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ABANTU BESIZWE

for Melanie  
*ekugqibeleni*

# Abantu besizwe

Historical and biographical writings, 1902–1944

S.E.K. Mqhayi

edited and translated by  
Jeff Opland

with the assistance of  
Luvo Mabinza, Koliswa Moropa,  
Nosisi Mpolweni and Abner Nyamende



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## Preface

by Jeff Peires

“Our Shakespeare! Our Laureate!” eulogised former ANC President Alfred Xuma when he unveiled S.E.K. Mqhayi’s tombstone in 1951.<sup>1</sup> And the young Nelson Mandela, seeing Mqhayi in action at Healdtown in 1938, compared the experience to “a comet streaking through the night sky.”<sup>2</sup> More humbly, and in words which Mqhayi himself would have appreciated, one of the mourners at his funeral simply said, “If we should try and say all that can be said about the deceased, we should remain here until tomorrow morning, and still we should not have said all that can be said of him.”<sup>3</sup>

Most unfortunately, the wider world has never had the opportunity of assessing Mqhayi for itself due to the almost total absence of any accessible translation.<sup>4</sup> Even more remarkable is the fact that the isiXhosa-speaking public is little better off. Only two of Mqhayi’s novels and a scattered handful of his poems are still in print and, of these, his greatest novel *Ityala lamawele* is available only in an abridged edition with all of its substantial historical chapters deliberately excised. The blame for this tragic situation must be laid squarely at the door of the Reverend R.H.W. Shepherd, whose twenty-year reign of terror at the Lovedale Press coincided with the flowering of Mqhayi’s literary genius.<sup>5</sup> The Lovedale Press had an effective monopoly on the publication of books in the isiXhosa language, and its hostility to Mqhayi was directly responsible for the loss of three of his original manuscripts, two of which are known to have had significant historical content, not counting Mqhayi’s book-length history of the amaXhosa which has disappeared under circumstances related by Jeff Opland in his introduction to this volume. And even those historical fragments saved from the holocaust by publication elsewhere were liable to politically-inspired censorship. Take Mqhayi’s article on the Battle of Amalinde (item 32 of this collection), which originally appeared in the newspaper *Umteteli wa Bantu* in 1928. This was reprinted in W.G. Bennie’s schools anthology *Imibengo* (1935), but without the telling sub-title, “Ukutelekiswa ngu Mlungu” (“White Provocation”) and without the important opening paragraph.

Unbeknownst however – the fairytale connotation of this archaic word is entirely appropriate – to almost everybody, substantial fragments of Mqhayi’s history survived for decades hidden deep within innumerable reams of old

newsprint, buried in obscure locations at home and abroad. Jeff Opland has performed an immense task of rescue and recovery, akin to digging through the rubble with a toothpick in search of earthquake survivors. His diligence has been rewarded by the discovery of warm bodies, still very much alive and just as vigorous and articulate as they were on the day that they disappeared. I would not like to pre-empt the Introduction which follows, or to spoil the readers' pleasure in discovering for themselves the "capacious granary" which is S.E.K. Mqhayi. But, having written an assessment of Mqhayi's historical work on the basis of *Ityala lamawele* only,<sup>6</sup> I trust it may be helpful to indicate how that assessment has been broadened by the new material presented here for the first time.

Most important of all is the 1927 article entitled quite simply "Imbali" ("History"), which the editor has quite correctly taken out of its chronological sequence and inserted as a Prologue to the whole. Mqhayi here expresses his concern that African political leaders will be unable to defend African rights because they have become ignorant of their own history due to the anglocentric nature of their schooling ("The English ... are the only people with intelligence, prudence, knowledge, they alone have national heroes, they have never been defeated by any other nation on earth; they claim as theirs even those things that clearly did not originate with them, and in this way they indoctrinate nations who do not appreciate that their awe of the English is exaggerated, that their respect for them is excessive"). Educated people have swallowed these lies, and have been misled into abandoning their fathers and their chiefs. A proper understanding of history is moreover the key to correct political strategy. One should not become too fixated on Generals Smuts and Hertzog, the oppressors of the moment. The colonial plan was devised long before their time and it will still be there after they are gone. Political leaders must study history because it tells us where we came from, and it enables us to understand where we are today.

Given this strong political orientation, one might expect Mqhayi's historical writings to display strong political biases but this is not the case. Out of these 65 articles, only two are overtly political. The first of these (item 4 on Captain Veldtman) is a savage ironic attack on the originator of Fingo Emancipation Day, a ceremony which Mqhayi particularly detested, but the invective is reserved for the accompanying praise-poem rather than the prose paragraphs. The second (item 32 on the Battle of Amalinde) is essentially a commentary

on an 1837 polemic, "The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation," which Mqhayi had read.<sup>7</sup> His primary objective is to correct the popular perception that this battle, between Chief Ngqika and his uncle Ndlambe, arose out of the domestic quarrel over Ndlambe's wife Thuthula, whereas the real reason was colonial intervention in Xhosa internal politics. The same theme is echoed in item 27 (on Ngqika), where Mqhayi writes that the other Rharhabe chiefs "realised that this youngster [Ngqika] had sold them to the whites. They resolved to embarrass him and deprive him of power before he went too far ... and so the principal reason for the Battle of Amalinde was to disempower Ngqika, and it was not over Thuthula as most people believe."

The alert reader will notice that Mqhayi does not mince words in discussing Chief Ngqika despite the fact that his own greatgrandfather, the original Mqhayi, was Ngqika's councillor. This brings us to the second outstanding characteristic of Mqhayi as a historian. History, for Mqhayi, consists of "facts" (*izinto*, which can be literally translated as "things"). The important contrast, as far as he is concerned, is not between different interpretations of history but between those people who are "well grounded in knowledge, talking from fact" and those people who are variously described as knowing nothing, hopping on one leg, living their lives with blunt teeth, fools running wild, strutting proudly, plucking fact from air. The era in which Mqhayi lived was one in which it was entirely reasonable to fear that all meaningful knowledge of the past was in danger of disappearing forever. His role as a historian was primarily to preserve that past and not, despite his opinions on History already quoted, to take a political stand. Hence his article (item 34) on the African National Congress, written during the Presidency of J.T. Gumede when the battle between right-wingers and left-wingers within the ANC was at its height,<sup>8</sup> does not touch on any burning issue but simply attempts to set the record straight with regard to the origins of the Congress.

It is this over-riding concern to preserve the truth that enables Mqhayi to bridge the gap between the great kings and valorous deeds of the heroic past and the obscure personalities and rundown missions of his own lifetime. It is this over-riding concern that enables him to depict the specific as well as the general, as is well demonstrated in his obituary of Rev J.M. Auld (item 49). Auld personified everything about missions which Mqhayi most hated and most condemned in his writings. But Auld was also missionary to Nzanzana,

Mqhayi's uncle in Centane, and Mqhayi knew him well." The consequence is a sensitive portrait in which Mqhayi compromises neither his principles nor his compassion as a human being. Finally, it is this same over-riding concern that causes Mqhayi to record for posterity historical personages and incidents that have nothing to do with politics or colonialism, such as his biography of Rharhabe (item 28) who never ever met a white person. All that we know about Rharhabe we know from Mqhayi, and the same can be said of many of the incidents from Xhosa history which are recorded for the first and only time in this remarkable collection.

I don't know whether Mqhayi ever read the Greek historian Herodotus. To tell the truth, very few historians, including myself, ever bother with Herodotus until they are well confirmed and established as professional historians. But we respect Herodotus as the father of History because he defined its purpose as follows: "To prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time, and to preserve the fame of important and remarkable achievements." By this criterion, or indeed by any other, Mqhayi qualifies not only as a great literary figure but also as a great historian.

## Acknowledgements

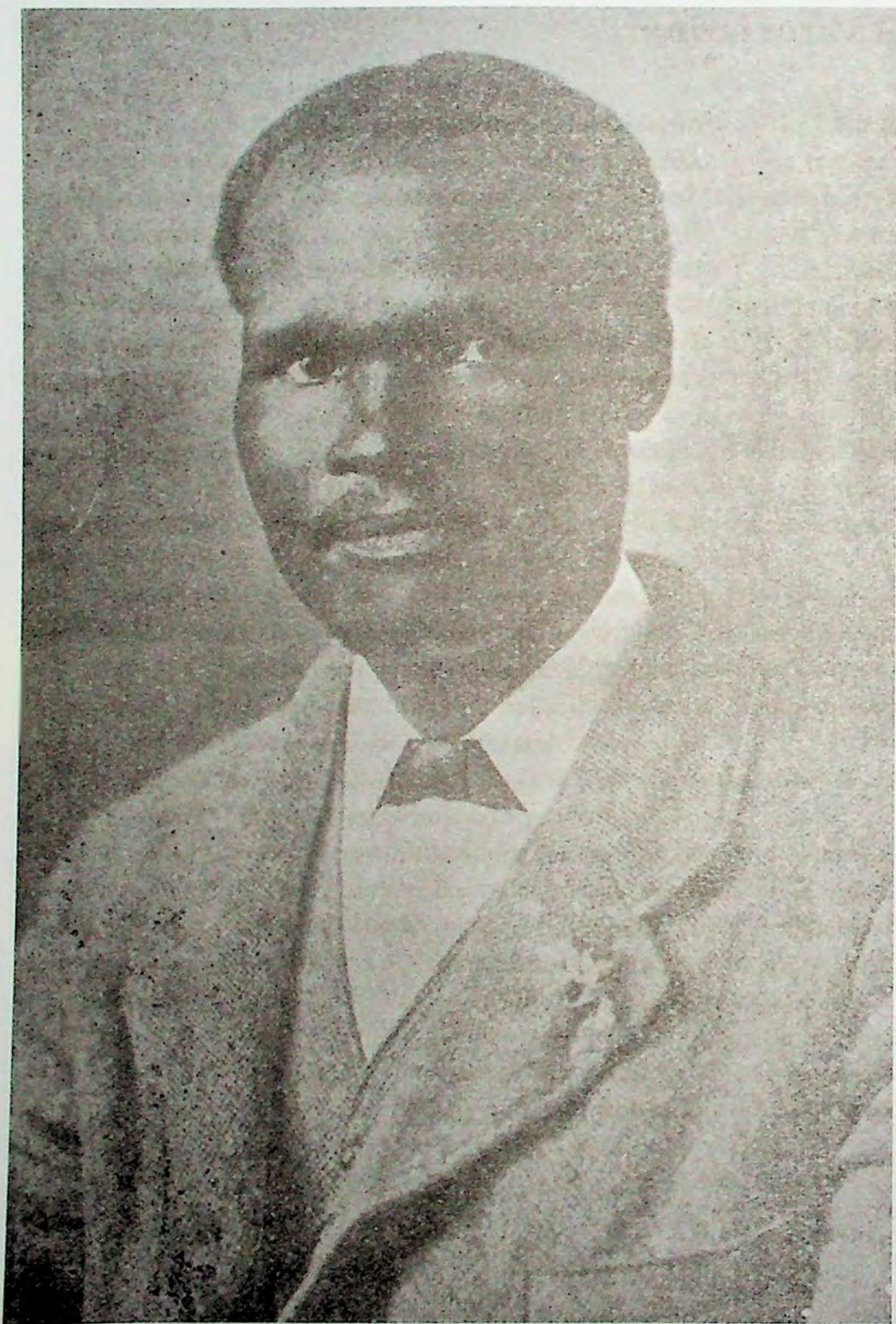
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## Abbreviations

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| AME:              | African Methodist Episcopal  |
| ANC:              | African National Congress  |
| Cory Library:     | Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University  |
| DRC:              | Dutch Reformed Church  |
| DSAB:             | <i>Dictionary of South African biography</i> (5 volumes)   |
| GMS:              | Glasgow Missionary Society   |
| <i>Imvo:</i>      | <i>Imvo zabantsundu bomzantsi Afrika, Imvo neliso lomzi, Imvo zontsundu neliso lomzi</i>                               |
| IOTT:             | Independent Order of True Templars   |
| <i>Isigidimi:</i> | <i>Isigidimi sama-Xosa</i>   |
| <i>Izwi:</i>      | <i>Izwi labantu</i>  |
| Kropf:            | Albert Kropf, <i>A Kafir-English dictionary</i> rev Robert Godfrey (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1915)            |
| LMS:              | London Missionary Society  |
| NDSAB 1:          | E.J. Verwey (ed), <i>New dictionary of South African biography</i> volume 1 (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1995)          |
| NDSAB 2:          | Nelly E. Sonderling (ed), <i>New dictionary of South African biography</i> volume 2 (Pretoria: Vista University, 1999) |
| Pahl:             | H.W. Pahl (ed), <i>The greater dictionary of Xhosa vol 3: Q-Z</i> (Alice: University of Fort Hare, 1989)               |
| SALC:             | South African Labour Contingent  |
| SANC:             | South African Native Congress  |
| SANNC:            | South African Native National Congress   |
| SXR:              | Stewart Xhosa Readers  |
| <i>Umteteli:</i>  | <i>Umteteli wabantu</i>  |



## Introduction

Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi was born in the village of Gqumahashe near Alice in 1875 and died in 1945 at his home on Ntabozuko, Mount Glory, outside the little village of Berlin near East London. Two days later he was buried on the lonely slopes of Ntabozuko. Six years later, on 26 March 1951, an august gathering that included J.A. Calata, A.W. Champion, D.D.T. Jabavu and A.B. Xuma assembled over his grave to unveil a memorial tombstone, which bears the following Xhosa inscription:

APHA KULELE U  
 SAMUEL KRUNE MQHAYI,  
 Uzelwe nge 1st Dec. 1875 – Wabuba nge 29 July 1945.  
 Imbongi yesizwe umbali weencwadi,  
 Iphakathi lekomkhulu lamaXhosa jikelele,  
 Inkokeli, umkrestu wenyaniso,  
 Makaphumle ngoxolo,  
 Umoya yakhe mauhlale usikhokela,  
 Eli litye libekwe sisizwe nosapho lwakhe,  
 Phantsi kwesikhumbuzo sikantsikana ongcwele

the English translation of which is

HERE LIES  
 SAMUEL KRUNE MQHAYI,  
 Born on 1 December 1875 – He died on 29 July 1945.  
 Poet of the Nation, author of books,  
 Royal councillor of all the Xhosa people,  
 Leader, true Christian,  
 May he rest in peace,  
 May his spirit live on to lead us.  
 This stone was laid by his nation and family  
 Under the auspices of the Saint Ntsikana Commemoration.



In the midst of a thunderstorm, Xuma addressed the crowd of about 500:

As a living memorial to Samuel Mqhayi, our African Shakespeare, our Poet Laureate, we must resolve here and now to make education Priority No. 1 on the programme.

We must resolve to educate our children, and urge all our people to do the same. Africans are discovering themselves. They show their readiness to make their full contribution in the building of a true South African nation – a nation composed not of one colour or one section, but a nation in which all peoples and colours that live together in our sub-Continent will have equality of opportunity to develop to the fullest their God-given abilities and talent, to the benefit of South Africa as a whole.<sup>10</sup>

Some 30 years after Mqhayi's death, in 1976, I tried to find his grave, and eventually succeeded only with considerable difficulty. The exact location was unmarked, and I had to struggle through brambles and bushes to get to it. Respectfully, I placed a stone on the grave. The obelisk erected in 1951 stood proud and tall over the grave, rising above the obscurity and neglect of the site. It served as a source of both anger and inspiration to me over the succeeding years. In July 2008 I returned to the grave with my son Daniel. Now we had to report to a municipal sewage dump below the hill to collect a guide who directed us over a rutted trackway, through branches that strained to inhibit our passage, on to a tiny clearing near the gravesite. The area below the grave had been coldly cemented over, stifling the natural growth, and a few family graves had been added. The whole area was hemmed in by a cage of wire netting topped with vicious loops of razor wire, like so many crowns of thorns, denying access to anyone who might wish to place a stone. The inscriptions, in deep shadow, were difficult to make out. But the glorious obelisk rose tall above the well-intentioned desecration, reflecting the sunlight, and Mqhayi's spirit lives on to lead us, here on his beloved Ntabozuko, as in his peerless writings. Some of those writings, mostly now as inaccessible as his grave, are assembled in this book and herewith returned to the people of his beloved nation.

## LIFE

Mqhayi's family were originally Thembu, members of the Zima clan.<sup>11</sup> When Zima was assassinated, Sheshegu son of Ntshezi moved westwards across the Kei to settle among the Dange in what is now the Victoria East district, giving his name to the settlement. Sheshegu's son Mqhayi was, like other members of his family, very tall, an accomplished singer and dancer. The Rharhabe king Ngqika, son of Mlawu, fancied himself as a dancer and often travelled to festivities with a hand-picked troupe. One day at a wedding feast at the Bhalurha stream he saw Mqhayi dancing, besting his own dancers, and he immediately claimed Mqhayi as his own, offering the Dange a herd of cattle in compensation for their loss. Ngqika appointed Mqhayi to his council, and they grew as close and inseparable as a mouthpiece to a trumpet, as a rope to a milkpail, in the words of Mqhayi's praise poem. Mqhayi died a heroic death during Hints'a War in 1834. Amongst other children, he left three sons, Krune, Nzanzana and Peku. Krune became a Christian convert, was for many years a leading member of Rev Elijah Makiwane's congregation at Macfarlan in the Tyhume valley, and died in 1895 at the age of 96. His son Ziwani, born in 1830, taught at Auckland, fought in Mlanjeni's War, worked on road construction, and finally settled in Grahamstown. A fine singer, he died in 1920 at the age of 90.

Samuel was the son of Ziwani and Qashani, daughter of Bedle. His son-in-law, the author G.B. Sinxo, later wrote:

Mr. Samuel Mqhayi was born at Gqumahashe, Alice, in 1875. Before Samuel's birth his parents had not had a single boy-child and they wished so much to have one that special prayers were made to Heaven for a baby boy. How joyful they were when their prayers were answered and at last a boy was born to them. In thankfulness they named the boy "Samuel" which name means "Asked of God" and with the same words used by the parents of one of Israel's greatest prophets, Samuel, dedicated the child to God. In that resolve their intentions may have been to train the boy for holy orders, but little did they know that their hopes would still be more amply gratified. (Sinxo: 1935)

The eldest son of Christian parents, Samuel was born in the Tyhume valley. Two years later, his mother died. A somewhat solitary child, he started attending school at Evergreen, six miles from his home, in 1882, where he was known

as Samuel Krune, using his grandfather's name as his surname. One day, after a successful school celebration, a teacher awarded all the pupils new names; Samuel was given the name Edward (though only one of his sisters ever called him by that name). He thus assumed the name Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi, finally adopting his greatgrandfather's name as his surname.

In June of 1885, the year of the witgatboom famine, or the year of East Coast fever (*umnyaka wenDlala yomPhunzisa*, or *umnyaka wesiTwayi*), Mqhayi's father Ziwani left Zingqayi near Adelaide and moved his family eastwards across the Kei to Ngede in the Centane district, where Ziwani's uncle Nzanzana was headman. The young Samuel, not yet ten, accompanied him, together with two of his sisters; his grandfather Krune stayed behind, as well as his eldest sister Satyi, who was employed at the Lovedale Institution. For six years Samuel absorbed traditional language, customs and lore, developing a particular fascination for legal proceedings. At school he was an outstanding pupil, and an avid reader, but grew frustrated at the slow development of his education. During the six formative years the young Mqhayi spent at Centane, Ziwani moved to Grahamstown, and Nzanzana died in January 1891.

Ziwani supported his son's desire for education. In April 1891 Satyi arrived to take him back with her to Lovedale to advance his schooling. There he worked part-time to earn extra money. In 1894 Samuel withdrew from school and, in defiance of his missionary teachers, he entered an initiation lodge. He had come to the realisation that his future lay in service to his people, and he felt he could not fulfil that ambition if he were not one of them. On 6 March Samuel was circumcised, risking expulsion from school, but he was later readmitted to Lovedale, enduring only strong reprimands, from John Knox Bokwe among others. With initiation behind him, the way was now clear for him to pursue his Christian inclinations. He remained behind after a revival meeting at Lovedale, expressed his commitment to Rev Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba and was admitted as a member of the congregation; Mzimba later baptised Samuel. During vacations he stayed in East London in the house of Rev W.B. Rubusana, who was married to Deena the daughter of Nzanzana, and was able to spend time with his grandfather Krune before his death in 1895. He visited his father Ziwani in Grahamstown, and became acquainted with outstanding men of the day such as Elijah Makiwane and Isaac Williams Wauchope.

In 1897 Mqhayi left Lovedale to assume a teaching position at a school in West Bank, East London, under the charge of Rubusana. His heart was

not really in teaching, but he accepted the position largely out of respect for Rubusana. In November of the same year the newspaper *Izwi labantu* was launched in East London, with Nathaniel Cyril Mhala as editor and George Tyamzashe as sub-editor. Mqhayi says that Mhala "did not stay long in this position" (*itúba lingabanga ngakanani elapo u-Motameli*, item 16); Allan Kirkland Soga succeeded him as editor, and Mqhayi succeeded Tyamzashe as sub-editor. In 1900 (according to Switzer and Switzer, 53) Mqhayi returned to Centane, where he lived for 6 years as a councillor at the Great Place of Khona, eldest son of Maqoma, his grandfather's chief, but in September 1906 *Izwi* announced that "Mr S.E. Mqayi of Centane has resumed his position as sub-editor of *Izwi labantu*" (*U Mr S.E. Mqayi wakwa Centane ubuye walutabata uluti lwake, njengo Mhleli oncedisayo kwi Zwi Labantu*).<sup>12</sup> In East London Mqhayi exercised his concern about the injustices blacks suffered under white administration, and he became involved in local politics, serving as Vice-Chairman of *Iliso lomzi*, the local Vigilance Association; he was elected as a member of the Executive Committee of *Ingqungquthela*, the South African Native Congress, in 1906.

In April 1909 *Izwi* ceased publication, and Mqhayi moved to Ndlambe territory to teach in a succession of Anglican schools, finally founding a Presbyterian school at Macleantown, where he worked successfully for over 10 years, active in education, community affairs and the temperance movement. In 1920 he bowed to persistent requests from John Tengo Jabavu, founding editor of the King Williams Town newspaper *Imvo zabantsundu*, to relieve him in his ill health. After Jabavu's death in September 1921, Mqhayi resigned as editor of *Imvo* and returned to his school in Macleantown. In 1922 he accepted a teaching post at Lovedale, but resigned, perhaps in 1925,<sup>13</sup> because his lessons were clearly at odds with the institution and its outlook (*Kubonakele ke ngoku ukuba iimfundiso zam azinqhinelani nezomzi lo kwa neenjongo zawo*, Mqhayi: 1939, 80). He returned to his house among the Ndlambe but, feeling crowded, obtained permission to build a show farm on the rocky Tilana's Hill, which he renamed Ntab'ozuko, Mount Glory, hoping that there God would glorify himself through Mqhayi's efforts to serve his nation and its peoples (*Ndiyinike igama elitsha lokuba yi "Ntaba yoZuko," apho ndithembe ukuba uThixo wozizukisa khona ngam, ... ndizama ukukhonza isizwe nesizukulwana*, Mqhayi: 1939, 81-82).

By now a well-established and renowned literary personality, Mqhayi continued to involve himself in translation projects, including a revision of the translation of the Bible. Living in close proximity to the Ndlambe, Ngqika and Gcaleka peoples, Mqhayi served as Chairman of the Ciskei Native Convention, an annual meeting of Ciskei chiefs, and as a councillor to the Ndlambe chief Silimela Makinana, becoming known as Silimela's "Prime Minister." He frequently accompanied chiefs such as Silimela and Archie Sandile on their travels. In politics, social affairs and education, he supported *Iliso lomzi*, the SANNC and the SANC, the Bantu Union, the IOTT, the Agricultural Union and the Cape Native Teachers' Association, and he regularly attended and participated in the annual Ntsikana Day celebrations.

Mqhayi married three times. He married his first wife, the daughter of Petros Nxhe, a Lovedale pupil, when he was 24 and she 17, after knowing her for just five months. Six years after her death, he married Amy Cukudu of Mgwali, who died on 14 May 1935. All Mqhayi's children came from these two marriages. Finally, he married Princess Winnie Makinana, Silimela's daughter, in St Katherine's Church, Berlin on 6 July 1939.

#### MQHAYI AS IMBONGI

Mqhayi concludes his autobiography with a poem. He recalls that when he was a small boy at Centane, a younger friend used to invigorate them with little poems (*ebimana ukusihlaziya ngezibongwana ezifutshane*, 86), either of his own composition or using the words of others. Of Mqhayi, he used to say

Lugag' olubomvu  
 Esaluphosa singamakhwenkwe,  
 Saluphosa noko sesingamadoda;  
 Lility' elingquthu lasemaZimeni.  
 Usihlambela bhafni, ngokwenkosazana;  
 Usigoxa kamileni ngokwenkosi yomlungu  
 Ntak' enamandla sisinagogo,  
 Kuba sibalek' amathumb' elenga-lenga. (Mqhayi: 1939, 87)

He's a red robin,  
 which as boys we aimed at and missed:  
 even as men we aimed at and missed it.  
 He's a massive stone of the Zima clan.  
 Bather in a bath, like a princess.  
 Hider in a room, like a European lord.  
 The powerful bird's the barbet:  
 it flees with its guts dangling out.

Creating poetry like this (the Xhosa word for poetry is *izibongo*; the verb *ukubonga* defines the performance of an oral *izibongo*) was a common youthful amusement. Children would grow up hearing the poems of their clans, of their parents and of their friends. They would, if they wished, learn to repeat these poems current in oral tradition, and perhaps make up poems of their own. Mqhayi's companion could himself have created this poem about Mqhayi, perhaps borrowing apposite phrases current in the tradition about other people; Mqhayi, if he wished, could have memorised this poem (as he clearly did) and perhaps added to it lines of his own to form his personal *izibongo*. In general, everyone assembled or acquired a personal poem, everyone knew the poems about their clans or those of their associates. Boys delighted in composing poems about the livestock they herded, or repeated traditional poems about the birds or animals of the veld. On ceremonial occasions, clan or family heads would recite the poems of the clan, or of the family ancestors, to invoke the ancestors and ensure their sympathetic attention. *Izibongo* could be used to thank or encourage people, to inspire or incite them, to identify them as unique individuals or as members of social groupings. In the texts that follow, Mqhayi frequently refers to people by alternative names, or qualifies their names with snatches from their personal poems. A.K. Soga, for example, is *Ingqomb' o Nosantso, u Mnqayi womlungu yi Rayifile* (the dark brown son of Nosantso, Rifle, the white man's stick, item 26); in item 38, King Sandile is referred to by his praise name, Mgolombane, and by a few lines from his *izibongo*. All these poems about birds and animals, about commoners and clans, are transmitted through oral tradition; old poems may pass out of memory, new ones are constantly coined. But the names of the chief and his ancestors carry particular weight and significance; the chief himself cannot utter the words of his own poem, since his formal words are too powerful, too dangerous. A special official

performed the king's praises, the tribal poet, or bard – the *imbongi*. The *imbongi* was associated with the royal court, the Great Place, and, dressed in a distinctive cloak and hat of animal skin and, carrying two spears, produced *izibongo* praising or criticising the chief, the most esteemed form of Xhosa literary art. And, then or now, the greatest of all Xhosa *imbongi* was S.E.K. Mqhayi.<sup>14</sup>

As a boy Mqhayi enjoyed hearing and composing *izibongo*:

Izibongo yinto endayithanda ukuyiva ndisemncinane; kube mnandi nakum xa ndibongwayo. Ndazibonga nam neenkomo ezithile zakowethu nje ngomalusi; ndabonga nezinja, namanye amakhwenk-wana. Isuke into ithi qatha engqondweni, ndiyiqhube; kanti loo nto iya kukholisa abantu abaninzi. (Mqhayi: 1939, 71)

I loved to hear poetry as a child; it pleased me to hear a poem about myself. I myself used to praise particular cattle of ours in poetry when I was herding; I praised dogs, and other boys. The words just sprang to mind, and I uttered them; yet this delighted many people.

As an adult, Mqhayi travelled with the Rharhabe chiefs as their councillor, but also as their *imbongi*. He produced praises on a wide variety of ceremonial occasions, at Ngangomhlaba's wedding in 1924 and in honour of the Prince of Wales in 1925 and 1934, at a gathering of women Presbyterians in 1934 and at the installation of Chief Kaiser Mathanzima in 1940. He regularly produced *izibongo* at the annual Ntsikana Day celebrations, held in places such as Johannesburg (1927), Nancefield (1928), Fort Hare (1935), King Williams Town (1938), Mgwali (1939), East London (1940), Grahamstown (1942), Lovedale (1944) and, for the last time, Queenstown (in June 1945). In his obituary of Mqhayi, A.C. Jordan wrote that he lived on Ntabozuko for nearly 20 years, "whence he descended in his impressive kaross on great tribal or state occasions to sing the praises of important personalities. The last of such occasions was the meeting held by the Minister of Native Affairs at King William's Town last July" (Jordan: 1973, 106). As an *imbongi*, Mqhayi's oral poetry was marked by the richness and depth of his diction, and by his remarkable ability to inspire his audiences. In 1943 he and J.J.R. Jolobe served as adjudicators at a literary festival in Port Elizabeth, at the end of which "he produced poetry as we've never heard it before, so that the blood coursed through men" (*i-Mbhongi*

*ibonge ngendlela esingazange siyive ibonga ngayo, latsho lahloba igazi emadodeni*: Qalazive, 8). The editor of *The Bantu World* says of Mqhayi's poem on Charlotte Maxeke that it "boils our blood and enflames our ears so we cannot hear" (*kuhlwabizel' igazi' kubeshushu neendletyan' ezi singeva*: item 64). In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela vividly recalls, over the passage of nearly 60 years, a performance by Mqhayi before the Healdtown pupils in 1938:

When he spoke this last word, he dropped his head to his chest. We rose to our feet, clapping and cheering. I did not want ever to stop applauding. I felt such intense pride at that point, not as an African, but as a Xhosa; I felt like one of the chosen people" (Mandela, 49).

As an oral poet, as in other aspects of literary expression, Mqhayi was a pioneer: in 1933 six 78 rpm records by Mqhayi were released on the Columbia label, the first commercial recordings made by a Xhosa *imbongi* (for the two poems on one of them, see Opland: 1977).

Whether the poetry was produced by an *imbongi* in the presence of his chief on a high ceremonial occasion, by a boy in the veld in praise of his father's ox or by a woman deriding a friend's shameful behaviour, Xhosa *izibongo* tended to be uniform in structure. Essentially, the poems are a string of names, some of which may enjoy an independent currency. In the poem, the names may be qualified, or explained by extension into a line, or a succession of lines, but the name, a noun, lies at the core of the poetry. In Mqhayi's little *izibongo* quoted above, for example, he is referred to as *ugaga*, a robin, *ilitye*, a stone, *isihlambela*, someone who washes himself off, *isigoxa*, someone who withdraws, and *intaka*, a bird. *Ugaga* in its copulative form, *lugaga*, is qualified by the adjectival *olubomvu*, he's a red robin, qualified in turn by two succeeding lines exhibiting parallelism. The first three lines thus form a unit, generated by the noun *ugaga*. The last two lines form another unit, generated by the noun *intaka*. Lines 4, 5 and 6 form one-line units. These units – at the simplest level a noun, perhaps extended into a line, perhaps extended into a set of lines – might be termed praises; a collection of praises constitutes a praise poem. Praises are earned, coined by others or by the subject at different times in the course of a career, commemorating personal traits or involvement in events or establishing lineage. They define a person, capture his or her essential identity, good or bad. *Izibongo* are concatenations of praises, in that sense they are "praise poems,"



exhibiting multi-faceted aspects of a personality. The order of the praises can vary from one performance to another, since there is no logical internal coherence: they cohere only in their relevance to the subject.

Quite clearly, praise poems are not narrative: they do not tell a story. On the contrary, they are elliptical, allusive, compressed, often metaphorical (Mqhayi is a robin, a bird, a stone). The allusion may be expanded within the poem (Mqhayi is not just a barbet, but a powerful barbet that flees with its guts spilling out), but even then the meaning is still obscure. No doubt if you met Mqhayi (or the composer of the praise), he might be able to tell you that it referred to an occasion on which Mqhayi, a talented stick fighter, fled from a fight injured, but that narrative expansion would be external to the poem, and would depend on your ability to find someone who could explain the allusion. (The explanation offered here is fanciful, although Mqhayi was a talented stick fighter, and did on occasion flee from danger.) Thus Karin Barber observes of praise poems that

compacted utterances of this kind leave a lot out. The actions and events that gave rise to them are not recuperable from the words themselves. They hint at narratives but do not tell them. The art of exegesis, then, is to expand these laconic formulations and re-install the agent and his or her context of action. ... The "obscurity" of such epithets lies in the fact that the narrative expansion lies outside the text itself. The knowledgeable listener has to know the story in order to make full sense of the epithet. (Barber: 2003, 328)

Indeed, "Most African praise poetry is constituted to be obscure, opaque or allusive" (Barber, 329). The explanation of a praise "is thus found in the narrative of its origin, and the two bodies of information – the praises and the narratives – are learned and transmitted in parallel. Where the parallel explanatory tradition is inaccessible or lost, the praise texts remain opaque" (Barber, 329–30). The performance of an African praise poem "is a stringing together of autonomous fragments, which in principle could be performed in any order, any selection and combination. The compact incompleteness and allusiveness of the formulations makes them mobile in relation to each other, for each points outwards to its own narrative hinterland for expansion and exegesis" (Barber, 331). And when the story is told, as in a Xhosa *ibali*, a historical

narrative, the performer cites praises for authentication, as Mqhayi often does in the stories he tells in this book.

Without the narrative, the compact, compressed praise references remain obscure. One has no option but to accept this obscurity, or the inaccessibility of meaning, when the poems are of some vintage and knowledgeable informants unavailable to offer an explanation. We can surmise that the little *izibongo* about Mqhayi alludes to his solitary habits, his strange and alienating behaviour, which he himself records in his autobiography (parents were reluctant to let their children play with Mqhayi as a boy). Two of the core nominals in the poem describe him as a bird, two other nouns associate him with people with airs and graces, one clearly in a negative way (a European lord is unlikely to be a positive image), so some meaning is communicated if you give yourself to the suggestiveness of the imagery. But we cannot expect explanation always to be recoverable, even if the poem expands on its own allusions, or informants are available to supply the narrative context of the coinage: *imbongi* are often deliberately obscure, playing with their audiences, puzzling them. Sometimes clarification of obscurity is offered only after a delay of some lines. "I love Satan," the *imbongi* D.L.P. Yali-Manisi used to say, and then only later (or perhaps not at all), "I love Satan because he's worshipped by whites." I once asked Manisi to explain the meaning of a couplet that appeared in one of his poems about Sabatha Dalindyebo, *Umazol' axel' iziziba zoMbashe; UMbhash' oseXukash' ukuzal' uxel' amakhowa* (Still as Mbashe pools, where the Mbashe meets the Xuka no mushrooms grow). What did the mushrooms signify? Manisi responded: "Sometimes the poet can say a line not actually meaning anything but to make the people laugh. It's not always serious. You say something surprising to amaze or to make people laugh or amuse" (Opland: 2005, 380). There are many obscurities in Mqhayi's poetry: archaic words now of uncertain meaning, names of persons who can no longer be identified, topical allusions now incapable of explanation, and the deliberate obscurities of an *imbongi* teasing his audience. The *imbongi* traffics in praise and blame as twin aspects of his truth-telling, because ultimately he is not the chief's poet so much as the chiefdom's; despite this lofty commitment, however, the *imbongi* D.L.P. Yali-Manisi would from time to time use the line *Nto zinolwimi hayi imbongi*, Everyone tells lies, but the poet is the greatest liar of them all. Only once in all the poems I collected from him did he offer the qualification

Kodwa iimbong' azixoki  
Zilawul' amathongo njengokw' evela

but poets don't really tell lies:  
they give voice to visions sent by the ancestors. (Opland: 2005, 252)

MQHAYI AS AUTHOR

Throughout his life, from childhood to June 1945, Mqhayi was involved in and became the leading exponent of the Xhosa art of oral poetry, poetry often composed in performance ("The words just sprang to mind, and I uttered them"), poetry designed to be heard by an audience assembled before the performing poet. From November 1897 to October 1944, Mqhayi also wrote for publication. To this day he remains the most prolific Xhosa author, proficient and pioneering in a number of genres, unsurpassed in the quality and quantity of his writing. Although by no means the first Xhosa author, it is Mqhayi who shapes and confirms the dignity of Xhosa literature in books, who adapts and extends Xhosa oral *izibongo* to the print media of books and newspapers. Mqhayi is the author of a number of published works of fiction, biography and poetry, but those works have often been treated high-handedly by editors with agenda of their own. Furthermore, a vast quantity of Mqhayi's prodigious output now lies largely unappreciated in old newspapers, or else was committed to manuscripts now irretrievably lost, victims of the politics of publishing in Xhosa (see Opland: 1998, chapters 11 and 13; and Peires: 1980) or the general disregard for Xhosa literature and Xhosa authors.

The reconstruction of Mqhayi's early literary career is complicated by the loss of copies of the East London newspaper *Izwi labantu*, in which his earliest work appeared. *Izwi* was published between 1897 and 1909, but issues for only 1901-2 and 1906-9 are now extant. A few of the early poems were reprinted in Rubusana's anthology (1906), but the ascriptions are not always explicit. This complication extends to publication in the original newspapers of anonymous or pseudonymous material. For example, Mqhayi tells us in his autobiography (Mqhayi: 1939, 77) that as editor of *Imvo* in 1920 he launched three new columns, *Abantu* (People), *EzamaKomkhulu* (News from the Great Place) and *Incoko* (Chat). Columns entitled *Incoko* appeared in *Imvo* from 1920 ascribed to S.E. Mqayi, but is he the author of the anonymous columns in the same format under the same title that appeared in *Imvo* from 1896 to

1899? Snippets of news under the title *Umhlali Wabantu* (The people's column) appeared in *Imvo* from 1921 to 1925 ascribed to Lord Sheshegu, which could easily enough be a pseudonym of Mqhayi, but is he the author of the anonymous columns under the same title that appeared in *Izwi* in 1901 and 1902? (*Izwi* did publish *Umhlali Wabantu* columns ascribed to Lord Sheshegu from 1907 to 1909, and they popped up again in *Umteteli* ascribed to Nzulu Lwazi, "Deep Knowledge," who clearly was Mqhayi.) Traffic Manager contributed a column entitled *Umhlali Wabantu* to *Abantu-Batho* in December 1930; he also contributed columns on Ndlambe affairs entitled *Ezakwa Ndlambe* (News from Ndlambeland) to *Imvo* from 1921 to 1930. We can be reasonably confident from this and other evidence that Lord Sheshegu, Nzulu Lwazi and Traffic Manager were all pseudonyms of Mqhayi, but we have to be slightly less confident about anonymous contributions that maintain the form and style of his signed contributions. And there are other pseudonyms, like *Tandabantu* (Lover of People), which one might claim as additional pseudonyms. Mqhayi's canon is large indeed, but certainly incomplete and occasionally somewhat uncertain.

What is clear, from Mqhayi's autobiography, is that he submitted two anonymous poems to Rubusana for inclusion in *Izwi*, his first known written compositions, and they were published under the pseudonym *Imbongi yakwa Gompo*, the East London poet (Mqhayi: 1939, 70-71). Mqhayi adopted *Imbongi yakwa Gompo*, or simply *Gompo*, as a pseudonym until 1921. On 14 August 1917 he used the pseudonym *Imbongi yesizwe* (The National Poet) for the first time, and in May 1919 its fuller form, *Imbongi yesizwe jikelele* (The Poet of the Entire Nation), by which name he was popularly known from that time on. This name was given to Mqhayi by the editor of *Abantu-Batho*, to whom Mqhayi had sent a poem on the end of the year, signing it *Imbongi yakwaGompo*; it was published with the ascription *ImBongi yakwaGompo neyesiZwe jikelele*, the poet of East London and the entire nation. As the editor explained, "*Akunakho ukuba saba yimBongi yendawo enye; sibone thina ukuba zonke izizwe uzifikelele*" (Mqhayi: 1939, 71-72): You cannot be a poet limited to one place; we have noted that you reach out to all peoples.

Mqhayi was easily the most prolific contributor to Xhosa language newspapers, under a variety of names. A few of these contributions were subsequently included in his books, or in anthologies edited by Rubusana or W.G. Bennie. Xhosa literature had come of age in nineteenth-century newspapers, but it was

not until the first decade of the twentieth century that secular books in Xhosa became a commercial proposition (see Opland: 1998, chapter 11; and Opland: 2004). In that decade I. Bud-Mbelle and I.W. Wauchope authored books in English, John Knox Bokwe produced his "cantata" on Nehemiah (words and music) and Rubusana his supreme anthology of praise poems and material culled from newspapers, and Mqhayi and H.M. Ndawo issued novels.<sup>15</sup> Apart from being a member of this founding generation, generically Mqhayi was a pioneer: *U-Samson* (1907) was the first Xhosa novel, and provoked lively correspondence in *Imvo* and *Izwi*, as well as fierce criticism from Wauchope for its embellishments and departures from biblical narrative, as well as its political implications (see Opland: 2007). Unfortunately, copies of this crucial work in the history of Xhosa literature are no longer in the public domain. In the course of his career, Mqhayi produced two collections of poetry (1927 and 1942), two extended poems (1923 and 1937), three novels (1907, 1914 and 1929), an autobiography (1939) and two biographies (1921 and 1925), a monograph on sacrifice (1928) and the proceedings of a Ntsikana Day celebration (1926); he also translated an English biography (1935), an Afrikaans novel (1949) and a textbook on agriculture (1922).<sup>16</sup> He wrote hymns and the lyrics of songs, most notably a continuation of Enoch Sontonga's anthem *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*, and served on a Bible revision committee as well as a committee to regularise Xhosa and Zulu spelling.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the Lovedale Press handled Mqhayi's biography of Elijah Makiwane from 1932 to 1945, rejecting W.G. Bennie's recommendation that it be published, circulating it among D.D.T. Jabavu and members of the Makiwane family; it was unpublished at the time of Mqhayi's death and is now lost. In 1940 Lovedale rejected Mqhayi's argument for the acceptance of circumcision by the church, *Ulwaluko*, and his biography of Rubusana; both works are now lost (see Peires: 1980 and Opland: 1998, 268–70).<sup>18</sup>

Mqhayi earned a fair share of literary accolades in the course of his career: in 1922 he won second prize for the best collection of Bantu folktales in a competition organised by Fort Hare; in the May Esther Bedford Competition for 1935 he won first prize for the third part of his utopian novel *UDon Jadu*, the first two parts of which were published in 1929; in the May Esther Bedford Competition for 1936 his poem advocating a memorial to Hintsá (subsequently published in 1937) earned joint first prize with Jolobe's *UThuthula* (included in *Umyezo* in 1936) as the best poetry in all languages; and in 1937

he won the Xhosa section of a Folk Lore Competition sponsored by Ovaltine. But it is not the estimation of white readers or judges that is significant so much as the universal esteem in which he was held as an oral poet by members of his audiences, and as an author by readers of Xhosa books and especially newspapers (Mqhayi wrote for publication only in Xhosa). On 20 April 1974 I drove to Shawbury to visit the venerable Xhosa poet St John Page Yako.<sup>19</sup> I missed Yako, but recorded in my research diary an enlightening conversation with a Shawbury minister:

At the turn off I picked up an old man. We hadn't gone 10 yards when I learnt Yako had been transferred to Umtata! Took the old man to Shawbury anyway – his suitcases were already in the car. He'd read some poetry: Yako not the best, Jolobe is, but even he is not as good as some others who have died. Who? Jordan & Mqhayi. He likes [Jordan's novel] *Ingqumbo yeminyanya* & *Ityala lamawele*. Mqhayi (he heard him bongaing) the best: because he was the only imbongi (if there were others they were overshadowed) & because he used pure Xhosa language. Others now have got that language from Mqhayi. "Mqhayi was the fire that Jordan caught up." ... When I dropped him he said "What might be the name of my kind benefactor?" He is a chaplain at Shawbury, J.S. Matebese.

And here are extracts from just one reaction to Mqhayi's unexpected death, by Walter Nhlapo:

The news of the death of Mr S.E.K. Mqhayi has bowed us with sorrow, drawn our faces, deeply touched Bantudom, so deeply that it is hard to put one's feeling into words for, Bantudom has lost one of her most beloved creative minds. Mqhayi is best known as a national poet and his death is no ordinary event, for he was no ordinary poet. He was the recognised literary head of the Xhosas. Xhosa literature was his life passion. ...

Although not an academic university scholar, his works are marked by profound scholarship, and, in this, he has excelled above scholars. His inborn and self-made scholarship reveals in his creative works a keenness of intellect, gift of vivid expression and the arbour of his great

Bantu soul, mingled and fused with a power that few possess. As the most prolific Xhosa poet of the generation, he was full of vitality. He was endowed with great wisdom which impelled him forward on a clear-cut and direct road that carried him to lofty heights. ...

His creations are rich, all depicting the Bantu soul, its strife and yearnings, its sufferings and sorrows and its majesty. Herein lies the secret of the greatness of his works: it is Bantu in blood and soul. His literary works are to the Xhosa what the Strauss Waltzes were to Vienna, and what Napoleonic victories were to the French. A memorial should be erected to him so that the father can point Mqhayi to his son, the mother to her daughter, the host to his guest and say with pride: "herein lies the immortal Mqhayi." (Nhlapo: 1945)<sup>20</sup>

#### MQHAYI AS HISTORIAN

In certain circles today, Mqhayi is recognised as the author of books of poetry, fiction and biography, but he is not especially well known as a historian. Yet he was highly regarded in his time, by readers of newspapers, for his historical writings, standing in the tradition of such writers of the preceding generation as William Wellington Gqoba, William Kobe Ntsikana, John Muir Vimbe and Isaac Williams Wauchope, none of whom ever wrote a book in Xhosa, a tradition that culminated in the early years of the twentieth century in the published historical works of such writers as W.D. Cingo, Richard Tainton Kawa, Victor Poto Ndamase, and John Henderson Soga. Indeed, for a time, it was reported in the newspapers that the organisers of the two annual ethnic celebrations, Mfengu Day and Ntsikana Day, were sponsoring the composition and publication of histories of their people: Richard Tainton Kawa was writing a history of the Mfengu, and Mqhayi was writing a broader history of black people, *I Bali le Zizwe ezi Ntsundu*. In 1923, the commemorations were lapsing, and an *Imvo* editorial hoped that the two histories then in progress would serve to revive them (*Imvo*, 10 April 1923, 4). Kawa died in 1924 (see item 18), and his work was edited by D.D.T. Jabavu and posthumously published in 1929. In 1925 an *Imvo* editorial, perhaps by Jabavu, reported that Mqhayi's Xhosa history was still in progress, and would cost £100 to print: Kawa's work was complete, but "Where is the conclusion of the history of the Xhosa and other nations written by the National Poet Mqhayi?" it asked (*Lipelele pina ibali lama Xosa nezinye izizwe elali bälwa yi Mbongi yesi Zwe oka Mqayi?*).<sup>21</sup> Mqhayi's history

was unpublished at his death, but the fate of the manuscript can be partially reconstructed. On 3 May 1976, I recorded in my research diary a conversation I held in King Williams Town with the poet and politician Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe (I have expanded my abbreviations):

Off mike we chatted about Manisi: he claims that when Manisi bon-gaed at school (Lovedale), his teachers misunderstood & punished him. He knew Mqhayi personally & on occasion even invited him to judge the recitations of his school pupils, poetry (including Mqhayi's own). Ncamashe was surprised to read in Pat [Scott]'s bibliography that the MSS were untraceable: he has them. He borrowed them from Mqhayi's widow to work on historical material. The MS is a history handwritten by Mqhayi; odd izibongo are interleaved. Jolobe had read the MS & said it was inferior & not worth publishing: Ncamashe claims this is a biased opinion as Jolobe is jealous of Mqhayi's reputation. In Ncamashe's recollection, the history is undocumented, portions of it are derived from school text books, & Mqhayi often leans heavily on his own opinion. Ncamashe uses it (as he will for 21 May celebration [at Fort Hare on the centenary of Mqhayi's birth]), but feels its future must be in an archive: he was thinking of Unisa, but is now prepared to consider Cory – if he decides against Cory, he has at least agreed to lodge a copy in Cory. He wants to edit & publish it, with the plagiarised passages expurgated. I pitched the Occasional Papers [published by the Department of African Languages, Rhodes University] to him & made a point. He knows of no other extant Mqhayi MSS.

The artist G.M. Pemba offers supplementary information:

I am an artist and no writer but I was much attracted to [Mqhayi]. After his death I visited "Ntabozuko" to find out what was happening to his family. I found the place deserted and mere remnants of the homestead.

I traced his widow to Tshabo where her twin brother was chief (twin with her other brother). I found her on the banks of the river which flows below the chief's great place. Under her bed were a pile of what I believe were the last writings of the late Mqhayi. The family was using the sheets as toilet paper!



I asked Mrs. Mqhayi to allow me to take them with me to [Port Elizabeth] for safe-keeping with the prospect that someone might want to write Mqhayi's biography. In fact a decision was made at a meeting of "Isikhumbuzo sika Ntsikana" that Mr. A.C. Jordaan be asked to write his biography which was interrupted by Jordaan's emigration to America.

I was not aware that Mr. Burns-Nchamashe (lecturer at Fort Hare?) was treading on my footsteps. He traced the manuscripts to my house. He wanted them urgently. I asked him for instructions from Mrs. Mqhayi which he gave me in the form of a letter (?). I then handed the manuscripts to him. That was the last I saw of them.<sup>22</sup>

And, later, in response to my query: "About the manuscripts of the poet: Mr. Ncamashe came for them too early for me to read them on the 29/10/70. I have not seen them again."<sup>23</sup>

Apart from his contributions to newspapers, which form the major source of the selections assembled in this volume, Mqhayi's historical writings can largely be found in his novel *Ityala lamawele* (The court case of the twins), and in the series of *Stewart Xhosa Readers* edited by W.G. Bennie. The first edition of *Ityala lamawele*, which was published in 1914, consisted of 9 chapters and 19 pages. In 1915 a "new and enlarged" second edition appeared, containing 20 chapters and 66 pages.<sup>24</sup> The original novel was extended to 16 chapters and illustrations of chiefs were added. According to an anonymous reviewer, the second edition

is a considerable improvement over the first: the chapters and pages being more than doubled whilst some excisions have rendered it more generally acceptable. The illustrations make the volume attractive and the scope of the subject is now enlarged so as to work in an elementary introduction to the history of Hintsa and his first contact with Fingoes and Europeans.<sup>25</sup>

A third edition appeared in 1917, a fifth in 1922. Two sixth editions were published in 1927: an abridgement for schools, and the "new and enlarged" edition. Both these versions were kept in print until 1940, the last time the enlarged edition was published; only the abridged edition is now in print.

I have not located the second, third or fourth editions, but some assumptions can be made about them. The novel to this day consists of 16 chapters, so it is likely that four historical chapters were added to the second edition on Hintsá and his first contact with Mfengu and Europeans, probably "Intlalo no pumo lwama Mfengu" (The sojourn and exodus of the Mfengu), "U kufa kuka Hintsá" (The death of Hintsá), "Ukugxotwa kuka Sir Benj. Durban" (The dismissal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban) and "Ezinye inkosi" (Other chiefs), chapters 17 to 20 respectively in the 5th edition. The 5th edition contains eight further items and an explanation of some words and phrases. Chapters 21 to 23 are four poems, "Intaba ka Ndoda" (Intaba kaNdoda), "Irafu yamakanda" (Poll tax), "Umkosi wemidaka" (The dark army) and "Ukutshona kuka Mendi" (The sinking of the *Mendi*); chapters 23 to 26 are respectively the account of Maqoma included in the present volume (item 12), "Ubukumkani buka-Xosa" (The Xhosa kingdom) and "Inqubela pambili" (Progress); and finally, unnumbered as a chapter, notes on various people and organisations introduced by a poem entitled "Imbacu" (Destitutes). Cory MS 16,321 (b) is a copy of the 5th edition with manifold excisions and alterations in W.G. Bennie's hand, clearly the origin of the abridged 6th edition (and all subsequent abridged editions), which eliminates most of the historical chapters and leaves the 16 chapters of the novel, "Ezinye inkosi zakwa-Xosa," "Intaba ka Ndoda," "Umkosi wemidaka," "Ukutshona kuka-Mendi," "Ubukumkani buka-Xosa" and "Inqubela pambili," all of the contents victim to Bennie's editorial excisions. Thus, in sum, the 2nd edition added four historical chapters to the expanded novel, and the 5th to 8th "new and enlarged" editions are known to contain 12 additional historical and poetic items; I assume that the 3rd and 4th editions were also, like the 5th to 8th, full editions. Two of the items expunged from the abridged 6th edition, "U kufa kuka Hintsá" and "Ukugxotwa kuka Sir Benj. Durban" were translated for George Cory by John Knox Bokwe from the 3rd edition (Cory MS 1836), and reprinted in Scott (1976b). In an important article on Lovedale's often high-handed treatment of its Xhosa authors, Peires established that Mqhayi agreed to the abridged edition only if the full edition remained in print, a wish Lovedale ignored after Mqhayi's death (Peires: 1980, 78-79). The full edition has been out of print now for over 60 years, and is scarce, even in libraries, which tend to discard old editions, especially in outmoded orthographies, in favour of more modern editions.

Apart from his writings on Xhosa history published in books, Mqhayi also contributed obituaries and articles on contemporaries to a variety of newspapers, as well as essays and poems on historical subjects. His reputation as a historian was thus well established by the time he agreed to W.G. Bennie's request to assist with the revision of the *Stewart Xhosa Readers* on 21 December 1929. G.B. Sinxo had been engaged with these revisions, but in July 1929 he was summarily removed and replaced by Bennie, who in the next few years would also engineer a disastrous revision of the Xhosa spelling system; one aspect of Bennie's involvement was to ready the whole series of Lovedale's readers in the revised orthography in time for the compulsory introduction of the new spelling in schools in 1937 (see Opland: 1998, chapter 13). Bennie came to rely heavily on Mqhayi for the contribution of essays and translations; Mqhayi's contributions were often included without attribution, and were always subject to Bennie's severe editing. Bennie accepted some of Mqhayi's articles that had already been published in newspapers, and commissioned new ones.<sup>26</sup> The collaboration between Bennie and Mqhayi can be tracked in the invaluable Lovedale Press archives held in the Cory Library, documents and records that were fortuitously rescued from destruction in 1976 (Opland: 1998, 337–38).

