nalokhonje that is why kwabakhona-ke lokho phakathi kwabo nomfundisi.

AM: (6:48) Oh umfundisi uyena owayesesho iziqubulo zeANC?

Nt: (6:52) Wayesesho iziqubulo zeANC kulowomngcwabo phela kwakuwumngcwabo weANC. Kwakushiwo iziqubulo naye wasukuma-ke neziqubulo-ke.

AM: (7:02) Oh…usholo ukuthi mhlawumbe lokho kwakuwubufakazi bokuthi umfundisi uyilunga noma umfundisi wayenzela phela usemngcwabeni weqabane naye kumele enze njengenjwayelo okwenziwa njalo?

NT: (7:15) I think that was the reason eyamenza hhayi ukuthi ngoba waseyi-ANC: it's because wayesemngcwabeni wayo so naye ukuze azi-identify yena ngoba kwakuyisikhathi sodlame.

AM: (7:29) Yebo…ubudlelwano bomfundisi no…nenkosi balunga noma bavedane nje baphela kanjalo?

NT: (7:36) Emva kwalokho akuphindanga kwabakhona, kwabakuhle. Umu kwawukuthi-ke bazama…wazama umfundisi ukuthi-ke…abuzange bubuyele esimweni: kwabahlukanisa nje kakhulu kabi. It was the last straw nje phakathi kwabo.

AM: (7:50) INkosi Mamkhulu yayisolakala ukuthi iyi-IFP ngenxa yokuthi vele amakhosi ngalezo zikhathi ayengamelwe uHulumeni waKwaZulu?

NT: Mhm (nodding in agreement)

AM: Yayisolakala ukuthi iyi-IFP?

NT: (8:03) Yes, noma kwakuyinto enga…kodwa mase ubheka futhi nangendlela okwenzeka ngayo kuyacaca ukuthi-ke…noma yayingaphumeli obala kuyacaca. UMntwana uChief…uMangosuthu Buthelezi wayethandwa kakhulu nje abantu nje bonke ngoba i-ANC kwakuyinto engakaziwa. So abantu babezama ngayo yonke indlela…babemthanda uMntwana waKwaphindangene. Ngicabanga ukuthi walimala lapho-ke uChief.

AM: (8:36) Ngenxa yokuthi uMntwana wayethandwa kakhulu abantu?

NT: (8:40) Mhm (nodding in agreement). Kusho ukuthi babezi-identify nayo i-IFP. Kwakwaziwa njenge-organization enokuthula, enentile nje, abantu abaningi nje babeyithanda.

AM: (8:54) Eyideni [Edendale] isimo sasinjani ngesikhathi senihlala Eyideni nje kwezepolitiki?

NT: (8:59) Eyideni nje before kulentwe…i-IFP yayigcwele nje lapha Eyideni kwakuhlala kumasha iYouth Brigade but-ke kwathi ngoku…kuqine kakhulukazi ngesikhathi uMandela esezophuma-ke kwaqala kwaba nechange kwavuleka: kwabulawana, abantu bafa…kwaqala manje udlame phakathi kweIFP ne ANC. So even if umuntu ekuzonda wayethi especially Eyideni, Eyideni yayiyi-ANC. Umuntu mangabe engakuthandi kahle wayemane aku-labelishe as ANC…I mean as i-IFP and wawufa nanokufa makunjalo to such an extent nje kwakunebelief yokuthi abantu bangaphezulu bayi-IFP: abantu bangaphezulu baningi abafa Eyideni I remember at one time indoda eyayihambise umkayo eyoteta esibhedlela imoto was burnt nje abantu abaningi balimala bafa ngoba yayithi mayiqhamuka ngaphezulu ishaywe, ishiswe lapha Eyideni ngoba kwaziwa ukuthi-ke imoto yeNkatha.

AM: (10:14) Bakhona…akhona amalunga omndeni enalahlekelwa wona ngenxa yalolu dlame?

NT: (10:19) Eh…emndenini wasekhaya mhm (shaking head in disagreement) angikhumbuli impela kukhona – mhlawumbe sengilibele – angikhumbuli kukhona owashona ngodlame kodwa nje abayizihlobo babebakhona noma kwama-distant relatives. Ngoba izingane kwakungazathi ziyahlanya ngalesiya sikhathi: zazisangene nje impela nje nge-ANC ziziphonsa nangala okuyingozi khona so nje igazi nje igazi lalichitheka now and then.

AM: (10:53) Okay…so ngesikhathi nifika Eyideni angithi Iyideni idume ngokuthi indawo yamakholwa? NT: Mhm (nodding in agreement) AM: Ayesaphila vele labo bantu labo – leyo mindeni leyo eyaziwayo ukuthi imindeni yamakholwa lawo?

NT: (11:05) Yes, yayisaphila – babesaphila impela ngoba kwakukhona imindeni yakoNyembezi nobani kambe? NoGule…Kwakunemindeni eyayaziwa njengemindeni yabantu abakholwayo oMsimang okwakuthiwa kunabafundisi khona kukhulue nje kwaziwa ukuthi indawo yamakholwa.

AM: (11:25) Lapha eThabizolo ibizwe ngabo abantu bakwaMsimang?

NT: (11:29) Ibizwe ngabo abantu bakwaMsimang.

AM: (11:32) Oh, kwakuyindawo yabo?

NT: (11:33) Kwakuyindawo yabo, yes. Kwakuyindawo yabo nje yonke leyana that is why shuthi bahamba-ke…kodwa kwakuyindawo yakwaMsimang.

AM: 11:42) Okay…ulona…iEdendale Training Institution uyayikhumbula? Useke wezwa ngayo?

NT: (11:48) Uhm…Yindawo leyo, Ayanda?

AM: (11:50) Engathi la eyaqalwa khona uAllison ngesikhathi beze besuka e…angithi uAllison babaleka eSwazini beza la KwaZulu-Natali wafika ezindaweni zakoUtrecht, koLadysmith kuyima eza la Eyideni ezoqala i…imission khona. Mayefika kwabakhona isikole abasivula okuthiwa iEdendale Training Institution la oMsimang abafunda khona: oMsimang, oSt…abakaMini uyababo abakwaMini? (NT: Yes). AM: NoNyembezi bonke labo.

NT: (12:24) Oh yes, ngiyayibona imindeni eqavile. Anginayo-ke i-history engako mayelana nabo kodwa ngiyazi ukuthi-ke iEdendale Primary I think iyona

okwakuyiyona okwakuyiyona Edendale Training Institution ngoba kunama…ama-buildings akhona njengamanje they are preserved ngoba kuthiwa a-historical so kunezinto nje ezigciniwe khona. There is a lot of information ukuthi ngiye nginganaki: ngiye nginganaki, but iEdendale Primary is rich ne-information nje eningi kakhulu ama-buildings amaningi akhona awabhidliziwe kuyimanje. Angazi bawabiza ngoPotolozi – angazi ukuthi uPotolozi kwakuyini, but it's an English name bagcina sebelibiza ngesiZulu.

AM: (13:16) Ukukhulela Eyideni kwakunjani? Ukukhulela nje endaweni enomlando ongaka?

NT: (13:23) Mhm…kwakunento…ngikhumbula ukuthi kwakukhona i…nakhona kwakuneNkosi ekhona kodwa ngigcine ngingayazanga i-role yayo ukuthi kwakuyini uChief Mini njengoba ubalile nje ukuthi kwakuyimindeni eyayaziwa…though Eyideni izinto eziningi zaziye zireportwe kuChief Mini ngalesiyasikhathi before udlame kwakuyindawo abantu ababeziqhenya ngayo ukuthi indawo yamakholwa: amaqaba awekho abantu babekholwa kwakwaziwa nje ukuthi kuhlala indawo ehlala abantu abakholwayo. Uyazi abantu balaphayana babamaWeseli [Wesleyan]. IWeseli iyona eyayi-dominata kakhulu so eEdendale imvamisa abantu bakhona babeyiMethodist Church. Beziqhenya futhi ngebandla labo nanokukholwa kwabo. Bekuyindawo…kuzalwe abafundisi abaningi kabi – abazalwe Eyideni: baba abozalo khona.

AM: (14:24) Yebo.

NT: (14:25) Ukukholwa nje kwakuyinto yakhona…kuyinto ehamba phambili…yayihambisana futhi ne-education futhi kuyafundwa futhi at the same time.

AM: (14:37) Isikole Amakholwa saqanjwa ngayo – ukuthi kwakuyindawo yamakholwa mhlawumbe kungenzeka?

NT: (14:43) Kwakuyindawo yamakholwa futhi saphinda sakhiwa *amakholwa* ethi aletha ukukhanya endaweni.

AM: (14:50) Lowo mlando lowo kuyakhulunywa ngawo esikoleni?

NT: (14:54) Emakholwa?

AM: (14:55) Yebo. Ukuthi kunomlando onje?