Mqhayi's reputation as a historian thus rests today on books long out of print, books that were subject to editorial mangling in order to make them acceptable for reading in schools. I trust that this present volume will redress that unfortunate situation, and will serve not only to restore Mqhayi's reputation as a historian, but to demonstrate that such narratives should be judged not only as history in the western conception of the word, but also as a major expression of Xhosa literature. As literature, they draw on the Xhosa oral genre of *ibali* (plural *amabali*), which Mqhayi grew up with, especially at Nzanzana's court in Centane, and in conversation with his father and grandfather: Mqhayi's great-grandfather Mqhayi, a councillor of King Ngqika, died in Hints'a's war, and his father Ziwani fought in Mlanjeni's war. Mqhayi's account of Rharhabe's career (item 28) offers much new information, a salutary corrective to the many academic historians who claim that Rharhabe's son Mlawu died with him at the battle against the Qwathi at the Xuka river. It is also a narrative of high emotional intensity, with its clash of personalities driven by insult, its vividly sketched terrain of flooded plain, and the unforgettable figure of Ntsusa, arguing the Qwathi on against her father and then, after his death, returning to

assume an honoured place among her father's people. It reminds me of nothing so much as scenes from the Icelandic *Njal's Saga*, one of the greatest of all medieval European literary productions.

The only authority to offer an account of *ibali* as a genre is Jeff Peires (1981, 170–75),<sup>27</sup> who commenced his fieldwork amongst the Xhosa 30 years ago. It is immediately apparent from the material assembled here that Mqhayi stood closer to the events than did Peires's informants. Peires notes of the mid-1970s that "The personal characteristics of the last chiefs of the classical period: Sarhili, Sandile, Maqoma, Mhala, Siwani, Phato, Khama, are remembered to some extent, whereas Hintsisa, Ngqika, Ndlambe, Mdushane and Chungwa are little more than names," and "The rivalry between Ngqika and Ndlambe, for example, is boiled down exclusively to the abduction of Thuthula, and the deeper issues are forgotten" (173). Mqhayi offers detailed assessments of Hintsisa and Ngqika, Ndlambe and Mdushane. His shrewd appraisal of the tense relation between Ngqika and his uncle Ndlambe, indeed, offers much to challenge more superficial treatments. He dismisses the abduction of Ndlambe's wife Thuthula as a significant contributory cause of the Battle of Amalinde in 1818, for example, arguing that the issue had long been settled judicially, and that the major factor was Ngqika's belligerent conduct and his divisive relations with whites. This assessment troubled one of his readers, who wrote to *Umteteli*,

U "Nzululwazi" kumabali ake afundisayo selenga angaxela u Rev. Hurcombe wama Wesile obhala ama bali ngendlela eyamkelekileyo, ngokuti axele umtombe asela kuwo. Into yokuba ati "Imfazwe yama Linde isiganeko sayo asipezu ko Tutula" lonteto ipikisana nawe onke amabali o Gqobo no Wauchope nabanye, ukuze umzi uhlute makaupe apo apakula kona lamabali ake.<sup>28</sup>

In Nzululwazi's informative stories he cites the Wesleyan Rev Hurcombe, who writes history in proper style, acknowledging his sources. To assert that "Thuthula was not a cause of the Battle of Amalinde" flies in the face of the historical accounts of Gqoba, Wauchope and others. To satisfy the community, let him reveal the source of this version.

Mqhayi clearly draws on Xhosa oral tradition, but he also exploits European books which he often names explicitly. His assessment of Maqoma as judge (item 12), for example, incorporates accounts of court cases by Williams and Calderwood. When he does so, Mqhayi adapts, selects and rearranges the original material for his own narrative purposes, making *ixhama nendlovu* (hartebeest and elephant) of Williams's "elephant and deer," for example, replacing the English connotations of strength and weakness with the Xhosa connotations of dominance and exile. An extended quote from Williams has been included as a footnote in order to illuminate Mqhayi's technique in this regard. Mqhayi exploited books as sources, but he prefers the rhythms and flow of oral tradition, even with its occasional slight vagueness about precise dating. In general, I have attempted to minimise repetitions in my selections, but I have included three articles on Ngqika (items 9, 27 and 45) in order to reveal aspects of Mqhayi's handling of the *ibali* tradition. On the evidence of these three sources alone, *amabali*, like praise poems and folktales, consisted of recurrent building blocks, which could be omitted or expanded, or arranged in different order, from one performance to another. In his earliest biography of Ngqika (item 9), Mqhayi moves through Ngqika's genealogy, the death of his father Mlawu, his uncle Ndlambe as regent, the succession dispute with Ntimbo and Ngqika's investiture by Khawutha, the theft of Thuthula and the Battle of Amalinde (both briefly), Van der Kemp and Ntsikana (both briefly), Ngqika as dancer (incorporating the adoption of Mqhayi frequently used elsewhere by Mqhayi), Ngqika's *imbongi*, his children, and a concluding *izibongo*. The fuller item 27 has all these elements in a slightly different order except that Van der Kemp and the final poem are omitted, and Ngqika as dancer is shortened (and reference to Mqhayi omitted). A brief account of Ngqika and his mission education is added, as well as extended accounts of Ngqika's imprisonment of Ndlambe and the clash with the Gcaleka (including the repeated motif of the intemperate Ngqika nearly killing Ndlambe and Hintsu), and of his meeting with Somerset and the subsequent Battle of Amalinde. The third version (item 45) is shortened overall, and selects the genealogy, a brief version of the installation by Khawutha, Ndlambe as prisoner and the Gcaleka raid, the Battle of Amalinde, Ngqika's mission education and a brief concluding *izibongo*.<sup>29</sup> The consistency of narrative themes is pronounced; and these themes may be incorporated from other narratives (like Mqhayi's account of his family history) or appear elsewhere in brief or expanded form. Mqhayi's version

of the *ibali* of Ngqika, then, is clearly stable in content, consisting of narrative blocks that can be expanded or contracted, excluded, rearranged, imported or exported.

Mqhayi was interested in people, historical personalities as well as his own contemporaries. He enjoyed meeting and interacting with them, even when exchanges became heated (item 11); his strongly held convictions, which occasioned his departure from the Lovedale teaching staff, made him no stranger to controversy and disagreement. He will engage in heated intellectual argument with school friends, but remain on good terms with them; when he visits Keiskammahoek, he wants to drive around the area to see historical sites, the disposition of clans and evidence of development and progress (item 37). He observes people keenly: as an *imbongi*, poetic characterisations of his subjects were the principal focus of his *izibongo*. His concern for and interest in the people of the nation, evident in accounts of his travels within the country and in his involvement in political, educational and social affairs, found expression in his poetry and in his historical or biographical writing. If he offers a description of a person, he frequently complements it with a poem. *Izibongo* are compressed, encapsulated allusions to historical characters and events; the *imbongi* offers praise or criticism in order to uphold social norms. Mqhayi seeks lessons from history to guide present conduct, criticises modern youth whose education is not deployed for the benefit of the nation. We might offer separate considerations of Mqhayi's life, his career as an author, his prominence as a poet, his worth as a historian, or his commitment to social upliftment, but these are all facets of his essential humanity.

#### EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

So much of Mqhayi's writing has been lost, or treated in cavalier fashion, that it becomes vital to locate and restore what chances to survive. Mqhayi's biography of Nathaniel Cyril Mhala (item 16) is now extremely rare; it is included here, together with an extract from a monograph written after the 1926 Ntsikana Day celebrations (item 19) and his essay on Maqoma (item 12), included in full editions of *Ityala lamawele*. The remaining 63 items are all to be found in such newspapers as *Izwi labantu*, *Imvo zabantsundu*, *Umteteli wabantu* and *The Bantu World*; copies of the booklets and all the original articles, as well as biographical information on Mqhayi drawn from the same newspapers, are housed in The Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature, which also has copies of

a considerable amount of other material Mqhayi contributed to newspapers, poetry, essays and current news, all of which needs to be brought back into the public domain so that a full and balanced assessment of his literary achievement might be undertaken.<sup>30</sup> Some of the newspaper articles were edited and included in *Ityala lamawele* and *Imibengo*; footnotes to the Xhosa texts here track the editorial revisions to the original texts.

This volume contains a selection of Mqhayi's historical and biographical writings, presented chronologically. The principal criterion for selection was the form of the item: I excluded from consideration all poems, even if they were biographical, here preferring to focus on Mqhayi's prose. The prose might well introduce or be complemented by poetry, but it is historical and biographical prose that I was principally concerned with for this volume. Overlap and repetition was unavoidable but, with the exception of the three items on Ngqika, I have generally not chosen more than one item on a topic. Exceptions were made in the case of W.B. Rubusana, for example, when the items treated different aspects of the subject (Rubusana's jubilee and his death). A range of subject and variety of treatment was considered desirable. Even with these fairly restrictive criteria, some eligible items have been excluded in the interests of producing a volume of manageable length.

The texts are presented here as originally published. Any surmises about the Xhosa texts, or editorial emendations, are footnoted. This is a significant editorial principle, in that it shows respect for the author, reprinting his writing as he wrote it (making allowances for the relatively informal nature of newspaper publication and the higher incidence of typographical errors in this medium than in printed books). No alterations have been introduced in the interests of regular spelling, punctuation or grammar, still less out of consideration for readers' sensibilities. Such a diplomatic edition has the advantage of showing the mounting uncertainty over the spelling of Xhosa, especially with regard to the representation of aspiration or voicing, as the introduction of the new orthography approached in 1937 (see Opland: 1998, 285–88). No newspaper accepted the bizarre characters that formed such an inhibiting element of that new orthography, so the later items will appear more familiar to present-day isiXhosa readers than books published after 1937 (although the orthography was again revised in 1955), but the bemusement of Xhosa authors in the face of the unwanted tinkering with the spelling system, as well as other salient, non-standard linguistic features, is reflected in these texts.<sup>31</sup>

No attempt has been made here to standardise Mqhayi's language, as far too many editors have done;<sup>32</sup> it may have been to avoid such meddling that Mqhayi paid for the printing of his first novel, *USamson* (1907), as Rubusana did for his anthology *Zemk'inkomo magwalandini* (1906). Respecting Mqhayi's language creates problems, however, because Mqhayi employed a very rich Xhosa, which J.T. Jabavu once complained about; Mqhayi's response was that he wrote the language he heard and spoke in Centane. Some of his words are unlisted in dictionaries and are now unknown: all conjectural translations are footnoted. But we should no more attempt to standardise Mqhayi's Xhosa than we should Shakespeare's English, despite the occasional cruxes. Another source of obscurity is the topical references in praise poems; where known, explanations are offered, but obscurities remain. Problems are created too by the shifting usage with regard to personal names. People were originally identified by their given names followed by the name of their father, as in Ngqika Mlawu, or Ngqika kaMlawu, for Ngqika the son of Mlawu. But when Mqhayi uses just the patronymic, as in *into kaMlawu*, the son of Mlawu, that person may not be readily identifiable today. Difficulties with identification also arise if just a praise name is used. Current biographical resources, unfortunately, are more helpful for white than for black individuals. Where known, biographical information about persons Mqhayi mentions are offered in footnotes on first occurrence.

The translations presented here were guided by initial translations produced for me by Luvu Mabinza, Koliswa Moropa, Nosisi Mpolweni and Abner Nyamende, and an earlier translation of item 16 by Buntu Mfenyana. The final translation is my responsibility, and aims at a fluent, lucid English version: Mqhayi deserves no less. The Xhosa flavour of Mqhayi's locutions is left, where possible. Thus I have preferred "great place" for *komkhulu*, for example, rather than something like "royal palace" for the residence of the king or chief, I have preferred "great house" and "right hand house" for the house of the senior wife (from which the heir comes), and the house second to it in status (to which the older siblings of the heir are generally born).<sup>33</sup> At times the Xhosa term is left, as for the Xhiba house, the formation and constitution of which are referred to in item 12. No consistency is attempted. Nor is there consistency in the translation of place names. Given the current trend of reverting to precolonial place names, I was tempted to adopt Xhosa versions of place names throughout, but there seemed little point in preferring *Qonce* to the more familiar King Williams



Town, *Qoboqobo* to Keiskammahoek; if sought, the Xhosa original is available on the page facing the translation. However, where the commonly known English place name is merely an anglicisation, I have generally preferred the Xhosa version, as in Centane for Kentani, Nxarhuni for Nahoon, Tyhume for Chumie: the English equivalent, where known, can be found in the concluding index of place names. Consistency could not be achieved either in the spelling of personal names. These were subject to the orthographical revisions of 1937 and 1955, but some people altered the spelling of their names, others did not, even within the same family. Up to and including October 1933, Mqhayi signed himself S.E. Rune Mqayi; as from November 1933 he adopted the form S.E. Krune Mqhayi. Rubusana, who died in 1936, did not use the form Rhubusana, in accordance with the revised orthography. This inconsistency, which complicates the task of the bibliographer, is reflected in the translations: I have generally but not always adopted the spelling of names that seemed to conform with current practice, though I have tried to be consistent within the text in the spelling of individual names, both personal and place names.

In his Preface to this volume, Jeff Peires characterises Mqhayi “not only as a great literary figure but also as a great historian.” Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi was the greatest figure in the history of Xhosa literature, a predominant oral poet, and the prolific author of books and newspaper contributions. His writings, however, have fallen victim to rejection and loss, to censorship and sanitation, to publication without ascription and to neglect. This book collects and restores to the public domain material long lost from sight: it is the first volume of original writing by Mqhayi to be released since 1942. With a focus on historical and biographical prose, it contains articles and essays and concluding poems, often obituaries, about Mqhayi’s contemporaries, Xhosa and Mfengu, black and white, male and female, famous and everyday South Africans. It includes Mqhayi’s narratives about turbulent nineteenth-century personalities and events, characters who stalked the pages of history: the provocative governor Lord Charles Somerset and the self-glorifying egomaniac Sir Harry Smith, Ndlambe’s beautiful wife Thuthula and the prophet Ntsikana, the councillor Tyala Nteyi who desperately pleaded for peace but was doomed to be ignored and the social activist Naniwe Wauchope who died while her husband was in prison. Mqhayi not only tells their stories, but brings them vividly to life through his deft selection of detail: Queen Suthu weeping with the

white victims of the Boma Pass attack; the taciturn Makinana, who enjoyed the company of his dogs more than men and who studied the movements of ants to learn battle strategy; James Antoni, who ran his words together when speaking and who dispatched a snake that intruded on his rural classroom with his blackboard pointer; the missionary James Auld, who laid into his charges with a sjambok; the celebrated warrior Maqoma, shrewd in judging court cases, who died on Robben Island. Mqhayi was passionately committed to the restoration of black rights, to countering the discrimination suffered by black people, but also to the progress of all of South Africa's people to the point where they could share in the nation's bounty. On the path to achieving this goal, there were lessons to be learnt from history. In his oral declamations and through a lifetime devoted to writing, Mqhayi chided and praised, denounced and celebrated the people of South Africa. In time, he will come to be rightfully acknowledged as the greatest literary figure this country has ever produced. *Imbheko kofanelwe yimbheko*, Let honour be paid to the one who deserves it.

Jeff Opland  
Godalming  
23 January 2009

## Prologue: History

Mr R.V. Selope Thema<sup>1</sup> has been a contributor to this newspaper *Umteteli* for some time, writing constructive and informative articles for the nation, just as this paper is the builder and teacher of the nation. Earlier this year he raised a most important issue, that of history. For any orator or speaker, any national hero, to be well grounded on any topic, he or she must be well grounded in knowledge, talking from fact. How can anyone be well grounded knowing nothing of his own people? Whatever his efforts in support of a national issue, he cannot be well grounded, he can expect to be struck down senseless by one puny little word so that he falls flat on his face, because he was hopping on one leg all along. A person who knows nothing of the historical events of his people lives his life with blunt teeth, he can't really get his teeth into anything he does. That is why

### THESE EDUCATED PEOPLE

set up none but cowards for emulation, because their fathers did not narrate any history to them, and in those training schools and colleges they are taught a sequence of history, but in fact their education has entirely duped them, because in all our training schools the history of only one nation is studied, the English; they are the only people with intelligence, prudence, knowledge, they alone have national heroes, they have never been defeated by any other nation on earth; they claim as theirs even those things that clearly did not originate with them, and in this way they indoctrinate nations who do not appreciate that their awe of the English is exaggerated, that their respect for them is excessive. That is why a fool runs wild<sup>2</sup> when he discovers them to be empty vessels, recalling all the years he honoured them where no honour was due.

### THE GRAVEST ERROR

among the educated occurs when, having been taught so badly, a person makes no effort to correct what he has been taught, but instead struts proudly, claiming knowledge. This is why it is said "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." The person has been taught that his chiefs are sly and he believes it; he has been taught that the great men of his nation steal, that they are thieves, cowards, liars; and he believes it. He does not realise that in so doing they are misleading him into abandoning his fathers and his chiefs.

## Intshayelelo: Imbali

U Mr. R.V. Selope Thema, kumzuzu engu mbhaleli walo elipepa "Umteteli," ebhala inteto ezakayo nezifundisayo esizweni, njengoko kanye ipepa eli lingu maki nomfundisi waso isizwe. Kute kuwe lomnyaka wangena kuwona mxolo ubaluleke kunene, owembhali. Nalipina iciko nesiteti, nalipina ik'alipa esizweni liti ukuze lime kakuhle kwinto elikuyo, lime ngolwazi; ngokuteta into ayaziyo. Anganinina ukuma umntu ongenalwazi lwezinto zakowabo? Akana kuma, nokuba ubelinga ukuyimela into yesizwe, ulindelwe kukutiwa qwi ngelizwana elinye elibutatakana abe selesitsho fohlo pantsi esiwa, kuba ebengcileza ngamlenze mnye kakade. Indoda engalaziyo ibali lezinto zakowayo ihleli imaziny' abutuntu, ihlezinga kwinto yonke eyenzayo; yiyo lento

### IMFUNDI EZI

zicolise ngamagwala kangakanana; kungakuba azibaliselwanga nto ngoyise, zaza zati paya ezi Sinaleni nase zi Kolejini zafundiswa urezu lwama bali, enyanisweni zafundiswa ulahleko lodwa, kuba kuzo zonke ezi Sinala sinazo kufundiswa ibali labantu abanye, ama Ngesi qa; ngawo edwa abantu abane ngqondo, nobulumko, nolwazi, ngawo odwa amak'alipa eli zweni, into ezinga zange zoyiswe sizwe emhlabeni; zide ziti nezona zazi wayo ukuba aziveli kuwo izinto azixele ukuba zezawo, abe ke ngokwe njenjalo oko exelela izizwe ezingaziyo ukuba ziwoyike ngokungapaya kwe mfanelo, ziwahlonele ngokugqitileyo entlonelweni eyiyo. Yiyo lento siti isidenge mhla sawaqonda sisuke sesi bhenqa itshoba ukungawazeli nto, sicinga leminyaka ingaka sinika imbeko kongafanelwe mbeko ingako.

### APO IMPOSISO IKONA

kwimfundi apa kukuti elixa umntu afundiswe kakubi kangako, angabi saziqulunqa ngamfando akupuma, asuke nanke eqwayingile, enyalasa ngokungati ngumntu onento azaziyo, lento ke kutiwa, "Imfundwana encinane inengozi." Umfo ufundiswe ukuba ezi zakowabo inkosi zinto ezi nobuqokolo, akolwe yilonto; ufundiswe ukuba lamadoda akowabo makulu zinto ezibayo, amasela, amagwala, amaxoki; akolwe yilonto. Angaqondi ukuba ngokwenjengalo oko kulahlwa yena ukuba alahle oyise nenkosi zake.

THE STRANGE THING

about all this is that this man who knows nothing of his own nation still aspires to be his nation's leader. It is true that "history repeats itself." How then can a fellow who knows nothing of the past gain any inkling of things present and future? History tells us that what we see inflicted on black people today was devised a century ago, long before people like Smuts and Hertzog were born.<sup>3</sup> When the Orange and Vaal rivers were crossed, these plans were long established; the time has now arrived for these policies to be implemented. How would

A STUPID LEADER

go about leading? He is going to target Hertzog! But where is the profit in this strategy? Whoever succeeds him will continue to bellow the policies established when they crossed the Orange and the Vaal. Young men must study history, so that talk proceeds from fact and is not plucked from the air, so that no one listens.

ISIMANGA

ke kulonto kukuti kanti lendoda ingazi kangaka nje ngezinto zesizwe sayo, ikujongile noko ukuba yinkokeli yesizwe. Kunyanisiwe ukuba "imb'ali le iyazipinda." Umfo ke ngoko onga zaziyo izinto ezadlulayo, uyakutinina ukuzinakana izinto ezifikayo nezinto ezizayo? Imb'ali iyasixelela ukuba ezizinto sizibonayo ngezimini zisenziwa kumntu omnyama zizinto ezazicingwe kwakwi minyaka elik'ulu eya dlulayo; oko babe ngekazalwa o Smatse no Tsalitoro. Kuwelwa ama Gqili ne Ligwa nje kupetwe lomcamango kade; namhlanje ke ezongcinga ifikile imini yokuba mazisebenze. Izakutatela pi ke

INKOKELI ESISIDENGE

ukuk'ok'ela kwayo? Izakugalela ku Tsalitoro lo! Ibe iyakunceda ntoni ke ngalo ndlela; kuba oyakuza emva kwake uyakuquba kwalonto yayilib'ongo laba lamhla baliwela i Gqili ne Ligwa. Amadodana makafunde amabali, ati ukuteta azekele entweni, angazekele emoyeni, akayi kuviwa.

## 1

**The late Peku Mqhayi**

As the notice<sup>1</sup> has already intimated, this gentleman departed this earth on Monday 20 October, after constant prayer, urging his eldest son, Batchelor, to see that his family put their trust in the Lord as he and his elder brothers had done, and to care for their children.

His last words were: "Because I accepted the Word in my youth, I have not suffered temptation, I remain constant to this day, though I have no talent for preaching. And so: my Father has summoned me."

Peku is the youngest son of Mqhayi,<sup>2</sup> the son of Sheshegu; Sheshegu near Alice is named after his deserted homestead. He was born some time before Hints's War,<sup>3</sup> the twin brother of Nonca, who married into the Thembu.<sup>4</sup> His father died during the war in the skirmish at Jadu near Mankazana. He received no education, but he was well trained in the Word by his elder brothers. For a long time he lived at Mgwali in Ngqika's territory.<sup>5</sup> About two months ago he started to complain of stomach pain and, when it increased, his relatives were informed. They came from all directions in such large numbers that the neighbours were amazed the old man could evoke such concern. His funeral service was conducted by Rev J. Stewart,<sup>6</sup> in the presence of a great multitude of mourners. He is survived by a widow, two sons, a daughter, and many grandchildren. "He rests with his fathers in the land of his birth."

## 2

**"Nonibe's Bone"**

Many people know the river<sup>1</sup> that runs through Alice as the Tyhume, but few know this river's other name, the nickname "Nonibe's Bone." This is the origin of the nickname:

Nonibe is Ngqika's wife in the Xhiba House, which means she is the wife who was put in charge of the Great Place, because Mlawu's house, Ngqika's home, was entrusted to her care.<sup>2</sup> When the whites arrived in this country, they were entrusted to this queen and called Nonibe's people. Nonibe gave birth to Tyhali, the father of Oba and Dos. This river Tyhume, from its source up there in the mountains down to Ngqanda where it enters the Keiskamma, is Tyhali's river. And when

## 1

**Umfi u Peku Mqayi**

Njengoko sesitshilo isazizo, lomfo ulishiye eli lizwe kusasa ngom Vulo wama 20 ku October, emva kokutandaza okufuti, nokuyaleza intsapo yake kunyana wake omkulu u Batchelor, nokuyaleza ukuba bagcinane ngo Tixo, njengoko benjananjalo yena nabakuluwa bake, nasekondleni kwabo eyabo intsapo.

Amazwi ake okupela ibe ngati, "Ekubeni i Lizwi ndalamkela kwase butsheni bam, ndandingalingeli, nanamhla ndisenjalo, nangani bendingasini kwanga sona isipo sokushumayela. Ke u Bawo uyandibiza."

U Peku ngunyana omnci ka Mqayi umfo ka Sheshegu, elabizwa ngaye inxowa lake eliya i Sheshegu lingase Dikeni. Uzelwe ngapambili kuhle kweka Hintsa, eliwele no Nonca owendela eba Tenjini, uyise wasala emfazweni apo mhla ngeduli lase Jadu ngaku Mankazana. Imfundo akabanga nakuyifumana, kodwa uqeqeshwe kakulu ngabakuluwa bake nge Lizwi. Ube ngummi wase Mgwali ka Ngqika ixesha elide. Ade kwisituba senyanga ezimbini wamana ezibika isisu kwanga kumayana, kwade kwabikwa kwimizalwana yake, ete ukuza kulunguza yapuma kuzo zone imbombo, bade bamangaliswa nabamelwane, kukuti kanti kuseko umzalwana owotukelana kangako. Uncwatywe ngumfundisi wake u Rev J Stewart, pakati kwendimbane enkulu yabambambazeleli. Ushiya umhlolokazi, onyana ababini, intombi enye, nento eninzi yabazukulu "Ulele koyise kwizwe lokuzalwa kwake."

## 2

**"I Tambo lako Nibe"**

Baninzi abantu abawaziyo lamlambo ukwesiya siqingata sase Dikeni ukuba li Tyume; kodwa bambalwa abalaziyo elinye igama lamlambo, elisisiqulo uku-tiwa "Litambo lako Nibe." Imvelapi yesiqulo eso inje:

U No Nibe ngumka Ngqika wase Xibeni, oko kukuti yeyona nkosikazi ipatiswe i Komkulu, kuba inikelwe umzi ka Mlau, ikulo Ngqika. Bati abelungu bakufika kwelilizwe banikeiwa kulenkosikazi kwatiwa ngamabandla ako Nibe. U Nonibe lo ke uzele u Tyali uyise ka Oba no Dos. Lomlambo ke uli Tyume ukususela ekupumeni kwawo ezintabeni paya, kude kuse e Ngqanda ekungeneni kwawo e Xesi, ngumlambo ka Tyali. Bate ke



those who save then kill,  
 who halter a pregnant cow:  
 "Let it give birth so we can drink the first milk,"  
 Nonibe's people,<sup>3</sup>

realised they had a little land to settle, when they realised they had the power,  
 they began

to turn their backs on  
 their mother Nonibe.

By the time the country mobilised for the War of the Axe,<sup>4</sup> because of Tsili of the Ngwevu, who stole an axe from Holliday,<sup>5</sup> the country was obviously in a state of tension already, because the Queen's people<sup>6</sup> repudiated their agreement to allow Xhosa cattle to cross the Tyhume, and even to drink from that river – a riot broke out. And so the War of the Axe is also known as "The Water War;" and in conversation people will say they fought over "Nonibe's Bone."

XHOXHO, the truly hard-hearted son of Ngqika in Nonibe's supporting house, the father of Herbert who is now at Qombolo, is said to have distinguished himself in the military conduct of this war.<sup>7</sup>

I have spent considerable time on the explanation of this name, but all I want to say is:

You're not the least  
 of Xhosa rivers,  
 Tyhali's Tyhume,  
 Nonibe's Bone.  
 At the Orange I see you,  
 at Gwadana and Buwa,  
 as you leave the mountains,  
 Xayimpi's mountains,<sup>8</sup>  
 among the Qocwa Mbombo,  
 in three river branches:  
 at Nomadolo,  
 at Hala in Readsdale  
 and at Qabimbola

O Masiza mbulala  
O Qina-ka-Qonono  
Mayizal' inkomo sidl' isigqoro,  
Amabandl' ako-Nibe

bakuqonda ukuba sebenebatu abalifumeneyo lomhlaba wokuma; bakuqonda ukuba namandla sebenawo, baqala,

Bampakamisel' isitende  
Unina wab' u No-Nibe.

Lite lisifa nje ilizwe ngale ye Zembe ngenxa ka 'Tsili into yasema Ngwevini, eyeba izembe kwa Holide kwabe bekuse kuqinisekile kade ukuba ilizwe liyafa, kuba amabandla akwa Nkosikazi ajike akavuma ukuba inkomo zayo ziliwele i Tyume, zisele nokusela emlanjeni apo, – *lwehla ke udiwu*; – Yiyo lento elinye igama lale mfazwe ye Zembe kutiwa yi "Mfazwe ya Manzi;" kuze xa kutetwayo kutiwe kwaliwa "ngetambo lako-Nibe."

U Xoxo, – isikohlakali esikulu into ka Ngqika kwa yeqadi lako Nibe uyise ka Herbert lowa use Qombolo ngoku, – kutiwa wazibalula kakulu ekuyilweni lemfazwe.

Ndimke kakulu nencazelo yeligama kanti eyona ndawo bendisiya kuyo ibiyile yokuti:

Kwimilambo yakwa Xosa  
Akunguy' omcinanana  
Tyume ndini lakwa Tyali  
Tambo ndini lako-Nibe.  
Ndikubona ndise Gqili  
E Gwadana nase Buwa,  
Xa upum' ezintabeni  
Kwezo zakulo Xayimpi  
Kwa Mabombo ama Qocwa  
Ngezibaxa ezitatu.  
Eso siku Nomadolo  
Nase Hala ku Ngcongolo  
Neso siku Qabimbola

below a pool  
 that formed cascades  
 for the health of nations,  
 where cattle are fattened  
 above and below.  
 Tyhume of ours,  
 where Nomenti lies,  
 lovely lady from Bedle's home,  
 and her father-in-law,<sup>9</sup>  
 on your pleasant banks,  
 cool, frosty water,  
 famous for flavour,  
 flowing from Mountains  
 beneath God's feet  
 in the Xhosa homeland  
 on which stand the Gwali  
 and Amathole mountains  
 where we buried Ntsikana<sup>10</sup>  
 beside water he drank,  
 where we buried Tyhali  
 beside water he sipped.  
 River with tales to tell  
 of the great Xhosa nation  
 in the press of war,  
 denouncing the peace,  
 in the perfume of marriage,  
 the wedding feast fragrance,  
 and in painting racing cattle –  
 the old man choked up  
 on completing the distance –  
 all beaten and broken.  
 The Gompo poet<sup>11</sup> says today:  
     "Lead me, Nonqane,<sup>12</sup>  
     up on high  
     to see a man,  
     firm of purpose:

Sinecibi ngapezulu,  
Into yon' enengxangxasi  
Yokupiliswa kwentlanga,  
Apo kupilisw' inkomo  
Ngosezantsi nopezulu.  
Tyume ndini lakokwetu  
Ekulele no Nomenti,  
Inzwakazi yakwa Bedle  
Ekwa kon' uyise-Zala  
Kwezo ndonga zako zintle,  
Manz' apole ngokwengqele,  
Edumile ngokuyola  
Kub' apum' ezi Ntabeni  
Pantsi kwenyawo zo Tixo  
Wakokwetu wakwa Xosa;  
Ezimi kuz' ezo Ntaba  
Zase Gwali no Matole,  
Apo sanchwab' u Ntsikana  
Kumanz' abeselwa nguye  
Apo safihla no Tyali  
Kumanz' abetyiwa nguye  
Mlambo-ndin' osebalini  
Lomz' omkulu wama Xosa  
Kuzazinge ngezemfazwe  
Kubutyolo ngezoxolo  
Kubulawu ngolwendiso  
Kubuqolo bemisito  
Nezazobe zama leqe –  
Wabindek' u Xego-dala  
Akuba kweso sigama –  
Yaqoboka yenzakala  
Namhl' Imbongi yakwa Gompo:  
    “Ndikape Nonqane  
    “Ndiye Pezulu  
    “Ndiye kubon' indoda  
    “Enantliziyo-nye

all these men  
are double dealers,  
first they bless  
and then they curse,  
they make enquiries  
and then cast spells."

This is history's residue:

You're not the least  
of rivulets,  
roaring Tyhume,  
famous Tyhume.

You were trusted by fools  
who use plants as cures,  
today you used bird tracks  
to lead them to mountain springs.

You cured their cattle,  
fed their families  
with sweetest water  
and holy milk.

Your water comes from the sea  
and returns to the sea,  
even in years of drought  
you withhold not a drop.

Those mountains bear witness,  
the Xhosa bear witness,  
Tyhume, you're trustworthy,  
Tyhume, you're constant.

Today times have changed,  
today no one's a fool.

“Kuba lamadoda  
“Antliziyo ngambini  
“Ayasikelela  
“Pof’ aqalekise  
“Apat’ ukubuza  
“Kwa nokutakata.”

Le yintsalela esele kwelidluleyo:

Akunguy’ omncinanana  
Pakati kwemilanjana  
Tyume ndini linomgqumo  
Tyume ndini linodumo.

Watembeka kwizidenge  
Ezipila zizidende  
Wazisez amanz’ entaba  
Namhla ngenqhina yentaka.

Wapilis’ inkomo zazo  
Wazondla nentsapo zazo  
Ngamanz’ ayole kunene  
Nangobisi olungcwele.

Amanz’ ak’ apum’ elwandle  
Abuyele kwase lwandle  
Nanyakana ayintsintsi,  
Akuz’ ushinte netontsi.

Ezontaba ziyanqhina  
Ama Xosa ayanqhina  
Tyume ndin’ utembekile  
Tyume ndin’ ukolekile.

Namhl’ imini zijikile,  
Namhl’ ubudenge bumkile.

Today you're ringed by the wise,  
you nurture schooled families.<sup>13</sup>

A man came from the West,  
whom Lwaganda trusted,<sup>14</sup>  
a welcome minister,  
he made straight for the chief.

He said, "Grant me land,  
royal son of Mlawu,  
I'm Govan's son,<sup>15</sup>  
sent from heaven.

"I know Chalmers and Read,  
and Van der Kemp,<sup>16</sup>  
we're all the same messenger,  
sent straight to you.

"I once tried at Ncerha,  
with Nduluka's people.<sup>17</sup>  
Drought drove us off,  
and our mission failed.

"Grant me space in Alice,  
I, Govan's son, ask it,  
to drink Tyhume's water,  
sweetest of waters.

"Tyhali, son of Ngqika,  
please, African chief,  
let me go up the Gaga<sup>18</sup>  
to those plains with thorn trees.

Namhl' unggongwe zizilumko  
Wondla nentsapo zemfundo.

Kwavel' umf' eNtshonalanga  
Ikolwane ka Lwaganda.  
U Nyawontle umfundisi  
Wasinga kumtan' enkosi.

Wati ndincede ngendawo  
Mtan' enkosi woka Mlawo  
Mna ndingumfo ka Gaveni  
Nditunyiwe ezulwini.

O Tshemese siyazana  
No Ngcongolo no Nyengana  
Singabatunywa abanye  
Sasitunywe kuni kanye.

Ndike ndalinga e Ncera  
Ndipahlwe ngabo Nduluka.  
Sigxotwe kukubalela  
'Sabi nakupumelela.

Ndip' indawo e Dikeni  
Nditsho mna mfo ka Gaveni  
Ze ndisel' amanz' e Tyume  
Amanz' ayole kunene.

Nceda Tyali mtaka Ngqika  
Mtan' enkosi ye Afrika,  
Ndip' ukungena ko Gaga  
Kwezontili zinezinga.



“Your folk will be schooled  
along with their servants.  
Those over the Orange  
will graze these plains too.”

They spent themselves learning,  
and crammed the country  
with experts and authorities,  
the force of this age.

Tyhume’s water’s drinkers  
led it to furrows  
below Qelekequshe,  
beneath Gqumahashe.<sup>19</sup>

Praise the Nile rivers  
until you’re breathless.  
You sow hellish things:  
all you need is *amasi*.<sup>20</sup>

Today the Nkwenkwanas are there,  
today the Sikutshwanas are there,  
and Makahlane’s contemporaries,  
feeding others with Tyhume water.

They built themselves dams,  
made names for themselves,  
their cattle grew sleek,  
all their sons prospered.

Blood from the wars  
still covers the stones,  
it’s still in our blood  
as we fight the heathen.

Kofundisw' abantu bako  
Kunye nezicaka zabo.  
Nabapesha kwama Gqili  
Bokotela kwezintili.

Bafunda badabalala  
Batsh' izwe labazalala.  
Zincutshe, zityulutyulu  
Amaxhat' esisi zukulu.

Int' ezadl' amanz' e Tyume,  
Ziwaqube zincenceshe  
Pantsi ko Qelekequshe  
Ezantsi ko Gqumahashe.

Bongani imi Nayile  
'De nibe zinkelenkele'  
Nihlwayel' ozi helesi  
Niwaswele kodw' amasi.

Nabo namhla o Nkwenkwana  
Nabo namhla' o Sikutshwana  
Nezikul' o Makahlane  
Zisondla ngamanz' e Tyume.

Bazivulel' amadama  
Bazenzela amagama  
Zigudil' inkomo zabo  
Zizivund' onyana babo.

Amagaz' asemfazweni  
Asahleli ematyeni,  
Namhla kukwasegazini  
Sisilwa nobuhedini.

---

\* *zinkenkele*. Without this emendation the line has only seven syllables.

Tyhume! O Tyhume!  
though I'm still bashful,  
among these nations  
I discuss you till dawn!

For I was born here,  
my father was born here,  
as well as my grandfather,  
this place's offspring.

Mbashe's offspring  
can talk of Mbashes.  
Those from Tugela  
call out to Tugela.

I'll call out to Tyhume  
wherever I am,  
invoke our God  
in our very own river.

Gwali, flow as a tributary  
into that sturdy gorge.  
Flow in, Ncerha, flow in, Rwarwa,  
flow in, Guburha and Gaga.

Flow in, all you streams,  
make the Tyhume a river.  
She swells the Keiskamma,  
teaches the English.

She teaches continents  
to serve one another,  
to bow to another  
in the one Kingdom.

Tyume ndini! Tyume ndini!  
Ndipelelwe nazintloni,  
Napakati kwezi zizwe,  
Kungasa nditeta ngawe!

Kuba ndizalelwe kona  
Ubaw' uzalelwe kona,  
U Mawokulu ngowakona  
Ekwa yinzala yakona.

Mabatete ngemi Bashe  
Abenzala yase Mbashe.  
Bamemeze ngo Tsukela  
Abo baselu Tsukela.

Ndomemeza mna nge Tyume  
Naku bupina ubume.  
Ndimnqul' u Tix' akokwetu  
Ndikumlambo wakokwetu.

Ngena Gwali ngotelelo  
Kulongxingwa yomelelo.  
Ngena Ncera ngena Rwarwa  
Ngena Gubura no Gaga.

Ngenani nonke zintlambo  
I Tyume libe ngumlambo.  
Liyabusa kwawe Xesi  
Lifundisa ama Ngesi.

Lifundisa izizwana  
Indlela yokukonzana,  
Kukugoba pantsi komnye  
Kubu Kumkani obunye.

Flow in, all you streams,  
make the Tyhume a river.  
She's done her God service  
by playing her part.

When this age is ended,  
when we're in eternity,  
Tyhume'll stand forth  
among nations of note.

Go then, Phalo's river,  
we tribes of Tshiwo say,  
rush down on your way,  
and thus we invoke you.

Sometime in the future,  
when other nations assemble,  
I'd be in Tyhume's spring  
with cherubim of my own.

I don't want the Jordan,  
and I don't want the Pishon.<sup>21</sup>  
Forgive me, lords and ladies,  
in my eyes this Tyhume sparkles.

Let me stop there, let me end –  
lest the nation surprise me  
and be roused to power:  
with this I've had my say.

Ngenani nonke zintlambo  
I-Tyume libe ngumlambo.  
Limkonzil' u Tixo walo  
Ngokwenz' umsebenzi walo.

Lakudlul' elipakade  
Xa sesikunapakade  
I Tyume liyakongama  
Kwizizw' ezi namagama.

Hamba ke mlambo ka Palo  
Sitsho tina bakwa Tshiwo  
Hamba njal' uqukuqela  
Sitsho ke sikunqulela.

Ngamana kwati pambili  
Xa izizwe zizindidi,  
Ndibe kumtombo we Tyume  
Ndineyam' i Kerubime.

Andifuni Joredane  
Ndingafuni na Pishone.  
Ndixoleleni zikulu  
Eli Tyume kum likulu.

Mandiyeke, mandipeze, –  
Hlez' umzi nd' ungxwabaze,  
Ud' uvukwe ngamagunya:  
Ngako ke ndiyatshonela.

**The late Antyi Kota***We mourn with the mourners.*

The homestead of Nzanzana, son of Mqhayi, son of Sheshegu, has been mentioned in the Homestead on High. It was mentioned in this context: in the hymn of the 22nd Sunday after Trinity Sunday, a gap was found amongst the angels that needed to be filled; after an intensive search, it was found that Nzanzana's eldest daughter, married into the Kwayini people at Kota's place, could be summoned to fill that gap.<sup>1</sup> Some queried this, saying how can she be removed from Centane as she is the salt of that homestead? The other group responded and said:

"Nzanzana is here."

"Nonxuba's daughter is here."

"Her children are here."

"Her heart is here."

"So is her spirit."

"Let her spirit go home to rest."

That was the final word, and the angel Michael was sent to saddle swift horses to fetch her; he was instructed to touch her lungs gently, lightly and lovingly, on that same Sunday evening; but he came for her on 29 October.

In the event this is how it turned out, there was no rush, no great illness, but she left on the appointed day. This woman was about 55 years old; she was married by her local pastor Nxeke of the Jingqi (James Davidson) at Lujilo in 1873. There were ten siblings – five boys and five girls; and she was the first to pass away.

Nothing was a source of greater pride to this woman than the love her father showed her from her childhood to mature marriage.

Her home at Centane was next to the road used by travelers; coming or going, all would be asked: "You child of SoJosi, have you eaten anything?" Even when she was in the office, she never found the homeless wrecks tiresome, calling each one "Nomama," a name they later gave to her.<sup>2</sup>

In going to fill that gap she was summoned to on the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, she leaves one son and two grandchildren.

**Umfikazi u Antyi Kota***Silila Nabalilayo.*

Umzi ka Nzanzana, unyana ka Mqayi, into ka Sheshegu, ubuye wakankanywa ku Mzi Opezulu. Ukukankanywa kwawo kube loluhlobo: Kute kwindumiso ze *Cawa yama 22 emva ko Mtriniti*, pakati kwe Ngelose, kwafumaneka ukuba kuko iroba elifanelwe kukuzaliswa; kukangelwe kwakangelwa kwafumaneka ukuba intombi enkulu ka Nzanzana, eyendele ema Kwayini kwa Kota, mayibizwe iyekulizalisa eloroba. Babuzile abanye ukuba angatinina lomntu ukususwa kwa Centane, eyityuwa yalomzi nje? Zipendule ezinye izihlwele zisiti:

“Ulapa u Nzanzana.”

“Ilapa intombi yo Nonxuba.”

“Balapa abantwana bake”

“Ilapa intliziyo yake,”

“Ngako nompefumlo wake”

“Maugeduswe upumle.”

Lite kanti ke elo lelokugqiba, yatunyelwa ingelose u Mikayeli ukuba impume, ibope amahashe agidimayo; kuyalezwe ukuba ize imcukumise kancinane emipungeni, ngoxolo, nangotando kwa ngoko kuhlwa kwe Cawa leyo; kodwa ifike naye ngomhla wama 29 ku October ingaposisi.

Okwenene ke kwaya njengoko, akubangako matyatyatya amkuhlane kwatini, kodwa undulukile ngosuku olo lumisiweyo. Ixesha lenkosikazi izelwe likuma 55 iminyaka; itshatiswe ngumfundisi wakokwayo u Nxheke wakulo Jingqi (Jas. Davidson) e Lujilo ngo 1873. Bangabantwana abalishumi kuyise nona, – amadoda omahlanu nentombi ezintlanu; kweloshumi kumhlana kubako oquzukayo.

Akuko nto lenkosikazi ibizidla ngayo njengokutandwa nguyise kwasebuntombini kude kuzokuba sebufazini obukulu.

Umzi wake paya kwa Centane ubungasendleleni yabahambi; bonke ukuba bengena bepuma nje bayabuzwa ukuba: “Wena mtaka So-Josi ubuke wafaka ntonina emlomeni?” Naxa seledede wase ofisini paya, akamdinanga amawokowoko angenandawo, onke ebe ngo “Nomama” igama awajika wabizwa ngalo yena.



There was deep sorrow at Ngede in the procession to lay her tired body  
beside her father and mother below Mtombe at Nzanzana's place:

Mercy, Kwayi home  
of the Great Place<sup>3</sup> of Ngconde –  
elephants called on you,  
distinguished elephants.  
Why were you chosen  
from such a crowd?  
What did the Lord see  
that he slept with the Kwayi?

And so leave the forest,  
tribes of Togu and Tshawe;<sup>4</sup>  
wash your robes and dress yourselves:  
the Lord has raised you up.

Mercy, Zima homestead,  
what's happening to you?  
What's freely taken  
when this Lord is determined?

Go then, Nomama, go!  
Go, child of my father, go!  
Greet SoJosi there,  
and Sheshegu his grandfather,  
say Mthikhala sends his greetings.

Ushiya unyana omnye, nabazukulwana ababini, ukuya kuvala eloroba abizelwe lona kwi *Cawa yama 23 elandela eyom-Triniti*.

Kufumane kwasisi zotongo kwa Ngede mini wapelekelelwa ukuya kubeka umzimba odiniweyo, ecaleni loyise nonina, ezantsi ko Mtombe ka Nzanzana:

Taru mzi wama Kwayi  
Wakomkulu wakwa Ngconde, –  
Indlovu zinihambele  
Indlov' ezinemixaga.  
Nityunjwe nganina nina  
Pakati kwalenyakanyaka?  
Ibone ntonin' i-Nkosi  
Lent' ilalis' e Makwayini?

Pumani ngok' ehlatini  
Mabandla ka Togu ka Tshawe;  
Hlamban' ingubo nivate  
I Nkos' inipakamisile.

Taru mzi wama Zima  
Yinnale kambe wena?  
Ibiseyisimahla sanina  
Lenkos' ingak' ipambuke?

Hamba ke Nomama, hamba ke!  
Hamba ke Taka-bawo, hamba ke!  
Ubulis' apo ku So-Josi  
Naku Shesheg' uyise-mkulu  
Uti kubulise no Mti-Kala.

**The late Captain Veldtman**

## TEMPORARY PREACHER

*My spirit will not wield the power of a chief over people forever.*

As the 1910th year began after the ascension of our Lord, the Great Place at Zazulwana was shocked by the sound of a strange trumpet, not fashioned by hand. In excitement the people hurried to view this fellow with an insolent expression blasting this trumpet, and he threw them into confusion by asking for the house of the son of Bikitsha,<sup>1</sup> son of Mabhidlili, the Zizi chiefing, because he had a message for him from the King of kings. When they showed him this house, he walked straight up to it without hesitation and on arrival flung down an oblong sheet of paper, bluish in colour, a blow to the pit of the stomach, a vile stench, inscribed in letters of gold:

“SETTLE YOUR AFFAIRS: YOUR DEATH IS NEAR.”

The news spread to every corner of the country and many people emerged to make their way to this royal messenger saying the Lord must retract, the Captain was still much involved in the affairs of the nation. The messenger indeed retreated to report.

After days and weeks and months, the sound of the horn was heard once again at the homestead, and on this day the fellow with an insolent expression hurriedly flung down a parchment inscribed in words of iron: “The Chief, Captain Veldtman, must take his place with the Heavenly Chiefs before the eighth Sunday after Trinity Sunday.” When the people expressed shock, this man went on to say: “To be sure, there is no cause for shock, for here is proof that I speak the truth: mourners will roam the streets, because the person is going to his eternal home.”

And so the chief began to tell his people the substance of the announcement, he gave his dying charge to his household, Mfengu dignitaries were summoned, the sons of Pamla, Xabanisa, Mamba, Madubela and others,<sup>2</sup> and the son of Ndwandwa<sup>3</sup> and the ministers persisted in informing others to prepare them for the shock of the appointed day, and yet the Captain conducted that ceremony on 14 May, on a Thursday.<sup>4</sup>

**Umfi Captain Veldtman**

UMSHUMAYELI WAMZUZU

*Umoya wam awukuhlala upete ubukosi kubantu ngonapakade.*

Kute kwase kungeneni kwawo lomnyaka we waka elinamakulu asitoba aneshumi emva kokunyuka kwe Nkosi yetu, umzi wakomkulu e Zazulwana wotuswa kukutsho kwexilongo elingaqelekileyo, elingenziwanga ngazandla. Bate bakuti patsha abantu bakuya kumkangela lomfo ubuso bungwanyalala ubelivutela ixilongo elo, wapambanisa yena wabuza ukuba ipina indlu yonyana ka Bikitsha ka Mabhidlili inkosana yasema Zizini, kuba unendaba ezisingiswe kuye yi Nkosi ye nkosi. Akuba eyalatisiwe indlu leyo, wonde ngayo ngapandle kokutandabuza, ufike waposa ipepa elimbhoxo elibuzulura ngebala, eliqipula umbilini, laye likwanalo nevumba elihlasimlisayo, kwaye kubhalwe kulo ngamagama egolide lamagama: –

“YOLELA NGOKUBA UZAKUFA.”

Lute oludaba lwavakala kwindawana zonke zelilizwe, bapuma abantu abaninzi basingisa kumtunywa lowo wakomkulu besiti i Nkosi mayike yenze ububuyo, u Captain lo usaxakeke kakulu yimicimbi yesizwe. Uroxwe ngomva okunene umtunywa lowo waya kulibika elo.

Zinge zingadlula intsuku neveki nenyanga, lavakala kwakona izwi lesigodlo pakati komzi, ute namhla umfo obuso bungwanyalala wakauleza waposa namhla ipepa lolusu (parchment), libhalwe ngamagama entsimbi lamazwi: – “Imelwe Inkosi u Captain Veldtman kukuba ibe pakati kwezase Zulwini i Nkosi, ngapambi kweyesibhozo i Cawa emva ko Mtriniti.” Bate bakotuka abantu, yaqokela lendoda yati: “Ewe, akuko kotuka kulonto kuba nangu nomqondiso wokuba into endiyitetayo iyinyaniso: Bayakujikajika izitalato abambambazeleli, ngokuba umntu esiya endlwini yake yangonapakade.”

Ite kaloku inkosi yaqala yawaxelela awakowayo ukuba kuko udaba olunje, yayiyolela indlu yayo, zabizwa izikulu zase Mbo ezisondeleyo, into zo Pamla nezo Xabanisa nezo Mamba nezo Madubela, nezinye, zaye into zo Ndwandwa nabafundisi singapezanga ukubika zayeke zilungisela ukuba uti ufika umhla wanqambu kube kungaseko uyakotuka, yati kanti ke i Captain leyo iyakulenza elodini ngomhla we 14 kwinyanga ye Ntlaba, ngolwesi Ne usuku evekini.

Captain Veldtman is one of the Mfengu people who reached the Tsitsikama, where he earned a reputation for himself from the Buffalo to the Fish and right up to the Winterberg, noted at this time as a man at odds with his reputation. He served the Government faultlessly, he also served his people and his generation, and fought for it; his efforts culminated in uniting the Mfengu in considering this day of theirs, 14 May.

And so, Editor, together with the one or two people who may follow me at his graveside, I will utter these few lines of remembrance and lamentation:

The edict struck! The edict struck!!  
The edict struck though bitter!!  
The trumpet rang, the chief was fetched.  
Many ahead were calling him.  
He packed in a hurry and went home on Thursday.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

A man passed on and left a gap,  
though pleased to complete the course.  
He left with the track he ran,  
he left with his strength to destroy,  
went home at his own instigation.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

The northeastern peoples<sup>5</sup> are sad today,  
those from Tugela weep today.  
Gone is the father who stole for them.  
He attracted attention at Tsitsikama,  
stood tall on the Debe flats.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Reap the fruit of submission,  
Bikitsha's son has served among whites;  
reap the fruit of public service,  
Bikitsha's son has served the nation,

U Captain Veldtman lo yenye yama Mfengu aya afika e Tsitsikama, kwalapo wazibalula, umbindi opakati kwe Qonce ne Nxuba kude kube kwintaba ze Nkonkobe, sisituba eso azibonakalise kuso ukuba akangangokuba ebecingelwa njalo ngaleyo mihla. U Rulumente umkonze ngokungenakusoleka, isizwe sake nesizukulwana\* sake usikonzele, wasilwela; ute kaloku ukuqoshelisa walubumba usapo lwase Mbo ngokucamngca ngolusuku lwabo lwe 14 May.

Ndiyakuti kutike ngoko Mhleli, mna, nomnye nababini abangati bandilandepezu kwedlaka elo, senze lemi dana esisikhumbuzo nesijwili:

Wahlab' umteto! Wahlab' umteto!!  
Wahlab' umteto noko kurara!!  
Sivakel' isigodlo inkosi yaputunywa.  
Baninzi pambili abebeyibiza  
Itshakaze yagoduka ngolwesi Ne evekini.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Kunduluk' indoda yashiya iroba,  
Nok' ifezileyo kolwayo ugqatso.  
Imke nalomend' ibibaleka ngawo;  
Yemka nalomandl' ibidiliza ngawo;  
Kwanempembelelo igoduke nazo.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Usapo lwase Mbo namhla lulusizi,  
Namhla bayalil' abase Lu-Tsukela.  
Kumk' oyena yis' ebebanyimbinyela  
Kwase Tsitsikama, watsho wavelela,  
Kuma Taf' e Debe ubeyinkabankaba.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Vunan' iziqhamo zentobelo-mbuso,  
Umfo ka Bikitsh' ukonzil' emlungwini;  
Vunan' iziqhamo zenkonzo yohlanga,  
Umfo ka Bikitsh' ulukonzil' uhlanga.

---

\* *nesizukulwano*

uniting the northerneastern peoples.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

A lover of fat<sup>6</sup> without his own cattle.  
A chief though never installed,  
since it's enough to live in an oblong house<sup>7</sup> –  
they say he's gone home to eat fat,  
which never goes bad in Paradise.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Reap the fruit of believing the truth,  
you sit as if deaf to abuse,  
expecting your promised reward,  
blazing the trail to the Throne,  
the earthly and heavenly Throne.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

See the Njokwenis at Peddie,  
skirt the Gaga and go to Ngwabeni,  
climb the Tyhume and go to Mabandla,  
scale the Mathole and go to Mhlambiso.  
Please don't forget Hintsas's people.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Reap the fruit, northeastern peoples,  
the man cleared a path and rolled rocks aside,  
we Xhosa will eat the meat handed down,  
we Thembu will pick up the scraps,  
while we Mpondo will twist in the dance.<sup>8</sup>  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Uhlanga lwase Mb' uludibanisile.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Umtanda ka nqata kati akanankomo.  
Inkos' engenantsimbi yamqala,  
Kub' indlu zengxande kuyo zigqibile, –  
Bat' ugodukil' uyokuty' amanqata.  
Angasagugiyi e Paradesini.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Vunan' iziqhamo zekolwa lenene,  
Uhlal' ung' akuva bejikica ngawe  
Ulindel' umvuzo otenjiswe\* wona,  
Uvule indlela esing' ezi Troneni,  
Kwi Trone zomhlaba ne Trone ye Zulu.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Qabel' e Ngqushwa kwabakwa Njokweni,  
Nigugut' u Gaga niye ku Ngwabeni,  
Zenikweze i Tyume niye ku Mabandla  
Niqoq' u Matole niye ku Mhlambiso.  
Zenincede nikhumbule intsapo ka Hintsu.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Vunan' iziqhamo lusapo lwase Mbo,  
Indod' igecile yanqika amatye,  
Tina boma Xhosa sotat' inxaxheba,  
Nati boba Tembu siyakukwahlaza,  
Kwanati ma Mpondo siyaku jakuja.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

---

\* *otenjiswe*



Hintsa did well to give us Ayliff,  
he did well again to leave us a site,  
though we'll ignore him in the "Mfengu History":  
this land has a limited memory.<sup>9</sup>  
The next world will remember him.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Mercy, people. We cry when we do this:  
it's a northeastern custom to cry whilst you speak  
like Jeremiah of the Hebrews,  
like Christ in Judah's family,  
mourning a home confronting dispersal.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Mabhidlili's son has gone,  
fulfilling all the prophecies;  
he went past Hintsa to Tsitsikama,  
where he was blocked and turned back eastwards,  
due next day to reach the Drakensberg.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Go, keen intellect, go –  
Go, you're fit to assume your seat,  
son who was always there for everyone,<sup>10</sup>  
you never avoided Christ's and his father's.  
Today he's in the Great Council Above.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

We say: Go home, wise thinker,  
you're done serving this generation.  
You've done what flesh and blood can do,  
you've bound your nation and welded it  
by this belt of the 14th of May.  
It's up to them to lead themselves.  
Groan in grief, nations: the great man's gone.

Utyapil' u Hints'asinik' u Elefu,  
Watyapa kwakon' asishiye nenxowa;  
Noko somlibala kwi "Bali laba Mbo"  
Kuba elilizwe lelokulibala;  
Kukumkumbula kwi lizw' elizayo.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Taruni bant' ukwenjenje siyalila,  
Lisiko lase Mbo ukulil' uteta  
Njengo Jeremiya wakuma Hebere  
Nanjengo Kristu kwintsapo ka Juda,  
Elilel' umzi ozakuchitakala.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Umkil' unyana wakwa Mabhidlili,  
Zonk' iziprofeto uzizalisile;  
Udlule ku Hints' watsh' e Tsitsikama,  
Unqhubeke apo wasinga kwase Mbo:  
Ubeya kufika kusas' e Lundini.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Hamba ngqondo enkulu hamba, –  
Hamba mafaneywe kukuhlay' esitunyweni,  
Man' ongazang' apum' epunguyeyweni,  
Akapumanga nakwelika Krestu noyise,  
Namhla kukwi Bhunga Elikulu Pezulu.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Siti: Hamb' ugoduke ngqondel' enkulu.  
Usigqibil' isizukulwan' ukusikonza.  
Ukwenzil' okunokwenziwa yinyama negazi,  
Ulubopil' uhlanga lwako waludibanisa.  
Ngalebhanti yolusuku lweshumi linane,  
Zekube kokwabo ukuzipalaza.  
Khuzani zintlanga umkil' umnt' omkulu.

Greetings, orphans, I salute you,  
 greetings all you Dlamini,  
 and greetings to you Rhadebe,  
 greetings Keswa as well as you Bhele,  
 I don't exclude you Maduna,  
 and you Nkomo, I greet you.  
 Greetings to all of you homes of the chief!  
 That's it!!!

## 5 The late Mrs Naniwe Wauchope

*These are they who have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. – Rev. 7:14*

The first week of this year will never be forgotten in heaven for this reason: it was announced that an individual on earth would soon be summoned to add to the number of heaven's messengers. The great multitude of heaven names Naniwe, the daughter-in-law of Citashe, son of Dyobha<sup>1</sup> of the Cethe clan of the Jingqi. Some said: how can this woman be summoned when she is still suffering so much affliction on earth?<sup>2</sup> The reply came: "But she is the very person we need, for two reasons: (1) She has been purified by these afflictions, (2) now she can rest from her sorrows." And that was it; the explosion detonated like a thunderclap! She was buried on the first Sunday after Epiphany. Our sister Naniwe departed and left us on the 7th of the month.

Naniwe is the daughter of John Lukalo of the Majola clan (a Mpondomise woman). She met the son of Dyobha at school in Lovedale;<sup>3</sup> they were married by Rev Paterson<sup>4</sup> in Uitenhage on 9 April 1878; she and her husband both taught at Uitenhage. When her husband assumed duty as interpreter in the magistrate's court in Port Elizabeth, this lady went to teach at the Presbyterian school in Port Elizabeth, under the son of Xiniwe whom we still mourn.<sup>5</sup> From there she returned to Lovedale in August 1890, while her husband studied for the ministry. In February 1892 they went to start their work at Singqengqeni, in Maqoma's territory – in Fort Beaufort.

Bhotani ke zinkedama ndiyabulisa,  
 Bhotani nonke nina bakwa Dlamini,  
 Bhotani nani nina bakwa Radebe,  
 Bhotani bakwa Keswa nani ma Bhele,  
 Andinishiyi nani nina bakwa Maduna,  
 Nani bakwa Nkomo ndiyanibulisa.  
 Bhotani nonke mzi wenkosi!  
 Ncincilili!!!

## 5 Umfikazi u Mrs. Naniwe Wauchope

*Aba ngabavela kwimbandezelo enkulu, bazihlambile ingubo zabo bazenza  
 mhlope egazini le Mvana. – Izityilo vii, 14*

Iveki yokuqala yalomnyaka yiveki engasayi kufumane ilibaleke emazulwini. Isizatu soko, kute kwavakala ukuba kuk' umntu womhlaba oyakubizwa kwa kamsinya nje ukuba aze kongeza inani lezitunywa zezulu. Umkosi omkulu wamazulu ukankanya igama lika Naniwe, umolokazana ka Citashe into ka Dyoba um Cete wakulo Jingqi. Ite inxalenye isiti: lomfazi uyakutinina ukubizwa esepakati kwembandezelo ezingaka nje zomhlaba? Yati impendulo: "Nguyena kanye ufunekayo ke ngezizatu ezibini: (1) Nguyena selecociwe zimbandezelo ezo, (2) kokona wopumla ezintsizini zake. Kwaba kuyapela njalo; savakala okunene isitonga! Wangcwatywa kanye kwi Cawa yokuqala emva kwe Epifani. Wanduluka udade Naniwe wasishiya ngomhla wesi 7 enyangeni leyo.

U Naniwe yintombi ka John Lukalo yakwa Majola (um-Mpondomisekazi). Ubonene nonyana ka Dyoba lo emfundweni e Lovedale; batshatiswa ngu Rev. Paterson, e Tinara (Uitenhage), nge 9 April, 1878; bafundise bobabini nendoda e Tinara apo. Ite indoda ekuyeni kutolika kwi Ofisi yemantyi e Bhayi, yaya kufundisa lenkosikazi kwisikolo kwa sama Rabe e Bhayi apo, ipantsi kwento ka Xiniwe esisayililelayo. Ukusuka apo ize kwase Lovedale ngo August 1890, ngexesha indoda yayiza kufundela ubufundisi. Kute ngo February 1892, baya kuqala umsebenzi e Sinqhenqheni kwinxowa lika Maqoma, – apo ke kuse Bhofolo.

That is where the housewife began to stand out among women. I will leave her activities for each person to pick and choose from, because there are many. She was prominent in women's prayer meetings, and in the Mothers' Union, she was prominent among the Templars and the Band of Hope,<sup>6</sup> not to mention Sunday Schools. This Majola woman participated in all of these.

Four sons of hers and three daughters died before her; today she will come face to face with them in the Heavenly home.

As a *Christian*, when Naniwe saw that the work was not going well in Fort Beaufort she wrote to Rev W.B. Rubusana, inviting him to come and calm the community down.<sup>7</sup> Indeed that minister from East London spent some time with this congregation, flanked by his evangelist, Mr John Jorah.

As a *woman* it is enough for me to say: "Her husband relied on her." John Jorah often told me that few women could match her clan style of home discipline.

As a *lover of progress* she departs leaving its fruits behind her.

For the *College* she worked in one place after another; in her words, "I cut the thatch, because that is the women's job when a house is being built," and indeed she acquitted herself outstandingly.<sup>8</sup>

As far as *racism* is concerned, we Xhosa vilified her saying she is a Mfengu woman determined to entice the son of Dyobha. On their side the Mfengu regarded her as a daughter from a foreign country. For her own part she never spoke a single word in an attempt to defend herself from such muck. She often said to me that it is intermarriage among these black races that will end this racial ethnicity.

I last saw her in 1909 when she was in my house, on a day I was expecting her as well as a fellow from my people, who arrived with two women I did not know, compelling me to spend as much time welcoming them as I did her.

Her burial was led by three ministers: Rev P.J. Mzimba (of the Presbyterian Church), Rev D. Malgas (of the Church of England) and Rev S. Kakaza (of the Methodist Church).<sup>9</sup> On that Sunday the speakers were heard pounding on the verse I inscribed at the start of this article.

In so saying, Editor, and you readers:

I'm not raising a cry,  
I'm not one to cry;

Iqale apo ke intokazi yasemzini ukuzibalula pakati kwabafazi. Imisebenzi yayo ndingayishiyela kumntu ngamnye ukuba aziketele abekolwa nguwo kuba ibimininzi. Kute kukwintlanganiso zabafazi bomtandazo, nezo Manyano Lwabafazi, kute kuse zi Tempileni nama Qela Etemba, ndingasateti ngezikolo ze Cawa, yabamba ihlelo kwa kupela intokazi yakwa Majola.

Amakwenkwe ake amane nentombi ezintatu zazise zimandulele; namhla uyakubonana nabo kumzi Opezulu.

Njengom *Krestukazi* u Naniwe, ute akubona umsebenzi ungemhle e Bhofolo, wabhala wasingisa ku Rev. W.B. Rubusana ukuba ake enyuke umhlaumbi angawenza umzi uzole, okwenene umfundisi lowo wase Monti ube netuba elitile ehamba kuleramente, exakwe ngumvangeli wake u Mr. Jno. Jorah.

*Njengomfazi* makwenele xa nditi: "Ibikolose ngaye indoda yake." Indlela yake yokuqeqesha njengomnikazi mzi, u Jno. Jorah ubedla ngokuti kum basem-balwa abafazi abanjalo.

Njengomtandi we *Nqubela Pambili* umka eshiya iziqamo zayo.

Ngo *Nokoleji* usebenze kwindawo ngendawo, (ngabula yena), "ndisika ingca, kuba ingumsebenzi wabafazi xa kwakiwayo," okunene watsho ngomsebenzi onamagaqa.

*Ngobuhlanga*, tina ma Xhosa besingxeka sisiti yi Mfengukazi ezamana ilukuhlana nomntaka Dyoba. Ama Mfengu ngelawo icala ebemtata njengentombi yasebu Nguni. Yena ngokwake akazange enze nelimdaka lokuzihlangula nakulipina igama. Ubesitsho futi kum ukuti lulwendiselano lwezintlanga zimnyama into eyakwenza ukuba lupele olucalulwano lungaka ngobuhlanga.

Ndimgqibele ngo 1909 esendlwini yam, mhla ndandimlindele, kunye nomfo wakowetu kwami, suka yena wafika namakosikaz' amabini endandingawazi, wandenza ukuba ndiwalungiselele nawo kakuhle kwanje ngaye.

Idlaka lake likokelwe ngabafundisi abatatu; U Rev. P. J. Mzimba (we Presbitari), Rev. D. Malgas (we Tshetshi) no Rev. S. Kakaza (wase Wesile). Le vesi ndiyibhala ngasentla apa kuyavakala ukuba iziteti zazigquba pezu kwayo ngalo Cawa.

Ukutsho ke Mhleli nani bafundi:

Andihlabeli sililo,  
Andisemntu wakulila;

I'm just setting the frame  
for an epitaph.  
A woman has left us today,  
gone from our midst.  
That heroine's floated off;  
we live on bereft.

I plead with you women,  
all of you everywhere:  
I'll start in Cape Town,  
go right to the north,  
ending in Zululand  
in floods of tears.  
A heroine's left us;  
we live on bereft.

A firm order came  
saying "Drop everything,  
leave orphans' cares.  
Leave this son of Dyobha  
while he's away:  
you'll meet up ahead."  
A heroine's gone home;  
we live on bereft.

Leave the whole congregation  
of Blinkwater and Middeldrift;  
the women's prayer movement,  
Templars and Hope members;  
as a fit opponent you came,  
go home still a sharp weapon.<sup>10</sup>  
A heroine's passed by;  
we live on bereft.

I wish I had tears,  
local Christians,

Ndenza nje imiqelana  
'Z idlaka libe nombalo.  
Namhla sishiywe ngumfazi  
Umzi wetu upalele.  
Limkil' elogorakazi  
Sesisele sinkangana.

Taruni makosikazi  
Nonke nonke jikelele:  
Ndiqala kwawase Kapa  
Nasentla kweli Pezulu,  
Qwe-qwe-qwe ndiye kwa Zulu  
Ndimanzan' anyembezana.  
Sishiywe ligorakazi  
Sesisele sinkangana.

Kufike umtet' ongqongqo  
Wati "Shiya gxavalala,  
Ezenkedama zishiye.  
Lomfo ka Dyoba mshiye,  
Umshiye engek' ekaya.  
Senobonana pambili."  
Lagoduk' igorakazi  
Sesisele sinkangana.

Shiya yonke leramente  
E Gqgesi nase Xesi;  
Nomtandazo wabafazi  
Ne Tempile nabe Temba;  
Wafik' ulibhaxenge,  
Goduk' use kwasikwili.  
Landuluk' igorakazi  
Sesisele sinkangana.

Ngange bendinenyembezi  
Ma-Krestu akowetu,



I'd be weeping today,  
spilling you in my mind,  
considering Fort Beaufort,  
considering the Wauchopes.  
A heroine's moved off;  
we live on bereft.

Indeed I stop there  
and end these few lines,  
lest it's said I cry  
when I cry no more;  
peace to you, orphans,  
peace to you, Cethe.<sup>11</sup>  
A heroine's married;  
we live on bereft.

What's happened's not unusual,  
great Christian congregations;  
what's happened's not unusual,  
Bassie, Grace and Jubilee;<sup>12</sup>  
what's happened's not unusual,  
Reverend Isaac Wauchope.  
We're sheep for the slaughter,  
our journey awaits us.

Journey home, Majola,  
thus I set you on your way;  
I'll turn back at the Jordan  
where I'll see the carriages  
and golden horns  
meet you at the river.  
And soon I'll be there  
to serve the Lord on High.

Kunamhlanje ngendilila  
Ndinipalaza entloko.  
Ndakucinga e Bhofolo,  
Ndakucinga kwa Wokopu,  
Lihambil' igorakazi  
Sesisele sinkangana.

Ewe kambe ndiyapeza  
Ndiyeyeke lemigcana;  
Hleze kutiwe ndalila  
Ndingasemntu wakulila;  
Xolani ke zinkedama.  
Xola ke mzi wama Cete.  
Litshatil' igorakazi  
Sesisele sinkangana.

Akuhlanga lungehlanga  
Mhlamb' omkulu wama Krestu;  
Akuhlanga lungehlanga  
Basi, Gresi, no Jubulu;  
Akuhlanga lungehlanga  
Rev. Isaac Wauchope.  
Sizigusha zokuxhelwa  
Uhambo lunati ngomso.

Hamb' ugoduke Majola  
Ngalomgca bendikukapa;  
Zendibuye e Joredane  
Ndibonele ozinqwelo,  
Namaxilongo egolide  
Akuputum' emlanjeni.  
Nam ndiza kuhle ndifike  
Ndibuse kweli Pezulu.

*Our God, Jehovah, is the one who has raised us and our fathers.*

After the school at Peulton was established by Rev Richard Birt,<sup>1</sup> if you happened to visit you would find an energetic, light-complexioned man who spoke the Xhosa of the ancestors. If you asked who this grey-haired man was, you would be told he was Bombo the son of Halimana of the Cirha clan at Qanqolo's place, of Nqabazeni's Dange at Mhlandlandlovu's place.

Bombo was born at the time when the Dange were still in the vanguard, covering the area from Sheshegu through Mxhelo and Adelaide up to Somerset East.<sup>2</sup> We thought he was the same age as Birt: but mature people say he was seven years younger than the missionary. If Birt were still alive he would be a hundred years old today; Bombo has now passed away at the age of 93.

He received the Word in Dange territory and fled with Birt from Mxhelo as a refugee of war. A small group of converts gathered around the missionary as Birt sang the 34th of the new Presbyterian hymns, which goes:

1. You alone, O Jehovah,  
establish us as we are:  
you, our God,  
confirm our limits.
3. We were all scattered  
but you protected us;  
let us remember you,  
hold you in our hearts.
6. When we get to the place  
you've appointed for us,  
God, help us to sparkle  
in your light.

Standing with their families, those men sang that song, their eyes welling with tears, not knowing where their wanderings would cease. But then they acquired

## U Bombo

*U Yehova u Tixo wetu nguye osinyusileyo tina no bawo betu.*

Oko sati sasekwa esiya sikolo sase Ncemera (Peelton) ngu Baliti (Rev. Richard Birt) ubungati uyile ubone igwangqa elimhlope, elinobom, eliteta isi Xosa esiya sona samanyange. Ubungati ubuzile ukuba nguyena banina lengwevu, kutiwe lo ngu Bombo, into ka Halimana, yasema Cireni, kwa Qanqolo, kwa Mhlandlandlovu, kwi Midange yase Nqabazeni.

U Bombo uvele ngelaxesha imi Dange ibisatyalile, itabate ama Sheshegu la nemi Xhelo, nama Kobonqaba kude kuse kwa Somaseti. Besisiti tina untanga nye no Baliti lowo: kodwa abasomayo bati ubengasemva ngeminyaka esixenxe kumfundisi apo. Ukuba u Baliti ebeseke ngeleba namhla ugqiba ikulu leminyaka; – u Bombo ke ufa ekumashumi ositoba anesitatu (93) eminyaka.

I Lizwi walifumana kwakwelozwe lemi Dange; usuka no Baliti e Mxhelo apo, ngencitakalo yemfazwe, ngesimatonts' abanzi, beligcudwana lamakolwa angqonge lomfundisi, – lomhla u Baliti wahlabela lengoma yama 34 kumaculo amatsha ase Rabe, iti:

1. Nguwe wena O Yehova  
Omisa isimo setu:  
Nguwe Tixo ongowetu  
Oqinisa umda wetu.
  
3. Besicitakele sonke  
Wasigcina wena noko;  
Oko masakukumbule,  
Sikubeke ngentliziyo.
  
6. Sakufika endaweni  
Oyinyuleleyo Tixo,  
Usincede sikazimle  
Ngako ukukanya kwako.

Ayivuma lomadoda longoma ezipete ngenkope inyembezi, kunye nentsapo yawo, kuba ayengazi apo abhacela kona. Kanti ke aya kufumana le Ncemera.

Peelton. Bombo lived there as Birt's right hand man, and in the eyes of the community he was without blame or blemish. The only time he was at odds with the missionary was during the War of Ngcayechibi.<sup>3</sup> It so happened that Mfengu from across the Kei who had gone on a raid in the land of Hoho saw the school cattle near their path as they were returning and scooped up those cattle and herded them off. I tell you, the men of the school rush out, with Bombo in the lead! Out they rush in pursuit, their heads bound with cloth, bearing short assegais and guns. The missionary had gone to pray and was shocked to find the community in a state of war. (He believed that this Mfengu incident would be handled by the government, their father, which would impose a fine on them.) When he found himself confronted by this state of affairs, the missionary called on "Bhombo," saying: "Bhombo, I'm going to write to the government and name you as a rebel, I will write, Bhombo!!" Bombo replied in a single word: "Write." Fortunately those cattle were intercepted at Mthonjeni.

In advanced age Bombo had an old man's sharp tongue even in church - if he did not like someone's sermon, he would just freeze him with a glare if he said "Pray, Brother Bombo," until he asked another brother.

He was present at Holy Communion before his departure, and then the community received the shocking news on Monday (10 July) that "our father Bombo is not here, he has a stomachache." When the elders rushed over on Tuesday evening they learnt that Bombo could no longer respond to their calls. They then accepted that he had gone to the place for which he had worked. In the absence of his minister, Rev M.H. Wilson, he was buried by Rev John Harper of Gqubeni in a space which he had repeatedly appointed and prepared, next to his wife, on Thursday 13 July.

I place the stone with excitement and a victory song, saying:

The spirits are leaving, father,  
 to sit chatting with Christ,  
 they used to speak of him here, father,  
 we were defiant but they insisted.  
 Father, there's a reaper,  
 and his name is Death!

Wahlala ke lo Bombo eyingalo yase kunene ku Baliti, waye napakati komzi apo engena sisolo nasisihla. Umhla awake akaqondana no Maneli kungo Ngcayecibi. Makuti lama Mfengu a Pesheya kwe Nciba ayeye kugqota kwa Hoho, xa agodukayo, abone inkomo zesikolo eso ecaleni lendlela, aselesuka ezisuba esenjenjeya nazo. Yeka ke, ukupuma kwamadoda ase sikolweni epetwe ngu Bombo! Apuma etandele iqiya ezintloko, exhobe amarwana ne zinandile ukuputuma! Ute uyokuba u Maneli wotuka selifile pakati komz' apa. (Waye yena ebecinga ukuti lento yalama Mfengu ingaya kuxolwa ku Rulumente uyise wawo, awahlaulise). Ute akotuka sekuyilento wakala ngo "Bhombo" umfundisi esiti: "Bhombo, ndabhala ku Government, ndati nina niti rebel, ndabhala Bombo!!" Ulenze lalinye u Bombo, wati, "Bhala." Kwanceda ukuba ezonkomo zatintelwa e Mtonjeni.

Ngelixesha selalupele u Bombo ubesele nentlamba yobuxego nasetyalikeneni, – ubesiti ukuba akaluqondanga uhlobo lwentshumayelo yendoda emiyo, iti ukuba ite tandaza mzalwana, Bombo, asuke ayiti qu ngamehlo, ide isuke icele mzalwana wumbi.

Kwi Cawa Yesidlo se Nkosi engapambi kweyokunduluka kwake, wayeko naye, umzi sowutuswa kukubikwa, ngokuhlwa ngo Mvulo (10th July) kusitiwa "ubawo u Bombo akusekuko, sisisu," ate ayapanga amadoda apambili ngolwesi Bini ngokuhlwa, afika u Bombo engasena kubuye abizwe asabele. Kwase kuyekelwa kwelokuba uye apo ebesebenzela kona. Kute ngokungabiko komfundisi wake u Rev. M.H. Wilson, wangcwatywa ngu Rev. Jno. Harper wase Gqubeni, kwindawo abehlala eyiyaleza eyilungisa, ecaleni lo mkake, ngolwesi Ne, 13th July.

Ilitye ndilibeka ngemihlali nangomemelelo,\* ndisiti:

Ayahamb' amanyange tata,  
 Aya kudl' imbadu no Kilisitu  
 Ayehlal' emkankany' apa tata,  
 Sidela emcamamisa.  
 Kuba kuko mvuni tata  
 Igama lake ngu Kufa!

\* *nangon emelelo*

Christ's for the living, father;  
make no mistake about that.  
He's no lord of the dead, father,  
even in the third heaven.  
Father, there's a reaper,  
and his name is Death!

Today Bombo's left, father,  
a Ngqika's gone home.  
He bore tens of nations, father,  
because he praised Christ.  
Father, there's a reaper,  
and his name is Death!

He spoke his last wish as he left, father,  
see his instructions are followed;  
this is our messenger, father,  
in the Creator's court.  
Father, there's a reaper,  
and his name is Death!

Death's no big thing, father,  
we soon got to know it;  
it's just a letter from God, father,  
bringing us the news.  
Father, there's a reaper,  
and his name is Death!

So travel safely, father of ours,  
on your way up on high,  
offer greetings to the Trinity  
and also to the angels;  
speak sweetly, father of ours,  
at home up there on high.

Lo Krestu ngowabahleliyo tata;  
Yiqonde kakuhle londawo.  
Akako nkosi yabafileyo tata,  
Nakwele sitatu izulu.  
Kuba kuko mvuni tata  
Igama lake ngu Kufa!

Namhl' u Bombo uhambile tata,  
Um-Ngqika ugodukile.  
Wopat' ishumi lezizwe tata  
Kub' u Krest' umdumisile.  
Kuba kuko mvuni tata  
Igama lake ngu Kufa!

Uyolel' esahamba tata,  
Gcina wenz' ezo ziyalo;  
Lo ngumtunywa wetu tata,  
Kulo nkundla yakwa Menzi.  
Kuba kuko mvuni tata  
Igama lake ngu Kufa!

Lent' ukuf' asinto yanto tata,  
Sesibuye sayiqonda;  
Yincwadi nje yakwa Tixo tata,  
Yokusivisa indaba.  
Kuba kuko mvuni tata  
Igama lake ngu Kufa!

Hamba ndlela ntle ke bawo,  
Ap' enyangweni.  
Wobulisa ku Mtriniti  
Nase zingelosini;  
Uz' utete kamnandi bawo  
Ap' e Kay' e Nyangwaneni.



## Nongqawuse

*We are judged at the resurrection of the dead.*

This Nongqawuse is referred to as the daughter of Mhlakaza, a chief councillor of Sarhili son of Hintsu. This Mhlakaza was not just a councillor, he served his people as a diviner, living at Gxarha where the Kei enters the sea.

The story of this lady is very well known in the local community, as well as the disaster she wrought through her utterances.<sup>1</sup> Because this story is so familiar, everyone rips his own chunk from Nongqawuse, letting his imagination run free on his own scrap, ignoring what is left over. Whoever wants to condemn something or destroy it associates it with the name of Nongqawuse.

The name of this councillor's daughter is so reviled because her people believe she misled them and caused this disaster – and that is certainly true, because many cattle died in that catastrophe, and it is estimated about 50 000 people perished.

### AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW

What is not clear to me is this:

1. Where did this little girl find the strength to stand openly before men and describe something that was not there; for even if she was telling the truth, a girl had no voice or say among the Xhosa, and commanded no authority.
2. When the Thembu and Xhosa people dispatched messengers, chiefs and heads of families to establish the truth of what was said, they actually went to Gxarha and returned convinced that the cattle must indeed be slaughtered, the dead would arise.
3. Was Nongqawuse alone responsible for this disaster, were all black people not involved?

## U Nongqause

*Sigwetywa ngovuko lwabafileyo.*

Kutiwa lo Nongqause yintombi ka Mhlakaza, umpakati omkulu ka Sarili into ka Hintsá. Lo Mhlakaza ubengenguye umpakati nje kodwa, ubewukonza umzi wakowabo ngobugqira, emi e Gxara, ekungeneni kwe Nciba elwandle.

Ibali lalenzwakazi selisaziwa kakulu emzin' apa, nesiyikili esenzekayo ngokuteta kwayo. Ngenxa yokwaziwa kwebali eli selesuke ati elowo azityutulele eyake indawo ku Nongqause apa, asebenzise eyake ingqondo kweso sicwili, kungeko salelo. Wonke ofuna ukunyembenya into, okanye efuna ukuyichita, uya ayitiye igama lokuba ngu Nongqause.

Imbangi yokuba eligama lalomntan' ompakati lipateke kakubi kangaka kungenxa yokuba umzi wakowabo unenkolo yokuba wawulukuhla, wawuhlisela intlekele, – okunene kunjalo, kuba zininzi inkomo ezafayo ngeso siyikili, yaye imipefumlo yabantu eyafayo itandatyuzelwa kumashumi omahlanu\* amawaka (50,000).

### ELINYE ICALA

Indawo engavumiyo kum ukucaca yile yokuba:

1. Yayiwafumene pina amandla le ntwazana okuma pakati kwe zihanqa zamadoda iteta into engekoyo; kuba nokuba ibiteta inyaniso, intombazana asinto ibinamteto nalizwi e Maxoseni, ingena mandla kanjalo.
2. Ekubenikweni umzi waba Tembu noka Xosa yade yatumela abatunywa, inkosi nenkokeli zemizi, ukuya kuqonda ukuba lenteto iyinyaniso na, zaya okunene e Gxara, zabuya zikoliwe ukuba okunene inkomo mazixhelwe, abantu baza kuvuka.
3. Esi siyikili sasise sesika Nongqause na, yayingase iyimpahla yomzi ka Ntu na?

\* omahlanu

THE TRUTH IN THE PROPHECIES

Nongqawuse said:

- a. Whatever food there was must be thrown away, and huge pits must be dug, because they would be filled with food. And what is the situation today? Even if a person has not ploughed for ten years, maize is just imported from overseas and he can fill his sacks with grain, crushed mealies and mealie meal.
- b. She said the cattle would arise. What is the situation? Someone who raises not even a goat gorges himself on beef. He eats sweet meal porridge, farmers' food. No, today you cannot offer a neck portion to someone with no cattle.
- c. She said the dead would arise. And what is the situation today? Captain Veldtman has often remarked: "The Xhosa did not produce many children, they began to produce children when Mfengu women arrived." The Captain was telling the truth when he said so: among the Xhosa it was unheard of for a man to produce ten children with one woman.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, children produced by loose women now outnumber those produced by married women. In earlier times unmarried women did not acquire children.

Those 50 000 who died during the Nongqawuse disaster have been restored many times over by these illegitimate children alone.

And so I believe I can easily argue that the prophecies of this girl were fulfilled just like the prophecies of any prophet. Therefore, even if someone takes issue with me, let him allow me to say one or two words along these lines:

Greetings!!!

Though lovely you're dirty, diviner's daughter,  
you're dirty like this to those at home.

You're held to be evil, Mhlakaza's child,  
evil like this to those at home.

While some have a passion for incised scars,  
others are not so keen.

## UBUNYANISO BEZIPROFETO

Ute u Nongqause:

- a. Makulahlwe ukutya okukoyo, kumbiwe ezikulu izisele, kuba ziya kuzala kukutya. Kunjani ke okunene namhlanje? Angafanelana umntu engalimanga iminyaka elishumi, asuke umbona eze evela pesheya kwelwandle, amfumbe atsho ngesita sengxowa, ezizinkozo, ezirhayiweyo, ne zingumgubo.
- b. Wati inkomo ziya kuvuka. Kunjani okunene? Udikwa yinyama yenkomo, utya isitubi ukutya kwamafuya, nongazange afuye nebhokwe le. Hayi namhlanje, akungeti wakuxhela unike intamo kongena nkomo.
- c. Wati kuya kubako uvuko lwabantu. Kunjani okunene namhlanje? Ubesitsho futi u Captain Veldtman ukuti: "Ama Xosa la asibantu bebenayo nenzala le, bate ukuze babenokufumana\* inzala kwafika ezintokazi zase† Mbo." Ebeteta inyaniso ke u Captain xa atshoyo; kuma Xosa mzuzu ibingeko lento indoda ukuvisa eshumini abantwana ngamfazi mnye.

Ngapaya koko, abantwana abafunyanwa ngamankazana esitubeni apa bangapezulu le kwaba babafazi abendileyo, – into ebingeko ngapambili inkazana ukuzicholela umntwana.

Lo mawaka angamashumi amahlanu afa ngo Nongqause selede apindwapindwa ngobuninzi ngabantwana aba bezisu bodwa.

Ngoko ke ndicinga ukuba ndingatsho lula ukuti iziteto zale ntombazana zizaliseke njengazo nezawupina umpolofiti iziteto. Ngako oko ke nokuba ubani akandivisisi ngokwanamhla, makandivumele kodwa ndibeke linye mabini ndisiti:

Oloyi!!!

Wangcol' umhle ntombi ka Gqira,

Kanjalo wangcola kwabase kaya.

Wenziwe m'bi mntaka Mhlakaza.

Kanjalo wenziwe m'bi ngabakowenu.

Kalok' abanye bayavukelwa ngumvambo,

Kalok' abanye baya danjelwa.

\* *babezokufumana*

† *zese*

What else could you have said?  
 What else could you have done so all would be well?  
 Could you oppose One who told you to speak?  
 Could you stand up to such a Power?  
 Please explain, people, what could this child say?  
 Did it help Jonah to slink away?  
 Did the sea not rise up against him?  
 Did Moses offer excuses?  
 Isn't it true he didn't hesitate?  
 And what about Hilkiah?  
 Isn't it true he held nothing back?<sup>3</sup>  
 And so let us hear –  
 what could you have said, Mhlakaza's child,  
 great beauty of Phalo's land?  
 Girl who came straight home with the news:<sup>4</sup>  
 to this day she's in the Sundays thickets,  
 to this day she's in her own country.<sup>5</sup>  
 She binds the nation with a belt –  
 a belt of faith and unity  
 so we offer this light as sacrifice:  
 for a long time we've been priests,  
 offering cattle in sacrifice,  
 because we believe the dead will arise.  
 It would be a bad omen –  
 it would be highly unusual,  
 it would be a wonder rare indeed  
 if we did not spill blood on receipt of such news,  
 and offer in sacrifice the light freely given us,  
 offer in sacrifice the Word of the King,  
 which came to us unbidden,  
 so we could anoint the ministers' feet,  
 the feet of the Royal Preachers.  
 If we had not made this sacrifice,  
 nothing good would lie in store for us,  
 we would still be in the Drakensberg,  
 with nothing but trouble in store,

Azi kutiwa ngewutenina?  
Ngewenze njanin' ukuze kube kulungile?  
Uke apikiswe na Lo wati teta?  
Uk' amelwe ngapambili n' Omandl' angaka?  
Kanixele bantu ngeletenina lomntwana?  
Wanceda nton' Jon' akungcacela?  
Akavukelwanga nangamanz' olwandle na?  
Watinin' u Mosis' akuzilandulela,  
Akatyalwanga ngabhaxa na?  
Hi na kona ngoka Hilikiya?  
Akabetwanga mlonyeni na yena?  
Make sixelelwe kaloku, –  
Ngewutenina mntaka Mhlakaza,  
Nzwakaz' enkulu yakulo Palo?  
Qobokazana lingalalanga mzini  
Kuba nanamhla likwi ndada ze Nqweba.  
Kuba nanamhla lise zweni lakowalo.  
Umadibanis' umzi ngebhanti –  
Ngebhanti yobunye nokolo  
Ukuz' olukanyo silubingelele,  
Kakade tina singaba bingeleli,  
Singaba nyusi bamadin' enkomo  
Kuba sikolelwa kuvuko lwabafi.  
Ibiyakuba ngumhlola, –  
Ibiyakuba ngundaza ndabona,  
Ibiyakuba lilinga linqanqatekile  
Ukuti sifikelwe lungaka singenz' igazi,  
Sibingelel' ukanyo esilupiwe ngesisa,  
Sibingelel' i Lizwi lo Mhlekaz' Omhle:  
Elize kuti singalibizanga,  
Sitambis' inyawo zabafundisi,  
Zaba Hlekaz' Omhle ka Nyawoshe.  
Ukub' olubingelelo besinga lwenzanga  
Besingayi kulungelwa nto napambili,  
Besiyakuba sesise Lundini,  
Besiya kuxakeka sesipambili,

we would spurn the plough,  
 turn our backs on the wagon,  
 and say we haven't done our duty.  
 We've left behind Nikandiba,<sup>6</sup>  
 we've left behind the blood of cattle:  
 that's why things don't work out,  
 that's why things stay vague,  
 that's why things fall apart.  
 You did well, girl from Gxarha,  
 you did well to remind us early,  
 so we finish what we started.  
 Don't you see, it's become quite apparent,  
 on arrival it seemed we had long been here,  
 on arrival we weren't at a loss,  
 the nations were shocked and shat themselves,  
 saying how could these people grow so strong  
 in just one hundred years?  
 So they control all aspects of power?  
 So they reach every stage of culture?  
 Let the Believers die, they've behaved properly,  
 die, Believers, you've done well.  
 A national matter is strengthened by blood.  
 This is not to mock the Unbelievers,  
 I don't despise you, Unbelievers:  
 a whole flock is never sacrificed.  
 You too have raised your voices in praise,  
 may you grow from strength to strength.  
 Greetings, beauty of Phalo's land!  
 Today our fathers have certainly risen,  
 ignoring all who talk rubbish,  
 who study the nation's affairs,  
 the nation's risen as experts.  
 All prosper like their forefathers,  
 we don't see one with a burn,  
 we don't see one with a blotch,<sup>7</sup>  
 wrinkles blend into folds,<sup>8</sup>

Besiya kuyilahl' ipuluwa,  
Inqwelo siyinel' umva,  
Siti kuk' imfanel' esingayenzanga.  
Siwushiye ngemv' um-Nikandiba.  
Siwashiye ngemv' amagaz' enkomo.  
Yiyo lento lent' ingavum' kulunga,  
Yiyo lento lent' ingavumi kuqina,  
Yiyo lento lent' isolok' iyingcubunga.  
Ude watyapa ntombi yezase Gxara,  
Ude watyap' ukusikumbuza kwasentloko,  
Zesiti sisuka sibe sesigqibile.  
Akuboni k' okunene kubonakele,  
Site siyafika kwanga kudala,  
Site siyafik' asiqoqonyanga,  
Zotuk' izizwe zaman' ukutsheka,  
Ziti kutenin' ukuti ngekulu leminyaka,  
Babe aba sebenj' ukomelela?  
Sebepete zonk' indawo zamandla?  
Sebezivelele zonk' inkalo zobuntu?  
Makafe ama Tamba alungisile,  
Yifani ma Tamba nide natyapa.  
Into yesizw' iqiniswa ligazi.  
Xa nditshoy' andigxeki ma Gogoty,  
Nani ma Gogoty' andinideli,  
Kuba akubingelelwa ngamhlamb' upela.  
Nani ngelenu nizukisile,  
Ngamana nakula ngokukula.  
Oloyi, nzwakazi yakwa Palo!  
Namhl' obawo bavukile yinene,  
Ukungabapulapul' abatetateti,  
Abazika pakati izinto zesizwe,  
Isizwe sinyuke sangocwenene.  
Bonke sebesidla ngendeb' endala,  
Asisaboni namny' onesidlubu,  
Asisaboni namny' onembala,  
Amanya nezishampa kwasangana,



there's no more hunger, bellies hold dregs,  
 there's no more sneering in families,  
 there's no more grubbing for roots and mimosa,  
 there's no more grubbing for roots in famine,<sup>9</sup>  
 tubers swell and crowd each other.  
 The country's full of successful fellows,  
 with ivory armrings and motley garments.  
 Where did they get the elephant tusks?  
 And where did they get the leopard skins?  
 They're not treating you fairly, child of Mhlakaza –  
 everyone has a paunch today,  
 everyone eats boiled maize today,  
 their fathers and mothers are raised,  
 the chiefs themselves have risen  
 and are wonderfully well respected,  
 we drive our cattle through all these valleys,  
 those two dead calves can die,  
 die, you two dead calves,  
 your blood spoke for us to the multitude,  
 Qamata's health is improving today,  
 whom we invoked only on sneezing.  
 Today we have two homes:  
 in the present and future world.  
 Die, all you compatriots!  
 Many more have arisen;  
 and the resurrection still holds power,  
 since it arrived with the nation already prepared;  
 and the diviners found nothing wrong,  
 since you had uprooted death.  
 They sneer, but we make progress,  
 we sleep on one step, awake on one higher.  
 We've ascended all the worldly steps,  
 now we're dealing with Broadbreast himself,  
 who met Gabha's son at Gqorha.<sup>10</sup>  
 We speak to Him, call for an answer  
 though we did nothing through Ntsikana,

Akuseko nkayoyo zizisu zinemvanya,  
Akuseko zinek' emazants' amaziko,  
Akusambiwa nongwe namnga;  
Akusambiwa ntsenge naqobo;  
Namagontsi achume ayapulana.  
Ilizwe lizele ngabanumzana,  
Int' ezifak' imixhaka neminweba;  
Kazi zazitata pin' impondo zendlovu?  
Kwakunye nezintsu ze zingwe?  
Bayakuqata mntaka Mhlakaza, -  
Namhla bonke banengxeba,  
Namhla bonke badl' imivubo,  
Bavukelwe ngoyise nangonina,  
Nenkosi ngokwazo zivukile,  
Zinjalonj' azibusisi ngumangaliso,  
Siqub' inkomo kule mimangwana yonke,  
Mazif' ezonkomana mbini zafayo,  
Yifani nkomana mbini zafayo,  
Igazi lenu lisitetelele lukulwini,  
Utsho wacaca namhla no Qamata,  
Esibe simnqula mhla satimla kupela.  
Namhla simakaya ngamabini:  
Ikwelipakade nakwelo Lizayo.  
Yifani nto zakowetu nani!  
Olona luninz' uluntu luvukile;  
Kanjalo luvuko seluse mandleni  
Kuba luvel' umzi sewulungisiwe;  
Namagqira hay' akasahlabi nto  
Kuba konk' ukufa nakugutyula.  
Siyangcambaza nokoangatandiyo,  
Silala nebanga sivuke nebanga.  
Awalomhlab' amabanga siwagqibile,  
Kungoku sipetene no Sifuba-Sibanzi,  
Owadibana noka Gaba e Gqora.  
Siteta Naye siti makapendule,  
Noko singenzanga nto ngo Ntsikana,

we were looking for cattle to sacrifice,  
 so we'd be strong when liquor arrived,  
 so we'd be strong when filth arrived,  
 brought by races with foreskins,  
 who pat their mothers and sisters,  
 who eat crabs, and tortoise and frogs.  
 So today all is accomplished,  
 who then withholds our rights?  
 For the blood still holds back.  
 Listen to Broadbreast's word –  
 He says the nation must be reconciled,  
 He says people must cease to sell each other.  
 Both we and others must stop casting spells,  
 the time of His coming's at hand.  
 Greetings, Mhlakaza's daughter!  
 Greetings, beauty of Phalo's land!!  
 That's it!!!

8

**Ndlambe**

*Each ear will hear different things – Ndlambe*

I

Ndlambe is a middle son of Rharhabe, since Rharhabe's eldest son is Mlawu, Ngqika's father. Mlawu died a young man, while his father Rharhabe was still alive. He died before marrying a principal wife, and left behind Ngqika and Ntimbo as small boys. Ndlambe was regent of the Xhosa kingdom for a long period while Ngqika was growing up.

Ndlambe had a large family. These days his descendants are numerous as grass, because the Dushane are his seed, the Mqhayi are him, he is a long list stretching to the Mbashe, not to mention a host in Ncotsho and Nxarhuni.<sup>1</sup>

He was outstanding amongst the chiefs of his nation: he took after the Thethe chiefs. The multitude of his people confirms this.<sup>2</sup> We learn from the

Sasisafun' inkomo zokubingelela,  
Ukuze sibe lukuni kwakufik' irhangqa,  
Ukuze sibe lukuni kwakufik' amanyala,  
Eza nentlang' ezinamajwabu,  
Ezibambat' onina nodade bazo,  
Ezidl' ononkala, nemfudo, namasele.  
Namhla ke izinto zifeziwe,  
Az' amalungel' abanjwe yintonina?  
Kub' igazi nalo selandulele?  
Yivani k' elika Sifuba-Sibanzi, –  
Ut' isizwe make sibuyelane,  
Ut' abantu mabayek' ukutengisana.  
Makulahlw' ubuti nobuti base zizweni,  
Ixa lokufika Kwake selise mnyango.  
Oloyi ke ntombi ka Mhlakaza!  
Oloyi ke nzwakazi yakwa Palo!!  
Ncincilili!!!

8

**U Ndlambe**

*Indlebe ziya kubetabetana. – Ndlambe*

I

U Ndlambe ngunyana opakati ka Rarabe, kuba omkulu unyana ka Rarabe ngu Mlau uyise ka Ngqika. U Mlau lowo ke ubhubhe ese ngumfana, eseko no Rarabe uyise, wabhubha engekayizeki eyona nkosikazi, waye ke eshiya lo Ngqika no Ntimbo besenga makwenkwana. U Ndlambe ke ngoko ube netuba elide epete umbuso wasema Xhoseni logama asakulayo u Ngqika.

U Ndlambe naye uzele kakulu. Inzala yake ngezimini ingangengca le ubuninzi, kuba Imidushane le sisinqe sake, Imiqayi leya nguye, ngumtyutyumezo ke lowo oye wema ngo Mbashe, ndiyishiye intlaninge le iko Mincotsho nozi Nxaruni.

Ngokulunga akuko nkosi ibidlula yena kweza kowabo, yena ebefuze ezakulo Tete, nobuninzi obu babantu bake buxela oko. Ama Mfengu awaye citakelele

commemoration days that the Mfengu dispersed throughout Ndlambe's territory are Mfengu. The Hottentots lived content with Ndlambe. Ndlambe also served as a book (a pass) because when Bushmen met a Xhosa they would ask who he belonged to, Ndlambe or Hahabe (Rharhabe). A person was safe if he said he was a Ndlambe, but he was in trouble if he said he was a Rharhabe. Gxuluwe<sup>3</sup> was saved by this device when he spent the whole night under interrogation, suspected of being a Rharhabe, hearing repeatedly, "Swear, Nxhulusha: 'Me Hahabe!'" And he responded: "Me Ndlambe."

## II

To find fault with Ndlambe someone might claim: He drove Ntsikana away and would not listen to him, saying he was still listening to Nxele.<sup>4</sup> Yes, but he was following custom in so doing, because among the Xhosa a person must not leap from one topic to another but concentrate on one thing at a time. This is why he said to Ntsikana, "Each ear will hear different things because I am still listening to Nxele." To us of the present generation, Ndlambe's words are very helpful in casting light on who became the nation's advisor, Nxele or Ntsikana. If Nxele had been blocked by the chief, we would be plucking each other's hair out today, some claiming it was Nxele who was blocked from helping the nation, and others saying no, it was Ntsikana.

A second point of criticism levelled at Ndlambe is that he fought with Ngqika over Thuthula. If someone says that, he must remember that a Xhosa of old took a wife from whom death would part him. No hullabaloo was made of this, as among the whites; it was simply an attitude sustained by custom. Therefore it was Ndlambe's place to do all in his power to fetch the parents' child whose custodian he had become. In the present generation, someone else's child is abandoned for the slightest error, yet such people vow that death alone will part them.

Equally, Ndlambe was scolding his child.<sup>5</sup> Children of old were scolded by their fathers into mature age.

All the coastal shore that runs from the mouth of the Kei to Alexandria beyond Tyelerha was Ndlambe's territory. He moved his kraal from one place to another, pitching and striking, establishing cattle stations, enjoying to the full the lushness of his land. But the place where he finally settled, and where his grave is, is here in the King Williams Town district, at Xinirha next to the little town called Macleantown. At Xinirha there is a great rock of ice on the

kwa Ndlambe sesisiva ngawo ngale mihla yezikumbuzo ukuba angama Mfengu. Ama Lawu ayehleli isonwabo ku Ndlambe. Undlambe lo kanjalo ubekwa yincwadi (*pass*), kuba aba Twa bebesiti bakudibana nom-Xosa bambuze ukuba ulunge kubanina, eko u Ndlambe eko u Hahabe (Rarabe). Ubesiti ke umntu ukuze asinde ati ungum-Ndlambe, ukuba uke wati ungum-Rarabe angabinto ikoyo. Wasinda ngelocebo u Gxuluwe, okuya wagqiba ubusuku bonke erorelwa ukungati ngum-Rarabe, kupata kutiwa: "Fung' ifunge, Nxhulusha, mna Hahabe!" Ati yena: "Mna Ndlambe."

## II

Uti umntu xa afuna ukubeka u Ndlambe ibala ati: Wamgxota u Ntsikana, akavuma nokumpulapula esiti usapulapula u Nxele. Ewe, kumhla waye sesikweni lakowabo ke apo, kuba ngokwa kwa Xosa umntu ubengalumeli: – ati ekulento abe ekule, ebencina into ibenye ngexesha, yiyo ke ngoko lonto watshoyo ku Ntsikana ukuti, "Indlebe ziya kubetabetana kuba ndisapulapula u Nxele." Kuti tina sizukulwana sangoku, elolizwi lika Ndlambe lasinceda kakulu ukusikanyisela oyena waba ngumncedi wohlanga, u Nxele no Ntsikana. Ukuba u Nxele waye nqandiwe yinkosi leyo, ngesiba siyaxwitana namhlanje, abanye besiti ngu Nxele owanqandwa ebeza kunceda isizwe, abanye ngebesiti hayi ngu Ntsikana oyena-yena.

Indawo yesibini eyenziwa isigxeko ku Ndlambe, kutiwa walwa no Ngqika ngo Tutula. Xa umntu atshoyo makakumbule ukuba um-Xosa wakudala ubemzekela umfazi ukuba baze bahlulwe kukufa. Lonto ibingenziwa ngqayingqayi njengokuba kusenjiwanjalo apa emlungwini; kodwa ibiluluvo olukoyo nolwendeleyo lwemvelo. Ngoko ke ibiyindawo ka Ndlambe ukuba enze konke anako amputume umntwana wabantu oyalezwe kuye. Esi isizukulwana ulahlwa umntwan' omntu ngokuwa oku, pofu ngabona bafunga bagqasanqe besiti boba bafile ukuze bahlukane.

Kanjalo u Ndlambe waye tetisa umntwana wake. Abakudala abantwana bebede balupale besatetiswa ngoyise.

Lonke unxweme lolwandle olususela ekungeneni kwe Nciba kude kuse e Mnyameni ngapaya kwe Tyelera, zindawo zika Ndlambe ezo, apo ebemana ukuncucalaza, egxumeka ecita, esenza amatanga, exhamla ukutyeba komhlaba wakowabo. Kanti eyona ndawo apelele kuyo, nelingcwaba lake, nantsi kwesi siqingata se Qonce, e Xinira, ngakulo dolopana kutiwa yi Mpongo (Macleantown). Kwase Xinira apo kuko ilitye elikulu elingumkence elise

mountain slope, where it is said His Majesty used to relax and admire the country, watch cattle races, and so on. Meat would be dished from the pot at home and a line of young men would walk the distance of a mile to this rock, yet when they reached His Majesty the gravy and everything would still be hot. To this day that rock is known as "Ndlambe's Rock," a place of amusement on Sundays for both school and red youngsters.<sup>6</sup>

III

I did not praise this chief while he was alive, which might have led me astray if I had,<sup>7</sup> but if it is no offence to do so I can say:

Give me space to talk of chiefs,  
 time to talk to the country's masters!  
 I'm no special poet, just an entertainer:  
 my arrival brings joy to men,  
 and chiefs feel replete when I'm there.  
 Ndabanduna sleeps at Xinirha,  
 he cleared the land for them to settle.<sup>8</sup>  
 A mighty steward's a steward in heaven,  
 from which rain and blessings come;  
 we don't disparage stewards on earth,  
 for they too stand at Qamata's footstool.<sup>9</sup>  
 Here is the child who returned from the Xuka,  
 he returned from the Xuka of no return;<sup>10</sup>  
 here is the child who crossed at Cihoshe,  
 he crossed at Cihoshe with no pass demanded;<sup>11</sup>  
 here is the child who visited Bethelsdorp,  
 he visited Bethelsdorp to encounter the Word.<sup>12</sup>  
 Let Ntsikana sleep, grant free speech to Nxele,  
 persisting, Ntsikana will plough his own field,  
 so our successors are able to judge,  
 unable to claim one was silenced.  
 Berg Hottentot! Berg Hottentot, come and look!  
 Bushman of the cleft, you too come and look!  
 Weedclearer's here, Deaf to the Warning!  
 Grower of Thorns that hurt him.<sup>13</sup>

mmangweni, apo kutiwa u Mhlekezzi lowo ubebuta kona ebuka ilizwe, ebonisela namaleqe, njalo-njalo. Ibisopulwa inyama ekaya, kuroziswe amadodana, isituba se mayile ukuya kwelo litye, kanti aya kuyifikisa ku Mhlekezzi iseshushu, nemihluzi yonke lonto. Nanamhla elo litye laziwa ngokuba li "Lilitye lika Ndlambe," yindawo yembuto yolutsha lwesikolo nolwamaqaba ngemihla ye Cawa.