NT: Mhm…ngifike kungasekho kangako kodwa zikhona ilento although ngingakaze ngizithole angazi zi-preserviwe noma zazingekho esikoleni kodwa kwakukhona ukuthi abantu baseYideni bebengafuni nendawo yaseMakholwa: bebengafuni udlame kulesiya sikole ngoba babethi yizithukuthuku zabo bazakhele bona…esabo.

AM: (15:23) Manje sekuyisikole sikaHulumeni?

NT: (15:25) Sekuyisikole sikaHulumeni.

AM: (15:29) NeYideni nawo – umhlaba – u-belonga kuHulumeni noma kusawumhlaba wamakholwa?

NT: (15:34) Kuthathe isikhathi eside-ke Eyideni bekusaliwa namanje ukuthi uHulumeni ewufuna loya mhlaba abantu bengafuni bethi umhlaba wabo abantu abakholwayo. Angazi noma kugcine sebeze bawuthenga yini kodwa nje bekunempi kangangoba that's another thing nje isikole singa-developwa: it still has old buildings ngenxa yokuthi-ke abantu baseYideni abafuni lutho nawo bathi indawo yabo.

AM: (16:06) Okay…uhm…njengomuntu ojwayele ukuya…I mean njalo mawuya eMpolweni…i-state nje seMpolweni sikuphatha kanjani?

NT: (16:17) Yeah, I am sad manje mase ubuka iMpolweni though i-developile kodwa mawuzwa ubugebengu obukhona njengamanje kwenza uphatheke kabi ngoba sikhule kuyindawo yokuthula – ubukwazi ukudabula indawo ende usuka eMpolweni eMission – eMpolweni Enkulu uye le koZitholeni – uye phesheya kwa…eMantshalini wawuhamba nje udavuze ekwakungekho nkinga, wawungahlangabezani nalutho. Akusafani nesikhathi samanje esekunobugebengu ongeke usahamba noma ikanjani. Ukufika kwabantu bangaphandle kwenza ukuthi-ke kube nobugebengu obuningi ngoba ngiyakhumbula nje ukuthi enye into engingayibalula ngeMpolweni ileya ndawo yaseGreytown okwakuthiwa abaseGreytown: ngoba kwakuhlala abantu baseGreytown. Abantu bebazisana ngezigodi zabo baphinde futhi bazisane njengeMpolweni yonke: iMpolweni Enkulu ngoba bekuthi uma kuvele isifo noma kuthiwa sivele eMhlangeni noma kuphi ubuyozwa ngensimbi ikhala esontweni ukuthi kunesifo emva kwalokho usufuna ukwazi ukuthi-ke kushonwe kuphi. Sekuyashiwo eMhlangeni, Ezitholeni, kuphi, kuphi, kuphi ezigodini. Kwakubakhona lokho kuzwelana – distance yayingelutho ukuthi ukude kangakanani ngenxa yokuthi kwakuwumphakathi owawazana: kwakwaziwa yonke imizi yaseMpolweni. So isifo sasithwalwa yiwona wonke umuntu.

AM: (17:56) Mhm…usola ukuthi mhlawumbe manje...

NT: (17:59) (interjects midway) …nokwazisana futhi ukuthi-ke mangabe kushoniwe uya emzini womuntu wawungayi uvathazela nezandla: you had to carry something

okuzobakhalisa nokukhombisa ukuthi-ke umi nabo. Into engasenzeki kulesi sikhathi samanje.

AM: (18:13) Kukuphatha kanjani lokho?

NT: Kubuhlungu ukubona phela ukuthi-ke engathi "lafa elihle kakhulu": liyafa ilizwe manje, liyaphela. Abusekho loba buntu obabukhona kuqala. Kwakwenziwa…sekwenziwa noma ikanjani it's just like…ngikhumbula ukuthi-ke kwakuthi makudlula ihearse sasike sihlale phansi sidonse unwele though sasinga-understandi ukuthi kuthini okukhombisa i-respect, ubheke phansi ungabheki elentweni until zize zidlule zonke izimoto zomngcwabo. Manje usuye ubone nje ukuthi izingane zidlala, zigijima nazi izimoto zomngcwabo: akusekho nje ukuhlonipha.

AM: (18:55) Usola ukuthi mhlawumbe lokho kweza no…emva kokushona kwenkosi kwakungakabikhona enye iNkosi?

NT: (19:03) Kweza no…yeah emva kokushona kweNkosi kwangabe kusababikho enye iNkosi abantu basebezenzela noma ikanjani. Umthetho waphela: kwaphela umthetho, kwaphela nenhlonipho nokwazisana.

AM: (19:16) Kungaba isisombululo lokho ukuthi kubekhona enye iNkosi enye?

NT: Angazi noma isimo singabe sisa-repairerka yini njengamanje njengoba isimo sesinje kodwa-ke I think ukuba khona kweNkosi mhlawumbe kungaba naleyo-dignity: kungayenza i-unity ngoba kungaba nama-meetings azobakhona. Kwakuye kuthi ngeSonto ekuseni before kuyiwe esontweni uthole ukuthi kunomhlangano: amadoda ahlangene azodingida izindaba zendawo, zomphakathi so loko…lobo bunye nokuthi uma ngabe usenkingeni wawungabi wedwa noma uhlushwa yingane

noma yini – kwakuba yindaba yomphakathi kwakungabi yindaba yakho nje wedwa as a parent. Ingane yakho kwakuyingane yami, ingane yakho kwakuyingane yawo wonke umuntu. You were punished by any person: kwakungadingi ukuthi ngoba wonile uzo-panishwa umzali wakho nje wedwa. Wawupanishwa yiwona wonke – wawushaywa umuntu nje umuntu ongamazi kwesinye isikhathi mhlawumbe. Kwakungekho okutheni ngoba kwakwaziwa ukuthi kuyakhiwa.

AM: (20:32) Okay…lokho usola ukuthi kwatshala imbewu enhle kunina?

NT: (20:35) Kakhulu kwasakha saba yilaba bantu esiyibona njengamanje. Khona abantu oye ubabone kakhulukazi abakhula kamuva ubone ukuthi-ke abazange bakhule ngaphansi kwesandla, ngaphansi komthetho. Bakhuluma inoma ikanjani, inhlamba, i-language yabo njena – ba-abusive ngalendlela emangalisayo and ubone ukuthi-ke abazange bakheke la bantu besakhula kanti kuthina ngesikhathi sisakhula wawu…njengoba ngisho nje ukuthi wawuyingane yayo yonke i-village khona kwakungasho ukuthi-ke uzothethiswa umzali wakho wawuthethiswa umuntu ongakuzali, wawushaywa umuntu ongakuzali, omunye ongamazi nakumazi mawenza izinto ezingalungile.

AM: (21:24) Ngesikhathi nisakhula, nisahlala khona, kwakunezigodi ezingaki?

NT: (21:29) Kwakufike kube iseMhlangeni, kube iseMvundlweni, kube iseMkhangala, kube ikaGudludonga, bese kuba iseZitholeni, kube iseMantshalini. Zaziwu-7.

AM: (21:49) Ziwu-7? KoGcwabaza lwalungekho?

NT: (21:50) Oh yes, nakoGcwabaza ehhe zaziwu-8.

AM: (21:55) KoGcwabaza ibona bantu baseMpolweni noma abafike kamuva?

NT: OGcwabaza though bebeqhelile eMpolweni ikakhulukazi iMpolweni ibithanda nokuthi igcine…kwakuba as if KoGcwabaza kungaphakathi, kwakuyingxenye yeMpolweni ngoba ukuthi kwakuyibanga elide mawuzosuka eMantshalini uya KoGcwabaza. Wawuhamba iqela so babeze bakhohlweke ukuthi bayingxenye nje yaseMpolweni.

AM: (22:24) Oh…Izingane kodwa zazifunda eMpolweni?

NT: (22:27) Izingane zazifunda eMpolweni. Izingane zazihamba ngedistance mazifunda ngoba ngisho ezaseTrust Feed zazifunda eMpolweni. Kwakuhanjwa nje. Ziningi izinto ezazenzeka futhi ngoLwesihlanu njalo ngoLwesihlanu kwakuba yidiphu. Makuba yidiphu babesuka abafana babebaningi bazofika very late esikoleni. Ngoba kwakuqalwa…kwakubalulekile ukuthi zinkomo ziye ediphini yonke imindeni yayidipha so isikole sasiqala ngaphandle kwabafana: babeze bafike ngabo-10 esikoleni sebebuya ediphini ukuyodipha izinkomo.

AM: (23:04) Naninezinkomo eziningi kini ngaleso sikhathi?

NT: (23:07) KaMahlaba nje kwakwaziwa nje izinkomo zaziningi kakhulu. Kwakugcwele ubisi – izinkomo zobisi, ubisi, amasi – izinto esasizidla nsuku zonke.