## III

Lenkosi andiyibonganga ngemihla ebiseko, ebingati mhlaumbi indenze ndigoduke ndihamba ndipambuka; kodwa ke xa kungelilo ityala ukwenjenjalo ndingatsho ukuti:

Kanindip' umtyi ndingen' ezinkosini,  
 Kanindip' ituba ndingene kubanini lizwe!  
 Andimbongi yaluto ndiliyolisa-mhlaba;  
 Kuba mnandi kumanene ndakufika,  
 Nenkosi ndakubako zicubhuk' intumbu.  
 Ulel' e Xinira u Ndabanduna,  
 Ugabul' ilizwe bakwaz' ukulihlala,  
 Ugos' elinamandla leligos' ezulwini,  
 Apo kuvel' ozimvula nozintsikelelo,  
 Xa sitshoy' asideli magos' omhlaba,  
 Kuba naw' akwisitulo senyawo zo Qamata.  
 Nank' ap' umntan' owabuyayo yen' e Xuka,  
 Wabuy' e Xuk' apo kungayi lubuyayo;  
 Nank' ap' umntan' owawelayo kwa Cihoshe,  
 Wawela kwa Cihoshe akabuzwa ncwadi;  
 Nank' umntan' owanyatel' e Qagqiwa,  
 Wanyatel' e Qagqiw' ekaulel' Ilizwi.  
 Makalal' u Ntsikana atat' opel' u Nxele,  
 Az' atat' u Ntsikan' ayigqib' ayak' indima.  
 Kuz' izizamva zetu zikwaz' ukugweba,  
 Zingatsh' ukuti omnye wabetw' emlonyeni.  
 Lau-lentaba! Lau-lentaba! kauze kukangela!  
 Mtwawemiqoro! nawe kauze kukangela!  
 Ulap'u Gabulakula, u Notyelw' engeva!  
 Into eyahlumis' amev' abuy' ayenzakalisa.



His travels benefit us, his subjects:  
someone spills *amasi* in Alexandria,  
another kneads corn in Xirirha,  
and your sleep there, father, is no offence:  
it's the honoured sleep of the country's owner.  
If I were you I would not wake just now,  
not until the earth is renewed.  
I say so because there is less talk today,  
the living are one with the dead.  
I won't make small cuts in my talk today:  
there's plenty of time to chat to each other.  
But, son of Rharhabe, speak to Qamata,  
say, "The remaining family's changed its mind,  
what would he like it to do for him  
in the time it is still on earth,  
so this little butterfly doesn't yield to this caterpillar,  
so this little butterfly comes out of this nectar,  
so this little calf doesn't grow crooked,  
so small creatures live a glorious life?"  
And so let me leave you to sleep, Ndabanduna,  
whose Mbashe is the Gamtoos,  
Make pumpkins soft inside,  
who cleared the ford with his spears!  
That's it!!!

Int' ekuhamba kulungileyo kuti tina nto zayo;  
Kub' ose Mnyamen' upalaz' amasi,  
Kub' ose Xinir' udidiyel' izimba,  
Nokulala kwako bawo kulondaw' akunatyala  
Kuba kukulal' okumbambalala komnini lizwe,  
Ukuba bendinguwe bendingayi kwandula ndivuke,  
Kude kube yilomin' umhlab' uyakuba mtsha.  
Nditsho kuba zonk' iziteto namhla zihlile,  
Nosahleliyo mnye nowafayo.  
Ukuteta andikukutyeshatyasha namhla,  
Kakad' ituba liselide lokuncokolelana.  
Kodwa mxelel' u Qamata nyana ka Rarabe,  
Yit' "Usapo luguqukile ngasemva,  
Ubengatanda lumenzele ntonina yena?  
Ngezintsukwana lusanambuzel' emhlabeni?  
Ukuze le nongwana ingabi yeka ruxeshe,  
Ukuze le nongwana ipume kule ncindi,  
Ukuz' elitolana lingabi noqonqa,  
Ukuz' ezincinana zizuz' ubom obuhle?"  
Mandikuyek' ulale kekaloku Ndabanduna,  
Bash' ose Xukashe,  
Tambis' amatanga ngapakati  
Sigenga ngomkont' ezibukweni!  
Ncincilili!!!

---

\* *ngamkont'*

## Ngqika

*If only I had someone to tell Heaven about me. – NGQIKA*

## I

Ngqika is a capacious granary to the whole of the country; he is like a cut of meat from which everyone takes a slice for himself and goes off to do justice to it; and another takes a portion for himself and uses it to keep warriors from harm; another rips a shank off for himself and treats it any way he chooses. As for me, I am not going to finish the little slice of Ngqika I take; for the story of Ngqika effectively embraces the entire Xhosa nation.

Ngqika is the son of Mlawu, and his mother is Yese. Mlawu is Rharhabe's offspring, and his mother is Nojoli after whom the mountain that ranges above Somerset East is named. Nojoli, the wife of Rharhabe, gave birth to Khinzela (a girl), Mlawu, Ndlambe, Nukwa and Ntsusa (a girl). Rharhabe is in the Right Hand House of Phalo; Phalo is the son of Tshiwo, Tshiwo is the son of Ngconde, Ngconde is the son of Togu, Togu is the son of Sikhomo, Sikhomo is the son of Ngcwangu, Ngcwangu is the son of Tshawe, Tshawe is the son of Xhosa. Xhosa is another object discarded before completion. He is like the churches that have stood for a long time, saving people in hell, yet new churches are emerging which are said to be authentic. Xhosa is like that; that is why, his sovereignty over all the little local tribes at an end, they now turn round and say the real Xhosa is being created here in King Williams Town.

## II

As I once said, Mlawu died very young, having fathered Ngqika with Yese and Ntimbo with Tsekwa; he died with the bridal party of the woman who was to mother the next king already there.<sup>1</sup> It is said he was drying his ochre outside when he came in complaining of a headache – and suddenly dropped down dead. The mothers of Ngqika and Ntimbo were suspected, because neither of them had relinquished their status as senior wives. But suspicion was pointless because the chief never returned to life. The nation then asked Ndlambe to take the young woman who had been brought there and produce a child on behalf of his brother (Mlawu).<sup>2</sup> I do not know where the Xhosa came to learn about that Biblical tradition. Ndlambe would not agree until he was persuaded by the

## U Ngqika

*Ndinomntu Ngelendibik' Ezulwini. – NGQIKA*

## I

U Ngqika luhabahaba lwelizwe lonke lipela; ufana nomlu wenyama, wona ati umntu wonke azitatele isicwili aye kwenza ubulungisa ngaso, ati omnye aziqashele iqasho aye kukafula ngalo; ati wumbi azityutulele inxaxheba ayekwenza ngayo into eqondwe nguye. Nam lo ngesi sicwilana ndisi tabatayo ku Ngqika, andizi kugqiba yena; kuba ibali lika Ngqika lipantse ukusitabata sonke isizwe sasema Xhoseni.

U Ngqika ngunyana ka Mlau, unina ngu Yese. U Mlau uzalwa ngu Rarabe, unina ka Mlau lowo ngu Nojoli lowa ibizwe ngaye lantaba iluxande ipezu ko Somaseti. U Nojoli ke umka Rarabe, wayezele u Khinzela (intombi), u Mlau, u Ndlambe, u Nukwa, no Ntsusa (intombi). U Rarabe kukunene kuka Palo, u Palo ezalwa ngu Tshiwo, u Tshiwo ezalwa ngu Ngconde, u Ngconde ezalwa ngu Togu, u Togu ezalwa ngu Sikom, u Sikom ezalwa ngu Nchwangu, u Nchwangu ezalwa ngu Tshawe, u Tshawe ezalwa ngu Xhosa. U Xhosa lo ke lolunye udayidayi olungenakuze lufezwe, ufana netyalike ezi ukuba kudala ziko, zinceda abantu esi-hogweni, kanti ke noko kuseko ezisaya zivela kube kusitiwa zezona-zona. U Xhosa ke unjalo; yiyo lento ati akugqiba ukukonzisa zonke ezi zizwana zikoyo apa, uve ngoku zijika zisiti nanku oyena Xhosa unguye efolonywa apa e Qonce.

## II

U Mlau, njengoko ndake ndatsho wabhubha esemncinane kakulu, esazele u Ngqika lo ngo Yese, no Ntimbo ngo Tsekwa; wabhubha seluko uduli lweyona nkosikazi iza kuzala inkosi; kutiwa wati ebesomisa imbola pandle, wati uyangena kwabe kungasekuko yintloko, – wajukujeleka kwa oko kwapela. Isiroro saba konina bo Ngqika no Ntimbo, kuba nabo babe ngabuncame nganto ubukosikazi, asanceda nto isiroro kuba ayidange ivuke inkosi. Kutwe sisizwe u Ndlambe makasele ngena kulo ntombi ibizisiwe, avusele umkuluwa wake (u Mlau) imbewu. Andazi ukuba ama Xhosa ayedibene pina nelosiko le Bhaibile. U Ndlambe akayivumanga lonto, wada watetiswa komkulu kwa Gcaleka, nanguyise u Rarabe kuba waye seko; wayitabata ke okunene

Great Place of Gcaleka and by his father Rharhabe, who was still alive; then he did indeed take that woman, but she produced only one child, Thuba (a daughter), and never gave birth again. By this time Rharhabe was no longer there, having fallen at the Xuka in Thembuland in the clash with the Qwathi over his daughter Ntsusa.<sup>3</sup> Now the nation turned to Ndlambe to rule unhindered. At this stage it was in Ndlambe's power to be made king in succession to his father Rharhabe, but Ndlambe would not permit the nation to suffer through this decision and kept on pointing to Ngqika, saying here is your king. In all nations the leading councillors do not usually like a king who speaks his mind, they usually prefer someone tame they can easily manipulate; such was the case with Ngqika. The councillors did not care for his inquisitive disposition, saying what kind of chief is this who is so hot-headed? They declared themselves in favour of Ntimbo. For his part Ndlambe had no faith in the choice of Ntimbo, saying this child was not in good health, adding "I don't like burying people all the time." Ndlambe spoke about burying people all the time because he was with his father Rharhabe when he died at the Xuka, he was with Mlawu when he died, now Ntimbo would die in his presence, which might suggest the possibility that he was responsible for the death of these kings. Now when Ndlambe realised that he did not see eye to eye with the councillors, he had no desire to cut off the water and make trouble for himself. He gave way to a degree and sent a secret messenger to inform the Great Place<sup>4</sup> that he had placed Ngqika in Thuba's house because he believed that Ngqika should succeed his father as king. Indeed when King Khawuta came to the homestead for the formal expression of condolence for the deaths of Mlawu and Rharhabe and the appointment of a successor, he tied a chest ornament of gold<sup>5</sup> on Ngqika to show that he was making him king; Ntimbo was given a long-bladed assegai to show that he would create his own space with a spear. Ndlambe dealt with his brother's son accordingly until he had him initiated. During the initiation, however, the councillors from Yese's house crammed a particular attitude into the child; they saw Ndlambe usurping Ngqika as king with no regard for Mlawu's people, and they stuffed this attitude into Ngqika so forcefully that he saw things this way as a fresh initiate. He began to walk aside from his uncle and was surrounded by his councillors alone. Quite often there were heated scraps between Ndlambe's and Ngqika's men behind the chiefs' backs. And so in the end Ndlambe felt that he and his nephew should not occupy the same place. Because the nephew was hot-headed, he grabbed what he could from his uncle before he could be

lontokazi, koko yati jiqi umntwana wamnye u Tuba (intombi), ayabuye izale. Ngelixesha ke u Rarabe naye waye ngaseko ebhubhele e Xuka eba Tenjini ngexesha awaye nempambano nama Qwati ngo Ntsusa intombi yake. Isizwe ngoku sasijongise ku Ndlambe ukuba alaule anga pazanyiswa nto. Kweso situba kwakuse sandleni sika Ndlambe ukuba enziwe u Kumkani endaweni ka Rarabe uyise; kodwa akavumanga u Ndlambe ukuba isizwe silahlekele kwelocala, waphikela yena ukwalata ku Ngqika esiti nantsi inkosi yenu. Kuzo zonke intlanga ke amapakati lawa apambili adla ngokunga yitandi inkosi enezwi layo, adla ngokukulwa sisiyamngana ayakuti amane ukusiqata; kubenjalo ke ngo Ngqika; amapakati akamfunanga ngokunga mfuni, esiti yinkosi nina le inje ubudlongodlongo? Atsho efuna u Ntimbo. U Ndlambe ngelake icala akakolwanga ngokunga kolwa ngu Ntimbo, esiti lomntwana akapilile, atsho ati "Ndobakona kukunchwaba futi?" U Ndlambe eteta ngokunchwaba futi nje utsho kuba uyise u Rarabe ufe enaye apo e Xuka, u Mlau ufe ekwanaye, ngoku kuza kufa u Ntimbo eko, aze azuzane nokuroreleka kokungati ezinkosi zigutywa nguye. Ute ngoku u Ndlambe akuqonda ukuba akaboni ngakubona kunye nepakati, akatanda kuwunqumla umsinga aze abe sengozini, ute tyisha wayekelela umxakato, nanko etuma izidyoli ngasese eziya kuxela oku Komkulu, watsho wati yena umfake u Ngqika kulandlu yakulo Tuba, ngoko ke yena ucinga ukuba ngu Ngqika omakabe yinkosi endaweni kayise. Okunene u Kumkani u Kauta mhla weza kukhuza umzi ngo Mlau no Rarabe, wamti jize u Ngqika ngesidanga sobuhlalu (igolide) ukubonisa ukuba umenza u Kumkani; u Ntimbo wanikwa intshuntshe ukubonisa ukuba uyakuzivulela indawo ngomkonto. Uyigcine ngalondlela ke inkwenkwe yomkuluwa wake wada wayalusa. Kute esutwini paya, ati kanti amapakati ako Yese, kulo Ngqika amhlohla lomntwana omnye umoya; ati kanti wona abona ukuba u Ndlambe uyabupanga ubukosi buka Ngqika, aqonda nokuqonda ukuba wona mabandla ka Mlau, u Ndlambe akawase-so, awufaka ngamandla lomoya ku Ngqika, kangangokuba u Ngqika awubonakalise ese lirwala; waqala wangumntu ohamba nxa noyise lo, kupela engqongwe ngapamakati akokwabo. Bokuba futi ebekubako amatatyana ashushu pakati kwempi ka Ndlambe nale ka Ngqika zingazi nto inkosi ezi. Ude ke u Ndlambe ngenxa yoku watanda ukuba bangabi ndawonye nonyana lo. Ute nonyana kuba wayekwa lidlongodlongo, warentula kwapela kuyise, engekazinikelwa kakuhle zonke imfanelo zakowabo, nomzi ka Nukwa (ama Gasela la) akazange ade awanikelwe, yiyo lento nanamhlanje asebusondele kwa Ndlambe. Isenza ezizinto nje ke le kwekwe ka Mlawu, uyisekazi u Ndlambe

peaceably handed all his due, and Nukwa's people (the Gasela) were not yet transferred to him, so even today their chiefdom holds to the Ndlambe. While Mlawu's boy was acting like this, his uncle Ndlambe was at pains to praise him. Up to the point that Ngqika abducted Thuthula, Ndlambe worried his councillors by taking pains to praise Ngqika's people, calling them "My boy's people." At this stage two messengers went out from Khawuta's Great Place to deliver instructions to the Right Hand House – one went to Ndlambe and another to Ngqika. By this the Great Place showed that it was pleased with Ndlambe's rule, so it declined to subject him to Ngqika. To this day the Ndlambe are not entirely subject to the control of the Ngqika.

## III

*The Thuthula episode.* I believe that the negative attitude inspired in Ngqika by his councillors led to his infuriating his uncle in this way. The councillors from Yese's house were indeed lion-hearted and knew no fear. They took pains to incite Ndlambe's army, which blotted out the sun, the Gcaleka and the other groupings involved in the Battle of Amalinde. Ndlambe's strategem in the conduct of this war was to take the crane feather headdresses<sup>6</sup> from the veterans and give them to the cowards, so that the veterans looked like cripples. You know that according to Xhosa tradition someone who wears crane feathers disdains anyone who does not, however hard he stabs; this is exactly the same as a Xhosa letting a tyke nip his heels rather than suffer the disgrace of engaging with it. As Ngqika's veterans were being cut to shreds by Ndlambe's cripples, the former kept advancing on the retreating veterans. Those heroes filled the depressions,<sup>7</sup> their heads on each other's arms. That was why Ngqika went to spill his secrets to the whites, who halter a pregnant cow.<sup>8</sup>

*The Van der Kemp episode.* In Xhosa *inyengana* is a bald pate: it could be that this missionary had that feature.<sup>9</sup> When this missionary came to Ndlambe at Alexandria, Ndlambe said that Ngqika was the king; so this missionary actually came to Ngqika territory and was allowed to preach the Word to the nation. But the missionary did not stay long. He tramped on to Debe below the forests (Pirie), turned and went back to where he had come from.

*The Ntsikana episode.* Ntsikana, the son of Gabha, arrived after travelling from Gqorha in the Peddie district of Ndlambe territory.<sup>10</sup> Originally he lived here in Ngqika territory, and had recently settled in Ndlambe territory, at the time of Nxele's visions. Do you know that Nxele used to say that because the

upikele ukuyibonga. Kude kwalelixesha u Ngqika ahlute u Tutula, u Ndlambe ewakataza amapakati ake ngokupikela ukubonga amabandla ka Ngqika esiti, "Amabandla ekwekw' am." Kwesi situba zite izitunywa ezivela Komkulu kwa Kauta ezizisa umteto Ekunene zazibini, – sasodwa esiya ku Ndlambe, sasodwa esiya ku Ngqika. Ukwenjenje oku i Komkulu lalibonisa ukuba lalixolisiwe sisipato sika Ndlambe, ngoko ke alinakumnikela ukuba abe pantsi ko Ngqika. Unanamhla ama Ndlambe akazange ade abe sezandleni zama Ngqika.

## III

*Ngo Tutula.* Ndiyakolwa ukuba u Ngqika wenziwa kwangala mapakati anje intlamba yawo ukuze amqumbise kangaka uyisekazi. Lamapakati ke ako Yese okunene ibingamadoda abungonyamara, angakwaziyo ukoyika nokuba yintonina. Apikela ukufunza kwimpi eyayicim' ilanga ka Ndlambe, nama Gcaleka nezinye izizwana ngemfazwe yama Linde. Iqinga lika Ndlambe lokuyilwa lemfazwe, watabata indwe kwizitwala-ndwe, wayifaka kumagwala, zati izitwala-ndwe zahamba mbibinx. Uyazi ke ngokwesiko lesi Xosa, otwele indwe akamnanzile lo ungatwele ndwe, nokuba selebinza esitinina; nqwa nalento yokuba um-Xosa ekuxolele ukuqwengwa iziquluba yingqe, kunokuba enze ihlazo ngokujingisana nayo. Ite ityutywa ngezikalindwe ka Ngqika yile mibibinx ka Ndlambe yabe inyakatisa ikwinele pambili kula ndwe ihlehlayo. Zazalisa lomalinde ezo zijora ziqamelisene ngengalo. Kukuze ke u Ngqika aye kuhlebelabelungu, o Qina ka Qonono.

*Ngo Nyengana* (Dr. van der Kemp). Inyengana ngokwesi Xosa, yile nqayana ingezanga kupumela ebunzi, angaba ke lomfundisi waye njalo kusinina. Ute lomfundisi akufika ku Ndlambe e Mnyameni, wati u Ndlambe inkosi enkulu ngu Ngqika; weza okunene umfundisi lowo kwa Ngqika, wavunyelwa ukuba alishumayele Ilizwi esizweni. Koko umfundisi lowo akahlalanga, unyatele e Debe napantsi kwama Hlati (Pirie), ujike wabuyela kwalapo wayevela kona.

*Ngo Ntsikana.* Uvelile u Ntsikana unyana ka Gaba, esiti tu ngakwa Ndlambe e Gqora, kwi sitili sase Ngqushwa. Lomntu ke kakade waye ngumntu walapa kwa Ngqika, wayeye bumini kwa Ndlambe, ngexesha lemibono ka Nxele; uyazi ukuba u Nxele wayesiti ama Ngqika la ahlala epete igazi, ngoko ke aya kuba zimbomvane, emke nesaqwiti. Ufikelwa li Lizwi ke u Ntsikana elapo kwa



Ngqika touched blood all the time they would become ants swept away in a storm? The Word came to Ntsikana while he was over there in Ndlambe territory. Ntsikana came to Ngqika saying it was the right thing to do "for me to bring this news home to the Great Place because that is where the news was announced some time ago."<sup>11</sup> When Mlawu's son heard this news of Ntsikana's he assented to it and participated. But his councillors hesitated, thinking that once Ngqika said he was accepting this no one would be able to wrench him free. They then began to form a tight group saying everyone should leave him alone so he could feel how bad it was to be isolated. They sent to him a message that said: "Are you abandoning the kingship to act like a Hottentot?" He replied: "I am not abandoning the kingship, I am building security for you; come near and join this thing so I can send you to preach it in homes and to the Thethe Great Place."<sup>12</sup> But no, Yese's people entirely rejected him until he returned to them of his own accord. Though he did return to them of his own accord, it was clear that Ntsikana's truth had vanquished his heart, because after that he was often heard crying out at a dance: "If only I had someone to tell Heaven about me!"

## IV

*The missionaries.* Teachers will be pleased to learn that Ngqika himself once became a teacher. When the missionaries arrived Ngqika realised that friends had come to support him in this thing he had heard from Ntsikana. They made contact and he studied the alphabet on the wooden tablets originally used for lessons. Soon the king knew these words and so it was obvious that he should become a teacher and teach the ignorant.

*At a dance.* It is said that Ngqika was dark and tall. He very much enjoyed participating in dances in the company of other hand-picked tall men. It is said that he would stay away from the dance for two or three days, then right in the middle the son of Mlawu would suddenly appear with his troupe like the arrival of racehorses. Then the young and the old would be moved out of the way amid much ado, and the dancing would start afresh. It is said that he once went to a dance among the Dange at the Bhalurha and arrived to find a giant who whipped him and his chosen elite, reducing them to little calves, taunting him, and the next morning he would take to his feet more energetically than on the previous night. The Dange fully supported this giant and said of him:

Ndlambe. Ute u Ntsikana esiza ku Ngqika wabe esiti kokona kulungileyo ukuba luti oludaba ndilugoduse ndiluse Komkulu kuba kakade ibiludaba lwakona. Ite into ka Mlawu yakuluva oludaba luka Ntsikana yalutakazelela yasel' ingena. Ate kaloku amapakati ake abunqumqesi, aye ecinga nokucinga ukuba seletshilo nje u Ngqika ukuti lento uyayingena akuko bani uyakubuye amsombulule. Aqalile ke enza umfelandawonye kwelokuba aze angalandelwa bani ukuze eve ububi bokuba yedwa. Atsho atumela kuye ilizwi eliti: "Obu bukosi uya bulahla na, njengokuba uye kuzenza i Lawo nje?" Ute yena ukupendula: "Ubukosi andibulahli, ndenzela nina isizinzozo; nani sondelani ningene kulento, nditume nina ukuya kuyishumayela emaziko, na Komkulu kulo Tete." Hayi, amqabalaka kwapela amabandla ako Yese, wada wabonakala ebuyela kwakuwo. Wabuyela kwakuwo kubonakala ukuba intliziyo yona yoyisiwe zinyaniso zika Ntsikana kuba emva koko ebemana ukuviwa, nokuba kuse mdudweni, etyandyuluka esiti: "Ndinomntu ngelendibik' ezulwini!"

## IV

*Abafundisi.* Ititshala ziya kukolwa kukuva ukuba u Ngqika naye wayeke wangu titshala. Kute ukufika kwabafundisi waqonda u Ngqika ukuba kufike ezona zihlobo ziza kumxhasa kulanto seleyivile ku Ntsikana, wasondelelana nabo, wafunda naye o "a" kwingqekembe apa zemiti, ekwakufundwa kuzo kuqala. Ite inkosi yawazi kamsinya lamagama, kwabonakala ukuba mayibe ngu titshala, ifundise abo bangekakwazi.

*Emdudweni.* U Ngqika kutiwa ubengumdaka omnyama omde. Emidudweni ubetanda kunene ukuya kungena nezinye ingxiba eziketiweyo. Kutiwa ubewuyeka umdudo ude ube ntsuku mbini nantatu; kwale xa upakati avele umfo ka Mlau, ati ukuti tu kwake neqela lake, kunge kukufika kwa mahashe omkwelo, kuke kukweleliswe abantwana namaxego, kufumane kube sipotshongela, uqalwe pantsi umdudo. Kutiwa waka wati eye kwasemdudweni kwimi Dange, e Balura, wafika apo kuko ngxilimbela ibete yena namakaba ake aketiweyo bangamatolana kuyo, igxwala ngakuye, ipika nokuba kusisa kuse itate unyawo kunezolo; yaye imi Dange ikungele kulengximbela iyiteta, isiti:

“That’s your thing, Taunt the Wild Beast,  
Mouthpiece and trumpet, rope and milkpail,  
Brindled ox from Jadu!”

In the end His Royal Highness wanted to know who this giant was and where he came from. He was told that this was Mqhayi the son of Sheshegu of the Zima clan. When the king learnt he was a Zima he remembered that the Zima were really Thembu who had come to this country with the princesses. The king adopted him saying, “So you are hiding someone from my home here?” He then claimed him and took him off with him and sent a herd of cattle to pacify the Dange. At that point Mqhayi the father of Krune and Nzanzana became a Jingqi in Ngqika territory.<sup>13</sup>

V

*The poet.* Just like every king, the king liked his praises sung. It is said that his poet would appear on a ridge and utter some praises before entering the Great Place. One day the poet was in the company of other gentlemen and they were engaged in a heated discussion, so that the poet finally arrived without uttering a word. He was startled by an angry roar: “How can this thing praise us and praise us and when we are used to it suddenly stop? Scrag him!!” That day the poet of the Great Place narrowly escaped.

One day a layabout (it might have been Bomboto) saw the heifers earned by the poet, and decided to try his hand at it. He was indeed heard mouthing something one day, but while he was still saying “Awu! Awu!” he was rudely interrupted with: “What’s this ugly thing? Who is he defiling? Scrag him!” The new poet took to his heels to save himself. It is said that whenever he craved cattle he would send someone to the Great Place to say “That ugly man says that he will eventually have to come himself.” And the messenger would usually go home driving cattle. Sometimes this man would himself appear on the ridge shouting “Don’t make me come over!” Then a young man would be sent to intercept him. Ngqika enjoyed being praised,<sup>14</sup> even by a monkey. When the whites were at Ngqakayi<sup>15</sup> they loved to buy a monkey from the people for beads. Once Ngqika seized a monkey and set it free, saying “What have our people done to be chained like this, with plenty of gum for them out of reach?” As the monkey made its way towards the mimosa bush, glancing behind it as it

“Nants’ into yako Gxwal’ inyamakazi,  
 Ngcape nesigodlo, mtya netunga,  
 Bad’ elidawuwa lase Jadu!”

Ude u Mhlekezazi wafuna ukuqonda ukuba lengxilimbela ingubanina wap-ina? Kutiwe ke lo ngu Mqayi unyana ka Sheshegu, um Zima. Ite inkosi yakuva ukuba ngum Zima, yakumbula ukuba kanene ama Zima ngaba Tembu abate ukuze babe kweli lizwe beza ngamakosazana, yasel’ inyuka nengalo inkosi, isiti “Hlelinje ngumntu wakowetu lo nimfihle apa?” Itsho yamhlasela yemka naye, yakupa igqiza lenkomo ukuya kuxolisa kwimi Dange. Waqala eloxesha u Mqayi uyise wo Rune no Nzanzana ukuba ngumfo wakulo Jingqi kwa Ngqika.

## V

*Imbongi.* Inkosi ke ibikutanda ukubongwa, njenge nkosi zonke. Kutiwa imbongi yake ibisiti tu enkalweni iwatsho nokuba mabini pambi kokuba iye kungena Komkulu. Kute ke ngomnye umhla imbongi ihamba namanye amanene bexoxa ngomcimbi owawushushu, suke yade yaya kufika ingakange itsho; yotuka ngento seyibharamla isiti: “Inani ukuba into isidumise isidumise, zesiti sakubon’ ukuba sesiqhelile isiti tya? – Yibambeni!!” Yapuma ngezituba lomini imbongi yakomkulu ukuya kungena ngesiko.

Yake yati enye indoda, eyayi bunxhatu-nxhatu, (koba ngabom ingenguye u Bomboto), ngokubona amatokazi azuzwa yimbongi, yacinga ukuba nayo ike ilinge ngenye imini. Okunene ke ivakele seyisitsho ngomnye umhla, koko ite isati: “Awu! Awu!” yabetwa kakubi emlonyeni kwatiwa: – “Yintoni lento imbi kangaka? Ihlabela bani? Yibambeni!” Yeka ke imbongi entsha ukubabeleka abazicatyana ukuya kwela kwantsiza. Kutiwa ibiseyimana ukuti xa ikanuka inkomo itumele umntu komkulu ayokuti “iti landoda imbi iyakude ize ngokwayo ke.” Okunene ubedla ngokugoduka eqhuba umtunywa lowo. Ngaxa limbi indoda leyo ibiya iti tu ngokwayo enkalweni, imemeze iti “Ndode ndize kufika ke!” Bekusiti ke kwa oko kukutshwe umfana, ayihlangabeze lonto. U Ngqika ubetanda ukubongwa nayi nkawu, – kute ngexesha abelungu ababese Ngqakayi, batanda ukutenga inkawu ebantwini, ngentsimbi, ubesiti ngaxa limbi u Ngqika ayibambe inkawu ayiyeke ihambe esiti: – “Abantu bakowetu aba niba-konxa kuba benzenina, intlaka seyide yabubuqenene nje ingenamtyi?” Yoti ke inkawu ukwenjenjeya, ukuya kutshona esingeni, ihamba inyeka, avakale ke u

went, His Highness was heard to say: "What is this black-faced thing? Doesn't it say 'Thank you, son of Mlawu'?"

VI

Ngqika produced many children, as he had many wives, but the firstborn was Maqoma, whose mother was Nothonto of the Right Hand House.<sup>16</sup> These are the rebellious Jingqi. After Maqoma came Tyhali, whose mother was Nonibe of the Xhiba House.<sup>17</sup> These are the Ngcangathelo. Sandile, the heir, was born much later.<sup>18</sup> He was not even raised by his father but by Tyhali and Maqoma, who brought him up well, had him initiated and handed him his kingship. For his part the fellow listened to his elder brothers.

Sandile's mother was Suthu. These are the Mbombo. The name Sandile comes from the English name "Alexander." We had difficulty pronouncing this, so we ended up with "Sandile." Ngqika insisted on having his say. However he was not eloquent and by no means brave. But he was a favourite of the whites and the missionaries when they arrived. He was also much loved in public by his nation. He was buried at Burnshill on the Keiskamma river.<sup>19</sup>

Editor, let me finish my little slice by saying:

Never again, boy from over the river,  
 over the river, across the Tugela,  
 great kestrel from Above the Path,  
 we gave him a tug at Nether Path,  
 so he'd know his own home;  
 we bound him with Keiskamma vine stems,  
 the great river where Ngqika was buried,  
 where Ngqika, King of nations, was buried.

Make your report!!!<sup>20</sup>

I say make room so I can talk of your chief,  
 for the one I talk of today is the last,  
 without seeming to praise him today I have praised him;  
 without seeming to praise him I haven't been idle  
 because I reached Scandalmonger,  
 I reached Laughing Behind Their Backs,<sup>21</sup>  
 who grew thorns that turned and pricked them,  
 perhaps they didn't see them.

Mhlelazi: – “Yintonina lent’ ibuso bumnyama bunje, ayitshon’ ukuti enkosi ka *Mlau?*”

## VI

U Ngqika uzele kakulu, njengokuba nabafazi bebelinani elinobom; kodwa ivela tanci ibe ngu Maqoma, ozelwe ngu Notonto wenziwa uku Nene, ngawo lama Jingqi angevayo. U Tyali ulandele u Maqoma, yena ke uzelwe ngu Nonibe, wenziwa i Xhiba, yiyo imi Ngcangatelo le. U Sandile eyona nkulu, uvele mva le yena, ngongabanga sondliwa nanguyise lowo, yena wondliwe ngu Tyali no Maqoma, bamkulisa kakuhle, bade bamalusa, bamnikela ubukosi bake, waye umfo naye ebatobele abakuluwa abo.

U Sandile ke uzalwa ngu Sutu, ngawo ama Mbombo la. Eligama liti Sandile, lenkosi yayitiywa ngesilungu kusitiwa ngu “Alexander,” kekaloku tina asikwazanga ukutsho, saba siyapelela ku “Sandile.” U Ngqika ubengumfo onezwi lake; noko ebengeciko nakalipa kwatini, kodwa utandekke kakulu kubelungu nakubafundisi ekufikeni kwabo, waye etandwa ngokungazenzisiyo sisizwe sake. Unchwatyelwe e Mkubiso (Burnshill) e Xesi.

Mandisipete esam isicwili Mhleli ngokuti:

Ungepindi kwedini yapesheya komlambo,  
Pesha komlambo pesha ko Tsukela,  
Untambanan’ enkulu yase Ntla-kwendlela,  
Sike sayixhuzula tina bange Zantsi kwendlela,  
Sisenzel’ ukuz’ iqelane nekaya;  
Sayikuleka ngenximba yase Xesi,  
Wona mlambo mkulu wanchwabel’ u Ngqika,  
Wanchwabel’ u Ngqika u Kumkani wezizwe.

Sinika!!!

Nditi vul’ umtyi nditete ngenkosi yako,  
Kuba namhla le nditeta ngayo yeyokugqibela,  
Nendingayi bonganga namhla ndiyibongile;  
Nendingayi bonganga andisayi nqene ngaluto;  
Oko ’de ndafika naku Sotshulubembe,  
Ndafika ku Mahlek’ abaneligqo,  
Ku Bantu bakulis’ amev’ abuy’ abahlaba,  
Kazi bebenga wabonina bona?

One whose respect for his mothers grows,  
 I wonder what his home is called.  
 He rules the land on behalf of God,  
 Phalo searched all around and gave up,  
 looking as far as the mountains of Vuba,  
 then returned to die and be buried at Mthonjeni.  
 Ndlambe also searched and gave up,  
 looking as far as Uitenhage.  
 Nations ask what they sought,  
 we answer in a word,  
 and say "Whose country is it?"  
 As we say so we change our mind,  
 and say: "They received the light of the Word."  
 They spoke the same word we still speak,  
 which is: "Thy kingdom come."  
 Mlawu's boy didn't wander,  
 he went straight and returned holding light.  
 He gave it Ngqakayi as its portion,  
 he gave it Nonibe as a mother,  
 so Tyhali received the request for Lovedale.  
 It's Lwaganda<sup>22</sup> the son of Yese,  
 dark giant with his dogs,  
 who barked at Buwa and Boma,  
 bit someone at Seymour and the Waterkloof,  
 who said to Maqoma "Care for the missionaries,"  
 then scattered the land with the aid of a bigwig<sup>23</sup>  
 saying he then had expert diviners,  
 who'd purge this nation of Phalo,  
 so every misfortune leaves the homes,  
 pride, stupidity, apathy,  
 saying he then had people  
 "to report to Heaven about him."  
 Today you see, Scandalmonger!  
 Rest in peace in your little place,  
 all came right in the end,  
 Maqoma cared for the missionaries,

Umaqubek' embekeni nakonina,  
 Kazi ngunobanin' igama lomzi wake?  
 Umpati welizw' elipatel' u Tixo,  
 U Palo ufune wafuna wancama,  
 Qond' ukud' ayokuma nge Ntaba zika Vuba,  
 Wabuya ngokufa samnchwab' e Mtonjeni.  
 U Ndlambe ufune naye wancama,  
 Qond' ukud' ayokuma ngeze Qagqiwa.  
 Ziyabuz' izizwe ziti babefuna ntonina  
 Tina ke sizipendula ngelizwi,  
 Kuba siti: "elizweni likabanina?"  
 Sitsho sibuye siguqule,  
 Siti: "babekaulel' ukukanya kwe Lizwi."  
 Babetet' eli lizwi sisalitetayo,  
 Eliti: "Ubukumkani Bako mabufike."  
 Ikwekwe ka Mlau yon' ayizulanga,  
 Yati nqote yeza nokanyo ngesandla.  
 Yalunik' i Ngqakayi ibe sisabelo,  
 Yalunik' u Nonibe abe ngunina,  
 Yiyo lont' i Lovedale yacelwa ku Tyali.  
 Ngu Lwaganda ikwekwe ka Yese,  
 Ugxib' olumdak' olunezinja zalo,  
 Zike zakonkot' e Buwa nase Buma,  
 Zaty' umnt' e Mtontsi nase Ngcelwane,  
 Int' eyati ku Maqoma "gcin' abafundisi."  
 Yatsh' ilizwe yalizaza ngo Mhle-ka-Nyawo,  
 Kub' isiti namhl' ifumen' inkunqele zamagqira,  
 Int' eziyakutsh' ugutyulwe lomzi ka Palo,  
 Lipume ngendlu yalo lonk' ishwangusha.  
 Ishwangusha leratshi, lobudenge, nokunqena.  
 Kub' isiti namhl' ifumen' abantu,  
 Abantu "bokuyibik' e Zulwini."  
 Uyabona ke namhla Sotshulubembe!  
 Lala ngoxolo kulondawana yako,  
 Zonk' izinto zisele zalunga ngasemva,  
 U Maqom' ubagcinil' abafundisi,



these days we're carrying firebrands,  
 which we swing to and fro as we walk on feastdays,  
 we don't dither confronted by powerful nations,  
 Tiyo's sons<sup>24</sup> changed their colour,  
 Koyi's son went off to die in the dark,  
 and so did the son of Ntintili,  
 Dyhoba's son escaped and returned.<sup>25</sup>  
 Jabavu's son took many captives,  
 Dwane's son travels but does not arrive,  
 Kondile and Gonya are noble by birth.<sup>26</sup>  
 Rubusana's son's a mighty force.  
 Mzimba's and Koti's came here from the Drakensberg,  
 Mashaba left the islands with others.  
 Anta's son was killed in Swaziland.<sup>27</sup>  
 I could go on until sundown, sir,  
 listing the good things you introduced.  
 Nowadays we step on snakes,  
 step on them safely, Scandalmonger.  
 Nowadays a hyena has no grave,  
 a hyena has no grave, Scandalmonger.  
 Nowadays the nation's advanced,  
 because the yeast's here, Scandalmonger.  
 We even killed all the cattle,  
 slaughtered your ox, Scandalmonger.  
 People died in their thousands  
 as sacrifice for your ox, Scandalmonger.  
 Tell me to leave you, my King,  
 King of the land of Mthetho's Mthetho.  
 Those we forget are yours as well.  
 That's it!!!

Ngezimini seyisit' abapet' izikuni,  
Sesihamba sitshangatshangis' ezinyameni,  
Asisaqoqonyi nakwi zizw' ezinamandla,  
Abakwa Songcangcashe sebejike nebala,  
Oka Koyi waya wafel' ezitokotokweni,  
Oka Ntintili ngokunjalo naye,  
Ngoka Dyoba owabuya magcwizigcwizi.  
Oka Jabavu seletimbe wasakasa,  
Oka Dwane akuk' ap' angafikanga,  
U Kondile no Gonya babazizi-tati.  
Oka Rubusana selesemandleni.  
Oka Mzimba noka Koti sebevel' e Lundini,  
Abo Mashaba sebepum' eziqitini.  
Oka Anta waya wabulaw' e Swazini,  
Luhlohlo ke nkosi kungatshon' ilanga,  
Ndikuxelel' ukulunga kwent' oweza nayo.  
Ngezimin' inyoka siyazinyatela,  
Sizinyatele kungehli nto Sotshulubembe;  
Ngezimin' akuseko nchwaba lanchuka  
Akuseko ncwaba lancuka Sotshulubembe;  
Ngezimin' isizwe sinyukile,  
Kub' igwele lifikile Sotshulubembe;  
Nezinkomo 'khe sazifisa zonke,  
Sabingelel' into yako Sotshulubembe;  
Nabantu bafa bamawaka-waka,  
Balidini lento yako Sotshulubembe.  
Yitsho ndikuyeke Kumkani.  
Kumkani wakwa Mteto ka Mteto.  
Nesakusilibala tina zinto zenu.  
Ncincilili!!!

## The late William Wilkin Mjokozeli

## PLACING A STONE

“The strength of His mercy towards those that fear Him  
is as the height of the sky above the earth,  
so His removal of our transgressions  
is as the distance from east to west.”

We are grateful to Mr E.W. Makula, who placed an announcement in the newspaper about the death of our friend, a resident of East London. We in East London are still disturbed because, though death is significant, it sometimes registers its significance a bit too strongly. The 7th of August 1912 was a day of concern<sup>1</sup> in East London, because death registered its significance strongly by taking Bill. This fellow who had become such a part of people's thinking had been here for 18 years as a court interpreter. Death plucked him from our minds with power and authority and we were left gravely hurt.

The deceased is the youngest son of Klaas Mjokozeli of Healdtown. Klaas was one of the first Mfengu at Healdtown after the government had removed the Xhosa and sent them to Gqumahashe and places like Middledrift. This boy was born during Qilo's drought<sup>2</sup> (1865), and was educated to the extent that at 16 years of age he passed the examination with “Honours,” which is now no longer available for blacks. At that age he began to engage in the battles of this world as a teacher in King Williams Town, then at Peddie, Seymour, St Matthews and Nxarhuni in Ndlambe territory. At Nxarhuni this Hlubi son started to distinguish himself through good works; there he translated his hymns, which are in the Church of England hymnbook. In those days black youngsters used to come to the Town Hall in East London to sing under his supervision, and in return they would come back to do whatever was required in the church. The text inscribed up there is one of his well-known texts. After nine years here he wanted to serve the Great Place, and he did indeed begin to act as court interpreter at Qumrha in 1893, and the following year he came to East London. Here he behaved as if he had no close friends, but made everyone his friend, old and young, low and high, black and white; if you got to know him you would find him a very sweet person. He is one of the founder members of the old East London club<sup>3</sup> known as “Gaika”; in those days it used to

## Umfi u William Wilkin Mjokozeli

## UKUBEK' ILITYE

"Ngokuba inje ngokupakama kwamazulu pezu kwehlabati

"Ukuba namandla inceba Yake kwabamoyikayo.

"Kunjengokuba' kude kwe mpumalanga entshonalanga,

"Ukulukwelelisa Kwake kuti ureqo lwetu."

U Mr. E.W. Makula, owenze isaziso epepeni ngompanga walo mhlobo wetu, nommi wase Monti, siyambulela. Tina base Monti sasisafumane sadubateka, kuba lento ukufa nangani iyinto ebalulekileyo, kuke kuzibalule ngokugqitileyo ngemihla etile. Umhla wesixenxe kulenyanga ye Tupa (7th August, 1912) yaba ngumhla wesimenu e Monti, kuba ukufa kwazibalula gqita ngokutabata u Bill. Lomfo ubeselengene kangaka ezingqondweni zabantu, ube minyaka ili 18 elapa, elikumsha lemantyi, – kwamrura ukufa ezingqondweni zetu, ngamandla nangamagunya, sasala senzakele.

Umfi lo ngunyana omncinane ka Klaas Mjokozeli wase Nxukwebe. U Klass lowo yenye yama Mfengu okuqala apo e Nxukwebe, emveni kokundululwa kwama Xosa ngu Rulumente awatumele ko Gqumahashe nasema Xesi. Yazalwa lenkwenkwe ngelanga lika Qilo (1865), yafundiswa ngohlobo lokuba iti iminyaka ili 16 ubudala ipumelele uviwo ngale "Honours" ingasekoyo ngoku kontsundu. Ukuqala ukuwanga lamadabi alomhlaba uwaqale ese yilontanga e Qonce ngokufundisa, nase Ngqushwa, e Mpofo, e Mtwaku nase Nxaruni kwa Ndlambe. Liqale e Nxaruni apo ke itole le Hlubi ukuzibalula ngemisebenzi emihle; lamaculo ake akulencwadi yase Tshetshi uwaguqule elapo. Ngezomini intsapo yabamnyama ibisiya kuvuma e Town Hall e Monti, ipetwe nguyeyi, ibuye ngokuhlala izinto ebezifuneka zetyalike, la tekisi ibhaliweyo pezulu yenye yetekisi zake ezidumileyo. Ube minyaka isitoba kulendawo, ukuze ngoku anqwenele ukuba pantsi kwe Komkulu, okwenene waqala walikumsha lemantyi e Qumra ngo 1893, kute kunyaka olandelayo wazakuba se Monti. Ute akuba lapa wazigcina ngokungabi nakolwane, wabenza amakolwane ake bonke abantu, omkulu nomnci, opantsi nopakamileyo, omnyama nomhlope; waye umfo emnandi kakulu xa sewusondelelene naye. Ungomnye wabaqali bale club

\* *Xunjengokuba*

play against whites on their field. This fellow set an example through his love of work: he would turn up ahead of time, return after closing time and never complain. He was highly educated, unhurried and quite free of pride. He assisted the helpless among his people who returned regularly to government offices on painful business: Bill would help even if the matter lay beyond his jurisdiction. Mr John Jorha says, "One of the last times he made arrangements for him was when Mr Jorha needed permits to go to Johannesburg and couldn't get them: Bill made sure he received them, sending others to him in Johannesburg."

In 1902, when Bill had reached the age of those with a little understanding (37), he started to think about marriage. He did not rush into this as we have seen others do. He chose for himself the daughter of a well-known member of the community – Tiwani Ngudle of the Maduna clan at Rhabula. That lady taught at the Presbyterian school from those days till today. The deceased was ill for two weeks and died on 7 August of the year of our Lord Jesus at the age of 47 years.

The government servants turned out in large numbers to pay their last respects, led by two senior police officers – Ngqayi and Kwekwe, together with a contingent of policemen. They laid him in a bright red wagon and took him across the Ngcabanga, a stream that will have much to say on the day it speaks.

So at this point, dear sir, something urged me to say:

Temperance Plough! Temperance Plough!!  
 But oh the man who goes about boasting!!!  
 One day it will be your turn.  
 Seed that sprouted in Healdtown,  
 it sank as the rivers were ebbing,  
 appeared on the coast as a maize flower,  
 carried bunches of cobs.  
 Today the fellow is taken home  
 as the crowd of many races weeps,  
 going to his own Rhadebe,  
 to Bhungane great beyond measure,  
 whose listeners flourished in ash-heaps,  
 one-tusked elephant of Mqadi's house,  
 who tore into those with two tusks.<sup>4</sup>

indala yase Monti kutiwa yi "Gaika"; ngezomini yayisadlala nabelungu kula mihlaba yabo. Umfo lo ube ngumzekelo ngokutanda umsebenzi wake, ubesiya kuwo kwapambi kwexesha, kanti wobuya nasemva kwexesha engenasiroro. Imfundo yake ibipolile kakulu, ingena bugaxagaxa, ingenalugwagwiso kanjalo; ube luncedo kwimpatalala zakowabo, ezimana ukuya kwa Rulumente ngendawo ezizityatyambelayo, ancede u Bill naxa into ibingalunge kuye. U Mr. Jno. Jorha uti, "Wade wangati uyamgqibelisa ngamalungiselelo ngelixesha wayefuna incwadi zokuya e Rautini u Mr. Jorha lowo, engenakuzifumana, wenza u Bill ukuba azizuze, ezinye wazilandelisa e Rautini apo."

Kute ngo 1902 xa ayile ntanga seyinengqondwana (37) waqala u Bill ukucinga ngokuzeka, naleyo into akayenzanga ngobutyututyutu, njengoko sesibone kwabanye. Uye wazitatela intombi yompakati owaziwa kakuhle, – u Tiwani Ngudle wakwa Maduna e Rabula. Intokazi leyo yona yabamba ekufundiseni kwisikolo sama Rabe kwangezomini kude kube namhla. Umfi lo ugule isituba seveki zombini, wanduluka ngomhla we 7th August, we gama lika Yesu, eminyaka ima 47 ubudala.

Apuma ngendlu ama Rulumente ukuza kunika imbeko yawo yokupela epetwe zinkosi zamadindala zombini, – u Ngqayi no Kwekwe, nohlohlo lwamapolisa. Bamtate bambeka kwembejembeje inqwelo ukumweza i Ngcabanga, intlanjana eyoze itete lukulu mini itetayo.

Kukweso situba ke, nkosi yam, ekusuke kwako into eti manditi:

Khuba-kuzilwa! khuba-kuzilwa!!  
 Hayi kodw' u Mahamba ngeziqula!!!  
 Ngeny' imini kuyakuba nguwe kunje.  
 Sitombo santshul' e Nxukwebe,  
 Sazimka nokuhla kwemilambo,  
 Savel' intshatshob' elwagcibeni,  
 Satwal' imbonxa zezikwebu.  
 Namhl' inkew' iyagoduswa,  
 Kumbejewu kunjenjenje zinyembezi,  
 Iya kwabakwa Radebe kwabakowayo:  
 Kwa Bhungan' emakulukulu,  
 O Ndlebe zamil' entundelweni,  
 Indlovu yakwa Mqad' elupondo lunye,  
 Elikamisel' ezimpondo ngambili,

Mfengu, stop your crying,  
 today let us Xhosa cry,  
 for today's the last time we see him,  
 we won't be able to make it to Peddie.  
 He left when far from his home companions,  
 I wonder how much they would cry,  
 saying: "No, no, no!  
 no, no! Oh no!  
 What do you say yourselves?  
 Do you say Rhadebe's<sup>5</sup> dead?  
 How can he die a death?  
 It's as if I see him among the whites,  
 it's as if I see him writing just there.  
 Wake up, Rhadebe, you haven't died.  
 It's as if I hear him address MaMaduna,  
 saying "MaMaduna, mash the boiled corn.  
 Ye-ye-ye-ye-ye-ye-e-e-e,  
 Ho-ya-ho-ho hizshi-i-i.  
 Ho-ya-ho-ho-hihayi-zshe-e-e-e!"  
 Go then, bull's calf, go,  
 the Lord himself has invited you, go,  
 ignore our tears, we were made for yearning,  
 we would not be surprised if we were called.  
 You did well to respond to the call,  
 to perform a sacrifice at the Lord's demand.  
 Do you have a question, dweller on earth?  
 Put it to Death the policeman,  
 he's here to lay a charge,  
 for death is absent in the absence of sin.  
 Go home, handsome Rhadebe,  
 you'll be more lovely in Paradise,  
 where it's said translators are needed

Nina ma Mfengu yekan' ukulila,  
 Namhla makulile tina ma Xosa,  
 Kuba tina siyamqibelisa namhla,  
 Nase' Ngqushw' asikuba nakufika.  
 Wemk' umnt' ekude nabakowabo,  
 Kazi ngebesitinina ukulila:  
 Ngebesiti; "Maye-maye-maye-e-e!  
 Maye-maye-babe-e-e-e!  
 Nitsinina nina ngokwenu?  
 Nits' ufile na u Radebe?  
 Hawu, afe atsinin' ukufa?  
 Hange ngiyambon' epakatsi kwabelungu,  
 Hange ngiyambon' ezibhalela nje kona,  
 Hawu, vuka, awufile Radebe.  
 Hange ngiyamv' etsetsa noma Maduna,  
 Etsi ma Maduna hausipotsulele.  
 Ye-ye-ye-ye-ye-ye-e-e-e,  
 Ho-ya-ho-ho hizshi-i-i.  
 Ho-ya-ho-ho-hihayi-zshe-e-e-e!"  
 Hamba ke tol' lenkunzi, hamba,  
 Yi Nkosi lont' ikumemileyo, hamba,  
 Ungeva silila senziwa kunqwena,  
 Nati sibiziwe besingayi kumangala,  
 Ude watyap' ulusabel' ubizo,  
 Nokuzenz' idini yakut' i Nkosi zenz' idini.  
 Unombuzo na wena mntu womhlaba?  
 Libuz' elidindindala lingu Kufa,  
 Lil<sup>†</sup> eli lize kukunik' ityala,  
 Kuba kungeko kufa akuko sono.  
 Goduka Radeb' omhle kunene  
 Uyakuba yinzwana ngakumbi pambili,  
 Kutiwa kufunw' amakumsh' e Paradesini.

\* Nsse

† Kil'



because it contains many nations.  
Greet those who are there already!!

11

At Centane

Now this Centane is the land to which the Ngqika were driven by Sir G. Sprigg<sup>1</sup> after the war of Ngcayechibi; he drove them by riflestock, because they did not want that land – then as now. Although I first saw the light of day at the Tyhume, where the borders of Macfarlan and Gqumahashe meet in Alice, I lived in Centane between the age of nine and 15. My father had not crossed the river with his chiefs, but he grew lonely and followed them. I was lodged there in the home of the headman, my grandfather<sup>2</sup>

NZANZANA MQHAYI

There I had ample opportunity to learn Xhosa; because from a distance of half a mile a plaintiff would proclaim: "I accuse!" I had plenty of opportunity to cry out: "Proceed!" He would repeat himself over and over until he disappeared from sight.<sup>3</sup> Nothing pleased me more than to bring embers for the men involved in the court case, and I would train my ears and learn.

IN ALICE

When I was 15 years old, an instruction arrived from my father that I should go and study in Alice. I thought there was something better for me to study at Lovedale; I cast off my sheep's blanket, and left. I hammered away at Lovedale for six years and at the end of the sixth year the ministers

SUMMONED ME TO THE VINEYARD

I did indeed start to work in East London; but I remained anxious that there was an obligation I had not met, because I had not returned to Centane, to show what I had acquired at Lovedale, where I had been sent. To satisfy that anxiety I left East London and went to

Kub' intlanga kutiwa zigqitile,  
Wakubulisa nakwabo bapambili!!

11

**Kwa Centane**

Kaloku lo Centane lelazwe ama Ngqika aqhutyelwa kulo ngu Sir G. Sprigg emva kwemfazwe ka Ncayecibi; wawaqhuba ngesikondo sompu, kungekuko nokuba ayengalifuni elozwe, – kunanamhla oku kusenjalo. Mna ke nangani ilanga ndiqale ukulibona e Tyume, emdeni we Macfarlane no Gqumahashe e Dikeni, ndibe ku Centane apo ukususela esitobeni iminyaka yobudala kwade kwesa kwishumi linesihlanu. Ubawo wati noko wayengawelanga kunye nenkosi zake wabuye wanesitukutezi wazilandela. Ndite mna ndafikela kumzi wesibonda ubawo omkulu u

NZANZANA MQAYI

Ndaba netuba elihle apo lokufunda isi Xhosa; kuba ubesiti u Ndimangele esenetuba lesiqingata semayile, avakale: "Ndimangele!" Bendinetuba elimnandi ke nam lokunqangaza nditi: "Hambisa!" Atsho, atsho ade aye atshonele. Bekungeko nto ibindikolisa njengokutatela amadoda amalahle xa ngoku linganzingwayo ityala elo, ndibe mna sendidlisa indlebe, ndifunda.