AM: (23:22) Izinkomo lezi…zanda…I mean ngoba ngiyakhumbula ngalezo zikhathi uHulumeni wayengafuni abantu babenezinkomo eziningi ngenxa yokuthi bazo-overgrazer, kuzoba ne-deforestation yonke leyo nto: yin indaba nina naninezinkomo eziningi?

NT: (23:40) Sasisizwa ukuthi uMkhulu wayeyinduna: wayesebenzisana kakhulu nabelungu ababebekiwe ukubheka iMpolweni. Ngicabanga ukuthi kwakuyileyo advantage eyayenza ukuthi-ke kwakunganakeki ekhaya ukuthi-ke izinkomo ziningi.

Zaziningi isibaya sesigcwele nje futhi akekho-ke kodwa umuntu owayekhuluma…owayeke asikhulumise. UMkhulu wayesondelene kakhulu nabelungu ababephethe kanti wayesondelene kakhulu neNkosi.

AM: (24:11) So wayesebenzisana neNkosi kanye nebandla?

NT: (24:13) Yeah.

AM: (24:14) Wayeyilunga kambe esontweni?

NT: (24:16) Wayeyilunga esontweni.

AM: (24:17) UNkosikazi wakhe?

NT: (24:18) Eyi…eyigosa. Uke waba yinto enkulu nje ngisho engaselona ugosa wabe enesikhundla nje esiphezulu. Wayaziwa ngoba futhi wayechatha izingane ezigulayo. Kwakusuka abantu ezindaweni ezikude koYideni kuphi bezochatha izingane zabo ngoba babazi ukuthi mazichathwa uyena ziyophila.

AM: (24:44) Kambe nathi wayezalelwe le eMshwathi?

NT: (24:47) Wayezalelwe eMshwathi…koZinyoluka la abaqhamuka khona.

AM: (24: 52) USigonofana kwakuwubani?

NT: USigonofana wayewumfowabo kaKhulu, kaMaNdlovu ngoba kwakowakaNdlovu. Ukufika kwabo angazi ukuthi bafike kanjani kodwa bakhulele ekhaya bagcina beyingxenye yasekhaya kodwa beyabafowabo – babebabili: kwakuwuSigonofana no Enos so yonke into base benzelwa ekhaya zonke izinto zabo nokubhekelelwa kwabo even sebeshonile bangcatshwa lapha nabantu bakaMahlaba ngoba base beyingxenye nje yakaMahlaba.

AM: (25:31) Babebancane noma bebadala noKhulu?

NT: (25:34) USigonofana wayemdala kunoKhulu, uEnos wayemncane. Kwakuyona last-born yakubo.

AM: (25:43) Senisukile-ke eMpolweni seniye Eyideni, naqhubeka nasonta ePres noma nangena kwelinye ibandla?

NT: (25:49) Saqhubeka sasonta ePres ngoba kwakukhona lokho ukuthi-ke ukhulele kuphi, owakuphi so wayathi umuntu noma esehambile eMpolweni angakhohlwa kodwa ukuthi-ke u-belonga ebandleni lasePres. So yingakho-ke nasekhaya saqhubeka sakhonza ePres kangangoba sesiphuma ePres uMa akaphathekanga kahle wazama ngayo yonke indlela ukusibuyisa kwase kuthi-ke sesibadala futhi akasanakuthini.

AM: (26:21) UMa wenu unishiye emhlabeni esasonta khona ePres?

NT: (26:24) Yes. Usishiye esasonta khona. Ilona bandla ayelithanda nje kakhulu wayelikhonzile nje.

AM: (26:33) Ngesikhathi eshada wayevele esonta khona noma uqale ukusonta khona eseshadile?

NT: (26:36) Uqale ukusonta khona eseshadile. Wayekade eyiLuthela ngoba ukhulele eMphumulo [Maphumulo?] eMphumulo enye imission futhi. Imission yama…kwakweyamaLutherans so-ke babevele besonta noma yena wayengahlali emission kodwa abantu abamkhulisile wayekhuliswe uMr De Wet owayephethe uMphumulo Training College – wakhula ephatha izingane zakhona ngoba uthi isimo sasibi – babehlupheka, bengenalutho so ukufunda kwakhe wafunda ngenxa yaMr De Wet nefamily yakaXulu. UBab' Xulu wayekade efundisa khona eMphumulo Training College so ibona abantu abamfundisa-ke ukuze abe uthisha.

AM: (27:27) Yena wa…naye wafunda kuyona leya Training College?

NT: (27:32) Yes, eMphumulo.

AM: (27:34) Ngabe ikhona mhlawumbe into ongafisa ukuyisho sesiphetha nje?

NT: (27:42) No nje sengingacomment ngithi uma ngabe ubheka impilo esiyiphilile ngalesiya sikhathi ihluke kakhulu kunale mpilo ephilwa yilezingane zanamhlanje. I so wish ukuthi-ke ukuba kuyakwazi ukwenzeka abantwana-ke babone ukuthi savelaphi la esavela khona. Mhlawumbe kwakokwenza ukuthi ishintshe izimpilo zabo ngoba sikhuliswe ngenye indlela. Izingane zanamhlanje azisakhulanga ngaleyo ndlela kodwa-ke ngenxa ye-upbringing esaba nayo, nathi sifisa abantwana bethu ukuthi sibakhulise ngalendlela esikhule ngayo noma ezinye izinto kwase kuba-lenient kokunye kodwa sesizamile ukuthi sifake inkolo. Abantwana bethu sibakhulise ngenkolo ngoba sakhula ngenkolo.

AM: (28:35) Mhm…okay…ngabe awunayo eminye imibuzo mhlawumbe. Ikhona imibuzo onayo?

NT: (28:39) Cha, anginayo.

AM: Uyayinika iUniversity of Cape Town – uyayinikeza imvume yokuthi isebenzise le-recording ekubhalweni kwalolucwaningo?

NT: (28:51) Yes, ngiyayinika…ngiyayinikeza.

AM: (28:54) Okay…ungathanda ukuthi mase sesilibhala lolu cwaningo – ungathanda ukuthi siwasebenzise amagama akho aphelele noma ube-anonymous?

NT: (29:06) Hhayi, anginankinga noma ningawasebenzisa.

AM: (29:08) Okay…then umh enye into futhi ukuthi mase libhaliwe lolu cwaningo ungathanda ukuthi ulifunde, ulibone?

NT: (29:18) Ngiyafisa.

AM: (29:20) Okay. Ngiyabonga kakhulu.

END END END END

Interview with Mr Bongani Mahlaba (Mkhulu Bongani)

21 July 2017, Mahlaba Household, Imbali Unit 13

AM: Ayanda Mahlaba

BM: Bongani Mahlaba

BM: Sikhuluma ngomlando wakaMahlaba. Ulwazi esinalo siwususa kuZwenjani noSewula noBhosmani. La esigxile khona sigxile emlandweni kaSewula. USewula owabe ezeke uMaMkhize kanye noMaMbanjwa. KuMaMkhize-ke uSewula la esigxila khona, wazala amadodana amane. Okwaba uLudwengu, uNdoni, uKhotho kanye noMandlana. Ake siye kuLudwengu: uLudwengu ononkosikazi owabe ewuMaKhanyile. ULudwengu-ke wabe esedlula emhlabeni. Umfowabo omelamayo uNdoni wangena umkakhe uMaKhanyile wabe esethola amantombazane amabili okunguEsther noEsteli wagcina uSimon esimbize kakhulu ngokuthi uMavumengwana owumyeni kaMaNdlovu, uKatie. USimon ube esezala indodana yakhe yokuqala kwaba uAbsalom, kwayindodakazi uSheila, kwayindodakazi uNana, kwawuMalcolm indodana, kwawuBuzani, uthunjana wabo kwaba uYo. Ngokwazi ukuthi uNdoni akaze azeke wabe esezeka owakhe unkosikazi amlobola uMaMyeza. UMaMyeza-ke uNdoni wazibula ngoMshokobezi, kwalandela uNgoloda, kwalandela uZabuloni – owayebizwa kakhulu ngokuthi uBhoshela, kweza uNtombi owuEvelyn kweza uGideon uNdukuyakhe elinye, wagcina ngoMpiyakhe uJotam. Kanti-ke la madodana wona aye azala kanje: uMshokobezi ushone engakabi naye

unkosikazi, uNgoloda uye wazeka uMthalane azale kuye uThoko intombazane kweza uDombi kwagcina uDoda. UZabuloni esimbiza ngoBhoshela akabanga naye unkosikazi. UNtombi, uEvelyn wayoshadela kaMncwabe. Ngizokhuluma ngendodana yakhe kuphela, uAgrippa. Bakhona odadewabo. UGideon – uNdukuyakhe uke wazala uMaxwell, uZithulele walanywa uPhuthuma kweza uFikile kwawuGirly, kwawuMelusi, kwawuMaviyo, kwagcina uBongani kunkosikazi wakhe uMaMngadi. Kanti kuMaMthembu kube uJabu, kwawuThemba, kwawuTholani, kwawuMsimbithi, kwawuNtombizile. Kanti omncane emndenini wakhe uMpiyakhe uJotham yena uye wazala indodana eyodwa kuphela uJabulani. Ake-siye lapha-ke manje kuLudwengu. ULudwengu uye wazala uMakhosini kanti laphaya kuMakhosini, uMakhosini indodana yakhe endala kube uAaron ebizwa ngokuthi uJamludi, kwawuAmbrose obizwa ngokuthi uMbizweni, kwamantombazane uLizzy noMhlophe. Uma sidlula siya kuthunjana kaSewula owuMandlana. UMandlana-ke yena uye wazala uNtshebeni obizwe ngokuthi uVikinduku, kwaba uZombo obebizwa ngelikaPondo, kwayindodakazi uGrace, kwayindodana uMoss, kwayindodana uJohn, kwayindodakazi uAnna, kwayindodakazi uEmily, kwaba indodakazi uLephina. Uma sinyuka siyalaphaya kuZwenjani esithe asizugxila kuyena kakhulu waye wazala uMagila, wazala uNyumbana, wazala uMantu, wazala uFusi amadodana lawo-ke aNyumbana. (4:33) Hhayi-ke…amadodakazi a-Aunty lawa angiboni ukuthi uyawadinga.

AM: (4:45) Mese kuthi-ke…

BM: (4:46) Ucishile?

AM: (4:47) No, kusa-on.

BM: (4:50) Ohh…

AM: (4:51) Mese kuthi…uSewula uthe ubeseMsinga angithi?

BM: (4:54) Ehhe.

AM: Ngesikhathi eze e…nobhuti bakhe uZwenjani?

BM: (Interjecting) Yes.

AM: Nobhuti bakhe uBosman baseMsinga?

BM: (5:01) BaseMsinga (agreeing)

AM: (5:02) Okay…lapha-ke kaMaKhanyile, uMaKhanyile uze uthola la bantwana baLudwengu, balaphi? Babehlalaphi?

BM: (5:12) Eh babehlala ePhasikwe.

AM: (5:15) EPhasikwe? Yilaphi ePhasikwe?

BM: EPhasikwe ngenhla kwaseNew Hanover, eduze kwaShaya isigodi.

AM: (5:26) Okay…so uSimon kwakuyiyona ndodana?

BM: (5:28) Iyona ndodana yokuqala. USimon uyi-first born yabani?

AM: YaMaKhanyile.

BM: YaMaKhanyile noLudwengu..ehe…uyi-first born yaMaKhanyile noNdoni. Laba bazalwa uMaMyeza. I-first-born kaMaMyeza noNdoni kube ubani? UMshokobezi.

AM: (5:54) Mese kuthi-ke uNdoni namakhosikazi akhe, uMaKhanyile noMaMyeza bahlale endaweni eyodwa?

BM: (6:00) Bahlale endaweni eyodwa, yes ePhasikwe. Yeah.

AM: (6:03) Okay. USimon mhlawumbe uyazi ukuthi ufike kanjani eMpolweni?

BM: (6:10) Nanso-ke le ndaba engingayazi ukuthi eMpolweni yini le ebenze baya eMpolweni. No, angizuba nasiqiniseko. Anginasiqiniseko.

AM: (6:22) Uyamkhumbula kodwa yena uSimon?

BM: (6:24) Ngimazi kakhulu.

AM: (6:25) Wayewumuntu onjani? Makungathiwa awumchaze nje…

BM: Hhawu! Indoda engathi yayinothando, izothile ngoba ngithe ekukhuleni kwami ngangingaboni ngoba bona babeseMpolweni thina sihlala kwaGeorgiey, kaNkayishana. Bebefika ekhaya oSimon. Ngimazi efika ekhaya. Ngithe masengihlakaniphile sengibona ibanga ayelihamba ezobona umfowabo, ngabona uthando olukhulu ayenalo. Ngabona uthando olukhulu ayenalo. Ngathi, hawu kanti lo muntu usuke ehamba indawo ende kangaka ngezinyawo eze kamfowabo? Thina makwenzeka lokho sasazi, sasazi ukuthi uBabomdala nje ongathi usuka la kodwa mase sikhula, hhayi bo lide ibanga abelihamba ngezinyawo. Engagibeli ihhashi, eze kamfowabo.

AM: (7:15) Okay. Leli gama elithi uMavumengwane…walithola kanjani?

BM: (interjecting) Iyoh…ngithe mangilanda ngilanda ngikhuluma ngabafwethu, umfwethu omdala, engathi akulona igama ayelithanda kakhulu.

AM: Wayengalithandi?

BM: Engathi akulona igama ayelithanda kakhulu, ehhe. UMavumengwane. Mhlawumbe ngoba, kodwa ukucabangela kwami lokhu, uyabona mangabe ethule [demonstrating by humming], uwumuntu ehlale ethula, kunengoma ayivumayo ayazi yena kodwa lokho akuyona into engathi iyaphatheka. Ukucabangela kwami mhlawumbe lasuka lapho ngoba wayengathuli nje noma enzani kubekhona ingoma ayivumayo.

AM: (8:04) Okay. Mese kuthi-ke ilo…izingane zakhe uAbsalom…

BM: Yes, uyena omdala…

AM: …bathi…babiza bathini mabebiza wena la? Obhuti bakho laba?

BM: (8:14) No. Yeah obhuti nosisi laba kumina.

AM: (8:16) Oh bathi bhuti kuwena?

BM: (8:17) Yes, bathi bhuti kumina. Lo izingane zakhe [Absalom], uyazazi? AM: (Agreeing) BM: UNonhlanhla, uNtombenhle, uPhumi, noNomusa.

AM: (8:32) Okay, mese kuthi uSheila washadela kaMzileni?

BM: (interjecting) Washadela kaMzileni, yes. UNana washona wazala uDes noMooi. UMalcolm wazala oBongi, uma wakho, noXoli noThami. UBuzani uzale uKhanyisile…[AM: interjecting] oMthunzi bonke. BM: Ehhe.. UYo, eMlazi…AM: (interjecting) uMalume Themba… BM: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

AM: (9:03) Okay…bese kuthi-ke…so uMalcolm angithi ubeshade noMaHlubi?

BM: Ubeshade noMaHlubi, yeah. UMaHlubi, singakufaka lokho sithi [filling this into the clan tree he had prepared for me before I came for the interview]. UMaHlubi.

AM: (9:17) UMaHlubi yena uyamazi?

BM: (9:19) UMaHlubi ngiyamazi. Ngiyazi uqhamuka enhla.

AM: (9:24) Uqhamuka phi?

BM: (9:25) Uqhamuka eGauteng. Yeah, yeah.

AM: (9:30) Mhm…mese kuthi…usamkhumbula unkosikazi kaSimon, uKatie?

BM: Ehhe, uKatie. UMa uKatie, ehhe.

AM: (9:38) WayewuMa bani?

BM: (9:40) UMaNdlovu.

AM: (9:41) Walaphi?

BM: (9:42) Eyi…nayo-ke into engingayazi. Mhlawumbe uzokusiza-ke uNtombenhle [Mamkhulu] lapho. UMaNdlovu. Sasithi uMa uMaNdlovu, ehhe. Ngoba uwuMa kuthina.

AM: (9:54) Oh nithi Ma?

BM: UMa kuthina. ONtombenhle laba, njengoba uzwa uMa wakho ethi Babncane, uNtombenhle akuyena usisi kimina. Undodakazi kodwa ngenxa yokuthi nje sekukhulwe kanye kanye.

AM: (10:08) Mhm. Okay. Mese kuthi uthe uMaNdlovu wayeshade angithi wayeshade noSimon? BM: (NoSimon, yes.) AM: Wayewumuntu onjani yena? Makungathiwa awumchaze uMaNdlovu ungathi wayewumuntu onjani?

BM: (10:17) Lalukhona ulakana, lalukhona ulakana ehhe. Efuna nje into eqondile: enesibindi futhi. Ngiyakhumbula nje ekushoneni kwabo wayamukela. Angilazi unyembezi lwakhe. Wayamukela nje kube uyena ozolandisa nje, "kwenzeke kanje", uyabona. Wayenesibindi. Mhm.

AM: (10:38) Kwashona uSimon kuqala?

BM: Kwashona uSimon kuqala.

AM: (10:44) Mese kuthi eMpolweni nanivamisile ukuya eMpolweni? Nina?

BM: Mina ngenxa yokuthi ngangimncane, ngangimncane ngaleso sikhathi, kodwa ibona abadala ababeya ngoba shuthi umndeni wethu wonke wawuseMpolweni. So makuthiwa kuhlatshiwe kaMahlaba eMpolweni, kuhlatshwe la mhlawumbe endlini kaAaron, bayaya laba abadala ngisemncane mina, uyabo. Ngoba mina ngikhumbula nomgcwabo wokuqala wakaMahlaba engaze ngawuhamba okalo [pointing] ukuqala nje ukubona umuntu ongcatshwayo. Yeah. Yeah. Ubaba lo uGideon wathi no

angihambe manje ngoba lona [pointing] wayesikhonzile, efika ngemoto yakhe istation wagon. Wayazi ukuthi uze kubo ebuncaneni bakhe. Ngamazi-ke. Ngatshelwa ukuthi kushone lona, ngafika. I was 15 ngaleso sikhathi ngokweminyaka. Ukuqala kwami nje ukubona umuntu wakaMahlaba eshonile yila.