KWASE DIKENI

Ndite kanye xa ndilishumi linesihlanu iminyaka, wafika umteto ka bawo oti mandiye kufunda e Dikeni. Ndaba mna kuko nto ibhetele ndiya kuyifunda e Dikeni (Lovedale) apo; ndayilahla nengubo yam yegusha, yekoko. Ndigongqoza kwelo Dike iminyaka yomitandatu; ute uyapela lo wesitandatu, babe abafundisi sebe

NDIBIZELA ESIDILIYENI

Okunene ndiwuqale umsebenzi e Monti; koko ndasoloko ndine xhala lokuti ndinemfanelo endingayenzanga, oko nje ndingekapindi ndiye kwa Centane, ukuya kubonisa izinto endazifumana kwelo Dike ndandisiwe kulo. Ndite ke ngenxa yeloxhala ndake ndayishiya i Monti ndaya kutsho

THE GREAT PLACE AT GQUNQE,

where I apologised for acquiring nothing at Lovedale, and at that stage I studied Xhosa for a few more years, since I was at the Great Place.

After leaving that place, I moved about constantly, settling here, appearing there. It is now almost five years since my last visit to Centane.

Editor, as your reporter in that region has already stated, during the June and July holidays I thought I would pay a short visit; and I did indeed alight at Butterworth, where I met an old friend of mine, referred to in these lines as Nobenza. My visit started

WITH THE GWELANE

The Gwelane are the people of Anta, son of Ngqika. Ngqika took this son of his called Anta and placed him in the house of his younger brother Ntimbo, who died without children.<sup>4</sup> There are many of them now, living to the east of the Koonap; the head is Velaphi son of Bobozayo. I did not stay a full day there; I left the unfailing kindness and moved on

TO THE MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE

There I came upon an interpreter, the son of Bingwa, and while we were still chatting some young men arrived: the son of Mazwayi, a boy I took to be doing well in that country; the son of Manana, a young man who had recently arrived but was already a cost to the community; and the son of Dubu, a Jingqi by birth. I met many young sprouts there, but I was happy to hear from the son of Bingwa. I found the son of Mda singing the praises of the "Xabanisa Movement," and I urged him on by saying we should fall asleep and wake refreshed.

OTHER PLACES

Since time was limited, Editor, I did not delay anywhere, I kept on the move, and passed through Msendo, Ngede, Cebe to Gqunqe; I met members of the Bunga,<sup>5</sup> the son of Bukani and Phakamile son of Khona – I learnt about the Council's rulings. I arrived to a widespread hubbub<sup>6</sup> in an unpleasant atmosphere on account of Ntsikana's warning that we should not accept money, in case it brings harm to the people.<sup>7</sup> I thought it would be the Lord's doing if that harm has not latched onto us.

E GQUNQE KOMKULU,

ndazilandulela apo ukuba andifumananga nto e Dikeni, ndaye kwangeloxesha iminyaka etile ndifunde isi Xhosa, kuba ndandikomkulu.

Oko ndalishiyayo ke elo, andizange noko ndipeze ukuhlala ndihlale ndiye kuvela. Iminyaka ngoku ibiseyi kufupi nesihlanu ndingayi.

Njengoko ke Mhleli seletshilo umbhaleli wako welozwe, ndite ngale holide ka June no July, ndati make ndenze umgxada; okunene ke ndihle e Gcuwa, apo ndi bonene nesihlobo sam esidala, esaziwa kulemiqolo ngokuba ngu Nobenza. Ndiliqale ilizwe elo

KUMA GWELANE

Ama Gwelane ke ngabantu baka Anta, into ka Ngqika, u Ngqika wamtabata lonyana wake ungu Anta wamfaka kwindlu yomninawa wake u Ntimbo, owafa engazalanga. Lompi ke ininzi kakulu ngoku, yiyo le ihle ne Kobonqaba elo ngase mpumalanga; intloko ngu Velapi into ka Bobozayo. Andenzanga zintsuku zigqitileyo apo; ndibushiye busavuzwa ububele ndaya kunyatela

E OFISINI

Apo ndihle ndaqubisana nekumsha into ka Bingwa, esite sisangqokolisana avela amadodana into zo Mazwayi umfana okolisileyo kwelozwe ndakuqonda; eka Manana indodana efikayo kodwa scyiwudlile umzi; eka Dubu umJingqi nozwane. Abe maninzi amanye amakaba endiwabone apo, kodwa lomfo ka Bingwa ndive futi ngaye kamnandi. Into ka Mda ndifike iluhaluhalu yile "Ntshukumo ka Xabanisa," endite mna ndantyontya, kuba ndisiti okona kukuko kukuwa sivuka.

EZINYE INDAWO

Lite kuba ixesha Mhleli lalinqapele, andalibala ndawo, ndapikela ukugqita, endide ndafika e Msendo, ku Ngede, e Cebe nase Gqunqe; ndifikele kumalungu e Bhunga Elikulu into ka Bukani neka Kona u Pakamile, – ndake ndanemfundiso endizifumanayo zase Bhungeni. Ndifike kuyeyezelwa kulo lonke, noko izinto azisentle ngenxa yomcepe awati u Ntsikana maze ungatatyatwa hleze umzi usale nenkwitshi. Ndicinge ukuti kungaba sekukokwe Nkosi ukuba lonkwitshi ayikasinamateli

AT COLUMBA

Here I was welcomed by the son of Mos, of whom I used to say:

Mommy's little Headman,  
calf of a bird's leg –  
What's this! only fluff!!

That day I found the little Headman a minister substituting for Rev J.M. Auld,<sup>5</sup> who was overseas; when I say he was a minister I mean he was responsible for all the pastoral work. If it was me and Bango we would buy ourselves a collar buttoned at the back – yes, have I not already done so? The new church building took on a new lustre when I learnt it had been built by black men alone, and it grew even more appealing. I also found progress at the school, which had been rebuilt; no one would say it was that rundown old building where we were given prizes of shirts and such.

SONTSOMIKAZI

I moved on from Columba with them saying "It's obvious he's the Commemoration fellow,"<sup>9</sup> and went to the Ngcengane family, the home of the Headman, where I bumped into father Sontsomikazi, who disliked me though I did not often thunder in that region. This man was a convert from way back, and he had lived a long time. In our conversation we differed on the subject of "social status." I said we are gentlemen because our shoes creak, we wear a collar. He said, "Pour *amasi* in your shoes for that woman over there and let's see." He said these collars made us look like the ring-necked raven, which is by no means an attractive bird. I said we eat with a knife and fork, unlike those who take food in their hands, something gentlemen don't do. "What kind of people," he said, "what kind of people are these who live in King Williams Town and go chomp-chomp and make other noises when they eat?" After a while, we changed the subject to the Scriptures; he spoke of Adam, I praised Eve as an intelligent woman. Now my father grew seriously prickly and wanted to find out why I considered Eve intelligent; I said it's because she ate from the tree that made us civilised, so we don't go about naked like the red ochre people; my father said I should stop, I was saying terrible things, I was turning Scripture on its head. I said no, he must give me the opportunity to preach the wisdom of this great grandmother because, if she had not eaten from the tree, when

E COLUMBA

Apa ndifikele kwinto ka Mos ebendisakuti ukuyiteta:

Yi Bondana ka mama,  
U ziqula zentaka, –  
Tyini! kanti buboya!!

Ndifike namhlanje i Bondana leyo seyingumfundisi endaweni ka Rev. J.M. Auld owelileyo; ukuba ngumfundisi ke nditeta umsebenzi wonke womfundisi otiwe fihli kuye. Ukuba ibindim no Bango besiya kusuke ngoku sizitengele ikala eqotyoshwa ngasemva – ewe kuba kunam, sekunjalo kade nje? Indlu entsha yenkonzo ibugqibe ubuhle xa kutiwa yakiwe ngamadodana amnyama odwa, yaqala yanomkita ngokungakumbi. Ndifike nendlu yesikolo iqubele pambili, kukokona intsha, ongetshoyo ukuti leliya kehle sasikade sisamkelela kulo amabhaso ehempe oko bekusenjiwanjalo.

U SO NTSOMIKAZI

Ndidlule e Columba, besemana ukuti “kuyabonakala ukuba ngumfo we Sikumbuzo,” ndaya kutsho o Ngcengane kwa Sibonda, ndiqubisene apo no bawo u So Ntsomikazi indoda yona enganditandanga noko bendivimba ngazulu nje kwelo. Lendoda likolwa lalawa akudala, nayo seyi nentsuku kakulu. Site kwasezincokweni apa sahle sapambana malunga nobu “nene,” ndite mna singamanene tina kuba sirawuza ngezihlangu, sifake ikala. Ute yena, “Kawutululele umfazi lowo amasi ezihlangwini apo sibone,” ute ikala ezi sizifanisa namahlungulu, libe ihlungulu elo ingentaka inabuhle baluto. Ndite mna, tina sitya ngemela ne folokwe, asixelisi bona babamba ukutya ngezandla, ngati abanga wo manene. “Intoni,” utshilo, “into zini zona, into ezadla zihleli e Qonce, etshaputshapu, njalonjalo.” Kute kupi sayipetula incoko yamalunga nezi Bhalo; ute eteta ngo Adam, ndabe mna ndincoma u Efa umfazi onengqondo. Undite “rawu” kakubi ngoku u bawo, wafuna ukuqonda indawo enditsho ngayo ukuba u Efa unengqondo; ndite ngalento yokuba wawutyayo umti owenza impucuko, ukuze kungahlaliwa zé, ngati ngamaqaba; ute u bawo mandipeze, nditeta kakubi, isi Bhalo ndiya sibhukuqa. Ndite mna, hayi, maze andinike iplani yake ndishumayele obu bulumko buka ma omkulu, kuba kwakuya kude kuzalwe nini ukuba waye ngasukanga atye umti lo? Uvutulule mpela ngoku u bawo esiti: Angayihluta nalo plani nokuba ebesele ndinikile xa kanti ndishumayela

were people going to procreate? Now my father rejected this view out of hand, saying he would revoke the licence, even if he had already given it to me, if I preached error; I said "We're scrapping on the pulpit because you've already given me the licence." We parted, with my father unable to believe that my mind was so grievously impaired.

#### PROGRESS

I found the buildings in Centane restored to a much better condition than they had been in. Education is highly prized, and men were herding because the boys were at school. I saw many young men who used to smear themselves with ochre who had stopped doing so, and some of them were studying. Fruit was widely consumed in the homes, a good sign. When there was an outbreak of coastal fever (*Mdluka's Basayi*, as they playfully called it), most people in the area were vaccinated, contrary to the practice of rejecting the white man's advice, and those who were vaccinated survived; I said vaccination was a token of progress. Another significant sign of progress I marked was among the Gwelane at Theko where they were trying to breed sheep, but some were doing so secretly, under the watch of the police. The offices were built as if both whites and blacks had just arrived. In places that had been dominated by thorn trees, I now found cultivated land.

The question that I was repeatedly asked was why I still looked the same? A person does not change before the age of 40, I replied. Then again, they wanted to know my present age because they had heard about me for some time in the newspapers. I usually ended up saying I was taking good care of myself. They left off, grumbling, because they wanted me to tell them what medicine I was taking to prevent aging.

#### AT THUTHURA

Yes, I called in here as well, to meet Tyam and the renowned minister T.B.S.,<sup>15</sup> and I came upon W.D.S., my King Williams Town minister, who was unhappy about the "Albertus Movement." Zaze's son loaded us in his little cart to go to Butterworth on the day of our return. We left generous Centane with sheep and goats sacrificed for this journey, everyone displaying a kind heart; but I was even busier when I arrived among the chiefs (the Tshawe), because I left there considering myself a councillor, but now I arrived a bridegroom: I saw that I was committed now. The young woman is the daughter of Nakwa the son of

ulahleko; ndite mna, "Silwa\* eplekstulweni kuba ndingati leplani ubundipile." Sahlukana no bawo engalibali ukuti kanti ingqondo yam yonakala kangaka.

#### INQUBELA

Ndifike izakiwo kwa Centane zijube lé kunoko fuda zinjalo. Imfundo ndifike ilangazeleleka kakulu, amadoda esalusa kuba amakwenkwe ase mfundweni. Ndibone amadodana amaninzi abeqaba angasaqabiyo, amanye angene efunda. Imiti ityelwe kakulu emakaya, yalolunye upau oluhle olo. Ute akufika u Basayi ka Mdluka (ifiva yonxweme), kuba batsho ukusiteketisa, batofa ikakulu lelali, ayabiko lanto yokungalifuni icebo lomlungu, abatofileyo basindelwe; ndati yinqubela ukutofa oko. Enye inqubela endipaule kakulu kuma Gwelane e Teko yeyokuzama ukufuya igusha; koko inxenye ite kanti izama ngendlela zase zinyoka, anayo amapolisa. Ukwakiwa e ofisini ngati kokona kufikwayo, ngabamhlope nabamnyama. Inkoliso yezinga ezifumane zahlala, ndifike ingamasimi ngoku kwezondawo.

Umbuzo endiwubuzwe futi ngowokuba kutenina lento ndisengakaya? Nditi ukupendula, kaloku umntu akajikeki engekafiki nakuma 40 eminyaka. Isuke ibe lelinye ityala elo, kubuzwe ngoku ukuba ndigangara pina leminyaka, kukudala kangaka nje besiva ngam nase mapepeni? Ndidle ngokupeta ngokuti ndizipete kakuhle. Ayeke wumbi erora, kuba ulindele ukuva iyeza enditya lona lokugcina ukungalupali.

#### E TUTURA

Ewe, ndinyatele nalapa, kwinto zo Tyam, no mfundisi odumileyo u T.B.S., ndibonene apo nomfundisi wam u W.D.S. wase Qonce, naye engapolile mayela ne "Ntshukumo ka Albertus." Isitate into ka Zaze yasilayisha ekalidityini yayo ukuya e Gcuwa mini sagoduka. Saba siya mshiya u Centane onobubele; zaye zingenganganto igusha ne bhokwe ezibe lidini loluhambo, elowo ebubonisa ngegazi ububele; noko ndixakeke futi ndakufika ezinkosini (ama Tshawe) kuba nditi ndisiya ndizazi ukuba ndingumpakati, ndifike ngoku sendingumyeni, ndibone ngam sendibambekile† ngoku; kaloku umfazana lo yintombi ka Nakwa into ka Rarabe, kulo Tshisa; yaye lonzala ininzi kwa Centane kenjengeya kowetu.

\* *Silwo*

† *sondibambekile*



Rharhabe at Tshisa;<sup>11</sup> and there are many members of that lineage in Centane as in our own area.

AT HOME

We boarded the train, and when we were at the Kei river there was a woman whose child was crying fearfully, the mother threw herself down not knowing what she was doing because she thought the child would die (she threw herself down when the train was at a standstill), saying she was wandering about destitute. I took the child and asked Notayitile for eucalyptus oil, we rubbed her with it, made her sniff, and stretched her out – she slept and woke up at Qumrha a chatty and playful child. While we were travelling along, a young man appeared, and exclaimed in surprise and we thought something was wrong, but he wanted to tell us that he was the one we found sleeping in the veld with his family, and we took them in – we remembered him; the fellow had fumbled in embarrassment and produced six sacrificial livestock. And so, sir, we flowed on home, very much invigorated. Thank you, Editor, for this column.

12

Maqoma

*Who can withstand the God of Khama, the God who created all kingdoms  
on earth? I, Maqoma, son of Ngqika, lack the power to withstand  
the God of Khama.  
– Maqoma*

Maqoma<sup>1</sup> is the son of Ngqika, son of Mlawu, son of Rharhabe, the Right Hand House of Phalo. His mother is Nothonto, otherwise known as Menyezwa, the daughter of Nxiya of the Ngqosini. The Ngqosini, like the Maduna, came as an entire chiefdom from Lesotho.

We understand that Maqoma came from the Ngcwazi regions of Middledrift. He was born in 1796, his father Ngqika's firstborn. Yes, at the time Ngqika himself was still very young.<sup>2</sup>

This Nothonto gave birth to Maqoma and his twin Nongwane, and to the wife of Nogcule of the Mdushane, and to no other children; Nongwane is the wife of Khama Chungwa.<sup>3</sup> This princess was moved to Chungwa's home after

## EKAYA

Sikwele kuloliwe, sati xa sise Nciba kwako umfazi obhongelwa ngumntwana ngokoyikekayo, wada waziposa pantsi unina engayazi nento ayenzayo, kuba uti umntwana uyaqauka; (eziyosha itreni imi) esiti uyabhaca. Ndide ndamtata umntwana, ndabiza i eucalyptus oil ku Notayitile, samhlikihla ngayo, samjijisa, samolula – walala, wavuka e Qumra umntwana wancokola, wadlala. Singe siti tyi apo, gqi umfana, wakuza saba kuko nto; kanti ufuna ukusixelela ukuba nguye lowa samtata elele endle saya kumngenisisa kowetu, enosapo lwake, – samkumbula; yaputaputa inkewu ikohliwe, yapuma nengwaluba zontandatu yacamagusha. Hayi ke, nkosi, siye sagaleleka ekaya, sihlaziyeke kakulu. Ndiya bulela ngesi situba singaka, Mhleli.

12

## U-Maqoma

*Ngubanina onokupikisana no Tixo ka Kama, u-Tixo odale bonke ubukosi obukoyo? Mna Maqoma ndizalwa ngu Ngqika nje, andinamandla okupikisana no Tixo ka Kama.*  
– Maqoma.

U-Maqoma ngunyana ka Ngqika into ka Mlawu, ka Rarabe, u-Kunene kuka Palo. Unina ngu Notonto ogama limbi lingu Menyezwa, intombi yasema Nqhosinini ka-Nxiya. Ama-Nqhosini ke, njengalempi yakwa Maduna, bubukosi obubodwa obuvela ngaselu-Sutu.

Apo avelele kona u-Maqoma sicinga ukuba kuse Xesi, kwizituba ze Nchwazi. Ixesha lokuzalwa kwake likumnyaka we 1796, livela tanci ku Ngqika uyise. Ewe, ngezomini wayese mncinane kakulu u-Ngqika ngokwake.

U-Notonto lowo uzele u-Maqoma no Nongwane oliwele nomka Nogcule kwa Mdushane kwaba kupela, u-Nongwane ke ngumka Kama Cungwa. Le nkosazana isiwe apo kwa Cungwa siyilivile i-Lizwi, kuba lomzi ka Ngqika waba

she had heard the Word, because Ngqika's home had become a kraal for missionaries back in those days. For this reason, when the missionaries arrived at Thwecu, Khama accepted the Word, because of his wife, Ngqika's daughter, though she was not the first convert.

Maqoma learnt about matters of state from close association with his father Ngqika, who was very highly regarded by his councillors, who worked at taking him from his uncle Ndlambe because they wanted to teach him in their own way. When white Governors and missionaries arrived, they treated Ngqika as paramount chief of the Xhosa, and the other chiefs of his nation then grew hostile to Ngqika. Maqoma at this young age witnessed all the hypocrisy and deceit of the white nations.

#### THE BATTLE OF AMALINDE

At the Battle of Amalinde in 1818 between Ngqika and Ndlambe, Ngqika's armies were commanded by Maqoma, who had recently emerged from initiation school. The Ngqika fought valiantly but were utterly destroyed, destroyed by the overwhelming numbers of the Ndlambe, who had joined forces with all the Xhosa nations; Maqoma narrowly escaped, bleeding from battle wounds. And so Ngqika's heroes fell, Jotelo the father of Soga, Nteyi the father of Tyala, and Ntlukwana the father of Neku. And so Ngqika secretly appealed to the white man for support, and so the white man excised a large section of land for himself as a reward, and established Ngqakayi, claiming it was for Ngqika's protection.<sup>4</sup>

Ngqika survived for only ten years after that, he died of a sickness, and was buried at Burnshill in the Middledrift district. It is said the troubles wrought by his friends<sup>5</sup> overcame him, and he could not bear them – he gradually declined, and the strong support of the missionaries was of little help to him; and the white man's liquor, which is destroying the nation, to which he turned to drown his miseries, had no effect. He is said to have died pointing to the mountains where Adelaide sprang up, his land, where he was born, where he felt at home. He died in 1828 before reaching the age of 53.

#### MAQOMA AND THE MISSIONARIES

Ngqika committed the missionaries to Maqoma's care; Maqoma did indeed try his best to protect them; he devoted himself to them; and at this stage he ruled

sisigqubo sabafundisi kwagazo ezomini, yiyo lonto wati u-Kama kwasekufikeni kwabafundisi e-Twecu, wahle walamkela i-Lizwi, kungenxa yomkake intombi ka Ngqika, nangani kungakokelanga yona ukulamkela.

Imfundo yombuso u-Maqoma uyifunde ngokutana nca noyise u-Ngqika, waye uyise lowo wayetatyatelwe pezulu kakulu ngamapakati, esenza ukumhluta kuyisekazi u-Ndlambe, kuba ayefuna ukumfundisa ngeyawo indlela. Zite kanjalo i-Ruluneli ezimhlope zakufika, nabafundisi ngokunjalo, zamtabata u-Ngqika njengoyena Kumkani mkulu wasema Xoseni, yaza lonto yenza ukuba u-Ngqika acunubeke kwezinye inkosi zakowabo. U-Maqoma waba noku-lubona, kwasebuncinaneni bake ke ngoko lonke unyhwalazo, nobuqetseba bezizwe ezimhlope.

#### NGEYAMA LINDE

Ngemfazwe yama Linde eyayingo 1818 pakati ko Ngqika no Ndlambe, imikhosi ka Ngqika yayipetwe ngu Maqoma lo ese lirwala. Acitwa kwamdaka ama Ngqika, akalipe kunene, aye ecitwa yinkungu nelanga yakwa Ndlambe, kudibene zonke iziziwe zasema Xoseni; wabhungca elijaja ngamanxeba ezikhali no-Maqoma lowo. Kukuze kufe u-Jotelo uyise ka Soga, no-Nteyi uyise ka Tyala, no-Ntlukwana uyise ka Neku, amagora ka Ngqika. Kukuze ke u-Ngqika aye kuhlabela eyomlungu, ize kumnceda, ize ke yona izisikele ilizwekazi elikulu ukuzivuzwa, imise i-Ngqakayi isiti yenza ukumgcina u-Ngqika.

U-Ngqika wapila iminyaka elishumi qa emveni koko, wabulawa sisifo, wanchwatyelwa e-Mkubiso, e-Xesi. Kutiwa inkatazo ezaba pezu kwake, eziza kwanezihlobo zake ezi, akabanga nakuzitwala, – waya epela ngokupela, ute noko azayamanise kakulu nabafundisi akaba nakusizakala kupi; nakulamanzi abhubhisa isizwe asemlungwini, uke wanamatela kanobom, eba ucima inzingo, hayi azacima. Kutiwa ude wafa esalata ezintabeni, apo kupuma i Kobonqaba, ilizwe lakowabo, ati uzalelwe kulo, uqele lona. Ubhubhe ngo 1828 engengapezulu kweminyaka ema 53 ubudala.

#### U-MAQOMA NABAFUNDISI

U-Ngqika wabayaleza abafundisi ku Maqoma ukuba abagcine; okunene u Maqoma uyilingile lonto kangangoko abenako; uzinikele kubo kakulu; waye ngeli xesha ubu Kumkani bupetwe nguye, no Tyali uyise ka Ngonyama no Feni no Anta uyise ka Bobozayo bepatele u Sandile owayese mncinane.

the kingdom together with Tyhali, the father of Ngonyama and Feni, and Anta, the father of Bobozayo, as regents in Sandile's minority.<sup>6</sup>

What Maqoma did not understand about the missionaries was that when someone put his trust in the Word, he would be removed from Xhosa society, he would no longer associate with his chief, and often Maqoma would remark, "How I wish this Word had not come to you." And by that time there were certain hidden things that became apparent about them: he saw that they were fighting for their own people.<sup>7</sup>

After Ngqika's death the white authorities began to show less respect, they began to act harshly. Maqoma received a fair share of this rough, harsh treatment, often his nation would be visited by night attacks, houses would be burnt, cattle seized, and chaos would ensue; all this on the pretext of recovering lost cattle. After a time he was

#### EXPELLED FROM THE KAT RIVER

This chief was expelled from his land because it was claimed he caused disruption through aggression, after he went to help Bawana, a Thembu chief, who was opposed by a councillor, and, because Maqoma had been informed, he attacked and killed that councillor, taking nothing as plunder apart from cattle for the young men to eat. This occasioned his expulsion, because the person he killed was allegedly a government agent.<sup>8</sup> The young army officer who was charged with the task of driving Maqoma off was Colonel Somerset, son of Lord C. Somerset.<sup>9</sup> This young officer acted outrageously, to the extent that some missionaries like Ross snorted, and Ross wrote in strong terms to the government about this. Dr Philip, a man who severely harassed the government, initiated a great debate about this behaviour by saying: "Both these men are government agents, as are these Thembu chiefs, and if the government wanted to set things straight, it would have taken up this dispute at an early stage, and punished the one who killed the other, and ended this affair before Maqoma was hurt."

This row went on for some time, starting in 1829. All this land, between Adelaide and the Kat River Settlement, is the home of petty English plunderers alone, it was said no Boer was allowed there; ministers such as Read<sup>10</sup> requested a scrap of land for the Hottentots – so the Coloured school known as the Kat River Settlement was established at Gangqeni, on the Kat river. When Maqoma

Indawo angayiqondanga u Maqoma kuba fundisi ibe kukuti umntu akukolwa li Lizwi, ahlutwe lowo, angabi sazana ne nkosi yake, ubesitsho futi ukuti. "Akwaba eli Lizwi belingezanga nani." Waye ke ngeloxesha selenezinto ezitile abarobileyo ngazo, waqonda ukuba balwela ikowabo.

Ute u Ngqika akufa, zaqala izipata-mandla zasemlungwini zapela uhloni, zatanda ukupata gadalala. Ite lempato irabaxa, ikohlakeleyo, wayiviswa kanobom u Maqoma, kwafuti efikelwa yimikosi ngobusuku esizweni sake, kutshiswe zindlu, kutinjwe zinkomo, kufumane kube sisaqunge; ngegama kutiwe kufunwa inkomo ezilahlekileyo. Kude kwati kupi

#### WAGXOTWA E-NCWHENXA

Isizatu sokugxotwa kwale nkosi ezweni lakowayo kutiwe nantsi yenze isaqunge sokulwa, kwatshiwo ngento awasuke u-Maqoma waya kunceda u-Bawana inkosi yom-Tembu, eyayi vukelwe ngumpakati, wayigebenga, okunene ke u-Maqoma kuba wayehlalyelwe, wamcita umpakati lowo, akatimba nento ngapandle kokuquba amaroma okutya kwamadodana. Ite ke lonto yasisizatu sokugxotwa kwake, kusitiwa ngumntu ka Rulumente lowa amcitileyo. Inkosana yama joni eyayipetele lomsebenzi wakufaka u-Maqoma uviko ngu Colonel Somerset, unyana ka Lord C. Somerset. Yenza imisebenzi engendawo inkosana leyo kakulu, bade batimla abafundisi into zo Ross umfo owake wabhalelana incwadi ezirabaxa no-Rulumente ngayo lonto. U-Dr. Philip indoda ebimxalise kunene u-Rulumente, yake yenza ukuba kubeko ingxoxo enkulu ngayo lempato, isiti: "Ababantu ngabaka Rulumente bobabini, ezinkosi zaba Tembu, ke ukuba u-Rulumente ubefuna ukwenza ubulungisa, ngeleyitabatele kuye lengxabano isencinane, wohlwaya lo ubulele omnye, yaba lonto ipele engekade ahlalyelwe u-Maqoma."

Lengxoboshane ke itate ituba elikulu, iqale ngo 1829. Lomhlaba wonke, upakati kwe Kobonqaba ne Katala kwadywidwana ngawo ngama Ngesi odwa, kwatiwa akafunwa Bhulu; basebesuka abafundisi o-Ngcongolo nabanye, becelela ama Lawo isiqwengana, – kukuze ke kumiswe esi sikolo sama Qeya sise Gangqeni, e-Ncwenxa, saziwa ngokuba li Katala. Oku kugxotwa ke u-Maqoma, uwezwa i-Tyume, kutiwa lelona zwe lakowabo, uti yena elona zwe lakowabo leliya lisinge kweza Ntaba zo Nojoli.

was expelled he was driven across the Tyhume, it was said that was his proper land, while he argued that his proper land faced the Mountains of Nojoli.<sup>11</sup>

### JUDGEMENTS

Nations that know Maqoma, white and black, were agreed that Maqoma was not only brave and a hero in battle but was also an extremely eloquent speaker, an expert at investigating the truth, and finding it under a huge garbage heap of deceit, lies and distortion. He always found words to rebuke the slightest appearance of evil, he always seemed to follow a clear line of argument, evidence of which we have seen in his responses to the Governors who had dealings with him.

A case at Maqoma's court consumed much time: a thorough investigation was set aside, resumed on another day, and set aside again, until the truth was revealed, with testimony repeated over and over, through questions and answers. All this was done so that the accused was judged on his words or the words of his witnesses.

One defendant before Nompondwana's<sup>12</sup> court, when asked for his witnesses, insisted he had none, he stood in the knowledge that God was his witness; the court then demanded that he produce his witness to testify in court; but the man could not produce a witness even though he was given ample time to do so; the court ruled that he had led no evidence to support his claim.

At Maqoma's court no opinion or voice was barred – that is the essence of his skill as a speaker. The opinion of poor people was encouraged, if there was a law, or if a case proved difficult; women were informed of the situation, and their opinion was sought; boys who were involved would be told a story resembling the relevant point of law to use as an example, so that some opinion could be drawn from them as well. Ngqika's son used the accumulation of all this variety of opinion when he came to deliver his judgement – he would leave the court with the wise and the eloquent reflecting on it, and the whole court sitting with pursed lips.

### WHITE MAN AND SLAVE

One day the case arrived at Nompondwana's court of a white Englishman who accused his slave of disobedience; a certain author by the name of Charles Williams<sup>13</sup> summarised this case: –

## AMATYALA

Izizwe ezimaziyo u Maqoma, ezimhlope nezintsundu, zivumelene ukuba ubenganele kuba likálipa negorá emfazweni kodwa; koko ube kwaliciko elikúlu ekuteteni, incuthse ngokupengulula inyaniso, ayifumane pakati kwe mfungum-fungu enkulu yenkohliso, nobuxoki, nogqweto olukulu lwenyaniso. Amazwi angamanye okukálimela into embi ete momfu, ubesoloko engati ute ehleli wabe selewacwangcisile, njengoko sesike sayiva impendulo kwi Ruluneli ezike zatanani naye.

Ityala kwinkundla ka Maqoma belitabata itúba elinobom, likolisa ngokuvavanywa nje liyekwe, lipindwe ngomnye umhla, libuye liyekwe, zide inyaniso zidandalaze, amazwi apindapindwe, ngokunjalo imibuzo kwa nempendulo zayo. Oku konke kwenzelwa ukuze ati ogwetywayo agwetywe ngamazwi ake, okanye ngamazwi amanqina ake.

Omnye ommangalelwa pambi ko Nompondwana wake wapikela ukuti akubuzwa amanqina ake, angabinawo, wema ngokuti uyazi ukuba u-Tixo linqina lake; iteke inkundla leyo makeze nalo inqina lake elo lize kunika ubunqina balo enkundleni apo; koko indoda leyo ayibanga nako noko seyinikwe ituba elide lokukwenza oko; kakakde yafunyanwa ingatetanga nto isekekileyo.

Kwinkundla ka Maqoma akuko ludidi bekungafunwa luvo nalizwi lalo, – kulapo ke kanye ubuciko bake bebulele kona. Abantu abapántsi uluvo lwabo beluya lukútshululwe, xa kuko umtétó, okanye ityala elinzima; abafazi bebexelwa into ekukuyo, kufuneke banike uluvo; amakwénkwe apo kudityenwe nawo kona ebeya abaliselwe imbáli efana nalomteto kukuwo, alinganiselwe, kuti kanti kuyakucuntsulwa uluto nakuwo. Yoti ke longqokelela yezimvo ngezimvo ayisebenzise yonke umfo ka Ngqika mhla anika isigwebo sake, – apume apo kungabangako ngqondi naciko like latélekelela ngakona; atsho inkundla yonke ikámise imilomo.

## UMLUNGU NE KOBOKA

Ngelinye ixesha kwafika enkundleni ka Nompondwana ityala lomfo omhlopé oli Ngesi, elalimangalele ikóboka lalo ngokungeva; umbáli otilé ongu Charles Williams wenjenje ukulibalisa ngokufutshane elotyala: –

Wati umlungu otilé oli Ngesi, owayehamba erweba kweli lasema Xóseni, enenqwelo namakóboka ake, akaneliswa yinqubo yekóboka lake, awayeze nalo apa ema Xóseni, evela ngase Kapa (Pákati); ute emveni kokulityabula kanobom ngemvubu, waqokela ngokuya kulimangalela kwi Nkundla ka Maqoma. Afike



A certain white Englishman, a trader travelling through Xhosaland with his wagon and slaves, was upset by the conduct of one of the slaves he had brought to Xhosaland from Cape Town; after severely thrashing the slave with a sjambok, he proceeded to lay a charge against him at Maqoma's court. These men came to the court and gave evidence: the master (the white man) made much of the slave's disobedience, calling him lazy, apathetic and disrespectful, to the point that severe punishment with a sjambok became necessary, as the court could see.

Before the case proceeded, His Majesty Maqoma made this point: "Here in Xhosaland there is no such thing as a slave, so we would regard the case as one between two men who had made a bargain." With that he allowed the slave to speak. The slave stated that his master had punished him for no reason, and he called witnesses on his behalf. After the complainants were dismissed, the court sat and deliberated. The plaintiff and the defendant were summoned, and the king addressed the plaintiff:

"It is evident that you the plaintiff beat this man, and treated him harshly, as all the court could see; yet you are unharmed, you have no weal to demonstrate that this man deserved such vicious treatment, you should have brought him here before you acted like this. So this court says to you: It releases this man to go wherever he pleases, it dissolves what bound you, which you call slavery. In the second place, you must pay an ox to cover this court's costs."

The white man was infuriated by this judgement, and he rose to dispute it, saying, "There will be no payment of a bullock because the case was not properly conducted; and you, Maqoma, obviously know nothing about civilised evidence, and how to deal with property belonging to a person, like this slave whom you are taking from me. Furthermore, I am going to report you to Col Somerset, the military commander of this province, who will show you the difference between a hartebeest and an elephant."<sup>14</sup>

When the white man had calmed down, Maqoma gave him a lesson: "I sit here from sunrise to sunset to judge between one person and another, when their disputes make them blind to the truth. If however people living at a distance wield power over others, instead of coming to plead their case before a judge and senior men in court, we would achieve nothing by sitting in this court.

"With regard to this Somerset, I know he is powerful, – yes, he is an elephant; but I have never been called a hartebeest, nor has my father. You boast that your people are wiser than ours, – the fact that you dispensed with

lamadoda ema ngazo e Nkundleni enika ingxelo: inkosi le (umlungu), ifike yababaza ukungeva kwelikóboka, inqenera, into etyeshileyo, eswele imbéko, ekude kwabonakala ukuba malenziwe kunene ngemvubu njengoko nenkundla le seyibona.

Pambi kokuba litéthwé ityala u Mhlekezazi u-Maqoma uvakalise indawo ethi: “Ke apa ema-Xóseni, asinto ikóyo ikóboka, ke ngoko wosel’ esiti elityala alijonge njenge tyala lamadoda amabini amangaleleneyo.” Utsho walivulela ikóboka ukuba liqube okwalo. Lite ikóboka, lidlelwa indlala yinkosi yalo le, latsho lavelisa amanqina okunqina oko. Bakuba bendululwe abanini-tyala isele icweya inkundla. Bebiziwe ummangali nommangalelwa, inkosi isingise lenteto kundimangele: –

“Kucacile ukuba wena ndimangele lomfo umbetile, wampáta kakubi, njen-goko i-Nkundla yonke ibonayo; ube wena ungenangozi, ungenawo nomda, obonisa ngawo ukuba lomfo ubebufanele obuburalarume umpéte ngabo, kwaye ubufanelwe kukumzisa apa pambi kokuba umenjenje; ngako oko ke lenkundla iti kuwe: Lomfo iyamkulula ukuba makaye apo atande ukuya kona, iyayicita lonto ibinihlanganisile uti wena bubukóboka. Indawo yesibini, hlaula inkabi yenkomo, indleko zalenkundla.”

Ibe ngumgqwagqwane indoda emhlope yakusiva esisigwebo, yapakama yalwa isiti, “Ayikuyirola nalonkomo, kuba nelityala layo alitetwanga ngandlela; kwaye kunjalonje izinto zokucaca (zempucuko), wena Maqoma, akuzazi, kwa nezisingisele kwimpahla elilungelo lomntu, njengeli kóboka ulahlula nam. Kwaye kwakona ndiyakukuxela ku Somerset (Col. Somerset) u Mongameli wemikósi yeli Pakati, oyakukubonisa yena umahluko pákati kwe xáma ne ndlovu.”

Ite yakuzola indoda emhlope wayifundisa u Maqoma esiti: “Kaloku into endiyihlaleleyo apa kwasekupumeni kwelanga kude kube sekutshoneni kwalo, kukuba ndigwebe pakati komntu nomntu, xa imbámbáno zabo zenza ukuba bade bamfamekiseke baswele inyaniso. Okokuba kanamanjazo abantu bati ngasese paya basebenzise amandla pezu kwabanye, endaweni yokuza kusebenzisa ilwimi zabo pambi komgwebi, namadoda amakulu enkundla, singaba sifumane sahlala kule Nkundla.

“Malunga noSomaseti lowo, ndiyamazi ukuba womelele, – ewe yindlovu; kodwa ke andizange ndibizwe ngokuba ndili xáma, kwangokunjalo ubawo. Wena uzingca ngokuba abantu bakowenu balumkile kunabakowetu, – into

discussion and resorted to the stick suggests otherwise, – physical power has nothing to do with mental power.”

These were the words of the chief, and he concluded: “Go back to your land and pursue this case; but you would do well to offer this ox as payment.” The white man handed over the ox, – and the court adjourned.

#### MINISTER AND THIEF

Again, a certain missionary of Maqoma known as Kondile (Rev H. Calderwood), who later became the first magistrate in Alice, records in his book a case heard before Maqoma’s court.<sup>15</sup> This is the case:

A missionary living at the time amongst Maqoma’s people (the Jingqi) in the Fort Beaufort district bred lambs for slaughter. This breed of sheep with big fat tails was called Fulukandile. He said he noticed his sheep dwindling in number but did not know what was consuming them. One day a man was seen cutting only the tail from a sheep to eat, leaving the sheep to wander off.<sup>16</sup>

The thief was charged at the great place – three Hottentots who lived on school land saw the act committed, and they served as witnesses for the missionary. The thief’s track was followed by means of the sheep’s blood, leading to the missionary’s school people, and stopping there. At first His Majesty Maqoma was reluctant to take up this case, and constantly put it off; but Calderwood kept insisting the case should be heard.

In the end Maqoma dispatched secret messengers throughout the land with invitations to attend an assembly at the Great Place on an appointed day, and then news of this case spread far and wide and generated much discussion in the nation – the case was on everyone’s lips, causing a hubbub of debate; everyone wanted to go to the Great Place to hear the trial for himself, to avoid relying on hearsay. The missionary says he gathered his Hottentot witnesses to question them in an attempt to establish how they would cope when rough-handled under cross-examination by councillors at the Great Place. The Hottentots remained calm, saying the Xhosa were not worth worrying about.

At last the day of the trial arrived; at sunrise processions of red-blanketed people covered the hills on the way to the Great Place; as the sun climbed above the mountains, all the Jingqi speakers were in place to plead the case before Maqoma; the missionary was there with his party of school people.

The three Hottentot witnesses for the missionary introduced the case, stating what they saw. They said the sheep were in the open space between clumps

yodwa yokuba ushiye ingxoxo nanko ubalekela ezintongeni, ayixeli lonto, – amandla omzimba afakwa yintonina kwinto zamandla engqondo.”

Itsho ke inkosi yagqiba ngokuti: “Woti wakubuyela kwa Pakati ubuye ulingenise elityala; kodwa kalokunje kuyakukulungela ukuba uke ube uyirola inkomo leyo.” Wayihlaula umlungu inkabi yenkomo, – apuma amatyala.

#### UMFUNDISI NE SELA

Umfundisi ka Maqoma ekutiwa ngu Kondile (Rev. H. Calderwood), nowabuye wati kamva waba yimantyi yokuqala yase Dikeni, naye unetyala alibalisayo kwincwadi yake, ati lalitetwá ngu Maqoma enkundleni ekó naye. Elityala linje:

Wati umfundisi lo ngexesha awayepákati kwempi ka Maqoma (ama-Jingqi), kwisi-Qingata sase Bófolo, wafuya igushana zokuba amane ukuxéla kuzo; olohlolo lwegusha loluva lumisila mikúlu ityebileyo bekutiwa ngama Fulukandile. Uti wabona ezigusha zake zimana ukuya zipela engazi ukuba zinyunywa yintonina. Kude kwati kungenini wabonwa omnye umfo, esika umsila lo wodwa wegusha waya kuwutya, wayiyeka igusha yahamba.

Isela elo liyo kumangalelwa komkulu, – abantu abayibonayo lento ukwenzeka kwayo yayi ngama Lawo amatatu, abehlala kumhlaba wesikolo, angamanqina omfundisi ke ngoko. Umkondo wesela eli ulandwe ngegazi lomsila lo, nango usiya kulampi ka mfundisi yesikolo, awagqita apo. Ute ke u Mhlekezzi u Maqoma akandule alitátele ngqalelweni elityala, wafumane waliyekelela, wenza uyaba; koko umfundisi wapikela ukulixóxa ukuba malitetwe.

Ude u Maqoma wazikúpa izidyoli ukuba ziye kulo lonke ilizwe, zimeme imbiza komkulu ngosuku olutile, lite netyala eli lashunyayelwa kakulu, laxelwa esizweni, – kwaqala kwayindumasi kaloku, kwaxokozelwa, kwatetwa ngelityala; yangulowo watanda ukuya kuzivela ngokwake komkúlu xa litetwayo, ukuze angeva ngatyelo. Uti umfundisi ute naye wayihlanganisa futi eyake impi yama Lawo wamana eyivavanya ngemibuzo efuna ukuqonda ukuba iyakuma kakuhle na xa ixikixwa ngemibuzo zindwaluto zakomkulu. Ama Lawo ngelawo icala ayengoyiki nento, esiti akuko nto ayiyo ama-Xósa.

Lude lwafika usuku lwetyala; kwati kwa ukupuma kwelanga yabe imimango seyibomvu yimiqokozo eza komkulu; lite liyayishiya intaba zabe iziteti zakulo Jingqi sezilapa zonke waye u Maqoma namhla ezimisele ukuliteta elityala; waye umfundisi eko kunye nehlokondiba lake lesikolo.

Ama-Lawo amatátu, angamanqina omfundisi alingenisile ityala, akuxela ukubona kwawo. Ate igusha zazikwindawo evulekileyo pákati kwamatyolo,

of bush, while they were in different positions; one was standing on the ground, another was on a ladder, the third was on top of a house.

The cross-examination was as the missionary had feared – his people did not stick together and were demolished; now one was caught contradicting himself, and another disputed the evidence of his fellows. All this time Maqoma was paying close attention to the debate, occasionally interjecting to summarise the evidence. The missionary states that when he saw his people at odds, contradicting each other, he grew even more anxious when Maqoma spoke, looking straight at him: “The missionary’s party have evidently not concocted a story, because they disagree with each other.”

This case reveals that there was distrust between red and school people. Yet the school people who brought the case could not complain. We leave the case at that point, because the missionary states that on seeing his people in such disarray, he himself stood up in shock, speaking and pointing to all four corners of the earth, but because the court showed him respect, he was pacified.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE JADU

The bridal party of Mdushane’s daughter, Siwani’s sister,<sup>18</sup> reached Khama, Chief of the Gqunukhwebe, in the Right Hand House we call the Jadu after their ox. This embarrassed Khama because he was a Christian convert and not in a position to take a second wife; he sent the girl back home together with the bridal cattle. But in doing so he exposed himself to legal proceedings, and the case involving the two chiefs became the topic of discussion out on the slopes. His people turned against him on all sides, as well as his elder brother Phato, for other reasons like the fact that his own people would run to Khama for sympathetic treatment, and so he fled from the Keiskamma to Maqoma in the Katberg. It was at this time that Maqoma uttered the words “Who can withstand the God of Khama, the God who created all kingdoms on earth? I, Maqoma, son of Ngqika, lack the power to withstand the God of Khama.” In saying that he gave Khama free passage, and Khama ended up at Tala – the Tala the Jadu made famous.

#### HINTSA’S WAR

The reader will appreciate that Hintsa and Maqoma are contemporaries. Hintsa died during the war that bears his name as a young man of 40. We have mentioned this war often, so here we will just say that it coincided with Maqoma’s

aye wona emi kwindawo ngendawo; omnye emi pantsi; omnye ekwele elelini; omnye epezu kwendlu.

Kute kwakufikwa kwituba lemibuzo, kwaya njengoko umfundisi ebesoyika ngako, – yacitwa impi yake yalusali; wobonakala ngoku omnye epika izwi lake, ati omnye apikise inteto yowabo. Kwelituba lonke u Maqoma uyilandela shushu ingxoxo, ade ake amane ukwenza amazwi atile okubonisa apo kukona. Uti umfundisi ute noko ayibonayo impi yake ukuba ilusali, ayinqinelani, wotuka kakulu akuva ngo Maqoma selesiti, ejonge kuye: “Iqela lika mfundisi akubonakali ukuba lisibalisela nto, kuba liwa ngokuwa.”

Kwelityala kubonakala ukuba kwakugxeleshwene yimpi ebomvu neyesikolo. Koko eyesikolo engabamangali, ayibanga nako ukulipumeza ityala. Silishiya kulendawo elityala, kuba umfundisi uyaxela ngokwake ukuba wati akuyibona impi yake ilusali inje, waselepakama yena ngomotuko, eteta ebékisa kwimbombo zone zomhlaba, yati kuba inkundla imtobele umfundisi, yamtomalalisa.

#### IMI-JADU

Ute u-Kama, inkosi yama Gqunukwebe, ase Kunene la siti yimi Jadu, inkabi yakowawo, wafikelwa luduli lwentombi ka Mdushane, udade bo Siwani. Isuke yamkohla lento u-Kama kuba ubesele likolwa lika Kristu engasenako ukuzeka omnye umfazi; waza ke wayibuyisa intombi leyo nesipupu senkomo ukuyigodusa. Ute akwanjenjalo akabi msulwa noko etyaleni, laye ityala lenkosi ezimbini iyinto etetelwa emmangweni. Amvukela nxa-zonke amawabo, no-Pato umkuluwa wake, sekundawonye nezinye izizatu ezinje ngokuba abantu bake bebemana ukubalekela ku Kama, ngenxa yesipato ubuhle, ukuze ke asabe e-Xesi ayekutsho ku Maqoma kwezo Ntaba zo Mnqwazi, wawateta ngeloxesha ke u-Maqoma lamazwi ati: “Ngubanina onokopikisana no-Tixo ka Kama, u-Tixo odale bonke ubukosi obukoyo? Mna Maqoma ndizalwa ngu Ngqika nje, andinamandla okupikisana no-Tixo ka Kama.” Ute esitsho wabe emvulela indlela u-Kama, yekoko ukugqita ukuya kutsho e-Tala – eli Tala lidumileyo lemi Jadu.

#### IMFAZWE KA HINTSA

Umfundi uyakuqonda ukuba u-Hintsa lo no Maqoma bazintanga. Ngoko ke u-Hintsa ufe ngalemfazwe ibizwa ngaye, engumfana okuma 40 eminyaka. Sesitete futi ngalemfazwe, ngoko ke apa sesiza kukankanya nje ukuba ihla kuseko longxushungxushu yokugxotwa kuka Maqoma ezweni lake. Ngoku

forced expulsion from his land. Having crossed the Tyhume under compulsion, now he is chased off; there is a search for lost cattle and when the cattle could not be found the cows of Tyhali's Great Place are seized. But these cows had not been milked as we heard in other chapters.

During that war the army crossed the river to take Hintsá unawares in Transkei, bypassing Maqoma. After it returned from Hintsá, the whole army mustered at Ngqakayi. Wesleyan ministers were sent to coax Maqoma into presenting himself, and this he did, asserting that he was entirely innocent, that their army came on him for no reason he could determine.

After this war a Commission was appointed in Britain to investigate these injuries.<sup>19</sup> Delegates also received invitations from Britain, such as Dr Philip, Stockenstroom and Tshatshu, from whose evidence it became clear that the Xhosa should return to their homes. Maqoma had no hesitation in returning to Blinkwater. His presence there led to war.

#### THE WAR OF THE AXE

This war is definitely the debut of Sandile, who was a young man of 26. Maqoma was not directly involved in the war, and took no part in the hostilities. He devised the stratagem of pretending to be sick to escape the innumerable white annoyances, so that it was commonly said, "There's Maqoma the mad-man!" He had nothing to do with it at all, he was removed to Port Elizabeth to prevent him from entering on the flank. After his arrival there he met Sir H. Smith, who became Governor in 1847.<sup>20</sup> It amused this Smith to place his foot on Maqoma's neck; so Maqoma said: "Because you're a dog, you behave like a dog. You were not sent by Victoria to do this, because she knows I'm as royal as she is." We do not know if Smith took affront at these words.

#### THE FOUNDING OF EAST LONDON

During this war 60 wagons of provisions were destroyed by the Xhosa at Sevenkloofs, they seized the spans of cattle, and burnt what they were unfamiliar with – Colonel Somerset, commander of the English armies, fled till he came up against the church buildings at Lovedale, if they were not there he would have been blown on to Fort Beaufort.<sup>21</sup> At Buwa near the Fish river, Phato, son of Chungwa, burnt 50 wagons and seized spans of cattle in this war. As a consequence, the East London harbour was opened as a source of army supplies. That was in 1846.

usukelwa seleliwelile i-Tyume eliya bekutiwa makawele lona; kuyawafunwa inkomo ezilahlekileyo, suke ziti zakungafunyanwa kuqutyulwe imazi zakomkulu kwa Tyali ziqutywe. Noko ke zona azisengwanga, njengoko sesivile kwezinye izahluko.

Ngalomfazwe imikósi yawela yaya kuhlasela u-Hintsa engazinto Pesheya kwe Nciba, yamshiya u-Maqoma ehleli. Ite ukubuya kwemikosi ku Hintsa, yahlanganiselwa e-Ngqakayi yonke, kwatunyelwa abafundisi base Wesile ukuya kunyhwelezela u-Maqoma ukuba eze kuzinikela, wayenza lonto eteta esiti ebengenzinto kakade yena, ngabo abebempumele umkosi ngento angayaziyo.

Emva kwalemfazwe kubeko i-Komishoni etunyelwe li Pesheya ukuza kupanda ezi zonakalo. Kubeko nabatunywa ababizelwe Pesheya, abango Dr. Philip, no Stokenstroom, beno Tshatshu, abate bakucaza kona, kwabonakala ukuba ama-Xosa makabuyele kwasezindaweni zawo. U-Maqoma akanqwanqwanga ukuya kwasema-Gqugesi. Life ilizwe ekona.

#### NGEMFAZWE YE ZEMBE

Lemfazwe ke yona yeka Sandile cace owayese ngumtana ominyaka ingama 26 oko. U-Maqoma yamfika ngepiko lemfazwe, engayingenanga, wenza icebo lokuzigulisa ukuze asinde kwinkatazo ezininzi zabelungu, kukuze kudume ukuba "Nank' u-Maqoma epambene!" Akayekanga noko, watatwa wasiwa e-Bhayi, kuba kwakutiwa hleze ayingene elusendweni. Uqubisene apo no Sir H. Smith ukufika kwake, ukuza kutata ubu Ruluneli ngo 1847. U-Smiti lowo utande ukuke abeke unyawo lwake entanyeni ka Maqoma; ukuze u-Maqoma ati: "Kuba uyinja wenza umsebenzi wobunja, akutunywanga lonto ngu Vitoliya, kuba endazi yena ukuba ndiyinkosi njengaye." Asikuko nokuba lamazwi amnyelisa u-Smiti.

#### UKUQALWA KWE MONTI

Ngalemfazwe amashumi omatandatu enqwelo zokutya zacitwa ngama-Xosa e-Ngxondoreni, atimba izipani, atshisa oko angakwaziyo, – wabaleka u-Colonel Somerset umpati mikosi yama Ngesi waza kunqandwa zizindlu zenkonzo e-Dikeni (Lovedale), angewayepeteke waya kuwa e-Bofolo ukuba zazingeko. E-Buwa, ngase Nxuba, u-Pato ka Cungwa watshisa inqwelo ezikuma 50, watimba izipani kwa ngayo lemfazwe. Kukuze kuvulwe elizibuko lase Monti, ukuze izidlo zemikhosi sezipuma kona. Oko ke kungomnyaka we 1846.



## NGONYAMA SON OF TYHALI

A great hullabaloo arose over the initiation of this boy in 1849.<sup>22</sup> When Sandile was informed that it was time for his initiation, Sandile declined, saying "What does it matter if the boy stays a boy till he cracks with age!"<sup>23</sup> His Majesty spoke like this out of jealousy, because Ngonyama would want the Xhiba branch of his people, whereas Sandile did not approve of the Xhiba, saying it took people from the Great Place.<sup>24</sup> Tyhali was no longer alive at that time.

The Ngcangathelo<sup>25</sup> reported this to Maqoma, saying "Sandile refuses the boy's initiation." So Nothonto's Tearabout<sup>26</sup> together with his sons Khona, Namba and Tini,<sup>27</sup> and a large crowd, exercised their powers of authority and saw to Oba's initiation, saying "What is the matter with Sandile that he wants the boy to crack with age!" Sandile understood that he had been defeated.

## MLANJENI'S WAR

This war lasted three years (1850-53); we have had much to say about this war in other chapters, so it will suffice here to take the points relevant to Maqoma, our present subject.

The war did not commence with a battle; Mlanjeni was aroused by the spirit to set right the nation's affairs.<sup>28</sup> The Xhosa, like the Israelites under the Judges, would from time to time be roused by a war doctor to set right the nation's affairs. So every Xhosa person made for Rhode, to Mqhayi's Pool (the author has no connection with this name). The hopes of all the nations were stirred by this diviner, the Mpondo and even the Sotho. When the whites saw these multitudes they grew anxious, saying "There will be war." They quickly sent for Governor Smith in Cape Town. On his arrival, Smith summoned a great assembly at Middledrift, to which the Ngqika were urgently invited, but Sandile did not attend.<sup>29</sup> The Governor took issue with Sandile's absence, and a message came back that Sandile was afraid of him; the Governor deposed him as king and handed control to his mother Suthu, saying she should co-operate with Charles Brownlee, who was chief magistrate of the Xhosa. The Governor returned to Cape Town having observed no sign of war, and reported, "No, all is quite calm in Xhosaland." Shortly after his return, breathless letters arrived from the whites in Xhosaland telling the Governor that "war has erupted." The Governor rushed back to King Williams Town, and proceeded to Middledrift, and as soon as he arrived he summoned a great assembly<sup>30</sup> of all Xhosa people, emphasizing that this applied to Sandile - the nation had selected Maqoma

## U-NGONYAMA TYALI

Ukwaluka kwale nkwenkwe ngowe 1849, kuke kwane ngxwabangxwaba. Ite yakuya kubikwa ku Sandile ukuba aze kuyalusa, waphendula kakubi u-Sandile, wati, "Inanina inkwenkwe yakuhlala kon' ukuba ide yangumaqandeka!" Eteta elozwi nje ke u-Mhlekezzi lowo, bubukwele, kuba u-Ngonyama lo uzakufuna ixhanti lakowabo lase Xhibeni, abe u-Sandile engalifuni i-Xhiba esiti, Limka nabantu bakomkulu. U-Tyali akaseko ke ngeloxesha.

Yenjenjeya ke imi-Ngcangatelo, yaya kuyibika lento ku Maqoma, isiti, "U-Sandile akavumi ukuyalusa inkwenkwe." Yeka ke isijora so Notonto kunye no-nyana baso, u-Kona, u-Namba no-Tini, nomkosi omkulu, ukuya kumalusa u-Oba ngamagunya amakulu, namandla, eteta esiti, "Unani u-Sandile ukuba ati inkwenkwe mayibe ngu maqandeka?" Waqonda no Sandile ukuba uwile.

## IMFAZWE KA MLANJENI

Lemfazwe yaliwa iminyaka emitatu – (1850–1853); sesiqube kakulu ngayo lemfazwe kwezinye izahluko ngoko kolunga apa ukutata ezondawo zino Maqoma lo siteta ngaye.

Isiqalo salento yayingeyiyo mfazwe; u-Mlanjeni wafikelwa ngumoya wokulungisa isizwe. Ama-Xosa, njengama Sirayeli kuba Gwebi, ebehlala ahlale avukelwe litola lokulungisa isizwe. Kute ke kwesuka nopi um-Xosa ukuya e-Rode, kwelo Cibi lakwa Mqayi (um-Bhali lo akazani nganto neligama), zonke izizwe zazicukunyisiwe leligogo, zilipongomele, nama Mpondo, ewe nabe Sutu. Ate ke amagwangqa ngokubona lemikoko, angenwa ligxuba, ati "Ilizwe liyafa." Akauleza abiza i-Ruluneli u-Smiti, e-Kapa. Ute akufika u-Smiti wamema imbizo enkulu e-Xesi eze kakulu ama-Ngqika kulembizo, kodwa u-Sandile akabangako. Ixabene i-Ruluneli ngokungabiko kuka Sandile, kwaye kusitiwa ngomlomo woyika yona; imkupile nasebu Kumkanini, yawunikela umteto kunina u-Sutu yati woncedisisana no-Tshalisi (C. Brownlee) owaye yimantyi enkulu yama Xosa. Ijike yemka ingabonanga nto yamfazwe, yaya e-Kapa, yenza nengxelo yokuba, "Hayi lizole cwaka ngasema-Xoseni." Kute kungabanga ntsukuzatywala zafika izipekepeke zencwadi ezivela kumagwangqa asema-Xoseni zisiti kwi Ruluneli, "Ilizwe liyafa." Ibuye buputuputu i-Ruluneli ukuza e-Qonce, igqite yaya kutsho e-Xesi, yafika yabiza imbizo ka Xosa wonke, yade yanqonqotela ukumyaleza u-Sandile. Akabangako kanjalo u-Sandile, – saye isizwe sasi nyule u-Maqoma ukuba aze abe siteti. Ibizile i-Ruluneli ukuba "Upina?" Ute u-Maqoma, "U-Sandile woyika wena yise wake, akezanga."

as their spokesman. The Governor asked, "Where is he?" Maqoma replied, "Sandile is afraid of you, his father: he has not come."

The Governor: "What crime has my child committed that he is afraid of me."

Maqoma: "No, he's just afraid because you are his father."

Governor (heatedly): "Summon Sandile to attend."

Maqoma: "No, he is afraid and will not come, he's afraid of you!"

Governor (angrily): "Sit down and shut up, you drunkard, who are you talking to!"

Maqoma: "Huh! Could it be that you are the drunkard?"

Then in a fury the Governor set the nation ringing, proclaiming Sandile a wanted rebel.

An old Xhosa who was there (perhaps it was Taboyi) said: "Take care as you hunt for Sandile, he has his dogs, they bark, they bite." The old man proved true, because Colonel McKinnon's army, dispatched to bring him in, engaged him along the dark shady paths of the Keiskamma, flowing from Burnshill on to Keiskammahoek, and Sandile's dogs bit into him and ripped his guts out. More than 50 men died.<sup>31</sup> Fighting continued the following day, Christmas 1850, and overwhelmed Smith, as the reader has seen in the chapter treating this war.

Another point on which we can inform the reader of this little book is Sandile's fear, the fear of attending the Governor's assembly. During the War of the Axe, when the Xhosa armies were highly mobilised, a request came from the leaders of the soldiers, saying they wished to meet with Chief Sandile. Sandile indeed obliged unsuspecting, hoping that they would reach agreement through face to face discussion. Suddenly this minor leader, Colonel Bisset, arrested Sandile and made him a prisoner of war, and he and Anta were sent to Grahamstown.<sup>32</sup> To his dying day Sandile placed no trust in the white man, someone devoid of truth though he might be a chief, someone who should talk straight because he is a chief.

In another disruptive incident frequently discussed, Sandile confiscated government firearms belonging to policemen who were tracking 13 goats.

In this war more than 500 soldiers were killed by Maqoma's forces in the Waterkloof, not to mention damage to supply wagons, and so on.<sup>33</sup> He uttered

I-Ruluneli: "Wenze bubu bunina umntan'am lento andoyikayo?"

Maqoma: "Hayi, ukoyika kodwa kuba unguyise."

I-Ruluneli (Shushu): "Hayi, mbizeni u-Sandile abeko."

Maqoma: "Hayi, uyoyika akayikuza, uyakoyika!"

I-Ruluneli (Ngomsindo): "Hlal' uti tu, nxilandini, uteta nabani wena!"

Maqoma: "E! Wanga nguwen' unxilileyo?"

Ite ke i-Ruluneli leyo ebushushwini yahlokomisa esizweni ukuba u-Sandile ngumvukeli-mbuso ngoko izakuya kumfuna.

Ite ingwevu yom-Xosa eyayilapo, (koba ngabom ingenguye u-Taboyi): "Wakuhamba ngokulunka xa uya kufuna u-Sandile, unezinja zake, ziyakokota, ziyaluma." Ite kanti ingwevu leyo inyanisile, kuba umkosi ka Makinana (Col. McKinnon) owawundululwe ukuza naye, waqubisana naye kulontsunguzi ye-Xesi, ipuma e-Mkubiso, isinga kwa Qoboqobo, zamtya izinja zika Sandile zamcwisha waliswili. Kwafa amashumi angapezu kwamahlanu (50). Yati pihli ke imfazwe ngengomso, nge Kresimesi ka 1850, yamxaka u-Smiti, njengoko wobona umfundi kwisahluko esiteta ngalemfazwe.

Enye indawo esingati sinceda kuyo umfundi walencwadana, lolwa loyiko luka Sandile, lokoyika ukuya embizweni ye-Ruluneli. Kute ngalemfazwe ye-Zembe, xa imikhosi yama Xosa imi kakuhle, kwafika isicelo esivela kwinkosi zamajoni, zisiti zifuna ukuke zidibane nenkosi u-Sandile. Okunene uyile yena engalumkele luto, eba kuyakutetwana ngenilomo kuviwane. Suke inkosana leyo u-Beseti (Col. Bisset), yambamba u-Sandile yamenza umbanjwa wemfazwe, ekunye no Anta yekoko ukutunyelwa e-Rini. Yinto leyo ade wafa u-Sandile engamlibali umlungu, into engenanyaniso elixa ayinkosi, into ebifanele ukuteta ngokungoyiki kuba yinkosi.

Esinye isizatu sesengxwabagxwaba ebimana ukutetwa, awati u-Sandile watimba imipu kumapolisa ka Rulumente, awayese mkondweni webokwe ezilishumi linantatu (13).

Ngalemfazwe angapezulu kwama 500 amajoni abulewe yimikhosi ka Maqoma e-Mtontsi, kungasabalwa nto ngezonalalo zenqwelo nokutya njalonzalo. Waye ngomlomo eteta esiti, "Ndifuna ukuqondisa lonke ilizwe ukuba u-Maqoma akagezi kuba kaloku ngeye Zembe kwakutiw' u-Maqoma uyageza!"

the words "I want to show every nation that Maqoma is not mad, because during the War of the Axe Maqoma was said to be mad!"

#### THE CATTLE-KILLING

It must suffice to say that Maqoma became a firm believer in this disaster of 1857; he even persuaded people like Sandile to slaughter their cattle; and he yielded to Sarhili's voice.<sup>34</sup> After the disaster he was arrested and sent to Cape Town, together with other Believers. After ten years there he was released; on his return he wanted to live on his land, which had been partitioned into farms. He went on and on about this in vain until the Settlers became worried, saying that now Maqoma was back he would cause trouble. Once again he was arrested, and he was sent to Robben Island.<sup>35</sup>

#### HIS DESCENDANTS AND HIS DEATH

Maqoma left many children on his death, even though he never returned from the Island. His firstborn is a daughter, Tase, whom we swear by when we say "SoTase!"<sup>36</sup> After Tase comes Khona, his handsome son, who listens to him. A Gqwashe woman, the daughter of Ntlebi, gave birth to them; both died at Gqunqe, Khona in 1907 and Tase in 1910. Khona is in the Right Hand House of Ngcweleshe.<sup>37</sup> Maqoma was prevented by law from making Khona his heir instead of Namba, the son a Thembu woman. Other sons are Tini, Riliho (Ndesi), Guma (Mhlontlo), Bizi Ludwangu, Ngqabe Fokoxo; daughters are Mesei, Nomenteshe; there is a long list of sons and daughters.

In 1874 Xhosaland fasted, there were no ritual songs,<sup>38</sup> no initiations; merriment and its causes ceased, because word of a death came from the Island: "Maqoma is no longer with us." He was an old man of about 78.<sup>39</sup>

In the following year, 1875, his contemporary Mhala also died at Qangqalala, at the source of the Tanqa, at 80 years of age.

NGO NONGQAUSE

Makwanele xa siti u-Maqoma waba likolwa elikulu lesi siyikili ngo 1857; ude wenza nabanye abanje ngo Sandile ukuba baxhele; waye ke etambele ilizwi lika Sarili. Emva kwesiyikili eso ubanjiwe yena wasiwa e-Kapa, kunye namanye ama-Tamba. Emva kweminyaka eseshumini elapo ukululwe; uze kufika kweli wafuna ukuya kuma kwakulamhlaba wake sewabiwe wazifama. Usenze eso sijingijane ade oyika ama Satlani, esiti uzakuphela kwa imfazwe u-Maqoma efikile nje. Apindile ke ngoko ambamba, wasiwa kwasesi Qitini e-Robben Island.

INZALA NOKUFA KWAKE

U-Maqoma ufe ezele kakulu, nakuba engabanga sabuya e-Siqitini. Amazibulo ake yintombi, u-Tase lo sifunga ngayo xa siti: "So-Tase!" ukuze emva ko Tase lowo kuze u-Kona, – unyana wake omhle, omvayo. Aba bazalwa ngum-Gqwashekazi intombi ka Ntlebi; babubele e-Gqunqe bobabini, u-Kona ngo 1907, u-Tase ngo 1910. U-Kona ke ku Kunene kulo Ngcweleshe. Wanqandwa ngumTeto u-Maqoma efuna ukumenza i-Nkulu elixa akoyo u-Namba unyana wom-Tembukazi. Abanye ke ngo Tini, Riliho (Ndesi), Guma (Mhlontlo), Bizi Ludwangu, Nqabe Fokoxo; intombi ngu Mesis, Nomenteshe nolunye urozo lonyana nentombi.

Kute ngomnyaka we 1874, lazila elasema Xoseni, yema imiyeyezelo, akwaluswa; zema iziyolo nezisusa, kuba kufike umphanga, uvela apo e-Siqitini, othi: "U-Maqoma akaseko." Kwakuxa ayindoda enkulu ekwiminyaka ema 78.

Ngomnyaka olandelayo we 1875, kubúbé intanga yake u Mhala, wafela e Qangqalala emantloko e Tanqa, xa akwiminyaka ema 80 ubudala.

## The late Jonas Ntisko

“Lest as a poet my poetry stops,  
 lest I eat my fill and choke,  
 lest I sleep without waking  
 on the day I must go home.” – HADI

The above-mentioned gentleman is one of the sources of delight in this world, one of the men of vast intellect.<sup>1</sup> By birth he is a member of a family distinguished for lighting this land. The deceased is a man well educated by ministers of the Church of England; it is said he was sent overseas to Canterbury in England to be taught the discipline of Holy Scriptures.

On his return to this country he earned great renown as “Hadi,” a highly active correspondent of the newspaper *Imvo*, recognised as a peerless poet who is said to have won first prize one year in a poetry competition. For a time there was word of written papers (a manuscript) by him awaiting publication as a booklet if proper arrangements could be made – we know the writing is free of triviality and assure those with the means that if they release it they would foster the community considerably through Hadi’s deep intellect.<sup>2</sup>

We really laid into each other over the government of the Cape Colony; his opinion cut close to *Imvo*’s, though he differed from it on certain points and displayed his own attitude. He also had his own aim for the conduct of the Manyano movement, on which he broke ranks with his friend *Imvo*.

An item in *Imvo* on 22 October announced that this outstanding man was in bed with mild earache at Gungululu near Mthatha; but on 12 November the same paper announced the sad news that this fellow of the Bhele of Ntsiko had died on 3 November 1918, having been blind for some time.

When he made a point, a major discussion of his views ensued for some time.

In these few lines we try to place a white stone on his grave; we would place much more if we could:

## Umfi u Jonas Ntsiko

“Hleze ndibonge ndingabi sabonga,  
 Hleze ndozele nditabat’ umqonga,  
 Hleze ndilele ndingabi savuka,  
 Kanti lomini yeyokugoduka.” – HADI

Lo mnumzana ogama lingasentla apa lelinye lamayolisa alomhlaba, yenye yamadoda angqondo zipangaleleyo. Ngokuzalwa ungomnye wenzala (famili) ezibaluleyo kwelilizwe ngokulikanyisela. Umfi lo ngokwake yindoda eyafundiswa kakuhle ngabafundisi behlelo lase Tshetshi; kutiwa wade wawezwa wasingiswa kwelama Ngesi, e Canterbury, efundiselwa umgca wezi Bhalo Ezingcwele.

Akuba efikile kweli lizwe, udume kakulu ngegama lokuba ngu “Hadi,” engumbhaleli omnandi kunene wepepa le “Mvo,” wayimbalasane engenagxa yembongi, ekutiwa yade yake yafumana *ibhaso* lokuqala ngomnye umnyaka kugqatso lwezibongo olwalwenziwe. Kuke kwavakala mzuzu ukuba kuko amapepa atile abhaliweyo (manuscript) nguye, alungele ukushicilelwa abe yincwadana xa akoyo amalungelo okukwenza oko, – siyazi ukuba asiyiyo mfeketo ke leyo ibhaliweyo siyawaqinisekisa amadoda anezinto ukuba angati ete aseselela, awuncede kakulu umzi ngalongqondo ka Hadi inzulu.

Kvizinto zombuso wase Koloni yase Kapa sike sagxogana kunene; olwake uluvo lutene nca nolwe “Mvo,” nangani ebesahluka kuyo kweminye imicimbi, abone ngokukokwake ukubona; ute kananjalo kulo mbuso wo Manyano wanezake injongo mpela, kwaqauka kuhlangana nomhlobo lowo wake “Imvo.”

Inqaku elitile kwi “Mvo” yama 22 kweye Dwara (October) lishumayeke ukuba lompakati ulele ngandletyana nye, e Gungululu ngase Mtata; kanti kwaelopepa lomhla we 12 kuyo le ye Nkanga (November) liyakushumayela umpanga olusizi wokushiywa kwelilizwe ngulomfo wase Mabheleni ka Ntsiko, nge 3rd November 1918, emva kwetuba elitile ebengasaboni ngamehlo.

Ngumfo obesakuti akuvakala, kuke kuqutywe ituba elitile kuxoxwa ngalombono yake.

Ngalemidana silinga ukubeka ilitye elimhlope edlakeni lake, xa besinako sibe siya bubeka okukulu kunoko:



You set off and left us,  
went home to the Messiah!  
Hadi of the nation,  
source of joy in the nation!

You responded to your call,  
you accepted your crown,  
donned a white robe,  
received a white stone.

We too would not waver,  
we'd leave the world,  
sound the arrival song,  
humming on our wings.

Those are a poets' words,  
Hadi of the nation!  
They have raised you up  
above your heavenly fellows.

We hear the loud call  
you see with your eyes.  
We hear the buzzing  
you make in heaven.

You left as peace came  
after that war of ours.  
You left as we quelled  
an unfamiliar disease.

We said a wordsmith was called,  
Jonas the son of Ntsiko,  
called to give advice:  
everything's being settled.

Wanduluka wasishiya  
Way' ekaya ku Mesiya!  
Hadi waseluhlangeni  
Yolisa lase luhlangeni!

Ubizwe wasabela  
Isitsaba wasamkela;  
Wayambat' ingub' emhlope,  
Walinikw' i Ty' elimhlope.

Besingakundita nati  
Besakushiy' ihlabati;  
Sihlabel' ingom' omfiko  
Sesigwaba ngamapiko.

Elo kambe lelebongi  
Hadi waseluhlangeni!  
Zikunyusele pezulu  
Ezakowenu zezulu.

Siyaluv' upolokohlo  
Olubonayo ngamehlo.  
Siyayiva lonzwinini,  
Niyenzayo ezulwini.

Wemka xa lixoliswayo  
Kulemfazwe besinayo;  
Wemka xa sigilekayo  
Ngumkuhlan' ongaziwayo.

Sati libiziw' iciko  
U Jonas umfo ka Ntsiko;  
Libizelw' ukucebisa  
Izinto ziyalungiswa.

Unused to crying, we said,  
with eyes filled with tears,  
our hero's been taken from us,  
our poet's been taken from us.

The poet's poetry's stopped,  
he ate his fill and choked,  
he slept without waking,  
and in that way he went home.

So go on home, Hadi,  
leave these deep pits behind,  
then you will beat the *hadi*,  
in a world of genuine harps.<sup>3</sup>

Always think of this world  
in the joy of that world;  
recall what you left behind  
and inform the ancestors.

Go well, son of my father,  
on your way to the world to come!  
We'll join in praising our father –  
for the resurrection of the dead.

Satsho pofu sisalila  
Singasebobakulila,  
Sitatelw' igora letu  
Satatelw' imbongi yetu.

Ibong' ayabi sabonga,  
Yozele yatat' umqonga,  
Ilele ayab' ivuke;  
Kanti njal' igodukile.

Hamb' ugoduke ke Hadi,  
Uyishiye lemi hadi,  
Kokona wobet' ihadi,  
Kwelo linezona Hadi.

Uzulicing' elilizwe  
Kobo bumnandi belozwe;  
Ukumbul' omka kukuko  
Ubaxelele o Koko.

Hamba ndlela-ntle ka bawo!  
Uye kwelozwe lizayo.  
Sombonga kuny' u Sombawo, –  
Ngovuko lwabafileyo.

**The late Deena Rubusana**

*Now there was a disciple, who was full of good works and acts of charity.*

*Acts 9: 36*

As the notice announces in another column of the paper, Deena (Mrs W.B. Rubusana) left the present for the future world on 14 July 1920; at the time she was 58 years old, because she was born during Qilo's drought (1862). Because this lady was a mare who gallops with geldings we compiled a profitable notebook of snippets from her life which we believe will be of benefit to other ladies – and we are also deeply grateful to you, Editor, for finding space for these snippets in the community's paper.

Deena, otherwise known as Nomhaya, was born in Fort Beaufort, the daughter of Nzanzana, who had become headman of Ngede in Centane. This Nzanzana is the son of Mqhayi, the son of Sheshegu of the Zima clan.<sup>1</sup> Her mother is the daughter of Nonxuba of the Ntakwenda clan, a relative of Rheve, the headman of Lusizi in Centane. She was one of ten siblings, five girls and five boys. When Deena's father was at Lujilo, this young lady lived with his minister, Rev James Davidson, at Mbulu, where she was fully educated. When she was a teenager the minister took her overseas to his home country; there he sent her to the Dollar Academy in Scotland and her father Nzanzana paid her fees.

On returning from overseas she started teaching at Peulton in its days of renown, when the girls were under Ntangana's daughter (Miss Sturrock), whom Deena assisted on arrival, and they became close friends. That is where she caught the eye of the minister, Dr Rubusana; the wedding took place in 1883, with Rev Girdwood presiding, in Centane, for Nzanzana had crossed the Kei in the company of his chiefs when the Ngqika were driven across in 1878.

She lived with her husband in Peulton for some time, her husband being an assistant to Rev Birt and a teacher under him; but there was such an outcry after Rev Birt died in 1892 that they left for East London, which was still a small town with no Presbyterian congregation. In the midst of a rough community, they started to establish churches and schools, which flourished in their hands and bore fruits in tens and hundreds. She bore twelve children, though only five survive, four daughters and one son.

Mrs Rubusana was a famous lady, but she was little concerned with fame. This woman was diligent to such a degree that it brought on her death. Her

**Umfikazi u Deena Rubusana**

*Kwakuko mfundikazi utile, yena lowo wayezele yimisebenzi  
elungileyo nasisisa abenaso. Izenzo 9:36*

Njengoko isaziso sesixelile komnye umhlali welipepa, u Deena (Mrs. W.B. Rubusana), ulishiyile elipakade waya kwelo lizayo ngomhla we 14 ku July 1920; ubudala bake bekuxa akumashumi omahlanu anesibozo, (58), kuba wazalwa nge Langa lika Qilo (1862). Ekubeni kwenti lentokazi ibiyimazi epala nenkabi, senza amalungiselelo encwadana enamacapaza obom bayo, esicinga ukuba ayakuba luncedo nakwezi nye intokazi, – nawe Mhleli siya kubulela ngokukulu ngofumanela lamacapazana ingqoto apo epepeni lomzi.

U Deena ogama limbi lingu Nomhaya uzalelwe e Sinqenqeni (e Bofolo), ezalwa ngu Nzanzana obesele sisibonda kwa Ngedede kwa Centane, u Nzanzana lowo ngunyana ka Mqayi ka Sheshegu, um-Zima, – unina yintombi ka Nonxuba um-Ntakwenda, ozalana no Reve isibonda sase Lusizi kwa Centane. Balishumi kokwabo, sisihlanu sentombi nesihlanu samadodana. Ngexesha uyise ka Deena lo abese Lujilo, intombi le yahlala kwamfundisi wake u Devisini wase Mbulu (Rev. James Davidson), yati kanti apo ifunda lukulu. Kute xa iludla dlazana wawela nayo umfundisi wasinga kwelakowabo; apo ufike wayitumela kwisikolo ekutiwa yi Dollar Academy e Skotilani ihlaulelwa kwanguyise u Nzanzana.

Ekubuyeni pesheya ufike wangena wafundisa e Ncemera (Peelton) ngemihla yayo yodumo zisapetwe intombi yintokazi ka Ntangana (Miss Sturrock), awafika u Deena lowo wancedisa yona, bangamate nolwimi. Ubonwe elapo ngumfundisi lo ungu Dr. Rubusana; umtshato ube ngo 1883, betshatiswa ngu Rev. W. Girdwood kwa Centane, kuba u Nzanzana wawela i Nciba kunye nenkosi zake ekuwezweni kwama Ngqika ngo 1878.

Babe se Ncemera nomyeni wake ixesha elinobom, indoda ingumncedisi ka Baliti, netitshala pantsi kwake; kodwa kute ekufeni kuka Baliti ngo 1892 kwavela isipendu esatsho bafudukela e Monti, ise ngumzana olula, kungekabiko nto ili Bandla lase Rabe. Baqala ebunzimeni bomzi orabaxa, ukuseka ityalike nezikolo, ezade zacuma ezandleni zabo, zatwala iziqamo kamashumi namakulu. Ube nabantwana abalishumi linababini (12), nakuba abakoyo bebahlanu izintombi zone nonyana omnye.

Umka Rubusana ube yintokazi edumileyo pofu engakatalele ludumo; umfazi obekutele ngo hlobo olude lwalityala nesifo. Impilo yake, oko wati

health failed after her eldest daughter, Beauty, died,<sup>2</sup> though you would never hear her mention it, because as far as she was concerned good or bad health was one and the same, she never took a rest. She was a staunch supporter of progress; yet she did not discard the good customs of the Xhosa. She loathed superstition and anti-Christian customs.

Over and above all her talents she possessed one gift which amazed everyone – the gift of filling her home with people of all races, adults and numerous destitute and dying children, without knowing some of their fathers and mothers. From this practice she finally earned the new name “Mother of Passion.”

The illness that seized her gradually worsened over ten days but every day she reassured us that she felt better. The doctor suggested she go to hospital to be relieved of talking to concerned visitors, but even there the illness developed into a fever that seriously affected her lungs and throat and she died on Wednesday evening. Her funeral service was conducted by Rev P.W. Lowe of the Baptist Church on the text “Who are these, clothed in white robes?” *Revelations 7:14*, assisted by Rev W. Gqamlana of Port Elizabeth, Rev C. Lubisi of East London, Messrs F. Prince, an Afrikaans speaker, M. Pelem from Queenstown, Headman S. Mlonyeni and A. Maci of Peelton. All of them testified to the excellent example this lady set.

Letters and remembrances expressing sympathy and shock arrived in unprecedented quantity from all over southern Africa, from white and black people. No hall was big enough for all the countless mourners at the funeral. The cry of the destitute and handicapped<sup>3</sup> children who benefited from her daily mercies was too great to bear. And so I say Nzanzana’s daughter has left this world; Rev Gqamlana did well at the Presbyterian memorial service to stress those words of the Bible that say “My thoughts are not your thoughts.”

waswelekelwa yintombi yake enkulu u Beauty, ayizange ibe sema ndaweninye, nakuba lonto ubungeze uyive ngaye, kuba yena ukupila nokungapili bekuyinto enye, engakwazi ukulala pantsi. Ube ngumkutazi omkulu we Nqubela pambili; pofu engashiyanga nto kumasiko amahle esi Xosa; ezitiyile inkolonkolo kwa nama sikosiko acasene nobu Krestu.

Pezu kwazo zonke izinto abe nesipo sazo kubeko ISIPO sake esibe simangalisa bonke abantu, – eso sipo sesokuzalisa umzi wake ngentlanga ngentlanga zabantu, abakulu nehuwa yaba ntwanana abahlelelekileyo, naba fayoyi, engabazi inxenye noyise nonina. Ude ngenxa yesisenzo wazuza igama elitsha lokuba ngu “Nobuta.”

Kunge kumayana ukufika komkuhlane omtate intsuku ezilishumi njengezolo nezolo elinye, pofu watsho ngesiqodolo esibonisa ukuba namhlanje kokunye; igqira libone ukuba makaye e Hospitileni apo angayi kutetiswa ngabalunguzi, hayi nalapo wanyanisa umkuhlane oyi fiva ede yafika emipungeni nasemqaleni, wasweleka ngolwesi Tatu ngokuhlwa. Inkonzo yomncwabo iqutywe ngu Rev. P.W. Lowe wase Babatizi, otete kumazwi ati “Ngobanina abaya, bambete ezimhlope” Isityilo 7:14, uncediswe ngu Rev. W. Gqamlana wase Bayi no Rev. C. Lubisi wase Monti, no Messrs F. Prince wesi Bulu, M. Pelem wakwa Komani, Sibonda J. Mlonyeni no A. Maci base Ncemera. Bonke bevumelana ngomzekelo ebinguwo lentokazi.

Incwadi nengcingo zabakuzi nabotuki azibanga nganganto zivela kwi Afrika yonke ese zantsi, kwabamhlope kwanje ngabamnyama. Abantu emncwabeni ababanga nandlu inokubalingana, laye inani labo lingenakubalwa. Isikalo sembedlunge nentangantwa abezenzela isisa semihla ngemihla asibanga nako ukunyamezeleka. Ukutsho nditi, ilishiyile ilizwe intombi ka Nzanzana; ude watyapa u Rev. Gqamlana kwinkonzo yesi kumbuzo e Rabe ukubetelela amazwi esi Bhalo ati, “Ingcinga zam asizizo ingcinga zenu.”



**The late J.T. Jabavu**

*Comfort, comfort my people.*

Anyone trying to construct the life history of the deceased would have to include the ups and downs and the many difficult patches – yes, one would be struggling to construct the history of the progress of the entire country of the Xhosa. It would be good to do that when the time is right, because many affairs of our nation were hung on this fellow who has just died – and so his story needs to be constructed and constructed thoroughly.<sup>1</sup>

Since the highlights of his life have been referred to in newspaper reports, I will not say much, I will just touch on the key points, and say that this fellow leaves this world a very happy man, because he leaves seeing the fruition of all the things that preoccupied him in the years before his death: (1) The education of his son in London contributed to his burden.<sup>2</sup> He started relaxing the day his son returned at the completion of his course – and this young man brought him great solace and comforted him. (2) He witnessed the success of the College at Fort Hare and the progress of the nation's education in it.<sup>3</sup> (3) In his mercy the Lord gave him the strength to relax from newspaper work, the success of which he had been deeply engaged in promoting for the benefit of the nation, and He made his soul content.

Of his 62 years of life, this man spent 42 trying years on the nation's work without a break – and that took some years off his life. He died not long after his father Ntwanambi, who passed on in 1919.

Before I stop let me confess to three little matters concerning him that trouble my conscience:

- a. His careful assessment of me to secure my involvement in the nation's paper to little avail.
- b. This July, the way he sang the hymn "Holy Ghost come upon us" on the day we welcomed Rev C. Mji drew a comment from me to someone who, it turned out, had noticed the same thing as myself.
- c. The speech in which he addressed Mr and Mrs Alexander of the Quaker community this August, concluding with a report on the work of the mixed school, mentioning the orphans who studied in it but could not be helped to succeed.

*Tutuzelani, tutuzelani abantu bam.*

Ukuba ubani ulinga ukwenza imbali engobom bomfi lo, anga twala amahla-ndinyuka nama silantsi amaninzi, – ewe, angaba uzama ukwenza ibali lokuqubela pambili kwelizwe lasema Xoseni lipela. Indawo leyo ilungile nge xesha layo, kuba lomfo uwileyo namhlanje bekuxonywe izinto ezininzi kuye zesizwe setu – ngoko ibali lake liyakumelwa kukwenziwa, licokiswe nokwenziwa kwalo.

Ekokubeni amantloko ezizinto selevakele ezingxelweni zamapepa, andisayi kuba saya apo, sendiya kubeta nam emantloko ezinto, ndisiti lomfo umka kakuhle kakulu emhlabeni kuba umke ezibona ukulunga kwazo zonke izinto ezibe zisengqondweni yake kuleminyaka ingekude idluleyo: (1) Imfundo yonyana wake e-London ibimpakamise izibilini, zvakala ukuti gulukungxu kwazo mini wabuya ezezile – yaze yabuye yamhlalisa kamnandi indodana leyo, yamtutuzela. (2) Ukubonile ukupumelela kwe Koleji, e Fort Hare, nehambiso yemfundo yesizwe kuyo. (3) Inkosi ebubeleni bayo, impile amandla okuwuyekela kuye umsebenzi wepepa, abezambalaza ebunzimeni ukuwupumeza upumelele esizweni, wabonakala ewuxolisa umpefumlo wake.

Ebomini bayo obuminyaka ima 62 lendoda, ama 42 iwagqibele emsebenzini wesizwe, nzima, nangojokojoko ongazange aqauke ndawo, – yabucata lonto ubomi bayo, yafa ngokulandelelanayo noyise u Ntwanambi, obube yena ngowe 1919.

Pambi kokuba ndiyeke mandi vunyelwe ndikankanye indawana ezincinci zibe ntatu, ezandikataza umpefumlo malunga naye:

- a. Ukundincina kwake ukuba ndibe sepepeni lomzi, nenteto zake kuyo lento, kanti koku.
- b. Ngo July lo, indlela awayi hlabela wayivuma ngayo ingoma eti: “Moya Oyingcwele yiza pezu kwetu,” mhla kwamkelwa u Rev. C Mji, ndade ndateta nomnye ngalonto, wati kanti nalawo wabanekelwa kwanje ngam njalo.
- c. Inteto awayenza ku Mr. no Mrs. Alexander be Bandla le Quakers ngo August lo, waye ebika umsebenzi wesikolo se ntlanganisela awupeteyo, exela inkedama ezifunda kuso, zize zingabi nandlela yakugqitiswa.

On 10 September this fellow from the Jili clan of Sibakhulu's place crossed the mountains of Hermon, beyond reach of the weapons we had constantly aimed at him. After singing the nation's hymn "Fulfil thy promise, God, Lord of truth"<sup>4</sup> he surrendered his soul and performed God's ultimate service. And so I conclude with these words:

Console the people of my Lord –  
 console and comfort them.  
 Speak a sweet word to the Xhosa,  
 say the Masengwa man's at rest,  
 say today Sibakhulu's got out of your way,  
 he purposely summoned a poet for you  
 and said, "Take this! A letter reached me:  
 'The commando's horse was lost;  
 let there be peace in the land, it's been found.'"  
 Just as you crossed, Jili fellow –  
 sun that rose from an elephant's ear  
 and set in the ear of a lion,  
 King Williams Town croc that keeps calling,  
 I like his calling to train diviners,  
 today the country's full of diviners,  
 experts who trained in the river:<sup>5</sup>  
 peace, awaiting the parish's search of a soul,  
 peace to you, steward of many districts,  
 peace, my good fellow, son of Jabavu –  
 I say just as you mounted the ridge,  
 the ridge of the Jordan beyond Mount Hermon,  
 the Xhosa could clearly be seen as orphans,  
 I saw the downcast writhing:  
 your deeds began to glisten, Jili –  
 your compliance with the state took on a gleam,  
 your delight in the church gleamed,  
 your love of learning gleamed,  
 your grip on the heat gleamed,  
 your superior mind gleamed,  
 your mind superior to rabble,

Kwalile ngomhla we 10 ku September (eyom Sintsi) yaqabela into yakwa Jili, yakwa Sibakulu, ngapaya kwezo Ntaba ze Herimone, yatsho ngapaya kwe zikhali zetu esibe sisoloko sizisingise kuyo, emva kokuvuma ingoma yesizwe eti: "Lizalis' idinga lako, Tixo nkosi yenyano," yawunikela umpefumlo yenza inkonzo ka Tixo yokugqibela, – kungako oko endigqiba ngeliti:

Bakuzen' abantu be Nkosi yam, –  
Bakuzeni nibatutuzele.  
Tetan' izw' elimnandi kuma Xosa  
Nit' owakwa Masengwa use kupumleni,  
Nit' u Sibakulu namhl' unikwelele  
Wenze ngabom wanibizel' imbongi  
Wati "bamb' apa ndifikelwe yincwadi!  
"Hashi lenkumanda lilahlekile"  
"Malixol' ilizwe libonakele"  
Kwalile x' uyakuqabela mfo wakwa Jili, –  
Langa lapuma ndlebe yandlovu  
Laya latshona ndlebeni yangonyama;  
Ngweny' ebizayo yase Qonce  
Ndiyitanda ngokubizel' ukutwasisa  
Namhl' ilizwe lizele ngamagqira  
Incutshe zent' ezatwas' emlanjeni  
Taru Golozel' irament' ebuz' umpefumlo  
Taru Gosa weziqingata ngeziqingata  
Taru mfo ka Jabavu mfondini, –  
Nditi kwalile x' uyakuti tya kulonkalo,  
Kulonkalo ye Yoredane pesha kwe Hermone  
Baqala bavel' ubunkedama bama Xosa  
Ndazibon' izishwayimban' ezizibijayo:  
Zaqala zaqaqamba izenzo zako Jili –  
Baqala baqaqamb' ubuntobela-mbuso  
Yaqaqamb' inkolelo e Tyalikeni  
Kwaqaqamb' ukutanda kwak' imfundo  
Kwaqaqamb' ukubambelel' apo kutshisayo  
Kwaqaqamb' ukupakama kwengqondo  
Ukupakama kwengqondo pezu kobuvuvu,

the spots we stressed turned white,  
which we stressed as moral failings.  
Who can we fault today?  
Who can we smear spots of mud on?  
Console the people of my Lord!  
Console and comfort them.  
Son of my father, go, though we say so!  
You will not die, you'll keep speaking –  
your reports are written in books,  
written in IMVO ZABANTSUNDU'S lines.  
Your reports are written in books –  
written in the minds of those who've been born.  
Your reports are written in books –  
written in the hearts of those who die.  
Your reports are written in books –  
written in the minds of your nation.  
Go and rest when your Lord so commands –  
we who remain will interpret our dreams of you.  
Go to your rest when you're called –  
I won't be surprised when I'm called.  
Since you have been called we have hope –  
today those in the Highest  
will be told of conditions on earth.  
Don't forget the Jili family,  
don't forget Joninga's daughter.<sup>6</sup>  
Don't forget the Xhosa community!!!  
That's it!!<sup>7</sup>

Aguquk' amhlop' amabal' ebesiwalata-lenye  
Siwalata-lenye sisit' anezisihla.  
Azi namhla siyakutuka banina?  
Siyakuzisulela kubanin' izisihla zodaka?  
Bakhuzen' abantu be nkosi yam!  
Bakhuzeni nibatutuzele.  
Hamba nto ka bawo wena noko sitshoyo!  
Akuyikuba safa sewohlal' uteta –  
Ingxelo zako zibaliw' ezincwadini,  
Zibaliwe kwimiqolo ye "MVO ZABANTSUNDU."  
Ingxelo zako zibaliw' ezincwadini, –  
Zibaliw' ezingqondweni zabavelayo.  
Ingxelo zako zibaliw' ezincwadini, –  
Zibaliwe kwintliziyo zabatshonayo.  
Ingxelo zako zibaliw' ezincwadini, –  
Zibalw' ezingqondweni zohlanga lwako.  
Hamb' uye kupumla x' i Nkosi ak' itshoyo –  
Sosala sikutonga sikulaula.  
Hamb' uy' ekupumleni wakubizwa –  
Nam ndibiziwe bendingayi kumangala.  
Kubizwe wena nje ke sitembile –  
Namhl' abase Nyangwaneni bayakuxelelwa  
Isimo ekusiso pezu komhlaba.  
Uz' ungayilibal' intsapo yakwa Jili,  
Uz' ungayilibal' intombi ka Joninga.  
Uz' ungawulibal' umzi wama Xosa!!!  
Ncincilili!!

PREFACE

Royal village!

"We greet you - we thank you" for handing us a stick<sup>1</sup> and maintaining your support. We hobble along heedless of troubles.

Today we will compose a little line or two about Kondile the son of Mbodla:<sup>2</sup>

Whose fashe<sup>3</sup> is patchy,  
the old patched with new,  
patchy with lumpsh on his brow.  
He's puzzled monkeys  
saying "Xhosha,  
why conshume the gum we thrive on?"

There you have the little lines.

Your servant yesterday as in the past,  
S.E. Krune Mqhayi

Macleantown,  
Cape Province.  
September 1921.

His Royal Highness,

NATHANIEL CYRIL MHALA.

*Today a spokesman has fallen in Israel.*

Kondile Mhala, called SoGqumahashe by the royal women,<sup>4</sup> departed this world on Wednesday 14 January 1920, in King Williams Town, the former Ntinde cattle kraal, an old school founded by Rev J. Brownlee in 1825. This chief was buried at his Gaxa home of Mncotsho on Saturday the 17th; officiants at the service were the son of Kota, Rev John Ross, other chiefs as well as

INTSHAYELELO

Mzi Wa-Komkulu!

“Siyabulisa – Sibulela” ngokusinika “umnqayi” nize niwulandele.  
Siyangcambaza ke kambe ebunzimeni.

Namhla senza amacapazana angewakoni ngo mtaka “Mbodla” u-Kondile:

Ubusho buhlonyelwe  
Kuhlonyelw’ obudala kobutsha,  
Bahlonyelwa malung’ egongomeni,  
Unkawu zimangele,  
Ziti ma-Xosha,  
Niyidlela nin’ intlaka shipila yiyo nje?

Nango kambe lomacapazana:

Owenu Umkonzi izolo nezolo,  
S.E. Rune Mqayi.

Macleantown,

C.P.

September, 1921.

U-Mhlekezazi,

U-NATHANIEL CYRIL UMHALLA.

*Namhlanje kuwe umteteli kwa Sirayeli.*

U-Kondile Mhala, obehlonitshwa ngamakosikazi ngegama lokuba ngu So-Gqumahashe, ulishiye eli lizwe ngolwesi-Tatu ngomhla we 14 kweyo Mqungu inyanga (14th January, 1920,) e-Qonce, kwi Gquba lama Ntinde, elisisikolo esidala, esasekwa ngu Bhuluneli (Rev. J. Brownlee) ngomnyaka we 1825. Inkosi leyo incwatyelwe kowayo e-Mncotsho, kulo Gaxa, ngom-Gqibelo we 17; inkonzo ihanjiswe yinto ka Kota, Rev. John Ross, elinye iTshawe no



Rev J.D.M. Nyangi. Let's smoothe the grass round about, and retrace our steps a little.

FRONDS

A number of councillors passed on in the same period as this chief's departure – we know of course from long experience that at a certain point in a royal personage's life a bed is prepared for him with fronds beneath and more to cover him; this is appropriate to great men. In the period I refer to the following councillors passed on: Jika Hili of Centane; Alexander Dukwana (Madyongolo<sup>5</sup>) of Centane; William N. Seti of the Pirie river near King Williams Town; Hantom Hewu of King Williams Town; and Sali Kebe of Qumrha; and in addition to these councillors, on Wednesday 7 January at Theko in the Centane area, the senior chief of the Gwelane, Velaphi (Mdukiswa) the son of Bobozayo, son of Anta, son of Ngqika. Among the covering fronds we shall mention Noxoko son of Radu of Mncotsho, and Ziwani grandson of Mqhayi of Grahamstown.<sup>6</sup>

Before I leave these gentlemen, I want to single out one or two and say a word about them. I shall say nothing about Velaphi, because he is a senior chief in his own right, with fronds of his own – this chief had recently returned home after a tour of the Cape, the Free State and the Transvaal, which turned out to be his final visit to his people. Anta is Ngqika's son; but subsequently he was taken and made Ngqika's brother in place of Ntimbo, who died childless, hence the Gwelane's deep respect for us.<sup>7</sup>

I have this to say about Alec son of Dukwana: Dukwana is the Right Hand son of Ntsikana of the Cirha clan, and Nomanto is his mother. On his death-bed Ntsikana said: "Dukwana, you are my staff." This Dukwana became one of King Sandile's fronds in the Hoho forests, because he left the headship of the school at Mgwali and entered the forests in the company of his close relatives Nyosi, Sturman Andries Ngcenge and his sons.<sup>8</sup> Alec, the father of Dini, fled the forests and took refuge among the Thembu, where he changed his name to Madyongolo, travelling by torchlight with a government price on his head. He was there for the war with the Qwathi in 1880: the Thembu appointed him commander of their forces – indeed, he gave Nonzinyana (Baron von Linsingen) a hard time.<sup>9</sup> On his return home he became headman at Lusizi and at his death he was a leading servant labouring in the Methodist denomination of the Lord's vineyard. And so I maintain that, like his father, he deserved to be one of the chief's fronds.

Rev. J.D.M. Nyangi. Masike sibeke incá ke noko kulendawo, sike sibuye umva kancinane.

#### AMAHLAMVU

Kwezintsuku zokunduluka kwenkosi le kumke amapakati amaninzi, – siyazi kade ke tina ukuba kukuhlala ko Mntan'omhle ukwandlalelwa, abe namahlamvu ngapantsi kwake, aze ade abuye aselelwe, abe namahlamvu ngapezulu; ngoko amadoda amakulu makalunge. Kwezontsuku ndizitetayo kumke lamapakati alandelayo: – Jika Hili kwa Centane; Alexander Dukwana (u-Madyongolo) kwa Centane; Wm. N. Seti, e-Mgqwakwebe, e-Qonce; Hantom Hewu, e-Qonce; no Sali Kebe, e-Qumra; kunye nalamapakati, ngolwesi-Tatu, lwe 7 ku January, kuwe inkosi enkulu yama Gwelane, e-Teko, kwa Centane, u-Velapi (Mdukiswa) umfo ka Bobozayo, ka Anta Ngqika. Kumahlamvu angapezulu siyakukankanya u-Noxoko Radu e-Mncotsho, no Ziwani Mqayi e-Rini.

Pambi kokuba ndigqite kulamanene, ndinga ndingake nditate mabini-matatu ndenze izwi ngawo. Anditeti nto ngo VELAPI, kuba uyinkosi enkulu ngokwake, unawake amahlamvu, – lenkosi ibifika ekaya ivela emjikelweni, e-Koloni napesheya kwe Gqili ne Ligwa, kanti koku umtan'enkosi ahamba egqibelisa abantu bakokwabo. U-Anta lo ngunyana ka Ngqika; kodwa watat-yatwa bumini, wenziwa umninawa ka Ngqika endaweni ka Ntimbo owafa engazalanga, ngoko imbeko yama Gwelane kuti ayinganganto.

Ngo ALEKI DUKWANA ndineli lizwi: U-Dukwana ngunyana ka Ntsikana wase Kunene um-Cira, unina ngu Nomanto, ekufeni kwake u-Ntsikana ute "Wena Dukwana, ungumsimelelo wam." U-Dukwana lowo waba ngamahlamvu okumkani u-Sandile emahlatini kwa Hoho, kuba washiya ububonda esikolweni, e-Mgwali, waya kwela emahlatini, enabazalwana bake o-Nyosi, Sturman Andries Ngcenge, kwa-nonyana bake. U-Aleki uyise ka-Dini upume emahlatini wazimelela kwelaba Tembu, ukuze aziguqule igama abe ngu "Madyongolo," wahamba ngezita enxabiso lika Rulumente entloko yake. Ute elapo lafa kuma Qwati ngowe 1880, aba-Tembu bamenze u-Mongameli wemikosi yabo, – okunene kwaba nzima ko Nonzinyana (Baron Von Linsingen.) Uke wasisibonda e-Lusizi akuba ebuyile, ufa engumkonzi opambili nosebenzileyo esidiliyeni se Nkosi kwihlelo lase Wesile. Ngoko nditi naye, nje ngoyise, ubefanelwe kukuba ngamahlamvu enkosi.

Ngo WILLIAM SETI, ndineli lizwi: Ubekufanele ukuba ngamahlamvu enkosi, afuze kwa kowabo, kuba incwaba lo kumkani u-Ngqika e-Mkubiso,

I have this to say about William son of Seti: He was a worthy frond for the chief, as were members of his family, because King Ngqika's grave at Burnshill, near Middledrift, is tended by these very people, the Nywaba household – custom dogs a man. Second, his record in the service of nation and government (I leave aside his initial minor positions) in the King Williams Town office is a narrative of discipline, and a frond of this royal personage must be entirely flawless. Third, he was a major supporter of the college at Alice.<sup>10</sup> Fourth, Chief Mothameli<sup>11</sup> spoke over the body of this councillor, who died on 9 January, telling the people that his body was journeying with him, that they were not looking at him, that what they saw was merely his outline; on his release from captivity after Ngcayechibi he came to receive an armring as a gift from this son of Sobikazi. Here I want to close by saying:

Awu!

Yes, today we are not ourselves;  
 it's up to you, Ngqameko son of Sobikazi,  
 to those whose fathers worked for them,  
 to those with spotless lives,  
 to those who served a generation,  
 short on words but long on deeds.  
 Peace, Gatyeni,  
 Peace, Ndongela.  
 Hail, Wodamba!!!

To speak about Ziwani Mqhayi, I shall turn to the sad lines I composed for the newspaper *Imvo*. He is also worthy to be a chief's frond, because Mqhayi himself was an upper frond, that is to say a man of the top rank.

THE LATE ZIWANI KRUNE MQHAYI

*Buy the truth but don't sell it again.*

As the notice announces, my honoured chief, my father, Ziwani, son of Krune, son of Mqhayi, son of Sheshegu, abandoned the flux of time at his house in Grahamstown on Wednesday 11 February 1920, and passed on to the future life at the age of 90:

e-Xesi, ligcinwe kowabo kanye, ema-Nywabeni, – isitete asinto ukumzinga umntu. Okwesibini, inkonzo yake akonzele ngayo isizwe kwa Rulumente (ndizishiya indawana aqale kuzo,) e-ofisini e-Qonce, ibe yesulungeke imbali, libe ihlamvu lo mtan' omhle lifanelwe kukuba lingabi nasipako. Okwesitatu, ikoleji esinayo e-Dikeni, lo ulelinye lamasoko ayo. Okwesine, inkosi u-Motameli itetile pezu komzimba walompakati, osweleke ngomhla we 9 ku January, ite ebantwini seyiza kuhle ilandele nayo, abasaboni yona, seyilupahla nje lento basayibonayo; yaye ekupumeni kwayo, ebubanjweni ngo Ncayecibi, yeza yafumana isacolo (ilizo) kulomfo ka Sobikazi. Apa ke ndinga ndingavala ngeliti:

Awu!

Ewe namhl' akungangati;

Kungangawe Nqhameko ka Sobikazi;

Kungangent' ezisetyenzelwe ngoyise;

Kungangent' ezibom bunyulu;

Kungangent' ezisikonziley' isizukulu;

Ezimfupi ngamazwi ezinde ngezenzo.

Taru Gatyeni, –

Taru Ndondela.

A! Wodamba!!!

Ngo ZIWANI MQAYI, ndiyakubeka imida endak ndayenza kwipepa le “Mvo.” Naye ukufanele ukuba lihlamvu lenkosi, kuba u-Mqayi ngokwake waba lihlamvu lokwaleka, oko kukuti elingapezulu.

UMFI U-ZIWANI RUNE MQAYI

*Tenga Inyaniso Ungatengisi Ngayo.*

Njengoko isaziso sesitshilo, i-Nkosi yam ebekekileyo, ubawo, u-Ziwani, unyana ka Rune ka Mqayi ka Sheshegu, ulishiyile elipakade emzini wake e-Rini (Grahamstown) ngolwesi Tatu lwe 11 ku Feb., 1920, waya kwelo lizayo, xa akuma shumi ositoba eminyaka ubudala:

Dusky Boer,  
Humpback,  
Coughing flea.<sup>12</sup>

His daughter Legina, who was Mrs Bloom Anta Ngqika, followed him shortly after, on 11 March 1920, at Theko, near Centane.<sup>13</sup>

#### ORIGINS

These people are Thembu, from the Thembu of Bhomoyi's home, Zima clan members from the homes of Cedume, of Njanya, of Zikonkwane, of Ntongakazi, who came to this land in the company of princesses; their status as chiefs declined when the Xesibe (Kuma) arrived among the Thembu; their chiefly status was dissipated in just the same way as Cirha's was when the Ngwevu (Rudulu) arrived. The first Zima warrior to arrive in this land of Phalo was Sheshegu the son of Ntshezi, who came to settle in that area we now call Alice, which is why we still know that settlement as Sheshegu's place. That land fell in Dange territory, so Sheshegu was now a Dange when he came to this country. In time he gave birth to Mqhayi, a towering seven-foot giant, who sang at a wedding at Bhalurha and outclassed Ngqika's hand-picked singers and even Ngqika himself on the day the Dange proclaimed Sheshegu's son,

He taunts the wild beast,  
the mouthpiece and the trumpet,  
the rope and the milkpail,<sup>14</sup>  
brindled ox from Jadu.

On that very day Ngqika laid claim to Mqhayi and appointed him to his council, and gave the Dange a herd of cattle as compensation. This Mqhayi fell at Jadu down in the Mankazana during Hintsas's War (1834), and became a frond of King Hintsas. It is said he led a one-man raid on the white army and died with his military loincloth ripped apart by bullets. He left his eldest son Krune, whose mother was a Nkabane woman, and in the Right Hand House Nzanzana and Peku, whose mother was a Ngqosini woman, the daughter of Pono. Krune soon accepted the Word on the arrival of Maqoma's missionary Kondile (Rev H. Calderwood), who came with Baliti (Rev R. Birt), both of them chosen for their fine qualities by Chief Jan Tshatshu at a college

Ibúl' elimdaka  
U-Sitwala nqébesha  
U-Ntakumb' enokóhlokóhlo.