AM: (11:44) Wawusahlala kaNkayishana ngaleso sikhathi?

BM: Sasihlala kaGeorge McKenzie, yes.

AM: (11:47) Oh uGeorge M…

BM: (Interjecting) UGeorge McKenzie la kaNkayishana mhlawumbe five kilometres from eMpolweni.

AM: (11:52) Kwa…kaGeorge Makhenisi kwakuyini, kwakuyiplazi?

BM: Inkampani engaphansi kweKemps & Gimps kaNkayishana. Kwakuyi…iplazi kwakuyiKarkloof elasha ngakwaNkayishana.

AM: (12:03) Oh uNkayishana kwakuwumlungu?

BM: UNkayishana inkampani, iClayson Gates eyayitshala amahlathi. Yeah, inkampani yamahlathi. NjengeSAPPI. Ngoba ithe mase idayisa, yadayisela u-SAPPI. Yeah.

AM: (12:16) Naniqashile noma kwakuyindawo yenu?

BM: No, kwakuyinkompolo, inkompolo. Kodwa-ke ilezo zindawo ekade size-claimer manje ezadliwa abelungu ngokungemthetho. Ilezo ebesikhokhelwa ngazo.

AM: (12:30) Mhm…Inkompolo yini kambe?

BM: Kusho ukuthi indawo ehlala abasebenzi. Abasebenzi…eh…nanso ifemu abasebenzi bahlala enkompolo laphaya.

AM: (12:45) Yebo. Mese kuthi ilo, izithakazelo zakaMahlaba zithini ngoba mangenza ucwaningo lwami kuvela noMashinini…

BM: (12:55) Ehhe…oMashinini nami ilaba engisanda kubazi, yeah ngoba ubalulekile loyo mbuzo ngoba uthola ukuthi nje la kule ndlu le [pointing] uzothola ukuthi kunokunye engithanda ukukufaka kubona laba abadala abafuna ukukuphika. Kunezithakazelo, izithakazelo zendlu lezi ngoba masithi, ngizothini, ngizothi, Mahlaba, Sukuza, uyabona uSukuza asimbhalile la, kusho ukuthi ungenhla kwalaba. Sukuza, uMbunjwa, badla becazelana, mbhongophezulu [mphongophezulu?], mdlazini – uyabona okwala [pointing]? Uma usuhamba noMahlaba isibongo as a whole usuyathola-ke manje sekukhona oJunda, sekhona o sekukhona oShengele, sekukhona ubani lo okade umusho [AM: OMashinini], oMashinini ehhe. Kuba khona ukuba selfish kuthina ukufuna ukwazi okuqondene nathi. Kodwa manje njengokukhula ngike ngibone ngithe mangikuveza, ngikuveza kwabanye bathi, "Hhayi ehe asibazi-ke labo", no, abakithi. BawuMahlaba ngoba kuze kwaphuma ngisho uCindi: uCindi ophume yena wase eya eFree State angazi-ke ukuthi uziqambe ngani ukuthi uCindi kodwa nje umsuka wakhe uMahlaba.

AM: (14:20) Kukhona yazi nabanye abaseEastern Cape abamaXhosa, abawoCindi.

BM: (14:26) OCindi. Ehhe. Ehhe. Abakithi labo, abakithi. Kusuke lapha eMsinga sonke kwehlukwana lapho. Ehhe. Kwehlukwana lapho.

AM: (14:35) Mhlawumbe ngalesi sikhathi kuseMsinga kwakungalezi zikhathi zaShaka? Noma?

BM: Angifuni-ke ukuqamba amanga ukuthi kuhlukwanwe nini. Kuhlukwanwe nini. Kodwa ngoba labo Sewula bese besePhasikwe, kungenzeka kuhlehle kuze kufike lapho.

AM: (14:50) Kuze kufike kulezi zikhathi zikaShaka?

BM: Yeah.

AM: (14:53) Okay. So oMahlaba vele bamaZulu?

BM: BamaZulu, AmaZulu kodwa-ke uma usuhlehla ngalowo mlando, ubuSwazi, ukuthi kuqhanyukwa eSwazini kodwa-ke iningi lifuna ukuyamukela laphaya eMsinga. Ehhe. Lifuna ukuyamukela laphaya [eMsinga].

AM: (15:16) Bakhona abantu abasaphila mhlawumbe bakaMahlaba khona lapha eMsinga?

BM: Ayi baningi kakhulu. Bayisizwe.

AM: (15:21) Oh isizwe?

BM: (concurring) Bayisizwe, isizwe, kunendawo ekuthiwa iseMahlaba.

AM: (15:25) Kuhlala nje abantu bakaMahlaba? Nabanye?

BM: Ehhe. Sekungangena-ke ezinye izibongo kodwa nje eMahlaba nje uma ulapha kuvele kukhonjwe lapha phesheya kuthiwe nakhuya eMahlaba. Ehhe.

AM: (15:36) Likhona ibhodi? Kubhaliwe? Ukuthi iseMahlaba la noma?

BM: No, babengikhombisa ngikwe…ngikwesinye isigodi. Kuthiwa eMahlaba nakhuya. Ehhe. Alikho ibhodi engalibona.

AM: (15:5O) Okay. Mese kuthi-ke…la kaMaMyeza [pointing] uthe mase…so uMaKhanyile noMaMyeza bebegane indoda eyodwa?

BM: Eyodwa. Ehhe. Yes, yes.

AM: (16:02) So uMaMyeza lo naye bebesePhasikwe?

BM: EPhasikwe kodwa yena wayesuka endaweni ekuthiwa ikaMindela. IkaMindela. Indawo engingayibonanga nami kodwa engathi ingakhona lapho koMpolweni nje. Ehhe.

AM: (16:28) Okay. Mese kuthi uSimon, wafunda noma azange aze afunde? Unolwazi noma awunalo ulwazi?

BM: Kodwa akuyena umuntu owayengakwazi ukufunda. Kodwa angifuni ukuqamba amanga ngokwesikole angazi.

AM: (16:43) Emphakathini eMpolweni wayaziwa?

BM: Wayehlonishwa. Wayehlonishwa. Wayehlonishwa. Inhlanhla yethu nje, isibongo sethu okuze kwakapakela nakuthina, eh, la esikhona nje siyahlonishwa. La wukhona njengamanje uyahlonishwa loyo mkhulu wakho. Sinalolo gcobo esingalazi ukuthi saluthathaphi. Kangangoba nje abantu bake bafune ukukhetha ukuthi ube yikhansela kwasho ukuthi cha-ke ipolitiki, asibona abantu bepolitiki. Sijatshuliswa ukuphila nemindeni nje kodwa sinogcobo esiluphiwe uJehovah nje lokunikeza indawo ethize. Mhlawumbe okunye-ke kwenziwa yindlela esiziphatha ngayo emphakathini.

AM: (17:33). Okay. UMalcolm yena ubumazi?

BM: Ulo…umkhulu wakho?

AM: (17:37) Yebo, umkhulu wami.

BM: Wake wahlala ngakithi edayisa esitolo. Ehhe. Wake wahlala ngasekhaya. Laba bobabili nje [pointing] ibona engibaze kakhulu ngoba bake bahlala emzini kaGideon. Yeah.

AM: (17:50) Oh…bebethi kuGi…bekuwobaba wabo?

BM: Ubaba wabo lo. Ehhe. Ubaba wabo lo. LoGideon. Laba bobabili bahlalile…lo uhlalile efundisa esikoleni KaGeorge eMvundlweni. Lo wahlala edayisa esitolo, ehlala ekhaya kaMahlaba. Ila engibaze khona-ke. Yingakho bona besondele kakhulu kunalaba ekubazini kumina, ehhe.

AM: (18:17) Oh okay. Mese kuthiwa wayewumuntu onjani?

BM: Hhawu, hhawu, indoda yamadoda. Kwakuhlalwa kuhlekwa. Kwakuhlalwa kuhlekwa. Kodwa-ke umuntu wakaMahlaba wonke okuvamile, uyahleka ukuhleka kodwa ushidi akawuthathi. UMahlaba-ke lowo. Maseku…kukhulumeka ushidi…no, no, akawuthathi ushidi uMahlaba.

AM: (18:46) Wayewumuntu ostrict?

BM: Yeah. Strict, yeah. Oshayayo masekufuneka kushaywe kodwa akusheshi. Yeah, uqale uncengwe nje, "hhayi, kahle wendoda engathi uyaphanguka, uyabona."

AM: (18:58) Engabe ulo…uMalume Nyangazonke yena ulaphi la [pointing to family tree]?

BM: UNyangazonke nangu la. Angithi uyabona la? UMbizeni, nangu uyise. Uyise uMbizeni. Angiyithathe la. UMbizeni ube nobani? Ube noMaMncwabe.

AM: (19:20) Ngijwayele ukuzwa ngaye.

BM: UMaMncwabe noMaXaba. NoMaXaba. UNyangazonke-ke owala [pointing]. Khona la uSbizane, kukhona uPholand, kukhona uNyangazonke. La kukhona uMphikeleli, kukhona uMalcolm – uPhasha igama lakhe, uPhasha Khonzumuntu Malcolm…AM: Oh ilo ohlala la? BM: Yeah ilo ohlala la e2. Bese kubakhona u uCondo bami kanje la. Lapha kuAaron, uyambona uAaron? Omdala kukhona lapho o? AM: UFanazi? BM: Yes, uFanazi. Ngifuna yena. Kukhona oFanazi, kukhona oNkumbini,

yeah yeah, ngiyacabanga-ke lapho. AM: ULinda yena? BM: NoLinda ula, abaAaron la. AbaAaron laba. Bazalwa uMaNkala, yeah.

AM: (20:44) UMaNgcobo yena?

BM: UMaNgcobo… no. UMaNgcobo umka Aaron. Umnakwabo uMaNkala.

AM: (20:52) Oh, so uAaron ubenamakhosikazi amabili?

BM: Unamakhosikazi, yeah. Hhayi amabili futhi. Owokuqala uMaNgubo, ozala uFanazi. Kube uMaNkala ozala oLinda, kube uMaNgcobo. UMaNgcobo akabanga naye umfana. Unamantombazane.

AM: Oh uMaNgcobo akabanga nawo…

BM: (interjecting) Uzokukhumbula lokho?

AM: (21:09) Kuphi kona? Lokhu kwaAaron?

BM: Lokhu kwaAaron?

AM: (21:10) Ngeke sikwazi ukuthi sikubhale la mhlawumbe?

BM: Sihambe nakho sithi Aaron, angithi uyabona la, kulo, siyisusa la eka, iza la eka. Eka Aaron, ekaJamludi, asambe nayo-ke uyabo.

AM: (21:26) Oh kwakuwuJamludi igama lakhe?

BM: Igama lakhe ehhe. Zonke izinsizwa bezimandla endukwini.

AM: (21:32) UJamludi akusilona igama le nkomo?

BM: Izinkomo nazo ziqanjwa ngazo ukuthi uJamludi, ehhe. Kodwa iziteketiso zakhe kwakuwuJamludi. La [pointing] kukhona uMaNgubo, kubekhona uMaNkala, kubekhona uMaNgcobo. Yeah.

AM: (21:56) Okay. Isithembu nje shuthi yinto yenu?

BM: Into yakaMahlaba.

AM: (22:01) KaMahlaba.

BM: (22:02) Ithina nje esiqala manje ukuthi-ke singa…lana angivele ngifake ingane eyodwa, angithi uFanazi khona ngizokhumbula, kuMaNkala ngifake oLinda, oNkumbini, uMaNgcobo akanawo umfana.

AM: UMaBhanga ingane yakhe?

BM: Ubani?

AM: UMaBhanga.

BM: Umfana loyo?

AM: (22:33) Intombazane.

BM: Oh, uMaBhanga. Ilo ola kaMachibisa?

AM: (22:36) Cha, ilo oseMpolweni. Uhlala eMpolweni.

BM: Oh, ngiyambona, ngiyambona. Kukhona ola futhi kaMachibisa. E e e akusiyena okaMaNkala lo, uMaka Mdu owakubo kaLinda.

AM: (22:49) So la la ngaphansi kwaCondo, izingane zakhe kambe oba?

BM: Eyi…

AM: (22:57) UThabani ingane kaCondo?

BM: UThabani yeah ingane yakhe kodwa noma emthole ngaphandle kodwa uThabani ukhona la.

AM: (23:03) Oh, noCondo unesithembu?

BM: UCondo unesithembu: unoMaMhlongo, noMa bani lo owashona? [silence] UMaMhlongo yeah, uMaMhlongo. Abafana baCondo sengiwakhohliwe amagama abo bathathu. Nalo okaMpumuza naye…[AM: UThabani?] BM: Eh, eh, (disagreeing).

Kukhona ozalwa ilo nkosikazi owashona. Kunomfana futhi lapha, abafana ababili bese kuba yilaba baMaMhlongo.

AM: (23:42) ONosipho?

BM: Amadodakazi. Mhm ekaMaMhlongo. UNosipho okaMaMhlongo. Eyi uyabona masekwehla kuthi, amagama ayangidida.

AM: (23:51) No, ayikho inkinga. Sengiyibonile ukuthi ivelaphi.

BM: Yingakho ngithe mase kula sekulula ukuthi uyithole nakuMa wakho. Ngoba la izongidida. Kodwa mase siyiphushe yafika la, uyabona la phela sesikunina la. Sekukunina. Ngoba nina njengoba silapha nje kuMalcolm usuyangena la: sesithi uBongi, oThami, uZama, uXoli.

AM: (24:21) Okay. Mese kuthi…

BM: Othi ngiyenze khona uzoyibona (drawing). UBongi, uZama, uThami, uXoli. Laphaya uPhumi, kodwa omdala phela uNtombenhle, eh eh, uNonhlanhla, uNtombenhle, uNonhlanhla, nangu lo osanda kushona, uNomusa.

AM: (24:54) Bona bazalwa uAbsalom.

BM: Lapha, uAbsalom noMaNdimande, uMa wabo. Bengizoyibhala kahle le nto uzoyibona nje mase isinje?

AM: (25:10) Iyacaca.

BM: Icacile?

AM: (25:12) Yebo.

BM: Ngoba lo kaMaNyawo kuAbsalom, wahamba wathatha omunye umfazi uMaNyawo, uMiss owayefundisa esikoleni sakhe la okuzalwe khona uMthandeni [AM: UMthandeni wakoPhilile] BM: Ehhe, ehhe. Abalo.

AM: (25:31) Nabo bayangena la? Siyabafaka?

BM: AbakaMaNyawo, yebo. Izingane zakhe. Izingane zakhe. Izingane zakhe. Angithi wena ufuna izingane zaAbsalom? Awukwazi ukubashiya.

AM: (25:41) Okay. Yena lo uMalcolm njengoba naye enezingane eziseceleni, nazo siyazifaka? OMorris nabo laba?

BM: Hawu uMorris! Eyi wangikhumbuza! Usashona?

AM: (25:53) Yebo, usashona.

BM: Besihlala naye eSweetwater. Mfishane?

AM: (25:57) Yebo.

BM: Hheyi. Wangikhumbuza into ebesengiyikhohliwe.

AM: (26:03) NoFanifani.

BM: NoFanifani. Ehhe! UFanifani usashona naye?

AM: (26:06) Yebo, usashona. Ehhe. Bayizingane zakhe. Kodwa phela akubona-ke abaMaHlubi so sobe sithi ezinye izingane: uMorris, uFanifani, kwakukhona nentombazane?

AM: (26:26) UPhindile?

BM: UPhindile?

AM: (26:28) Angisazi. Kodwa uMa uyabazi.

BM: Yayikhona intombazane, ehhe. Yayikhona.

AM: (26:35) Okay, then mese kuthi-ke lezi zindlu lezi ziyazana nje?

BM: Yizona lezi, zisondelene lezi.

AM: (26:42) Zisondelene?

BM: Ngoba zihlanganiswe ngubani? USewula. Nalaba abanye siyazisana nabo njengo omkhulu wakho uFerd, baphuma la bona [pointing].

AM: (26:56) Oh, abaZwenjani?

BM: Ehhe. AbaZwenjani bona.

AM: (26:58) Okay.

BM: So sithathe sagoqa nje. KuZwenjani sithe nje, sathi nje kancane. Sama lapho.

AM: (27:07) Okay. Izingane zaZwenjani…

END END END

Names of Interviewees: Miss Phindile Mahlaba (Mom)

Mrs Ntombenhle Thango (Aunt)

Name of interviewer: Mr Ayanda Mahlaba

Date of Interview: 4 May 2017

Place of Interview: Mugg & Bean, V&A Waterfront

Transcribed by: Mr Ayanda Mahlaba

Date Transcribed: 13-14 May 2017

Interviewer: Mr Ayanda Mahlaba – AM: Uhm. Hello Ma. How are you?

Interviewee One: Ms Phindile Mahlaba – PM: I am good. How are you?

AM: I am good. Uhm. I would like to ask: When were you born?

PM: I was born in 1976 March 8.

AM: Where were you born?

PM: I was born at home in Mpolweni.

AM: What do you do… Where is Mpolweni?