Intombi yake u-Legina, obengu Mrs. Bloom Anta Ngqika, imlandele kwa kam-sinyane nge 11 ku March, 1920, e-Teko kwa Centane.

IMVELAPI

Aba bantu ngaba Tembu, eba-Tenjini apo kwa Bómoyi ngama-Zima akwa Cedume kwa Njanya, kwa Zikonkwane kwa Ntongakazi beza kwelilizwe ngokukápa amakosazana; behla ebukosini kukufika kwama Xesibe (Kuma) eba-Tenjini; bacitwa kanye ngokwalandlela yokucitwa kuka Cira ebukosini, ukufika kwama Ngwevu (Rudulu.) Injuze yama Zima eyaqalayo ukufika kwelilizwe lika Palo ngu Sheshegu into ka Ntshezi, eyafika yema kweso sipaluka siti ngoku li Dike, kukuze londawo wayemi kuyo seyisaziwa ngokuba kuse Sheshegu. Elozwe ke oko lalilelemi Dange, wangum-Dange ke ngoko naye akuba kwelilizwe. U-Sheshegu lowo ke uzele u-Mqayi, ingxwenga ende enyawo zisixenxe, (7) ubude eyati ngoku vuma umdudo e-Balura, yazihlazisa pantsi imvumi eziketiweyo zika Ngqika kunye no Ngqika ngokwake, lomhla imi-Dange yakala ngento ka Sheshegu,

U-Gxwal' inyamakazi  
U-Ngcaped nesigodlo  
Umtya netunga  
U-Bad' elidawuwa lase-Jadu.

Ute ke u-Ngqika ngayo lomini waselemtimba u-Mqayi lowo emngenisa epakatini lake, wayixolisa imi-Dange leyo ngeqela lenkomo. U-Mqayi lowo wafela kwase Jadu apo ngakwa Mankazana, ngemfazwe ka Hintsa (1834) yena waba ngamahlamvu o-Mhlekezazi u-Hintsa. Kutiwa waye timbisa eyedwa kwimpi yomlungu, wafa isidabane sesilidlavu zimbumbulu. Ushiye unyana wake omkulu u-Rune ngom Nkabanekazi, ukunene ingu Nzanzana no Peku ngom Nqosinikazi, intombika Pono. U-Rune uhle wamkela Ilizwi lwasekufikeni, komfundisi ka Maqoma u-Kondile Rev. H. Calderwood oweza kunye no Baliti Rev. R. Birt becishwa ngu-Chief Jan Tshatshu e-Kolijini pesheya ngobuhle. Ude wafa u-Rune lowo, ngo 1895 xa akuma 96, wafa engum-Kokeli we Bandle,

overseas.<sup>15</sup> This Krune, until his death at the age of 96 in 1895, was a leading member of the congregation under Rev E. Makiwane at Macfarlan in the Tyhume valley.<sup>16</sup> Krune died leaving Ziwani, the child of Namse the daughter of Hogu, a Sukwini woman. He was born in 1830 on that land now belonging to Brown at Hala. He was the first community teacher Ngcongolo (J. Read) appointed to the school at Auckland. His students Chief Mnyaka Makalima and Mrs Mbeyiya still remember him fondly. After that he became foreman of the workers on the Grahamstown road during the construction of the bridges over the Koonap and Fish rivers. Then he settled in Grahamstown where he served as an elder in the Congregational Church (Rhabe) under Rev S. Helm. The only war he fought in was Mlanjeni's.

He could read, write and speak English, Afrikaans and Sotho as well as Xhosa, and he could still see without glasses. In singing he could still keep young men out of the choir. He was no orator, because he was extremely quiet; but one could hold absolutely onto what he said, even in a story. As an elder his preaching texts were few, but he kept returning to the saying "Buy the truth but don't sell it again." His mind was still keen, though his legs clearly revealed that time had taken its toll. The start of the year brought constant reports of his infirmity, an unusual thing. His wife was Bedle's daughter, related to Tyala<sup>17</sup> the son of Nteyi of the Dala clan.

Doctors were summoned, and they made great efforts. Foremost among them was Dr R.T. Harrison MD, who diagnosed old age and specific colds that had assailed him. He was buried on his land which in the days preceding his death he kept clearing and tidying with a spade. Grahamstown emptied its houses and congregations and sent its ministers to accompany its father. The funeral service was led by his relative Mr Jan Kohl. Revs J. Masiza (Wesleyan), Victor Mayaba (Anglican) and S. Susela (Order of Ethiopia) were there with their congregations, and right up to the service of consolation for the family Rev J. Masiza remained a great help. At the services of consolation for the Congregational community, Mr Jan Kohl and Mr Jacobs were the speakers.

We are deeply grateful to all those who offered us sympathy under this cloud. May he rest in peace and look down on us from the heights.

pantsi ko-Rev. E. Makiwane e-Macfarlan, e-Tyume. Ufe u-Rune lowo eshiya u-Ziwani lo, ozalwa nguNamse intombi ka Hogu, um-Sukwinikazi. Uzalelwe kulomhlaba ungoka Brown ngoku e-Hala ngo 1830. Ube ngumfundisi went-sapo wokuqala ukusekwa kweso sikolo sase Auckland ngu Ngcongolo (J. Read.) Abafundi bake o-Chief Mnyaka Makalima no Mrs. Mbeyiya basamazi kakuhle. Emva koko ube ngumongameli wabembi bendlela ezisinga e-Rini, ukwenziwa kwezo buloro ze Kobonqaba ne Nxuba. Ude waba ngummi wase Rini, engum Kokeli we Bandla lase Dipende (Rabe,) pantsi ko Rev. S. Helm. Imfazwe ayilwileyo yeka Mlanjeni yodwa.

Inteto yesi Ngesi, yesi Bulu, yesi Sutu kwanesi Xosa ubezazi ukuzifunda ukuzibhala nokuziteta, amehlo ake ebesabona nangapandle kwentsimbi. Ngengoma ubesaxina kunye namadodana e-kwayareni. Ubengesiso siteti kuba ubezole ngokugqitileyo; kodwa into ayitetileyo, nokuba ise balini ubungayibamba ungoyiki. Njengendoda enkulu itekisi zake zokushumayela bezingaseninzi, ubeselekala izolo nomhla ngendawo eti: "Tenga inyaniso ungatengisi ngayo." Ingqondo ibise yonke, noko imilenze yahle yabonisa yona ukuba kumzuzu iko. Kute ekungeneni komnyaka lo wabikwa futi ukungapili, into leyo abengenayo.

Inkosikazi yake yayiyi ntombi ka Bedle, ongumzalwana no Tyala Nteyi, ama Dala.

Amagqira afuniwe, azama. Kodwa elipambili ngu Dr. R.T. Harrison, M.D., ohlabe ubudala nengqele ati zamngena. Uncwatywe kumhlaba wake ate kwez-intsuku zikufupi ekumkeni, wamana ukuwutshwenta ngomhlakulo ewulungisa. Lipume ngendlu i-Rini nama Bandla alo nabafundisi bawo ukuza kupeleka uyise walo. Likokelwe incwaba ngumzalwana wake u-Mr. Jan Kohl. O Revs. J. Masiza (Wesile,) Victor Mayaba, (Tshatshi,) no S. Susela (Tiyopiya,) babeko kunye nama Bandla abo, ekude kwakwi nkonzoko yokukuzwa kosapo, u-Rev. J. Masiza ube luncedo olukulu. Kwinkonzoko zokukuzwa kwe Bandla lase Rabe, kutete u-Mr. Jan Kohl no Mr. Jacobs.

Siyababulela kakulu bonke abate basikuza kweli lifu. Makapumle ngoxolo, asikangele yena unyuselwe e-Nyangwaneni.



MHALA'S HOUSES 1849

Now let us return to the Great Place, Mothameli's home, and start the narrative in 1849 to establish clearly the status of Mbodla's houses.<sup>18</sup> In this year Ngonyama son of Tyhali and Ncaphayi son of Hintsa were circumcised. And Mhala was subjected to many unsolicited speeches about the circumcision of his four sons: Makinana, Mtshatsheni, Ndimba and Smiti. The great wife Nohute, daughter of Ndaba the paramount chief of the Thembu, was childless, and a Xhosa woman of the Ngwevu clan had given birth to twins, Makinana and Mtshatsheni; people said that the great wife should adopt one of the twins, and so she adopted Makinana and raised him as her child. The trouble started when the king arranged the circumcision of Smiti, his son in the Right Hand House, whose mother had already been confirmed, and it became evident that all these boys would then have to enter under the Right Hand House; Nohute the queen arose there and asked why a place had to be found for her child – and the Ndlambe kingdom was split in two: on the one hand the king's side, on the other the queen's. Nkovu took the king's side saying "Mngxokwane the son of a Thembu woman is present; how can it be that Mhala, born of a Xhosa woman, should have an heir from a Xhosa woman's house? What will become of the royal blood?"<sup>19</sup> The queen's side was taken by Mngxuma (Tshunungwa), Ngetu and Habangwe saying "It may well be that the mother of that Mngxokwane is a Thembu woman, but she is the servant of Ndaba, Nohute's father, so there is nothing to dispute here. As for your mother's Xhosa blood, Mhala, it is not the same as Makinana's, because you suckled the breast of your own mother, a Xhosa woman, whereas Makinana suckled the breast of a princess, the daughter of Ndaba."

SANDILE'S JUDGEMENT

In the end this case was put to Sandile at Burnshill. King Mgolombane<sup>20</sup> listened intently, and then decided for Nohute, saying "Royal succession was bestowed on Makinana when he was placed at the breast of Ndaba's daughter."

Then a poet stepped forward to say:

There's a dried thong  
worked by Ngetu and Tshunungwa  
till they brought Nkovu down by the legs.  
Horns pointing to Whittlesea,

## IZINDLU ZIKA MHALA: 1849

Masibuyele ke ngoku kwa komkulu kulo Motameli: siqale ngebali lika 1849, elona lenze ukuba izindlu zika Mbodla zicace ukuma kwazo. Ngalomnyaka kwaluka u-Ngonyama ka Tyali, no Ncapayi ka Hintsá. U-Mhala naye wafumana inteto eninzi abengayilindele, ekwaluseni kwake amakwenkwe ake amane: u-Makinana, u-Mtshatsheni, u-Ndimba, no Smiti. Inkosikazi eyona inkulu, u-Nohute, intombi ka Ndaba inkosi enkulu yaba Tembu yayingazalanga, – kwakuko um-Xosakazi intom'bi yasema-Ngwevini eyayizele amawele, – u-Makinana no Mtshatsheni; kutiwe ke inkosikazi le mayizi tabatele umntwana kulamawele, okunene yazitabatela u-Makinana, wangumtwana wayo, bada bakula. Inkatazo ke namhla ihla xa u-Mhlekezazi alusa u-Smiti inkwenkwe yase Kunene, enina wayeseledaliwe, kubonakele ukuba onke lamakwenkwe makaye kungena kulondlu yase Kunene; uvuka apo ke u-Nohute inkosikazi, ubuza imbangi yokuba umtanáke ahambe ecelelwa indawo, – barazuka pakati ubukumkani bama Ndlambe: lalodwa icala lokumkani, lalodwa icala lokumkanikazi, – icala lo kumkani lalino Nkovu lisiti, “uko u-Mngxokwane unyana wom-Tembukazi; angatinina u-Mhala ukuti ezalwa ngum-Xosakazi, ibuye indlalifa vake ibe kwa ngum-Xosakazi, lobapina igazi lobukosi?” Icala lokumkanikazi lalitetelwa ngo Mnxúma (Tshunungwa,) Ngetu, no Habangwe lisiti: “Unina ka Mngxokwane lowo angade abe ngum-Tembukazi, kodwa sisicaka sika Ndaba, uyise ka Nohute, abanakuza kubambana apa ke ngoko. Malunga nobu Xosakazi buka nyoko wena Mhala, abufani nobuka Makinana, kuba wena wanye ibele lika nyoko, um-Xosakazi, u-Makinana wanye ibele lenkosazana umtaka Ndaba.”

## ISIGWEBO SIKA SANDILE

Zide ezinteto zasiwa ku Sandile e-Mkubiso. Uve weva u-Mhlekezazi u-Mgolombane, watsho ukugalela kwelika Nohute, esiti: “U-Makinana nanimnika ubukosi ngokumanyisa ibele lentombi ka Ndaba.”

Kukuze ke ivele imbongi seyisiti:

Nang' umty' ongqongqo, –  
 Osukwe ngu Ngetu no Tshunungwa,  
 Bada bawoyis' umzantsi ka Nkovu.  
 Umpondo bekis'e-Hewu,

hollowed trough at Sihota's home,  
 deep eyepit from an arrow wound.

After this hearing, Mhala's houses were re-arranged as follows:

1. The Great House, of Ndilatashe, contained Makinana the father of Msintsi and Sihula.
2. The Right Hand House, of Gqwarhu, contained Smiti father of Hlathikhulu.
3. The Xhiba House, of Gaxa, contained Kondile, SoGqumahashe.

At that time Mhala had 12 wives. All these events occurred below Gqeben's mountain (Mhala's Kop), near Macleantown, where the Xinirha enters the Gqunube river, the site of the Great Place.

#### THE KING DURING THE CATTLE-KILLING 1857

Kondile was born at the place just mentioned, Gqunube, apparently in 1843. His father Mhala was a staunch believer in the Nongqawuse disaster of 1857; but for some time he preserved at the Great Place his family's vocal ox Onxokwe. Soon the Ndlambe nation complained that the resurrection had been hindered by the chief's refusal to slaughter the ox. Ultimately it was plain that it had to be killed, with a sacrificial service held at its killing because it was a family animal among the Great Place herd. After it had been stabbed, Ngetu and the councillors of the Xhiba house were the first to eat, then Kondile (N.C.U.)<sup>21</sup> as the true head of the Xhiba house of Gaxa, and after him his father Mhala. Let me dispose of this matter by saying yes, those people were never resurrected; later King Mbodla (Mhala) was arrested by his chief councillor Mjuza Nxele of Tshabo, who was a policeman in King Williams Town; Mhala was conveyed to Cape Town with Maqoma, though he was returned home, where he settled at Tshoxa, moved to Nkwebu and ended up at Mthumana at the source of the Tanqa river, where he died in 1875 at the age of 80.<sup>22</sup> He is said to have insisted that the nation undergo circumcision after the mourning for Maqoma, who died in 1874; "But you will mourn me in the following year," he said.

Kondile's mother is a woman of the Tse clan, the daughter of Matiwane and sister of Mhlontlo the Mpondomise chief and a relative of Noposi, Gonya's mother.<sup>23</sup> This Tse woman was buried at Mncotsho at an advanced age.

Umkúmb' ongqutu wakwa Sihota.  
Oliso linzongonzongo kutolwa ngamanye.

Emva kwelityala, ziqalile izindlu zika Mhala zemiswa ngalendlela: -

1. Indlu Enkulu, kulo Ndilatashe, ino Makinana, uyise ka Msintsi no Sihula.
2. Indlu yase Kunene, kulo Gqwaru, ino Smiti, uyise ka Hlatikulu.
3. I-Xhiba, kulo Gaxa, ino Kondile, u-So-Gqumahashe.

Baye abafazi baka Mhala bona babe lishumi linabafazi ababini (12). Ezizinto zenzeke pantsi kwalo Ntaba ka Gqebeni (Umhala's kop), ngase Mpongo, ekungeneni kwe Xinira e-Gqunube, apo umzi wakomkulu ubukona.

#### U-MHLEKAZI NGE NGQAULE 1857

U-Kondile uzalelwe kulondawo sesiyi xelile e-Gqunube, umnyaka siwucingela kowe 1843. Uyise u-Mhala ube likolwa elikulu lesisi yikili sika Nongqause ngomnyaka we 1857; kodwa ude wanetuba elitile eyigcinile inkabi etetayo yesilunga sakokwabo komkulu, egama bekutiwa ngu "Onxokwe" ekute kupi sakálaza isizwe sama Ndlambe sisiti uvuko lubanjezelwe yinkosi ngokungayixéli lenkabi. Okunene ke kude kwabonakala ukuba mayibulawe, kuti ukubulawa kwayo kwenziwe inkonzo yombingo, kuba isisilunga sakomkulu. Ite yakuba ihlatyiwe, kwashwama o-Ngetu amapakati ase Xhibeni kuqala, andula, ukunika u-Kondile (N.C.U.) eyona Ntloko yomzi wakulo Gaxa e-Xhibeni, walandela uyise u-Mhala. Mandiwushiye lomnxilo kwelitye, ewe, abadange bavuke abantu abo; wati u-Mhlekezazi u-Mbodla (Mhala), wabanjwa ngumpakati wake omkulu u-Mjuza Nxele, wase Tshabo, owaye lipolisa lase Qonce; u-Mhala wasiwa e-Kapa kunye no Maqoma, nakuba wabuya wagoduswa, ukuze eme e-Tshoxa, afuduke aye kwa Nkwebu, ade wapelela e-Mtumana, emantloko e-Tanqa, apo wafela kona ngo 1875, xe aminyaka ima 80. Kutiwa wayiteta kakulu into yokuba isizwe masaluse emva kwezila lika Maqoma owabúbá ngo 1874; atsho esiti, "Kuba niyakuzilela mna kunyaka ozayo."

Unina ka Kondile ngu Mtsekazi, intombi ka Matiwana, udade bo Mhlontlo inkosi yama Mpondomise, izalana kwano Noposi, unina ka Gonya. U-Mtsekazi lowo uncwatyelwe kwase Mncotsho, seleyintokazi ekúlileyo.

## THE EDUCATION OF THE CHIEF

During the disruption caused by Nongqawuse, the Governor, Sir George Grey, following discussions with Sandile, found occasion to commit the sons of the major chiefs and their councillors to education in an effort to combat ignorance. At that stage the chiefs had already agreed to receive government salaries and, although some adjustments had to be made, the system came into force in 1854 – and thus their former powers were eradicated and they passed judgement only in minor cases.

And so the princes, among them Kondile, Ndabeni Dondashe, Herbert Xhoxho, Nozwane, Arthur Waka Toyise, Duke Tshatshu and Michael Tutu, were sent to Zonnebloem College in Cape Town, a school established for the education of the sons of the chiefs of all the nations of the country – an arrangement for which Rev J.K. Bokwe constantly expressed gratitude to the Anglican ministers. Emma, the daughter of King Sandile, also studied there, and returned to teach in Grahamstown.<sup>24</sup>

His teachers selected Kondile to study the Scriptures largely because of his success as a student. So he was sent overseas for a time to study in England at St Augustine's in Canterbury, where he met the late Rev Jonas Ntsiko (Hadi), who was also studying the Scriptures in that country.<sup>25</sup> At this point let us state quite clearly that Kondile never accepted the Anglican worship merely because he studied in Anglican schools. Missionaries had already arrived at Mhala's home at the Xinirha, and he had sent them to Nkovu, the councillor in charge of Nxarhuni, and there they set up the school we now know as Newlands; Nkovu left the village to his diligent son Mvalo, the father of Mbulelo (Carl) and William Congreve, members of the Komazi clan.

## THE FRUITS OF EDUCATION

When the princes returned from their training in wisdom, they found themselves at a loose end in the nation because they were spun about and expected to initiate sensible projects without any support; in the end the government and the missionaries picked them up and set them to work in an office and as teachers. Their leader, Edmund Sandile (Gonya), became a clerk in an office in Middledrift; Kondile became a teacher and catechist at St Marks, and left to become an interpreter in the magistrate's office at Alice, a post he resigned to try his hand at law in Stutterheim as well as other centres of education. He married a Zangwe girl, Maryann, daughter of Meli son of Xanti at the Marhela

## UMHLEKAZI EMFUNDWENI

Kute kwakuso eso saqunge so Nongqause i-Ruluneli u-Sir George Grey yafumana ituba, emva kokutétana no Sandile, lokutábatá amakwenkwe azintloko zobukósi, nangamapakati awo ukuba iwase emfundweni, ngokwenjenjalo yayizama ukulwa ubuyata. Ngeloxesha inkosi zazise zivumile ukuyamkela imali ku Rulumente, nakuba kwake kwayimiji, yade yenzeka lonto ngowe 1854, – apela njalo amandla azo apambili zagweba amatyalana amancinane.

Zenjenjeya ke inkosana zino Gonya, Kondile, Ndabeni Dondashe, Herbert Xoxo, Nozwane, Arthur Waka Toise, Duke Tshatshu no Michael Tutu, nolunye uninzi, zasingiswa e-Kapa, e-Zonnebloem College, isikolo eso esasisekelwe ukufundisa onyana benkosi zentlanga zonke zelilizwe, – ubulungisa obo u-Rev. J.K. Bokwe, angayikuze abe namazwi okububulela kubafundisi base Tshetshi. Intombi yo Mhlekezazi u-Sandile engu Emma yaya emfundweni nayo, yabuya yafundisa e-Rini.

Abafundisi bambalulela u-Kondile lo ukuba afundele izi-Bálo, waza naye wazibalula ngentloko ukubantle ezifundweni. Ude wawezwa wayakuba netúba efunda kwelama Ngesi e-S. Augustine e-Canterbury, kukuze abonane apo nomfi u-Rev. Jonas Ntsiko (Hadi,) owayefunda naye kwelozwe ekwa nalonjongo yezi-Bálo. Kwesisituba masike siyilungise indawo yokuba u-Kondile akabanga yinkosi elunge ku Nqulo lwase Tshetshi ngenxa yokuya kufunda kwizikolo zase Tshetshi oko. Abafundisi babese beke bafika kowabo ku Mhala, e-Xinira ukuze abatumele ku Nkovu, umpakati obepete i-Nxaruni le, basiseka eso sikolo siti ngoku yi Newlands; u-Nkovu wawushiya umzi lowo nonya na wake opapileyo u-Mvalo, uyise ka Mbulelo (Carl) no Wm. Congreve, ama-Komazi.

## IZIQAMO ZEMFUNDO

Zakuba inkosana zibuyile emfundweni yobulumko, azibanga nanto yokwenza pakati kwesizwe, kuba kwajikwa kwalindelwa kwakuzo ukuba ziqúbe izinto zobulumko ngapandle kokusekelwa ; ude u-Rulumente nabafundisi bazicólela, bazifaka emisebenzini ye Ofisi, neyobutitshala. U-Edmund Sandile (Gonya) intloko yazo ube ngum-Báli kwi ofisi yase Xesi (Middle Drift;) u-Kondile ube yititshala ne Katikisi e-Sidutyini (St. Marks,) ukusuka apo ube likumsha kwi Ofisi yase Dikeni, ashiye yona ukuze alinge ubugqweta e-Cumakala, kwa nezinye indawo zemfundo. Utshatiswe nentombi yasema Zangweni u-Maryann ka Meli ka Xanti, e-Debe lika Marela, eyati yamzalela lonyana ahlonitshwa ngaye,

mission in Debe, and she gave birth to the son known as Gqumahashe out of respect. Sad to say, this wife of the chief passed away in 1898, with all her sons following her.

In 1897 the newspaper *Izwi labantu* was founded in East London, and the chief was appointed as Editor; Mothameli did not stay long in this position, but he set a high standard and raised understanding in the nation through his distinguished efforts there; in his place he left Mr A.K. Soga.<sup>26</sup>

#### THE TREASON TRIAL 1879

After Ngcayechibi's War Chief Kondile was arrested on a charge of sedition and arraigned in King William's Town, but the jury found him not guilty and he was released.<sup>27</sup> Gonya caused suspicion to fall on Kondile because, choking in the smoke of war, Gonya left the government office and joined his father in the forest;<sup>28</sup> it was thought that this vapour had also blown Kondile's way. At that stage Jali Mqhayi's war party together with another from the Dushane caused the white army concern in the Nkanga forests near East London, and in the well-trodden path some snuffboxes were discovered which seemed to be from Mhala's war party (as they crept through); in order to claim a fine for the return of the lost property,<sup>29</sup> the army felt compelled to attack Mncotsho, the Great Place – and when they arrived Kondile was weeding those same fields of his he has only recently abandoned, he was taken back to his house and his possessions were ransacked because there was some murmuring that he had been in correspondence with Gonya. Some papers were indeed discovered in his house which he would like to have destroyed but the commando afforded him no opportunity; yet there was nothing sinister about those papers, which he had written for submission to the government pleading clemency for Gonya and his father, claiming that they had been throttled by the rough manner in which the army had passed through on its way to Sarhili. As we have said, after a considerable period spent waiting for the judge, he and his associates were released.

#### UNDER STATE CONTROL 1903

During the Boer war, Nowawe Ndlambe died, Kondile's father's brother, who was in charge of the Mncotsho Ndlambe, a darling of the people, about whom it was said:

u-Gqumahashe. Silusizi ukuti inkosikazi leyo yandulela kwa ngomnyaka we 1898; ekute emva kwayo balandela bonke onyana bayo.

Ngomnyaka we 1897 kuqalwe e-Monti ipepa le "Zwi Labantu," eyati inkosi le yenziwa u-Mhleli walo; nakuba itúba lingabanga ngakanani elapo u-Motameli, kodwa imfundiso entle nepakamisa ingqondo zesizwe wayizama kulondawo wapumelela nayo; ute ekupúmeni kwake apo washiya u-Mr. A.K. Soga.

#### ITYALA LOBUVUKELI 1879

Ngemfazwe le ka Ncayecibi u-Mhlelazi u-Kondile uke wabanjwa ngetyala lobuvukeli, wamangalelwa e-Qonce, koko i-Juri yamfumana engenatyala, wakululwa. Isizatu sake sokuraneleka sasitatyatelwe ku Gonya, ngokusuke ati akuraxwa ngumsi wemfazwe, ayishiye i-ofisi ka Rulumente aye kwela kuyise ehlatini; kucingwe ukuba lompúnga ukó naku Kondile. Kute kunjalo, kwako impi ka Jali Mqayi nenxalenye yemi Dushane, eyati yaxálisha imikósi yabelungu kulo Mahlati akwa Nkanga, ngaku Gompo, kwaza kwati kulongqushu kwafunyanwa amaqaga atile, abonise ukuba ngawempi ka Mhala (engaba yayiye ngokutwetwa;) ite lonto yayintsusa yokuba imikósi mayifunzele e-Mncotsho, yonde komkulu, – ifike u-Kondile ehlakula kulentsimi yake ashiye yona nangoku, utatyatwe wasiwa ekaya, yapengululwa impahla yake, kuba kwakurorelwa nokutiwa unembalelwano no Gonya. Okunene afunyenwe amapepa endlwini yake, ate noko wayefuna ukuwarazula, yabe inkumanda ingasamnike tuba; koko amapepa lawo ati kanti akamabi kuba wayewabále efuna ukuwatumela ku Rulumente, ecelela u-Gonya noyise uxolelo, kuba wayesiti, ukuze baraxeke nje, babangelwa kukuhamba kakubi kwemikósi eyayidlula apa isiya ku Rili. Njengoko sesitshilo, emva kwetuba elinobom lokulindela ijaji, wakúlulwa yena kwanabo babenaye.

#### EZINTANJENI ZESIZWE 1903

Kute kwisituba semfazwe le yama Búlu, wabúbá uyisekazi ka Kondile, owayepete, isizwe sama Ndlambe e-Mncotsho, u-Nowawe Ndlambe, isitandwa sesizwe, ebekusakutiwa:



He's Sokoyi son of Ndlambe,  
 Winged Buzzard,  
 fiercely passionate.  
 Royal child of Mgangatho's home,  
 roof that clatters in walking;  
 wagon's belly looking upwards,  
 as if mindful of overseas.  
 The news in books is plentiful,  
 but little of it's the truth.  
 Hairy down to his toes  
 like a beast of the forest.

At this stage it was evident that Kondile had to grasp the reins of power at his Gaxa home. There Mncotsho began to display encouragement for progress; the son of Madosi put much effort into a workshop and acquired helpers; the son of Gudula, a leading catechist there, began to draw on the support of the chief in building a church and schools, and even after the death of Mr Gudula his wife, MaGanandana, the well-known daughter of Ganandana, the celebrated light of all the Ndlambe territory, continued to co-operate with Chief Kondile. The efforts of the late Mr Reuben Nkosana also made him the chief's right arm. Finally, in 1915, the chief, together with his minister J.R. Kota, Mrs Gudula, a woman who holds her own among men,<sup>30</sup> and Fred Bopi, eloquent through his deeds, assembled a large committee to raise a massive church at Mncotsho; and this was indeed done with the support of Rev George E. Nzungu.

In 1913, when General Hertzog was Minister of Native Affairs in the Union Government of the late General Botha, he relieved Chief Mhala of minor authority, awarded him a pension and placed him in charge of all the Ndlambe, to see to their welfare; Mr C.C. Madosi became headman in his place; and Jerry Ngcenge's light shone on Mabaleni. In 1906, when there was discussion about a College below Qelekequshe in Alice,<sup>31</sup> the chief was required to travel and spread the news among his people in certain districts of the Transkei. And so he and his fellow Ndlambe, Citashe's grandson (Rev I.W. Wauchope), formed a partnership and traveled the country in 1906, in torrential downpours along miserable roads – I will allow the fruit of this tour to speak for itself, for there the education he journeyed to speak about stands, at Fort Hare in Alice!

Ngu Sokoyi ka Ndlambe,  
 U-Nggqang' enepiko,  
 Ingalangcalakazi.  
 Umtan' enkosi wakwa Mgángato,  
 Upahl' oluhamba luxokozela;  
 U-sisu senqwelo sibéke pezulu,  
 Ingab' ikúmbula pesheya kolwandle.  
 Ndaba zencwadi ziyint' eninzi;  
 Kanti zimbalw' eziyinyaniso.  
 Int' enoboya naseluzwaneni,  
 Ngati liramnco lehlati.

Kukweso situba ke ekubonakele ukuba u-Kondile makaye kubambá intambo zombuso kowabo kulo Gaxa. Uqalele apo u-Mncotsho ukuvakala ngempembelelo zenqubela pambili; waqala umfo ka Madosi, owayezama ishishini levenkile, wazuza ixhata; waqala umfo ka Gudula obeyi Katikisti yodidi olupambil apo, wanenkosi abambelele kuyo, ekwakeni ityalike nezikolo, ekute naxa wati wasweleka u-Mr. Gudula lowo, yasala inkosikazi yake, u-Ma-Ganandana, intombi edumileyo ka Ganandana, eyimbálasane nesibane ngento zonke kwa Ndlambe, éncedisana no Mhlelazi u-Kondile. U-Mr. Reuben Nkosana ongasekoyo naye akazange ayeke ukuba yingalo yase Kunene yenkosi le. Kude kwati ngomnyaka we 1915, inkosi le, kunye nomfundisi wayo into ka Kota, J.R. kwa no Mrs. Gudula, intokazi etsala nenkabi nento ka Bopi u-Fred iciko ngezenzo; benza umtabata omkulu wokuba kume indlu enkulu yenkonzo apo e-Mncotsho; okunene kwabanjalo pezu kweziseko zika Rev. Geo. E. Nzungu.

Kute ngexesha u-General Hertzog awaye ngu Mongameli wemi Cimbi yaba Ntsundu ku Rulumente kamfi u-General Botha we Yunyoni ngo 1913, wamkúlula u-Chief Umhala kwimicinjana yobubonda, wanikwa ipenshini, nokongama pezu kwama Ndlambe onke, ewalungisa engaxakaniswa nto; kukuze ke u-Mr. C.C. Madosi abe sisibonda kulondawo; ati noka Ngcenge u-Jerry, abe sisibane e-Mabaleni. 1906 – Ngexesha lokutetwa kwe Koleji ekwa Qelekequshu e-Dikeni, kufumaneka iyinkosi le enokuya kulushumayela oludaba kwizi Thili ezitile zela Pesheya kwe Nciba kumakowayo. Okunene yatabatana nomfo ka Citashe, (Rev. I.W. Wauchope) wakokwabo kwayo, balijikeleza ilizwe ngowe 1906, ngemvulakazi ezinkulu, kwindlela ezimbi,

## FURTHER POINTS

Kondile cut a figure different from his father, but he grew six feet tall. He was a tall, healthy dark man, with a full goatee that suited him, and a moustache; but he could never forget the jest Rev Tiyo Soga directed at him while he was still a student in Cape Town; he says that when he was introduced to that minister he grunted in disapproval and remarked: "Is this ugly creature really Mhala's child?"

While he was in Canterbury he took the opportunity to witness the members in debate in the House of Commons, on which occasion there was an exchange between Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) on the one hand and Mr W.E. Gladstone on the other;<sup>32</sup> the chief always remembered the highlights, when listening to the two rounding on each other in debate, so that when matters of overseas government and church came up he grew expansive in relishing the recollection. In debate the chief avoided contriving the downfall of someone opposing him, he preferred to fence a person in with words that offered him no escape route. If anyone defeated him in this way, he escaped by conceding. Once in 1914 he was defeated by some young men, Bopi the son of Xo (who sadly is no longer with us, having said on his deathbed "I am going *straight* to heaven"), Mqhayi, Mhambi and Kumbulele, who organised a Ntsikana commemoration at Mncotsho; the chief disagreed, arguing that the time was not right. The commemoration proved a roaring success; so now he just kept on saying "It appearzsh my devilzsh undershtood a thing or two; I undershtood nothing."

By this time he was an elderly man, evincing respect for his royal blood as well as for his advanced years, often remarking "Now, shir, I am a man of over three shcoresh and ten." His arguments dominated through civility and gravity, forging links between ancient and modern, he understood meetings between English and Xhosa, understood how to draw comparisons between the way the English and the Xhosa expressed themselves. He maintained firm, unflinching loyalty to the British crown; even during the German war, when the faith of many was frazzled, he was unaffected. At home he terrified wayward men, having to say only once "A rogue should hold his tongue." Like all Rharhabe chiefs a wide variety of people were granted access to him without distinction – he was insensitive to any discrimination between Mfengu and Xhosa even should he be tempted to practise it. In the King Williams Town district the magistrates were at pains to enforce the law prohibiting circumcision dances amongst the

– isiqamo salomjikelo ndiyakusiyeka sizitetelele ngokwaso; kuba nantso lomfundo wayehamba eteta ngayo, e-Fort Hare, e-Dikeni!

## EZINYE INDAWO

Ngesitomo u-Kondile ubenganeno kunoyise, kodwa ezifikile inyawo ezintandatu. Ubengumdaka omde onobom, ofanelwe yintshebe ende, kwa namabóvu; kodwa ubengakulibali ukugxekwa awake wakwenziwa, ngu Rev. Tiyo Soga, oko wayesafunda e-Kapa, uti wati umfundisi lowo akumboniswa, wakúza esiti: “Yinile ngumtaka Mhala lo mbi kangaka!”

Oko inkosi le ibise Canterbury, yamana ukuba netuba lokuya kuvela ukuzakuza (ingxoxo) kwi “Ndlu Yoluntu” (House of Commons), oko kwakuseko ingwaqele zezitoti u-Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), kwelinye icala, ingu Mr. W.E. Gladstone kwelinye; ubengayilibali u-Mhlekezazi into emnandi, ukupulapula ukubetana kwezo ngwaqele zombini, ubesakuti akufika kwizinto zombuso wapesheya, neze Tyalike ake atate ituba onwabe. Engxoxweni u-Mhlekezazi lo ubelichule lokungayi esiqwini somntu ajongene naye, inkolo yake ibisekubeni umntu ambiyele ngenteto, ukuze azinikele ngokwake ngokungabi nandlela yokupuma. Akuba yena oyisiwe ngumntu ngento, bekulula ukuzinikela. Ngelinye ixesha ngo 1914 uke woyiswa ngamadodana into zo Xo, Bopi esinosizi ukuti naye akaseko, ngabula yena wati ekufeni kwake, “Ndiya *Straight* e-Zulwini.” Mqayi, Mhambi, nezo Kumbulele, enza isiyikayika sesi Kúmbuzo sika Ntsikana, e-Mncotsho, engavumi yena, esiti ixesha alikalungi, – Mhla salunga sancama isi-Kumbuzo; ubeseleman’ ukuti ngoku, “Shzati kanti i-Devilsh shzam shziyayiqonda into eshziye-njayo, mna andiyiqondi.”

Ngelixesha ubesele yindoda enkulu, imbeko eyifumana ngobukósi nangobudoda obukulu esitsho futi ukuti, “Ngoku nkoshi shendiyindoda e over three shcores and ten.” Apo incoko yake ibiba yincamisa kona ngobumnandi nobuxabiso, ubelikonco elibandakanye abakudala nabangoku, ekwazi ukudibana kwama Ngesi nama Xósa, ekwazi ukulitelekisa isiko lesi Ngesi elidibeneyo nelitile lesi Xósa. Kumbuso wase Britani ubebambelele enganxanxazi, engaxengaxengi kanjalo, nangelixesha lalemfazwe yama-Jamani, ete yaxikixa ukolo lwabanizi, kuye ayenza nganto. Pakati kwekava ubesoyikwa kakubi ngamadoda angatanga tye, kuba ubesakutsho kubekanye ukuti: “Makungatetw’ imenemene.” Njengenkosi zonke zakwa Rarabe ubefikelelwa zindidi zonke zabantu, engacaluli, – into yocalulo lobu Mfengu ebu Xoseni ubengeze akwazi nokuba selelinga ukulwenza. Kwisi Thili se Qonce imantyi zike zazama

reds,<sup>33</sup> but Mothameli became their refuge saying "Would you have ush ban theshe traditional amusementsh and return to shtealing sheep?" And so the separate threads of his activities were increasingly woven together for his people. In the meetings of chiefs and headmen in King Williams Town, he always had the last word. He never missed the Anglican service on the Lord's day; elderly as he was he added his small voice strongly and sweetly to the singing, calling to mind his participation in the choir at St Paul's Cathedral, London; those were high masses indeed.

Mr Richard T. Kawa, the Gcebula poet near Peddie, said of this chief "Nathaniel was the first-seen star, a swift-footed horse, skilled at working the earth:

"Jebese's bull has deadly horns:  
he sank them deep into an anthill.  
A sounding timbrel with whites,  
with nails black from digging the Gxara earth.

"To those who never met him let me say: you have not seen the dignitary, good, wise with true compassion, a man, a gifted speaker, singer of songs, comely in stature, a digging-stick. Familiar with Bible and Church history, a model Anglican, Father of People quite untouched by this demon of Xhosa-Mfengu identity disrupting the community, a mighty hero, gentle and open, a true lover of his nation and country.

"Death, you lack compassion,  
a thousand tears leave you unmoved.

FINE! SO HE'S GONE

"The gentleman lighting matches while others still strike tinder.  
The two lead oxen pulled apart,  
now we rush to the driver and whipman.  
The one from Nompalweni with a wound on his hip;  
with nails black from digging the Gxara earth."

ukuwupakamisa umteto wokuba kungatshiliswa ngamaqaba, koko u-Motameli ube lutango esiti: "Sheninga shingamana ukuba igush' ezi, shingake shipash-zamise nangeshiyolo?" Ute ngalonto wazihloma umjila ngokungakumbi kumakowabo. Ezintlanganisweni zenkosi nezibonda e-Qonce, ubeseleba ngumvalo wokugqibela ekuteteni. Ubengaposwa yinkonzo yakowabo yase Tshetshi ngo Mhla ongowe Nkosi; kanti noko selengaka ubesatsho ngomtyangampo welizwi elinamandla elimnandi ekuvumeni, elikukúmbuza oko ebesese Kwayareni kwi St. Paul's Cathedral, e-London; kwinkonzo ezipakame kunene.

U-Mr. Rich. T. Kawa imbongi yase Gcebula, e-Nqúshwa, yenjenje ngayo le nkosi: -

"U-Nathaniel ube yinkwenkwezi yokuqala, imbaleki yehashe, ichule lomhlaba:

"Inkunzi ka Jebese iyakwazi uku hlaba;  
Kub' ihlab' esidulini zatshona impondo.  
Untambula yagungq' emlungwini,  
Into enzipo zimnyama, kupanda uhlanga oluse Gxara."

"Kwabangazange bambone ndingati: anilibonanga iwaba, ilunga, ingqondi umfo onobubele benene, indoda, imfundi isiteti, imvumi ye ngoma, upahla oluhle iwendoda, ulugxa. Isazi se Bible ne Church History, um Tshatshi nozwane, u-Sobantu obengenayo konke naledeemoni yobu Xosa-Mfengu edungudelisa umzi, ighora elinamandla, ilulama ebelingenankohliso, umtandi wesizwe nelizwe lakowabo ngenene.

"Akuna lusizi kufa  
"Akungecengwe nangamawaka enyembezi

HE! UHAMBILE KE

"U-mnumzana otshaya ngematshisi, kant' abany basaqwit' ezidosheni. Zalahlekana ifolosi zombini.

"Sada sapanga kumkokeli nombexeshi,  
Intw'enxeba lise nyongeni ku Nompalweni;  
"Intw' endzipo zimnyama, kupanda uhlanga oluse Gxara."

This is what I have to say, you chiefs – I say this chief left us this year; he left us with two gentle people, children of their father and mother – Sonzobo Libalele and Makeleni. Today the Ndlambe resemble fledgelings whose mother was snatched by a wildcat – and so too the Dushane after this departure as well as the terminal illness of Menziwa son of Siwani, who passed away soon after at Mjanyana; the Dushane brought him back at great cost, and his bones were interred at Tamarha during a truly splendid service in July 1920. So too the Gasela – Cecil son of Mnyanda feels the same, as does the son of Myoli, because Kondile was always consulted when a law seemed inflexible. Also Ngcawezulu son of Mthikakra of the Ntinde, because he had recently come into his own and was about to receive instruction from the Chief in the laws governing this place. This is to say:

Awu!

No, my people, no really,  
 let's place a stone on the grave  
 for illness has left the Great Place.  
 Did you catch a glimpse of God?  
 Did you see a chief who spurns advice?  
 If we'd discussed this we might have agreed,  
 if we'd talked we could have reached compromise,  
 that we should leave Mothameli alone.  
 Because the Ndlambe still sat in the sun,  
 because the Hleke still sat in the sun,  
 because the Dange still sat in the sun,  
 because the Ntinde still sat in the sun,  
 because the Mfengu still sat in the sun,  
 because the whites still sat in the sun,  
 every nation still sat in the sun,  
 at a time when the sun shone brightly,  
 at a time when the blood pulsed strongly,  
 at a time when knowledge ran every course,  
 at a time when eyes first caught the dawn,  
 at a time when things took care of themselves,  
 at a time when people first knew each other.

Nditsho ke, zinkosi, – nditi lenkosi isishiyile nonyaka; yasishiya nezilulami zozibini, abafo bakayise bakanina, – u-Sonzobo Libalele, no Makeleni. Ama-Ndlambe namhla afana nama-ntshontsho anina umke necataza, – imi Dushane ikwa njalo ngokumka kwake, kwanokugula okugqitileyo kuka Menziwa umfo ka Siwani ote kwa kufupi emva koko wasweleka e-Mjanyana yamputuma imi-Dushane ngexabiso elikulu, yeza kuwancwaba amatambo ake e-Tamara, ngenkonzo ezuke kunene ngo July, 1920. Ama-Gasela akwa njalo, – u Sesile umfo ka Mnyanda ukwanjalo; umfo ka Myoli ukwanjalo, kuba ubeseleyinto ekukángelwa kuyo kwakuti nqi emtetweni. U-Ngca-Wezulu umfo ka Mtirara kuma-Ntinde ukwanjalo, kuba ubesafika, ezakuzifundiswa ngu Mhlekezi lo izinto zomteto walendawo. Ukutsho kukuti:

Awu, –  
 Hayi ke betu, hayi ke, gxebe,  
 Masibek' ilitye kambe,  
 Kub' umkuhlan' unyukile komkulu.  
 Nike nambona n' u-Tixo,  
 Nayibona n' i-Nkos' engabhungisiyo;  
 Kuba lento ngesiyitete savana,  
 Ngesayixoxa soyisana,  
 Saka samshiy' u-Motameli.  
 Kub' ama-Ndlamb' ebesotamele;  
 Kub' ama-Hlek' ebesotamele;  
 Kub' imi-Dang' ibisotamele;  
 Kub' ama-Ntind' ebesotamele;  
 Kub' ama-Mfeng' ebesotamele;  
 Kub' umlung' ubesotamele;  
 Izizwe zonke bezisotamele;  
 Bekux' ilanga litsho kamnandi,  
 Bekux' igazi liswabulukayo,  
 Bekux' ingqond' iqal' ukufuvuka,  
 Bekuxa namehlo aqala uqiza,  
 Bekuxa izinto ziyondelanayo;  
 Bekuxa nabantu baqal' ukwazana.



I learnt much from a council meeting:  
writing inscribed on a stone descended,  
it gave Mhala secret instructions,  
saying "We speak only because it's you."  
And so he always carried a scroll  
as long as a prime cut of meat,<sup>34</sup>  
covered with writings and reasons,  
reasons for Kondile's summons.  
In a dream I saw them and worried.  
A star was sent to rub out the tracks,  
it thrashed the Ndlambe under the sun,  
fluttered by close to the people,  
popped up at Mqonqo and glared at Nkanga's,  
yielded the right hand side to Mhlelo  
on the day Gompo<sup>35</sup> roared and held him back;  
the Ndlambe butted each other,  
one from Rhaxanga into one from Dabadaba,  
one from Nqwenerhana into one from Nqabanqozi.  
Cwebesha ignored the book at the Pirie,  
speaking over the soul of Gatyeni's son,  
bearing in mind that we'll tire the chief;  
but the mind of the chief resides with Phalo,  
resides with Tshiwo and with Ngconde,  
where hymns are sung,  
where cloaks are still worn,  
in the company of Qamata.<sup>36</sup>

Awu! The great tree with branches has fallen!  
Now the nations are scorched by the sun,  
now the small birds die of hunger;  
we at least used to stone the loquat trees,  
break the branches in search of fruit,  
until we recalled that someone owned them,  
someone planted them on his own accord,  
someone uprooted them on his own accord,

Ndilibonelel' ibhunga mini lenzeka:  
 Kwehl' umbál' ubhalw' elityeni,  
 Watiwa qushe ku Mhala wayalwa,  
 Kwatiwa ke "sitsho kub' inguwe."  
 Kanti' ehamba nj' unompokotshela,  
 Int' ebude bungangentsonyama,  
 Int' ezele yimi bhalo nezizatu,  
 Izizatu zokuba kubizw' u-Kondile.  
 Endite ndakuzitonga "ndahlupeka."  
 Kwatunyw' inkwenkwez' ukugquk' umkondo,  
 Yawabhul' ama-Ndlambe pantsi kwelanga,  
 Yandandazelela kufup' ebantwini,  
 Yeqap' e-Mqonqweni yajonga kwa Nkanga,  
 Yat' u-Mhlelo yawunikel' ukunene,  
 Mhla wagqum' u-Gompo' de wambambazela;  
 Abetana ngamabunz' ama-Ndlambe,  
 Ose Raxanga nose Dabadaba, –  
 Ose Nqwenerana nose Nqabanqozi.  
 Cwebesh' incwadi' angayixel' e-Mgqwakwebe,  
 Pezu komoya wento yakwa Gatyeni;  
 Wakúmbul' ukut' i-Nkosi soyidinisa;  
 Kanti nay' ingqondo seyiko Palo,  
 Seyiko Tshiwo nako Ngconde,  
 Apo sekuvunyw' imihobe;  
 Apo sekusambatw' iminweba;  
 Apo sekubutwa no Qamata.

Awu! Waw' umt' omkul' onamasebe!  
 Zaqal' izizwe zatsha lilanga,  
 Zaqal' incamazana zafa yindlala;  
 Nok' imngwenye besisakuwuxuluba, –  
 Siwapul' amasebe sifun' iziqamo.  
 Sada salibal' uk' b' unomniniwo,  
 Owawutyal' engabhunganga nabani,  
 Wawuncotul' engabhunge nabani,

and we were left bereft in distress,  
weeping over each other.

Peace, tribes of the chief,  
when things are like this we're all tangled up,  
I'm lost for words till conducted across,  
I say if you live in a den you should know it,  
if you live in the bush you should know the bush;  
a little tree clear on a hill blinds my eyes,  
if this tree stands there will always be others,  
if the Cross stands all will be well;  
turn back, nations, and stop this dispersal,  
after the dark there will be light,  
this is the tree pointed out by Nxele,  
by Ntsikana, Mlanjeni and all our wardoctors,  
by Ngqika, Kondile and all our chiefs,  
chiefs with a little tree clear on a hill –  
this indeed is the Forest of Truth,  
this indeed is the Shield of Truth,  
Three-Heads is its name.<sup>37</sup>

Awu! At that point I come to an end:  
I never really had much to say,  
I wanted just to tell the nation  
“Illness has left the Gaxa home!”  
Go, my chief, go, Mothameli!  
so the messengers sit in the sun,  
the cherubim and seraphim;  
so our ancestors sit in the sun,  
so Togu and Ngconde sit in the sun.  
Go, father, go, my chief!  
You did well to hide the scroll  
while we were forgetting the Cross,  
you did well to hide the leopard's tail –  
we would have talked till God changed his mind.<sup>38</sup>  
Go, Constant Critic,

Sasala kaloku sizishwayimbana,  
Sasala kaloku sesililelana.

Taruni ma-Bandl' o-Mhlekaizi;  
Kunjenjenje ke kunyembelekile,  
Ndikohlwe kukuteta dendiliweze,  
Ndit' owomnxhuma makaz' umnxhuma,  
Owehlati makaz' ihlati,  
Ndipandlwa ngumtshanyanana use Ndulini;  
Useminje lomti isahlel' imiti.  
Useminj' u-Mnqamlezo konke kusekuhle;  
Buyani zizwe ipel' incitakalo,  
Bupel' ubumnyama, kuvel' ukukanya,  
Ngulomti lowo walatwa ngu Nxele,  
Ngu Ntsikana no Mlanjen' ama-Tol'kowenu;  
Ngu Ngqika no Kondil' inkosi zakowenu,  
Inkos' ezinamtshanyanan' use ndulini, –  
Elona lona Hlati le Nyaniso,  
Elona lona Khaka le Nyaniso,  
U-Makanda-Matatu igama lawo.

Awu! Xandilapo kaloku ndiyapeta:  
Ndibe ndingenanto bendiyiteta kakade,  
Ndingendiba ndibe ndibikel' isizwe: –  
“Umkúhlan' unyukile kulo-Gaxa!”  
Hamba, nkosi yam, hamba, Motameli!  
Kokon' izitunywa ziyakotamela,  
Ozi Kerubimi nozi Serafimi;  
Kokona bayakotamel' omawokulu.  
Kokona bayakotamel' o-Togu no Ngconde.  
Hamba, bawo, hamba, nkosi yam!  
Utyapil' ukuwufihl' umpokotshela,  
Besise siwulibal' u-Mnqamlezo,  
Utyapil' ukuwufihl' umsila wengwe, –  
Besiyakutsh' u-Tix' aguquke.  
Hamba Sikalima-njalo!

who crossed the sea to absorb the poison,  
to see what Mhala did not see,  
to see what Ndlambe never saw.  
A chief whose death was in some ways odd –  
they bring a blade, they bring a bloodknife,<sup>39</sup>  
leading Mvalo's son to say "This place could explode."  
One who wakes in two different places:  
he prepared to attack the Ntinde  
but turned back when he saw it was wrong,  
so the sons of Mvalo and Mhambi appeared,  
so the son of Mgaqisi appeared at Nxarhuni,  
to testify "No, it was wrong.  
Let us rather try the bullseye  
on the tree at the gate to Gaxa's home."

I greet you, who climbed a tree in the cattle-killing:  
the family ox Onxokwe bellowed!  
And with that he opened ways through the sea.  
You ate the fat<sup>40</sup> and the prime cut,  
the ancients heard and savoured the smell,  
and said it was truly delightful.  
They said, "Go, Kondile, you've bested us,  
you've bested us shades and spirits –  
here lie earth's paths opened for you,  
here heaven's paths opened for you."  
That's it!

Int' eyawel' ulwandle yadl' ubuhlungu,  
Yabon' ap' angaboniy' u-Mhala,  
Yabon' ap' angabonang' u-Ndlambe.  
Inkos' ekufa kunezimbo, –  
Bapat' ingcapepe bapat' incakuba,  
Wat' oka Mvalo, "lomz' ungavuta"  
Int' eyoz' ivuke kwindaw' ezimbini,  
Ike yalingisa kambe kuma-Ntinde,  
Yabuye yabon' ukut' akuyi kulunga,  
Kuz' avel' oka Mvalo noka Mhambi,  
Kuz' ivel' into ka Mgaqis' e-Nxaruni,  
Banqhine bati hay' akuyikulunga,  
Masesilinga kwase Mtonyameni,  
Kumt'osesangweni kulo Gaxa.

Bhota ke, nto yakwel' emtini nge Ngqaule:  
Wakál' u-Onxokw' inkab' esilunga!  
Wati kant' uvul' indlela zelwandle,  
Wadl' intlukuhla wadl' intsonyama,  
Bev' abadala basezel' ivumba,  
Bat' okwenene liyatozamisa.  
Bati, "Hamba Kondil' usoyisile,  
Wasoyisa siminyanya simimoya, –  
Nanz' indlela zomhlaba zivuliwe,  
Nanz' indlela zezulu zivuliwe,"  
Ncincilili!!!

## The late Rev John Knox Bokwe

*Father, father! Israel's chariot and horsemen!*<sup>1</sup>

### ANNOUNCEMENT

The announcement in *Imvo* is true: the abovementioned gentleman, popularly known as Knox (Short Though Tall in Deed),<sup>2</sup> is no longer of this world. He departed on Wednesday morning 22 February 1922, and was buried the following day by the Principal of Lovedale Seminary, Dr James Henderson,<sup>3</sup> in the presence of a multitude of mourners. It was a beautiful service of high significance. He is buried in the old Gaga cemetery, where Ngceni's daughter, his first wife, was laid to rest as well as his daughter, Agrinette.<sup>4</sup> He died at the age of 67.