PM: Mpolweni is in New Hanover. Eh… a small town New Hanover, which is outside of Pietermaritzburg.

AM: What do you do for a living?

PM: I work at SOS Children's Village as a Child and Youth Care Worker.

AM: Uhm. What did your parents do for a living?

PM: My father was a policeman in Stanger. That is what I know. My mom worked at a crèche in Mpolweni. After that in 1989 she went to work at SOS Mamelodi.

AM: When your mom went to work in Mamelodi, how old were you if you can remember?

PM: If I am not mistaken I was 15.

AM: You were 15?

PM: Mhhmmm… 14 or 15. I am not sure.

AM: What was your father's name?

PM: It was Sambulo Malcolm Mahlaba.

AM: Your mother?

PM: It is Dudu Fransisca Mahlaba.

AM: Are your parents still alive?

PM: My mom is still alive. My dad is late.

AM: When did your father pass away?

PM: 1983…March…March 3 if I am not mistaken.

AM: Can you explain to me how it was like at home when you were growing up? How many of you were there?

PM: Yoh Ayanda! (long sigh) At home there was a lot of us. We stayed with my maternal uncle's children since my mom and father at that time had their own house. They had left the homestead – my paternal grandmother's and grandfather's house. When I was born they already had their own house. We were staying with my mom and maternal grandmother. There was a lot of us when we were growing up. My mom taught us that as a person you had to share. We shared.

AM: How many siblings do you have?

PM: My mom's children?

AM: Yes your mom's and father's children.

PM: Eh…At home we were four siblings.

AM: Who is the first-born?

PM: The first-born is Thami, my brother. Followed by sis Bongi, who is late. Followed by Xoli who is now Mrs Shabangu and then it is me the last-born.

AM: Do you remember your grandparents – both maternal and paternal?

PM: Yes, but I only remember three of them. I remember my maternal grandmother (who was the last one to pass on).

AM: Who was her name?

PM: She was Jabulile Martha Hlubi. I also remember my paternal grandmother… Katie Lolo Mahlaba – MaNdlovu. And then my paternal grandfather, Mavumengwane Simon Mahlaba. I also remember him, although at that time I was still young, but I still remember him and his horse (smiles here). Mkhulu had a horse and I remember how scared I was of it.

AM: (Laughing at the horse remark) What was the name of the horse?

PM: Mkhulu's horse was Mazarina (sense of nostalgia palpable)

AM: Oh... your mkhulu's horse's name was Mazarina.

AM: You don't remember your maternal grandfather?

Interviewee: I do not know him. He had already passed on when I was born.

PM: He had passed on when I was born (affirming what interviewer said).

AM: Uhm… Which side of your family did you grow up with – your paternal or maternal? With which side of the family did you spend most of your time with?

PM: I spent a lot of time with my paternal family. Because every day after school I would walk up to the homestead (paternal). I therefore spent most of my time with them – the paternal side.

AM: Your paternal side…where did they live?

PM: They also lived in Mpolweni. It was uphill from my home (my mom's and dad's). But it was not too far.

AM: Was it a large homestead?

PM: Yes the homestead was big.

AM: Uhm… What do you know about the Hlubi chieftaincy, the Hlubi family? What do you know about them?

PM: Mhmm…About the Hlubi chieftaincy…what I know is that my mom's grandfather, named Josiah Bathengi Hlubi is the one who built the church…the Uniting Presbyterian Church. It is said that he transported stones from the river on a donkey carriage and went to build the church, which he built in 1941. He finished building it in 1941. He then built the school, which is called Bathengi Primary School, that he also built using stones and re bricks.

AM: Uhm… You said that you spent a lot of time with your paternal family… What do you remember the most about this?

PM: My dad's family had a lot of livestock. We grew up eating amasi and my grandmother made jam and we grew up eating it. My grandmother also had trees. She also had a lot of chicken. Gogo also helped people by taking care of children when they were not well.

AM: What position did your grandparents (paternal) have in the community?

PM: My grandmother was the leader of the women's guild at church (Uniting Presbyterian Church). Mkhulu was the headman of Mpolweni Mission.

AM: Under which chief was your grandfather the headmen of Mpolweni?

PM: Under Chief J. Mngadi… Jonathan Mngadi.

AM: So do you think at that time the chieftaincy had been passed to the Mngadis?

PM: Yes at that time the chieftaincy had been passed to the Mngadis.

AM: Do you know what led to the chieftaincy being passed from the Hlubis to the Mngadis?

PM: What I know… Which I heard when my uncle was narrating history… is that the Hlubis did not like attention and prestige. They were very shy people. They did not want fame. They wanted to be humble people all the time. Mkhulu then gave his relatives the Mngadis the chieftaincy because he could not become the chief at that time since he was busy with his studies of becoming a doctor at…Fort Hare. He was studying to work on malarial infections. He was one of the first black people in the country to study this.

AM: He studied at Fort Hare?

PM: Yes he did.

AM: You said your uncle narrated history to you – was that your maternal uncle?

PM: Yes.

AM: What was his name?

PM: Rosebery Ludonga Hlubi.

AM: Uhm… Do you know how the Hlubi family ended up in Mpolweni?

PM: The Hlubi family ended up in Mpolweni through having bought farms. Their first farm was in Edendale, which is now a library. The second one in Cramond and the third one in Mpolweni. The Cramond one is by Mngeni river. They then moved from Cramond to Mpolweni. They loved Mpolweni.

AM: They loved Mpolweni?

PM: Yes, they did.

AM: Do you know when the missionaries arrived in Mpolweni?

PM: Weh… I am not aware. My uncle did tell me about such things, but I did not write these things down at that time. However, he did tell me that they (Hlubi) arrived in Mpolweniu having bought farms, but when they ran out of money and when their great-grandfather had passed on, they did not have money. The whites who had owned the farms wanted their farms back and said people in Mpolweni should leave. From that, Mr Mahlaba (Absalom Bhekuyise Mahlaba) my uncle and Mr Zakhele Ndlela known as Mr Ndlela wrote a letter to the boers who had the farms saying that they cannot leave Mpolweni since the outstanding amount that the Hlubis had was small. The letter stated that the people of Mpolweni cannot leave this community and move to Swayimane. They will remain in Mpolweni. After the letter was sent, the

response was an agreement that the people of Mpolweni will no longer be forced to leave.

AM: Thank you for mentioning that.

AM: Uhm. Were you involved in politics as a young person during Apartheid?

PM: We used to attend a lot of ANC things.

AM: How old were you at that time?

PM: I was 16 or 17. We attended rallies, marches.

AM: What do you remember about this?

PM: What I remember is we used to go around teaching people about voting especially during the build-up to the 1994 election. We also used to do door-to-door campaigns spreading awareness about voting. We also helped out at IEC with voting assistance.

AM: Which political party were you part of at that time?

PM: It was the ANC.

AM: Why?

PM: It was the only party we thought would govern properly in Mpolweni and it had ruled in Mpolweni.

AM: Was there another political party besides the ANC?

PM: Inkatha was there.

AM: How was its status in the community?

PM: It was not too popular. A lot of people had joined the ANC.

AM: Uhm. How was the situation between the ANC and Inkatha in Mpolweni?

PM: There was a war between locations (Mpolweni enkulu, uMkhangala, Gudludonga naseMseni) in Mpolweni due to ANC-Inkatha rifts. Within these

locations some people from them would accuse those who were not active in ANC activities for being Inkatha. However, a lot of people were being killed at that time and therefore peace had to be brokered since the police had intervened.

AM: Uhm… During apartheid, was the Mngadi chieftaincy still in place?

PM: Yes it was still there.

AM: Do you know when the chief passed on?

PM: Ey… I do not remember when Mr Mngadi passed away.

AM: What role did the chief play in the community?

PM: If there was a case, it was heard and mediated by the chief. You also received land plots from the chief having started with the induna (headman). Before slaughtering a cow you had to report to the chief and would need to take the liver to the chief as a gift. The intestines would be sent to the man who dipped cows (Mr Ndlovu).

AM: Who was the dip man?

PM: The dip man was responsible for the dipping of cattle, looking after the dip and the records surrounding it.

AM: Uhm… did the chief play any role in local politics?

PM: The chief tried to broker peace between the ANC and Inkatha. Although it was also accused of being Inkatha. However, it tried to broker peace between these two parties.

AM: So the chief was suspected of being Inkatha?

PM: Yes.

Interviewer: What sparked these suspicions?

Mrs N Thango (NT) requested to chirp in here.

NT: Initially in Mpolweni, there was no ANC. It only became prominent through David Mkhize, Moses Mkhize's father (who is the former councillor of Mpolweni). Initially, in Mpolweni the ANC was hated. People preferred Inkatha. It was not easy for the ANC to find support in Mpolweni. The ANC came into the picture in Mpolweni due to the youth, which seemed to not support the IFP. There was a funeral – I have forgotten which one. At that funeral people started chanting ANC songs and this is what entrenched the support of the ANC. After the funeral it was clear that political support had turned towards the ANC. The IFP had lesser support.

AM: Which family was notorious for being Inkatha supporters? Which people were known for being Inkatha?

NT: People did not overtly show which party they were part of. However, Inkatha appealed to the elderly since it was seen as a peaceful organisation. Old people preferred peace since it was commonly held that the ANC had militant people who killed and so on. The Mahlaba family has relations with Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi's wife. There was links between the Mahlaba family and Inkatha since the wife of the latter's founder was related to the former (since our grandmother Kate was MaNdlovu and Buthelezi's wife's mother is also MaNdlovu).

AM: Are relations between the Mahlaba family and Prince Buthelezi's (known as uMntwana waKwaphindangene) still there?

NT: Relations are still there due to ukuzalana. However, the family no longer supports Inkatha. Nonetheless, relations are still there since at the funeral of our grandmother, Irene (Buthelezi's wife) was there.

AM: Thank you Ma. (Pause. Attention returns to PM)

AM: Uhm… Do you know who is the owner of communal land in Mpolweni between the councillor…or between the municipality and the church?

PM: According to my own knowledge the church (Uniting Presbyterian Church) is still responsible for communal land in Mpolweni.

AM: So the municipality has not taken over this function?

PM: No it has not.

AM: What are your views on development in Mpolweni and the way things are going on?

PM: Development in Mpolweni is somewhat there because we have water, electricity. Roads are being fixed. (Silence)

AM: When you compare things from then to now is there a difference?

PM: Yes, there is a difference. We see a huge one.

AM: How was it like before? How was the situation?

PM: Before it was hard. There was a bus that used infrequent schedules. On Sundays it did not operate. We drank water from the dam and had to fight with cows for water. There were cholera outbreaks as well since there was no piped water. However, now we drink piped water.

AM: So there was lack of service delivery then?

PM: Yes.

AM: Uhm… What do you think about the role that the church plays in Mpolweni? The Uniting Presbyterian Church that is?

PM: The Uniting Presbyterian Church plays a vital role for the youth and community as a whole. Also the church does not discriminate against other church affiliations. In

Mpolweni various denominational groups are allowed and are there. Before we only knew Mpolweni Mission as only having the Uniting Presbyterian Church only.

AM: Thank you. Is there anything else you would like to add?

PM: No.

AM: Thank you, Miss Mahlaba.

(Pause. Change in interviewees. Now focus entirely on NT).

AM: Uhm… I would like to ask – when were you born?

NT: I was born on the 31st of April 1958. I was born in Mpolweni Mission.

AM: Uhm… What do you do for a living?

NT: Right now… I am a principal in one of the schools in Dambuza…Edendale in Pietermaritzburg.

AM: What is the name of the school?

NT: Bongudunga Secondary School.

AM: How long have you been working there for as principal?

NT: I have… been working…there for 7 years as principal?

AM: Uhm… Can you explain to me how the structure of your family was like when you were growing up? How many of you were there?

NT: There were four of us. But there was this thing of knowing that we were a family and related to each other. We lived together in the homestead. Our parents were working far from home. We were raised by our grandmother and grandfather. We placed value on family. The family treated no child as an orphan… Our grandparents even took children from extended family to come stay with us.

AM: Thank you. You mentioned that it was the four of you. May you please list each person according to the order they were born?

NT: The first-born is my sister Nonhlanhla. Followed by my brother, Phumelele who is late. Followed by me Ntombenhle Thango (who married to the Thangos) and then our young sister, Nomusa Mahlaba who is late.

AM: May you please provide me with the names of your parents?

NT: My parents are Absalom Bhekuyise Mahlaba, my father who was a principal in a high school in KwaSwayimane. My mother is Isabel Dumisile Mahlaba who is MaNdimande. She taught in farm schools in Howick.

AM: Where was your mother born?

NT: My mother was born in KwaMaphumulo. That is where she was born. She then married to the Mahlabas in Mpolweni.

AM: Where was your father born?

NT: My father was born in Zinyoluka, which is not far from Mpolweni. They then moved from Zinyoluka to Mpolweni where they grew up.

AM: Do you know what led to their move to Mpolweni?

NT: Phone rings… Interviewee 2 requests interviewee 1 to answer her phone. I do not know much what led to their move. However, we will find out through Bongani Mahlaba who has in-depth knowledge about why this move from Zinyoluka to Mpolweni took place.

AM: What do you remember about growing up in Mpolweni?

NT: Growing up in Mpolweni at the time we were growing up was nice because a child was everyone's. If you did something, everyone was able to discipline you and

could report it to your family because families knew each other and had strong ties. Families knew which child belonged to who. There was a lot of respect at that time because wherever you walked you knew everyone was watching you and could report you if you did something wrong. We grew up respecting each other. We knew older people and respected them. You greeted them whether you knew them or not. Respect and greeting was the order of the day those days. A boy would not walk past an older person with a hat or cap on. If they walked past an older person, they had to take these off. Every elderly person was treated with respect and was greeted. If you came across someone carrying stuff, you would ask them where they were going and help them carry their things until they got to their destination.

AM: Thank you for that. Uhm… Do you remember your grandmother and grandfather?

NT: I do remember them. A lot. Mkhulu and Gogo were well known people in Mpolweni. Mkhulu was a headman of the farm and worked under a white person. Mission was under… at that time there was a white man called Courtz… He was called Peter Courtz at that time. He worked closely with mkhulu and would come to check the state of Mpolweni. In winter when it was time to set fire on the veld, mkhulu would find people who would set fire on the veld by the fence that covered Mpolweni. Mkhulu would also hire people who worked. Courtz would then come to pay off these people for their labour. There is an office now in Mpolweni, which is now a hall. It was an office where this white man Courtz would meet with Mkhulu. As my sister (interviewee one) has already stated, Mkhulu used a horse called Mazarina. When he

went to meetings with Courtz, he would go on this horse. He was known as the headman of Mpolweni Mission.

AM: This white man, did he work for government or the church?

NT: I think at that time as it has been said there were whites who wanted to seize back Mpolweni. Mpolweni at that time was a mission so these whites would come and check on the state of Mpolweni and how things were going.

AM: Thank you. Uhm… You have mentioned what your grandfather did for a living, what did your grandmother do maybe for a living?

NT: My grandmother loved ploughing the fields. We would wake up and go plough the fields before we went to school. Cattle was used to plough. She wanted us to plant mealies, potatoes, beans… At the time of ploughing before going to school we would wake up at 04:00 am in the early hours of the morning and go to the fields to plough before going to school. She loved working in the fields. She made a living by making woven mats from scratch, brooms and would sell it. She would sell it on days where people went to receive their state support. She would be there to sell these things. We used to milk cows. We had a lot of cows. We also had amasi. She gave needy people milk and amasi. She used to also take care of sickly children and that is how she made a living. People would come from far to bring their children, which she would take care of and bring to life. People came from Edendale and other far places to bring their children to her.

AM: Thank you for that. How are you related to MaHlubi Mahlaba?

NT: MaHlubi Mahlaba was married to my paternal uncle, my father's brother. She was my uncle's wife. My uncle is late. We stayed together with MaHlubi. She looked

after us since our parents worked far from home. She cooked food for us – ensured that we ate. When we went to sleep, I usually went to sleep with her. She also worked at the crèche because at that time she no longer stayed with us, but had her own house. However, every morning before going to school, I would first start at the crèche where she would make me food – cocoa, bread with margarine, peanut butter and jam. I would go to school full.

AM: Which school did you go to?

NT: It was Mpolweni Primary School. However, I did all my schooling in Mpolweni.

AM: Uhm… Do you know anything about the Mahla… Hlubi chieftaincy?

NT: Eish. I do not have the history of that. I do know that Mamncane (MaHlubi) was from there though.

AM: Thank you so much for answering all these questions.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Interviewee One: Mahlaba, Phindile Interviewer: Mahlaba, Ayanda

Interviewee Two: Thango, Ntombenhle

Interviewee One's Occupation: Child and Youth Care Worker

Interviewee Two's Occupation: Principal

Interviewee One's Date and Place of Birth: 08 March 1976, Mpolweni Mission

Interviewee Two's Date and Place of Birth: 31 April 1958, Mpolweni Mission

Date Interviewed: 4 May 2017

Length of Interview: 30 minutes

Recording equipment: iPhone Voice Memo

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Phindile Mahlaba and Ntombenhle Thango unpack their growing up in Mpolweni Mission, which is outside of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal; the dynamics that surrounded their childhood in the Mahlaba homestead (their paternal side), which is linked to the complexities surrounding the Hlubi and then later Mngadi chieftaincies and their relationships with the missionaries and local politics; ANC-IFP clashes and violence in the 1960s and how it affected the various sections of the community as well as offer reflections on the contemporary setting of Mpolweni in terms of development, the contentions between the municipality and Uniting Presbyterian Church on communal land drawing on their past recollections.