### BACKGROUND

Knox is the son of Jacob, also known as Cholwephi. His mother is Lena, the daughter of Ngxe, a Ntakwenda lady who was born at Ntselamanzi and died there on 15 March 1855 (the year of the lungsickness). This Cholwephi is the son of Bokwe, a member of the Krila clan of the Bamba. Bokwe's royal allegiance is to the Mbalu chiefs, the people of Nqeno, of Langa, of Tshiwo. Bokwe himself left Gcalekaland in recent times to settle among the Mbalu: during the cattle-killing he took his family and joined his own people at Ncerha in Mbaluland, people like Fithi the father of Tshuka and Dungela the father of Matayo.<sup>5</sup> On the way his wife gave birth and when he reached his people he was carrying a baby boy on his hip, so that baby was then called Cholwephi ("Where were you picked up?").

### THE MISSIONARIES

At that time the earliest missionaries like Bennie, Laing and Ross<sup>6</sup> started a school at Ncerha among the Mbalu, but they soon realised the spot was dry and seriously lacking in water, so they sent Fithi to Maqoma to request land at the confluence of the Gaga and Tyhume. Fithi went to Noyi (Balfour) the father of Makaphela,<sup>7</sup> a Kwayi, to ask him to accompany him to the Great Place. Maqoma said if they saw land to the west of the Gaga they could come to him, but if they saw land to the east they should approach Tyhali. Indeed the missionaries now sent a message to Tyhali, the son of Ngqika, through his mother

**Umfi u Rev. John Knox Bokwe**

*Bawo, Bawo, nqwelo yokulwa yakwa Sirayeli, nabamahashe ayo!*

## ISAZISO

Sinyanisile isaziso esisepepeni le MVO ukuti lomnumzana ugama lipezulu paya, obe saziwa ngamawabo ngelokuba ngu Nokisi (omde ngentonga), akaseko elizweni, ulishiyile ekuseni ngomhla wama 22 ku Feb., 1922, ngolwesi-Tatu evekini, wa ncwatywa ngomhla olandelayo, ngu Mongameli we Sinala yase Lovedale, u Dr. James Henderson, pakati kwenkungu nelanga yabalandeli, wamhle umsebenzi awabi namlinganiselo ngobukulu. Uncwatyelwe kulomancwaba angakwa Gaga, madala, apo yalaliswa kona intombi ka Nceni, umkake wangapambili, apo yalaliswa kona nentombi yake u Agrinette. Umka xa ayindodana eminyaka ima 67.

## IMVELAPI

U Nokisi ngunyana ka Jacob, ogama limbi kutiwa ngu Colwepi, unina ngu Lena intombi ka Ngxe um-Ntakwendakazi uzalelwe kwa Ntselamanzi lo abubele kuye, ngosuku lwe 15 ku March, 1855 (Ngemofu). U Colwepi lowo uzalwa ngu Bokwe, into yakwa Rila ema-Bambeni. Ngokweziko lobukosi u Bokwe ngum-Mbalu, ngabantu baka Nqeno ka Langa ka Tshiwo. U Bokwe yena ngenqu, ufike, bumini ema Mbalwini evela kwa Gcaleka, wati ngencitakalo ezi, watabata usapo waya kwinto zakowabo ezibe zise Ncera ema-Mbalwini, abo ke yayingo Fiti oyise bo Tshuka no Dungela oyise bo Matayo; ute esendleleni yatsho ukubeleka inkosikazi, wafika kumawabo selenxule usana oluyi nkwenkwe, ukuze ke olosana sekusitiwa ngu "Colwepi."

## ABAFUNDISI

Ngeloxesha abafundisi bokuqala o Bene, o Lanke, o Lose baqala isikolo e Ncera kuma Mbalu, kodwa bahle baqonda ukuba londawo yomile ayinamanzi kakuhle, ukuze ke batumele u Fiti, ukuba aye kubacelela indawo ku Maqoma entlanganweni yo Gaga ne Tyume, – u Fiti uye ku Noyi (Balfour) uyise ka Makapela, umKwayi, ukuba baye kunye komkulu apo. Ute u Maqoma: ukuba babone ngasentshonalanga ku Gaga boza kuye, kodwa ukuba babone ngasempumalanga mabaye ku Tyali. Okunene ke abafundisi ngoku batumele ku Tyali into ka Ngqika ngo Nonibe unina. Kukuze ke kufunyanwe i Lovedale, ucandwe



Nonibe. In this way Lovedale was established. This site was surveyed by Capt Lennox C. Stretch (Xolilizwe), who commanded the military forces in Alice.<sup>8</sup>

#### RELOCATION

At one point the missionaries moved from Ncerha. They left with a large group of Mbalu, who were already involved in the school, under Fithi the father of Tshuka. Nduluka, otherwise known as Sidyaba, the son of Ngcukana who is father to Kali, was included, together with princes like Nqorho, the father of Moli, who is the father of Stone; Nqorho was the son of Dinjwayo, the son of Langa. People like Ngcweleshe the son of Nqeno and father to Siyolo and Stana were also included, as were Koboka Sam and many others. Some of them came from the school at Gwali. To this day the Mbalu still claim Lovedale as their own, saying: "It's the Mbalu school."

#### HIS CAREER

In 1869 he entered the boarding school; in the same year he joined a group of True Templars, before there was any Temple in the eastern Cape, together with Revs Mzimba and Makiwane, which inspired the Principal of the Institution, Rev Govan, to join, saying "He is setting an example for black boys." In 1870 he was a writer in the Lovedale office, helping with the newspaper *Indaba*. In 1874 he operated the telegraph in the Lovedale Post Office, where he trained others in this work.<sup>9</sup> In 1875 he wrote those hymns that became great treasures in the country, and in 1875 they were published in the book called *Amaculo aseLovedale*.<sup>10</sup> In 1879 he married Miss Letty Ngceni of the Zangwa clan at Gqumahashe. In 1892 he paid a visit overseas, where he made many friends. In 1898 he left Lovedale to form a company with the editor of *Imvo*, the late J.T. Jabavu. In 1900 he went as an evangelist to Ugie, where he was ordained as minister. His health deteriorated steadily after it failed in King Williams Town. In 1916 he was made Secretary of the Union of Christian Teachers. He occupied every position of honour in the Temple. He organised the Ntsikana celebrations.

#### CHOLWEPHI

Shortly after the missionaries established themselves at Lovedale, Cholwephi became a champion of education, so much so that he was appointed a teacher at Lovedale.<sup>11</sup> When an office was opened in Alice, Cholwephi was invited to

lomhlaba ngu Capt. Lennox C. Stretch, (u Xolilizwe) owayepete imikosi e Dikeni.

#### IMFUDUKA

Bafuduka kweso situba ke abafundisi e Ncera, bemka neqela lama-Mbalu abesele seselele esikolweni, epetwe ngu Fiti lowo, uyise ka Tshuka belapo o Nduluka ogama lingu Sidyaba, into ka Nchukana engu yise ka Kali, kwa nenkosana o Nqoro uyise ka Moli ozala u Stone, u Nqoro lowo engoka Dinjwayo ka Langa, babekwalapo no Ngcweleshe into ka Nqeno, uyise bo Siyolo no Stana; babelapo o Koboka Sam nolunye uninzi; inxenye kubo yayise ivela ngakwi sikolo sase Gwali. Nanamhlanje ama Mbalu asayi banga i Lovedale, ati: "Sisikolo sama Mbalu."

#### IMISEBENZI YAKE

Ngomnyaka we 1869 ungene e Sinaleni; kwangawo lowo mnyaka wazingenisa kwiqela laba Zili Benene ingekabiko i Tempile kwelase Mpumalanga; wangena eno Revs. Mzimba no Makiwane, kukuze no Mongameli we Sinala u Rev. Govan azimanye esiti "Ukutaza ababafana babantu abamnyama." Ngo 1870 ube ngu Mbali kwi Ofisi yase Lovedale, eluncedo kwipepa ebekutiwa zi "Ndaba." Ngo 1874 ube selucingweni kwiposi yase Lovedale, apo afundise nabanye lomsebenzi. Ngo 1875 uqale ama culo atile awati kanti ayakuba yi mbunguzulu ezweni, ekude kwati ngo 1875 ashicilelwa ayi ncwadi egama liti "Amaculo ase Lovedale." Ngo 1879 utshate no Miss Letty Ncheni, um Zangwakwazi wakwa Gqumahashe. Ngo 1892 utate utyelelelo Pesheya apo wabuya enezihlobo ezininzi. Ngo 1898 uyishiyile i Lovedale waya kuba yi Komponi no Mhleli we "Mvo" umfi u J.T. Jabavu; ngo 1900 uye kuba ngumvangeli e Ugie, ukuze aselebekwa nezandla eba ngumfundisi wakona. Impilo iye iquba ngokuquba ukungabi ntle, ukususela oko yapuka ese Qonce. Ngo 1916 wenziwe um-Bali wo-Manyano lwe Titshala lobu-Krestu. I Tempile akuko wonga layo angalifikelelanga. Isi Kumbuzo sika Ntsikana ubepambili kuso.

#### U COLWEPI

Kute kungabanga mzuzu bemi abafundisi e Lovedale, wabe selezi balule u Colwepi ngemfundo, wade wanikwa ukuba afundise naye e Dikeni. Kute ukufika kwe ofisi e Alice, wacelwa u Colwepi ukuba ayekuba likumsha lakona

be the first interpreter by the first magistrate, Rev H. Calderwood, in 1854, at the end of Mlanjeni's War. After that the missionaries built a Scottish church in Alice (there were few church organs in those days), and the missionaries asked Cholwephi to lead the singing in that white church on Sundays. It is said that these services were of great profit to him because they made him familiar with all sorts of delicacies of the white man. Jacob fathered Candlish the father of Melville, Katrina, who is now Mrs Walter Hani, and lastly Knox.

#### KNOX AND JAMES STEWART

The names of Knox and James Stewart<sup>12</sup> are so closely associated that the reader might be keen to hear how they first met. The deceased says he was still a small boy when he heard that a new missionary had arrived. At that time there was a heavy rain and the rivers were in flood; he says three of them set off down the road to Alice, walking through the mud, to look at the water in the Gaga. When they were in front of the Native Church he heard something making a beautiful sound in the house now occupied by Mr B. Read. He alone stood still, and approached; the other boys were not interested in such things, and walked on. He caught sight of Mrs Stewart perched outside, strumming a guitar, tears in her eyes, singing "Home Sweet Home." This lady spoke to him and when he answered in English she motioned him closer and everyone in that little house joined them, Stewart, Jane Waterston and Mina, who was still young then.<sup>13</sup> He was sent to fetch water from Rev Ross's<sup>14</sup> house, since they could not get clean water because of the rain; he brought it for them. From that day on they were like thong and pail.

#### HIS DEATH AND BURIAL

For fear of taking space in the paper, Mr Editor, let me cut the story short and say – he came back from Ugie to bring his bones home and, if his health improved, he planned to return to work. His health declined and his friends, white and black, came from far to visit him, saw for themselves and despaired while he was saying, "Wherever the love of my Lord is, I am there."

Indeed, as we have said, he left this world on 22 February and went to his fathers, like Stewart, leaving behind Sophothela's daughter<sup>15</sup> of the Ngwane, who bore him four sons and two daughters.

lokuqala, ecelwa yimantyi yokuqala u Rev. H. Calderwood, ngo 1854 uku-xola kweka Mlanjeni. Emveni koko abafundisi bamise ityalike leya ise Alice yama Skotshi (ihadi zazingekabi ngaka oko), bate ke abafundisi bacela kwa u Colwepi lowo ukuba abe ngumhlabei kulotyalike yabamhlope mhla nge Cawe. Ezindawo kutiwa azibanga nangenelo kuye kuba zamenza wafunda\* izityoyityo zasemlungwini. U Jacob lowo ke uzele u Candlish, uyise ka Melville, wazala u Katrina ongu Mrs Walter Hani, wazala u Nokisi lo ekugqibeleni.

#### NOKISI NO SOMGXADA

Igama lika Nokisi nelika Somgxada asoloko edibene, kangangokuba umfundi angakunqwenela ukuwuva umhla abadibana ngawo. Uti umfi lo wayese yinkwenkwana kwavakala ukuba kuko umfundisi omtsha ofikileyo, – kute kwakuzo ezontsuku kwana imvula yazalisa imilambo; uti banduluke bobatatu besiya kubona amanzi ku Gaga ngalondlela iya e Alice, behamba eludakeni; bate xa bapambi kwetyalike yaba Ntsundu (Native Church) weva into ikala kamnandi kulendlu ngoku ino Mr B. Read, – wenqumama yedwa, wasondela, ahamba amanye amakwenkwana akakatala zezonto; ude wati tu kumka Somgxada, ete ngcu pandle ekalisa intambula, enenyembezi emehlweni evuma ingoma eti “Home Sweet Home.” Itetile naye lentokazi wapendula ngesi Ngesi yasel’ isuka imsondeza, bavela bonke abebe kulondlwana, u Somgxada, u Noqakata, no Mina esemncinci. Watunywa amanzi kwa Rev. Ross, kuba babengenakufu-manazimahlengxa yemvula; weza nawo. Ukususela oko baba yintambo ne netunga.

#### UKUFA NOKUNCWATYWA

– Ngenxa yokoyikela isituba epepeni, Mhleli mandinqumle ke nditi, – ubuyile e Dyoki, ngenjongo yokuba agoduse itambo lake ati ukuba impilo ite yaxumeka abuyele kwase msebenzini.† Iye imka ngokumka impilo, zeza izihlobo zake ezipi, ezimhlope nezimnyama zazibonela zazincamela, waye yena esiti “Apo ikona intando ye Nkosi yam ndilapo.”

Okunene njengoko sesitshilo, ngomhla wama 22 ku February lo ulishiyile elipakade, waya koyise o Somgxada, eshiya intombi ka Sopotela yakwa Ngwane emzalele onyana abane nentombi ezimbini.

\* wafundi

† msebenzizi

In 1905, when Dr Stewart died, letters and telegrams of condolence were sent. Distraught, he sent a telegram containing the above words from Scripture: "Father, father! Israel's chariot and horsemen!" Today we address those words to him.

The ministers present at this funeral who all presided, except for three, were: Rt Rev Bishop Smythe, Fort Hare (Church of England); Rev Dr Henderson, Lovedale (U.F.C.); Rev H.B. Coventry, Lovedale (U.F.C.); Rev. H. Mama, Lovedale (U.F.C.); Rev W. Stewart, Burnshill (U.F.C.); Rev Mr Henchman, Alice (Church of England); Rev. D. Malgas, Fort Beaufort (Church of England); Rev. J. Lennox, Fort Hare (U.F.C.); Rev F. King, Alice (Baptist Church); Rev L. Mzimba (Presbyterian Church of S.A.).

There were more than 1,500 mourners.

"Let him rest in peace,  
faith gave him life;  
let us look up to the Highest,  
let him plead for us with God."

## 18                      **The late Richard Tainton Kawa**

"Lest as a poet my poetry stops,  
lest I eat my fill and choke,  
lest I sleep without waking  
on the day I must go home." – HADI

On Thursday 2 October 1924 the world we inhabit was impoverished by the departure of Richard Tainton, the eldest son of Isaiah, the son of Kawa, whom we know as,

Ngo 1905 ukububa kuka Dr Stewart, kwatunyelwa incwadi nengcingo ngabakuzi, yena, njengomntu okohliweyo kanye, watumela ucingo olubalwe lamagama esi Balo angasentla ati "Bawo, Bawo inqwelo yokulwa yakwa Sirayeli nabamahashe ayo!" Esitshoyo tina namhlanje ngaye.

Aba Fundisi ababeko kulomncwabo ibe ngaba, baza bonke batabate inxaxeba ngapandle kwabatatu: Rt. Rev. Bishop Smythe, Fort Hare, (Church of Eng.); Rev. Dr. Henderson, Lovedale, (U.F.C.) Rev. H.B. Coventry, Lovedale (U.F.C.); Rev. H. Mama, Lovedale, (U.F.C.); Rev. W. Stewart, Burnshill, (U.F.C.); Rev. Mr. Henschman, Alice, (Church of England); Rev. D. Malgas, Fort Beaufort, (Church of England); Rev. J. Lennox, Fort Hare (U.F.C.) Rev. F. King, Alice (Baptist Church); Rev. L. Mzimba, (Presbyterian Church of S.A.).

Abalandeli bencwaba babe ngapezulu kwe 1,500.

"Makapumle ke ngoxolo"

"Lumpilisile ukolo";

"Asikangel' e Nyangweni"

Asibuzel' e Tixweni."

## 18

### Umfi u-Richard Tainton Kawa

"Hleze ndibonge ndingabi sabonga;

Hleze ndozele nditabat' umqonga;

Hleze ndilale ndingabi savuka, -

Kanti lomini yeyokugoduka." - HADI

Ngolwesi-Ne evekini, ngosuku lwesibini kwinyanga ye Dwara, kumnyaka we waka linamakulu osicakatiso anamanci mabini anesine (2nd Oct, 1924), ngenqu yayo imini leyo, ihlabati esingabemi balo lihlwempuzeke ngoku lahlekelwa ngumfo ka Isaiah omkulu, into ka Kawa, engu Richard Tainton,<sup>†</sup> esimazi ngokuba,

---

\* *onkulu*

† *Eainton*

The Gcebula poet,  
 Ravine with horns.  
 Everyone's friend,  
 a friend of his nation,  
 a friend of his chiefs,  
 a Limako<sup>1</sup> fellow.

His home is at Gcebula in Peddie. He gave it two nicknames,

1. Black Peddie
2. Tshawe<sup>2</sup> Peddie.

He studied at Healdtown when it still offered a good education, which is to say he studied before there were stumbling blocks, when a teacher could still teach and move lets and hindrances out of his way. After school, it was rumoured he was going overseas to study theology, but circumstances were unfavourable, so he took up teaching and became an expert at it. As a teacher he loved to encourage singing, leading from the front in words and tunes. The song "Africa's land is crying" has been of service to this generation for 40 years, but it never fails to excite, it arouses the youngsters and grows fresher and fresher.

For some time he helped the editors of newspapers like *Izwi labantu* in East London, *Umlomo wabantu* in Johannesburg and *Iphepha labantu* also in Johannesburg. As a writer he wrote precisely, elegantly and stylishly and he was a peerless poet. Because it offered so much profit, you were constrained to read what he wrote for the paper whether or not you agreed with it.

Not too long ago he was preparing to write a book on the history of the Mfengu. Indeed he criss-crossed the country recording histories from chiefs and others. Though it is "A history of the Mfengu" it apparently includes all the black nations without exception. He used to say to me that he would die happy if he could see his efforts succeed. He constantly mentioned that he visited Lovedale to see about publication and the appeal for money to be collected and sent to Dr Henderson. But the money was slow in coming, and he complained about that to his community. In the end we made arrangements for him to leave his papers with young men from his area who taught at Lovedale so that he should come to them whenever he wanted to add something new.

Yi Mbongi yase Gcebula,  
 U Ngxingw' enempondo.  
 Umhlobo womntu wonke,  
 Umhlobo wesizwe sake,  
 Umhlobo we nkosi zake,  
 Umfo wakwa Limako.

Ikaya' lake lilapo e Gcebula, e Nqûshwa, abetanda ukuliteketisa ngamabizo amabini, –

1. I Nqûshw' emnyama
2. I Nqûshw' ama-Tshawe.

Imfundo wayifumana e Nxukwebe (Healdtown), iseko kakulu; oko kukuti wayifumana ingekahambi ngamiqatango, oko ititshala ibisafundisa izikupe igori ne gode. Akuba efundile kute nakuba kwakuke kwangati uzakuwelela i Tiyoloji, imeko azavuma, wasel' etabata ubutitshala, ate wayincutshe ke kubo. Ebu titshaleni apo ubetanda ukuvumisa ingoma ezihlatyelwe nguye, amazwi kwa ne "noti" zawo. Yona ingoma eti: "Umhlaba we Afrika Uyalila," seyineminyaka ekumanci omane (40) ikonza isizukulwana, kodwa noko ayingenwa mdintsi, ipika nezizukulwana ezi, imana ihlaziyeka ngokuhlaziyeka.

Ube netuba elinobom encedisisa kubahleli bamapepa endaba, anje nge "Zwi Labantu" e Monti; "Umlomo Wabantu" e Rautini; "Ipepa Labantu" kwase Jo'Burg; engumbali okubala kucacileyo, kuhle, kumnandi, eyi Mbongi engenagxa, inteto ayibalileyo epepeni ubunyanzeleka ukuyifunda nokuba akuvumelani nayo, ngenxa yokufundeka kwayo.

Kuleminyaka ingekude ungenwe kukunga angabala incwadi yebali laba "Mbo." Okunene ulijikeleze† kunene ilizwe, ehamba etabata amabali ezinkosini, nase bantwini. Noko kutiwa elo "Libali laba Mbo" zipantse ukuba lapo zonke intlanga zika "Ntu" kungeko lumbirwayo. Ubesitsho kum ukuti, angafa kakuhle efe eyibonile impumelelo yelilinga; ubesakutsho ehamba futi e Lovedale, ekangela into engaqutywayo ngalo esishicilelweni, – ekangela nalamali yalo kwakutiwe mayimane iqokelelwa itunyelwa ku Dr Henderson; kuloko imali leyo ibihamba nzima, ekalaza ke ngalonto kumzi wakowabo. Side senza ukuba amapepa la ake ebali makawashiye kumadodana akowabo azititshala e Dikeni,

\* *Ikay*

† *ulijikeleze*



He accepted this though he did not see its importance at first. Which is to say the community should relax, those papers are well preserved. The community should find the money to print this volume, as we promised the writer, who then died happy.<sup>3</sup>

This serves to say that the son of Kawa has left us on this earth, preceding his mother. He was hurriedly called, he responded and left the covering blanket of this world. He went on his way!!!

We were left alone –  
we were left confused,  
because you spoke  
through your people's saying:  
“In dancing they yield to each other.”  
“Don't yield,” we said,  
continue to dance.”  
“I hear you,” you said,  
and you took your place.  
We danced face to face,  
in varying steps  
the young men imitated.

We took after Mehlomakhulu,  
the dancer at Bhungane's place.  
We went at it, son of Kawa,  
you a Limako clansman,  
at the Great Place of the Zizi.  
We called as we strutted our stuff –  
we did this – and this – and that –  
filled with pride in our chiefs,  
filled with pride in our land,  
filled with pride in our common humanity,  
and pride in the girls of our nation.

We strutted, Limako clansman –  
“Smoke bile, cow just calved!”

xa sukuba ehamba, ukuze yena amane ukuza kuwo xa anento entsha afuna ukuyifakela, – wayivuma londawo noko waye ngandulanga ayinakane. Oko kukuti umzi mawungaxali, amapepa lawo ako agciniwe. Into omawuyizame umzi wona zimali zokushicilelwa kwebali elo, njengoko sasise sitembise njalo kumbāli lowo wafa kamnandi ke ngelo.

Ukutsho ke kukuti isishiyile ezweni into ka Kawa, yamandulela unina, yapangwa yabizwa, yasabela, yayishiya isisinxöbo lengubo yalo mhlaba, – yahamba!!!

Sasala site nxwe, –  
Sasala site makanxa;  
Kuba kaloku wawutshilo  
Ngokweqalo lakowenu,  
Wat' "Asin' ededelana;"  
Site tina "Ms' ukudeda,  
Usekwixa lokusina,"  
Ute wena "Hayi ke ndivile;"  
Washo wangen' eluhlwini;  
Sasina sijongene  
Sarol' izimbo yimbo,  
Abonel' amadodana.

Sixel' u Mehlomakulu  
Inxentsi yakwa Bungane.  
Sabeta ke mfo ka Kawa  
Wena nto yakwa Limako,  
Kwa Komkul' e Mazizini.  
Saguya saman' ukutsho, –  
Sisenjenje, – sisenjenje, –  
Sizidla nge nkos' zetu,  
Sizidla nangezwe letu,  
Sizidla ngobuntu betu,  
Nange ntombi zezwe letu.

Saguya wakwa Limako, –  
Se "Tshay' inyongo ndlezana!

The young men stood tall,  
 even a small cut, even a chief's share,  
 even a chief's share, even a choice cut,  
 even a choice cut, even a hindquarter!<sup>4</sup>  
 You said you were yet to visit your mother,  
 the woman who gave birth to you,  
 the woman you were born from,  
 that same woman who bore you.

When we realised you'd journeyed far,  
 you were already beyond the river,  
 the river of Jordan,  
 sounding a plaintive air,  
 standing right in the middle  
 of a chorus of saints in heaven,  
 all of you wearing white,  
 raising the dust in dance,  
 singing the song of the Lamb.

In saying so I'm not complaining –  
 I'm not complaining, son of my father;  
 I'm not even singing praises,  
 I'm not singing praises, son of my father;  
 I'm not even shedding tears,  
 I'm not shedding tears, son of my father.  
 I'm still raising my arms in the dance  
 here in this earthbound place;

for I would react the same way  
 if the summons had been for me.  
 So go, son of my father,  
 you've been summoned by your fellows,  
 they say to you "Please take a rest,  
 and wait for the Messiah."  
 They say so, and so does your God.  
 So go, magnificent poet!

Apakam' amadodana;  
Kwazicwili kwamihlomlo,  
Kwamihlomlo kwamaqasho,  
Kwamaqasho kwa nxaxeba!  
Ute usaya kunyoko,  
Kulomfaz' uzala wena,  
Kulomfaz' uzalwa nguye,  
Yena low' ukuzeleyo.

Sive sel' uquma kude,  
Sel' ungapesha komlambo,  
Komlambo oyi Jordani.  
Sewuvum' upolokohlo  
'Polokohlo lomtyangampo,  
Kunye nengcwele zezulu,  
Ezambete ezimhlope,  
Senisina kulutuli  
Senivum' ingom' e Mvana.

Noko nditshoy' andirori, -  
Andirori mtaka bawo;  
Andibongi nakubonga,  
Andibongi mtaka bawo;  
Ndingalili nakulila  
Andilili mtaka bawo.  
Ndisaxöme ndisasina  
Kwezalomhlaba indawo;

Kuba nam xa ndibizwayo  
Bendingakwenza ngakumbi.  
Ngoko Hamba mtaka bawo,  
Ubizwe ngabakowenu,  
Bati kuwe kawupumle,  
Uk' ulind' u Mesiyasi  
Batsho no Tix' akowenu.  
Ngoko Hamba Mbong' enkulu !

sing the praises of God  
until he's merry and at his ease

where all are entitled to rain,  
where the livestock all do well,  
where there's *amasi*<sup>5</sup> and familiar food,  
and the absence of disease.

Please speak and represent us  
at the Great Place in the heavens,  
speak to the Holy Trinity,  
for you left us deeply disturbed,  
the country's threatened by storm,  
the wheel of God has turned,  
laying waste our kingdoms,

but bringing the Kingdom closer,  
the Kingdom without end.

That's the word to conclude on!  
That's the word to finish with!  
That's the word on which to stop!  
That's it!!!

## 19

### Who is this Ntsikana?

This Ntsikana is a member of the Cirha clan, the son of Gabha, a Ngqika by royal allegiance – we are contemporaries of his sons, Kobe and Dukwana, whose offspring live in Centane and on the Pirie river below the forests.<sup>1</sup> His daughters are also among us.

Let me omit Ntsikana's childhood and start with his departure from home among the Ngqika, from the time he moved to the Ndlambe together with other councillors, when the voice spoke through Nxele, formerly a wardoctor, saying "Those Ngqika always bear the blood of war, so one day they will turn into ants, they will turn into firewood, they will turn into rocks."

Uz' umbong' u Tixo,  
Atsh' acwayit' akululeke,

Ap' imvula nezilunga.  
Kulung' impahl' ehambayo,  
Kube masi namahasa,  
Kutsho kupele nezifo.  
Uz' utet' usitetele  
Komkul' apo e Zulwini;  
Ku Mtriniti Oyingcwele  
Kub' umka ku manyonywana;  
Izwe limatumb' antaka,  
Kujik' ivili ka Tixo,  
Idiliz' izikumkani.

Isondez' ubu Kumkani  
Obo bungenasipelo:  
Elo ke lelokugqiba!  
Elo ke lelokupeta!  
Elo ke lelokuyeka!  
Nci-ncincilili!!!

## 19

### Uyintonina lo Ntsikana?

Lo Ntsikana ngumfo wasema Cireni, ka Gaba, ngum-Ngqika ngokweziko lobukosi – onyana bake u Kobe no Dukwana sihleli nabo, nantso lonzala kwa Centane nase Mggakwebe pantsi kwamahlati. Intombi zake nazo zipakati kwetu.

Mandingayi ebuntwaneni buka Ntsikana mandiqalele ekumkeni kwake kowabo kwa Ngqika, oko wehla waya kwa Ndlambe, kunye namanye amapakati, oko kwakuvele ilizwi ku Nxele, itola lokuqala lisiti “Ama Ngqika la ahlala epete igazi esilwa, ngoko ke ngenye imini ayakuze ajike abe zimbovane, abe zinkuni, abe ngamawa.”

Since these words were pronounced by the great Nxele, they were believed and led many Ngqika to migrate and become Ndlambe because they were afraid of turning into firebrands and stones. In the course of time, Nxele failed as a sanctified prophet, he changed now and was given an offering of dun- and flax-coloured cattle – now he received them as a diviner, now the good Spirit left him to be whatever he wanted – that is why Ntsikana was sent to fetch those people misled by Nxele; because, my friends, our Spirit, because of the love it bears for us, wanted us to be fetched.

My people, Ntsikana was sent to me with visions, just like all messengers from the Great Place. Just like Moses, just like Gideon, just like the Apostles, when they were sent, signs and visions were conjured. Therefore we are not ashamed to state that Ntsikana is a visionary, yes he is a Holy Prophet of the Most High.

#### VISIONS AND SIGNS

Before Ntsikana was sent he was first shown visions. The first vision he was shown is this: On a certain day before sunrise, he went to the cattle-kraal, as it is customary among the Xhosa for a man to go to the cattle-kraal when he wakes in the morning. This happened at Gqorha in the district of Peddie, at the same time as Nxele was in the district of East London responding to Tabu in the Nkanga forests.<sup>2</sup>

While he was still leaning on the gate of the cattle-kraal, the sun suddenly rose; and its appearance that day showed it was sent to him because, as it rose, its rays spread out from the body of his ox, known as Hulushe. Ntsikana mentioned this to a nearby boy who was catching a calf. He asked him if he had seen this? The boy said no. Just like the Apostle Paul who had a light flash on him, but the men travelling with him heard a voice but saw no one, *Acts 9:7*.

The second vision is when he went to a dance at Breakfastvlei,<sup>3</sup> whenever he stood up to dance a loud, tempestuous whirlwind arose, and this was visible now to many people, and now he gave up and called his wives and went home. On his way he washed off the ochre on his body. Now he began to talk and said, "This thing that has entered me says, 'Let us pray!'"

I believe, my friends, that every Xhosa child at this Commemoration<sup>4</sup> will be receptive to this word, and *pray*, and do so frequently. And everyone who prays is a member of the Ntsikana Commemoration. He claimed it was said that the people misled by Nxele should be fetched. Other visions and signs

Ite lenteto kuba itetwa yingangalala u Nxele, yakölelwa yada yafudusa ama Ngqika ama ninzi aya kuba ngama Ndlambe, kuba bebesoyika ukuba zizikuni namatye. Kute kupî, u Nxele watshitsha ekubeni litola elihlambululekileyo, wajika ngoku warunywa, ngenkomo e zimdaka nezilubelu, – walicamagu ngoku wa zamkela naye, lati ke ngoku i Shologu elihle lamyekela kulento atanda ukuba yiyo, – kukuze ke ngoku kutunywe uNtsikana ukuba aputume labantu ekulahlekisweni ngu Nxele; kuba zihlobo zam i Shologu lakowetu ngoku sitanda kwalo, lalifuna ukuba siputunywe.

Indlela atunywe ngayo bantu bakokwetu kum u Ntsikana, ibe nemibono, njengabatunywa bonke ba Komkulu. Njengo Mosisi njengo Gidiyoni, njengaba Postile, abati xaba tunywayo kwa ke kwenziwa imiqondiso nemi bono. Ngako oko asinantloni ukuti u Ntsikana lo ngum Boni, ewe ungum Polofeti Ongcwele wose Nyangweni.

#### IMIBONO NEMIQONDISO

Pambi kokuba atunywe u Ntsikana uqale waboniswa imibono. Umbono wokuqala awubonisiweyo ngulo: Ute ngamhla utile pambi kokuba lipume ilanga, waya ebuhlanti, njengesiko lesi Xosa, ebisa kuti indoda ivukele ebuhlanti. Apo ke kwaku se sapa e Gqora kwisiqingata sase Nqushwa, e kubeni u Nxele wayekwesi siqingata sase Monti, evuma i Tabu kulama Hlati akwa Nkanga.

Ute esate tyu pezu kwemivalo yobuhlanti lapuma ilanga; koko lite ukupuma kwalo eli lanamhla labonisa ukuba litunyiwe kuye, kuba imita yokupuma kwalo, isuke yatsitsa esiqwini senkabi yake yenkomo ekube kutiwa ngu Hulushe gama layo. Uyitetile u Ntsikana lento kwa oko kwinkwenkwe eyayi kwalapo ibamba itole. Ubuzile ukuba iyayibona na yona lento? Ilandule inkwenkwe. Kanye nje ngoko um-Postile u Paulusi wabengezelelwa kukukanya, ati amadoda aye hamba naye aliva ilizwi kodwa engaboni bani, Izenzo 9:7.

Umbono wesibini ngulowo wati akuya e mdudweni ngakwelo Cibi le Ntonga (Breakfastvlei), kwasuke kwamana ukuvuka izipõtshongela zenqwitela akulinga ukududa, yade lento ngoku yacaca nakwaba ninzi, ukuze ancame ngoku, abize abafazi bake agoduke. Ate kwase ndleleni wayihlamba imbola. Waqala ngoku wateta esiti, “Lento indingeneyo iti, *“Makutandazwe!”*”

Ndiyakolwa zihlobo zam ukuba wonke umntwana wom Xosa olapa esi Kumbuzweni uya kulitabata elozwi, *atandaze*, abe ngumtandazi wafuti nafuti. Naye wonke umntu otandazayo, ulilungu lesi Kumbuzo sika Ntsikana. Utshilo kanjalo ukuba kutiwa makaputume abantu bayalahlekiswa ngu Nxele. Kubeko



spoken of manifested, as when he declared that people who followed Nxele and went to Gompo<sup>5</sup> would return hunting wild animals without the resurrection of those Nxele said would be resurrected. In the event, he sent Peyi, Gqoba's father,<sup>6</sup> to fetch the ox he gave Nxele as a sign of consent, saying "He will meet Nxele on the way, and the ox must be removed from the line of cattle." And that's just what happened.

The last sign I'll mention, Mr Chairman, and you my honoured friends, is that of the slate produced by the white minister Rev Joseph Williams at Sihota in the Fort Beaufort district.<sup>7</sup> This minister told him that, in order for him to know if he was capable of teaching children, "you must write your name down on this slate for me to see." Yes, my dear friends, a white person is someone who always likes to see something with his own eyes, not to hear it told; he is a person who wants to test over and over. The Xhosa poet spoke the truth when he said:

I despised the white man and called him boy.  
 But the white man's a man who is used to replying;  
 but the white man's a man who is used to enquiring.

Confronted by the slate, Ntsikana said "My teaching is not in this thing." The white man persisted and handed it to him. Something told Ntsikana, "Take it." He did indeed take it together with the pencil. When these two things came in contact, the slate shattered into splinters. Deeply disturbed, Rev Williams found words, he dropped to his knees and said, "O my friend, I perceive that you are a true minister, you are fit to teach children."

My friends, I do not know if this disturbing experience for Williams was the reason the minister stayed only two years in our country, because he died after that length of time in 1818 having arrived in 1816, whereas Ntsikana would die in 1820.<sup>8</sup>

What do people say today? They say Ntsikana was influenced by the first missionaries, that they converted him. Who are those first missionaries? Because Williams is the first missionary, apart from Van der Kemp, who did not stay long at any one place in our country. I say who are those missionaries, because the first missionary Ntsikana met is the one who dropped to his knees before Ntsikana, confessing his guilt?

neminye imibono nemiqondiso ayitetileyo, yenzeka, enje ngokuya waxela ukuba abantu a balandela u Nxele baya kwa Gompo, baya ku buya bezingela inyamakazi bengavukanga abo bantu kwakutiwa bayakuvuka. Okuya kanjalo watumela u Peyi uyise ka Gqoba ukuba a putume inkomo yake awayevume ngayo u Nxele, watsho esiti, "uyakuhlangana naye emkaulela, nenkomo leyo ayikupé ngapandle kwemigca." Okunene kwabanjalo.

Umqondiso wokugqibela endiya kuwukankanya Mhlali-ngapambili, nani zihlobo zam ezibekekileyo, ngulowa wesileyiti, eseza nomfundisi omhlope u Velidyam (Rev Joseph Williams), kwa Sihota, kwisiqingata sase Bofolo, okuya wati umfundisi lowo, ukuze aqonde ukuba uyakwazi ukufundisa abantwana, kawu bale apa igama lako ndibone. Ewe zihlobo zam ezitandekayo, kuba umlungu yena ngumntu ofuna ukuké into ayibone ngawake amehlo, angamane ukuva ngokuxelelwa; ngumfo ofuna ukuba isiziba asive ngodondolo. Yanyanisa nembongi yasema Xoseni eyati,

Ndike ndamdel' umlungu nditi yinkwenkwe.

Kant umlungu yindod' ikuqelil' ukupendula;

Kant' umlungu yindod' ikuqelil' ukubuzela.

Ube kusuka u Ntsikana esimangala isileyiti, esiti, 'Eyam imfundiso ayikona kulento.' Wa mjoka njalo umlungu wamnika. Yade yafika ku Ntsikana into eté, "Sitabate." Ate okunene wasitabata kunye nepensile. Zite ukuba ziqubisane ezonto, saqekeka isileyiti sazingceba. Wotuka kakulu u Velidyam umfundisi, wavakala eteta, ewile esiguqweni esiti, "Hayi sihlobo sami, ndikuqondile ukuba okunene u ngumfundisi, uyakwazi ukufundisa abantwana.

Lomotùko ka Velidyam, andazi zihlobo zam nokuba asinguwo na lo owenza ukuba umfundisi lowo abe minyaka mibili qa kweli lizwe lakowetu, kuba wabubá kweso situba ngo 1818 wayefike ngo 1816, kanti u Ntsikana uyaku buba ngo 1820.

Kutiwani namhla nje? Kutiwa u Ntsikana lowo likolwa labafundisi bokuqala, – kutiwa wa guquka kubo. Ngabapi abo bafundisi bokuqala? Kuba u Velidyam lowo nguyena mfundisi wokuqala, ngapandle kuka Nyengana onga zange ahlale ndawo apa kweli lakowetu. Ndi ti ngabapina abo bafundisi, kuba umfundisi wokuqala owa bonana naye u Ntsikana ngu yena wawa esiguqweni pambi ko Ntsikana, e vuma ityala lake?

My fellow countrymen, this opinion should not be spread, because it does not fit the facts, even though the missionaries have already published in books the opinion that Ntsikana was their first convert.<sup>9</sup> I would not say this unless the missionaries had the power and authority to make the sun rise through Hulushe, unless they could control and direct the winds, so that they could stir them to rage, on the day Ntsikana grew anxious and could not dance, so that he gave up, washed the ochre, and went home. And so, it seems to me our fathers the missionaries are making too much of this, they are robbing God of his power, the power to convert someone without them, without their intervention. That is a grave error, because it is written, "Render unto God the things that are God's."

Yes, even amongst us there have been those, neither few nor young, who have argued that this Commemoration should be named after King Sandile or Ngqika, or after other prominent people. But, my friends, the name that won out was that of the visionary, because he was the one who was sent to us; therefore our response to our Father should be made through Ntsikana. If anyone says Ntsikana is dead, he died without receiving a positive response from us, yes, we are responding today; even if he died, we believe his spirit is not dead, he is amongst us, as is our God, the Eternal, "for with God nothing will be impossible" *Luke 1:37*.

## 20

### Early schools

Mr Editor, we probably come from these settlements; and all the education that has spread in the towns comes from these little settlements which are not held in high esteem today. I visited the following myself recently:

At Mgwali – This Mgwali of Ngqika was established by Rev Tiyo Soga in the year of Nongqawuse (1857).<sup>1</sup> These days, after the death of Rev Stirling, there is no minister; Marotwana William, the son of Mene, still looks after the church – it's going well, Krila!

The girls' school makes steady progress.<sup>2</sup> Ploughing and hoeing are coming along nicely. At least, Ngqika people, get yourselves a minister; you have been without one for a long time!

Lenteto bantu bakokwetú kwam, inga inge fumane yandiswe, kuba ayin-  
geni, noxa abafundisi sebede bayishicilela nasezincwadini, inteto yokuba u  
Ntsikana lo likolwa labo loku qala. Ngendingatini mna ukuba abafundisi abo  
oko babe nalo igunya namandla okwenza ilanga lipume ku Hulushe, ukuba  
babe nakö ukupāta nokulaula imimoya, ube ke wawuvutuziswa ngabo, lomhla  
waxakama u Ntsikana, akaba nakududa, ukuze ancame ayihlambe imbola, ago-  
duke. Ngako oko, obawo betu aba fundisi ngati kum bayisukela ikude lendawo,  
bapanga u Tixo igunya lake, lokuba aguqula umntu ngapandle kwabo, balenza  
elabo. Imposiso embi ke leyo, kuba kubaliwe kwatiwa, “Zinikeleni ku Tixo  
izinto zika Tixo.”

Ewe napakati kwetu, kuke kwako abatible abangembalwa, abangebancinan-  
ana kanjalo, abati bateta besiti esisi kumbuzo masenziwe ngegama lokumkani  
u Sandile okanye ngo Ngqika, okanye ngelinye lama gama amakulu. Kodwa  
zihlobo zam kwapume lela eli lalomboni igama, kuba kwakutunywe yena  
kuti; ngako oko impendulo yetu ku Bawo wetu, sifanelwe kukuyenza kwa ngo  
Ntsikana ukuba ubani uti u Ntsikana lowo wafa, wafa, singenzanga mpendulo  
intle, ewe, siyapendula ke namhlanje; nokuba wafa, siyakolwa ukuba umoya  
wake awufanga, uko pakati kwetu no Tixo wetu, u Ndikoyo, “kuba akuko nanye  
into engamqabelayo yena u Tixo” *Luke 1:37*.

## 20

### Izikolo Ezidala

Kambe Mhleli lemizi sivela kuyo; nayo yonke imfundo efike yanda ezi dolopini  
ipuma kule mizana inga sajongelwe nto namhlanje. Ngoko le ilandelayo ndike  
ndayifika ngokwam kutsha nje:

E Mgwali – Lo Mgwali ka Ngqika ngumzi owasekwa ngu Rev. Tiyo Soga  
ngo Nongqause (1857). Ngezimini akukabiko mfundisi emva kokububā kuka  
Rev. Stirling, into ka Mene u Marotwana William, usabambe umzi wetyalike –  
kuse kuhle Rila!

Isikolo sentombi siquba ngamandla. Ulimo luyaquba nohlakulo. Noko ma  
Ngqika yibani naye u Mfundisi kumzuzu ningenaye!

E Pirie – Lomzi kupata kutiwa kukwa Hleke, kupata kutiwa kupantsi  
kwama Hlati, ze kubuye kutiwe kukwa Lose. Onke lomagama anyanisile

At Pirie – Some refer to this settlement as KwaHleke, others refer to it as Below the Forests. Still others refer to it as Ross's place. All these names are appropriate because that school was established in 1830 by the elder Ross<sup>3</sup> among the Hleke, the people of Mfetsho's home. The son of Koti, Rev Candlish of the Tshawe clan, holds the reins in this place and lives in the large minister's house.<sup>4</sup> An enormous Kafferboom that was planted by Van der Kemp (1799) still stands there.<sup>5</sup> The school makes progress under the son of Gwayi Tyamzashe<sup>6</sup> and the two daughters of Revs Erskine and Gantsho; it goes up to Standard VI. The graves of the old missionaries are well kept; but does the grave of D.D. Tywakadi<sup>7</sup> mean anything to you Hleke people? Rev B. Gabha makes steady progress at Twatwa. The son of Mabona, a Tshawe, is still using the Templars and the gospel to good effect.

At Blinkwater – It is not easy to decide between Blinkwater and Fort Beaufort as to which is the main station and which the branch. These places lie on either side of the grave of Williams (1816–1818). The grave of Van Rooyen, whose daughter married Mr William Koyi of Nyasaland,<sup>8</sup> is here at Blinkwater; the large church hall is there, in which services are still held. The reins of both these settlements are held by the son of Jorha, an evangelist. The son of Ntshona is praised on offerings days; the fellow comes in for criticism in other quarters. Another settlement under the son of Jorha is Knapps Hope (KwaGqadushe) and Marhela's Debe;<sup>9</sup> the minister in these places is deaf and is no longer wanted. Primary schools are making good progress. But what's this, members of the Free Church? Please relax your grip or we'll raise our voices!!

At Lovedale – I pass over the seminary here because it remains well known. I'll focus on Gqumahashe, Macfarlan and Siteshoni. The chief, the son of Mama, holds the reins here; another member of the Tshawe clan<sup>10</sup> at Mgwali holds the reins at Macfarlan, Ndongo Matshikwe. Mzimba's son is with the secessionist church.<sup>11</sup> The retired schools inspector, Dr Rein, is not in favour of the way education is controlled in this region – he said the managers of these schools are black people.

At Ncerha a church hall stands in the village of Sikweyiya where Matebese Time was a member. It is in the hands of the Methodist Church!

At Guburha a white church hall of the Bantu Presbyterian Church stands. It is in the hands of Belani, the son of Vena!

The printing of the books of "The Twins" and of the Mpondo paramount, Victor Poto son of Ndamase, was in progress here.<sup>12</sup> Your Majesty!!

kuba eso sikolo sasekwa ngu Ross omdala ngowe 1830 pakati kwempi yama Hleke, amabandla akulo Mfetsho. Into ka Koti, u Rev. Candlish, i Tshawe, ubambe intambo kule ndawo ehlala kulo ndlukazi ka Maneli. Um Sintsikazi owatyalwa ngu Nyengana (1799) useko. Isikolo siyaqutywa yinto ka Gwayi Tyamzashe nentombi ezimbini zo Mfundisi u Erskine noka Gantsho, uko u VI. Amancwaba abafundisi abadala mahle; kodwa incwaba lomfo ka Tywakadi, u D.D., aliteti na kuni ma Hleke? U Rev. B. Gaba uliquba ngamandla i Twatwa. Into ka Mabona, i Tshawe, isabona kakuhle kwezo Zilo nezo Nqulo.

E Gqugesesi – Kunzima ukuxela ukuba yiyipina eyona ndawo ilisebe lenye indawo kwi Gqugesesi ne Bofolo. Ezindawo zombini zipahle incwaba lika Velidyam (1816–1818). Waye u Faloyi (Rev. van Rooyen) ontombi yatshata no Mr William Koyi wase Nyasa, incwaba lake lilapa e Gqugesesi, nendlukazi yenkonzo iseko, isaqutywa. Intambo zalemizi yomibini zibanjwe ngu Mvangeli into ka Jora. Oka Ntshona unconywa mhla ngeminikelo. Uyahletywa umfo lowo kwelo cala. Omnye umzi owonganyelwe ngoka Jora yi Knapp's Hope kwa Gqadushe, ne Debe lika Marela – umfundisi kwezi ndawo nqi akafumaneki (?) Izikolo zentsapo ziquba kakuhle; kodwa yinnale ma Dipende kaninyinyise, sode sipakamise ukuteta!!

E Dikeni. – Isinala apa ndiyayishiya kuba ihleli isaziwa; ndiya kutata u Gqumahashe ne Rwarwa ne Siteshoni. Yi nkosi into ka Mama ebambe intambo apa; ikwa li Tshawe lakwa Gwali elibambe intabo e Rwarwa – u Ndongo Matshikwe. Kwezopumo ityalike yinto ka Mzimba. Umhloli wezikolo opumileyo u Dr Rein akakuncomanga ukupateka kwe mfundo kule ngqingqi – ute i maneja zezi zikolo ngabantu abamnyama.

E Ncera kumi indlu yetyalike kulo lali ka Sikweyiya ibino Matebese Time, yi Wesile leyo ihamb' apo!

E Gubura kumi indlu emhlope yetyalike ye Bantu, yinto ka Vena u Belani ley' ihamb' apo!

Esishicilelweni kupetwe incwadi yama "Wele" neka Mhlekezi wasema Mpondweni u Victor Poto ka Ndamase. Ongaka!!

E Ncemera – Lomzi ngulo kutiwa yi Peulton, abanye bakolisa ukuti sisi kolo sakwa Mdange, – ifike ingaqondakali inyaniso apo; kuba umseki waso ngo 1848, u Rev. Richard Birt, wafika iyingqingqwa yomzi wemi Nqalasi, – yena ecitakalelwe sisikolo sake e Mxelo ne Gxwetera, kwi Midange ka Botomani. Wawenza lomaqaba ase Mnqalasi ayilonto ayiyo namhlanje; ngoko udumo luka Baliti luyatshoniswa ngokutiwa lomzi ngowemi Dange.

At Ncemerha – This settlement is called Peelton. Others mostly say it's the Dange school. It is not clear how it acquired the latter name, because its founder in 1848 was Rev Richard Birt, and he arrived to find a Nqalasi community there. His schools at Mxhelo and Gxweterha among Bhotomane's Dange were destroyed. He made the ochre people of Nqalasi what they are today; so Birt's reputation is diminished by calling this a Dange settlement.

Here the reins are held by the son of Kanyangwa of the Ndobe clan, together with a young Jingqi woman, the daughter of Zintweni of Gaga. The school has a Standard VI and a teaching staff of seven, all local. The eldest son of Mbuya is now a Schools Inspector. He's somewhere over there! The son of Maci, another old teacher here – the school is run by the children of teachers – is now a Postmaster here. The school is now under the children of these teachers. All is well! The minister, Kanyangwa, lives in that big minister's house. The son of Makambi of Gompo in East London is now in charge of this settlement in succession to Makinise Cafu – that is a man, people of Peelton. He will teach you a lot about building, as the whole of East London has been taught how to build by him.

21

**The late Fred Jonas**

“DEATH'S A REWARD.”

It came to my ears that on 7 March 1927 a member of the Tshawe clan had set off through the ancient and dignified ceremony of Death, yes, a prince of the Ntlushe Great Place of the Hleke, and his name is Fred Jonas, the son of Balelo, of Vazi, of Bini, of Hleke. It is said he died of a heart attack at 76 years of age. He passed away in his house at Brownlee Mission in King Williams Town, leaving his wife and four daughters, and was buried by his minister, Rev M.H. Wilson. One of his daughters is Mrs Nkowane, whose husband is a deacon in the Church of England in Graaff-Reinet. Another is Mrs Mbovu Memani from Tshabo in Ndlambeland. The other two, Beatrice Noluteku and Miriam, are still at home.

I first saw the deceased when we were working for the “Eagle Printing Press Co., Ltd.” (*Izwi labantu*) in East London.<sup>1</sup> I was still very young in those days, but honoured to be the Xhosa editor under Nosantso's dark brown son, the

Intambo apa zibanjiwe\* yinto ka Kanyangwa yakwa Ndobe, inentombi yakulo Jingqi ka Zintweni kwa Gaga. Isikolo sino sikisi, nomkosi wetitshala ezi<sup>7</sup>, ingabantwana balapo. Into ka Mbuya endala ititshala seyingu Mhloli wezikolo, nantso pipipi! Into ka Maci enye ititshala endala yalapa, iyi Postmaster kwalapa, – isikolo sesipetwe zintsapo zezititshala, – kuhle-kuhle! Umfundisi u Kanyangwa lowo uhlala kulondlukazi ka Maneli. Into ka Makambi yakwa Gompo e Monti, iwutabatile lomzi ibingoka Makinise Cafu, – yindoda ke leyo mzi wase Ncmera, iyakunifundisa lukulu ngasekwakeni, njengokuba iMonti yonke ifundiswe yiyo ukwaka.

## 21

## Umfi u Fred Jonas

“UKUFA YINZUZO.”

Kuvakele ezindlebeni zam ukuba ngosuku lwesixenxe kuyo lenyanga yo Kwindla (7th March 1927) kunduluke ngenkonzo endala, nezuke kunene yo Kufa, i-Tshawe, ewe, inkosana yakomkulu kulo Ntlushe, kuma Hleke, egama lingu Fred Jonas, into ka Balelo ka Vazi ka Bini, ka Hleke. Kutiwa ufe kukuma kwentliziyo, akuba seleminyaka ima 76 esidla ubom. Uswelekele endlwini yake, kwa Brownlee Mission e Qonce, eshiya inkosikazi nentokazi zone, wancwatywa ngumfundisi wake u Rev. M.H. Wilson, intombi zake enye ngu Mrs Nkowane, oyi Deacon e Tshetshi e Graaff Reinet, enye ngu Mrs. Mbovu Memani e Tshabo, kwa Ndlambe, ezimbini zisesekaya o Beatrice Noluteku no Miriam.

Ukuqala kwam ukumbona umfi lo, koko sasi pantsi kwe “Eagle Printing Press Co., Ltd.”, (Izwi Labantu) e Monti; ndandisemtsha kakulu nga lomihla,

\* zibanjiwe



white man's stick's a rifle (A.K. Soga).<sup>2</sup> The deceased was a compositor and manager of the printing press. He was a mature young man, but I did not fully realise this because of the relationship we developed. This fellow was full of tall stories which bordered on fabrications. He says he received his training in printing at Lovedale<sup>3</sup> some time ago, together with people like James the son of Ntshona. He executed this work in a number of places.

We were again together in the Office of *Imvo* when I was honoured to be asked by its editor, J.T. Jabavu, to assist him at the time he lost his strength through illness. Ngxukumeshe and myself were still friends even then; this was the name I used for him, though I can't remember its origin. Another name is Sinqeketho, which his friends gave him for saying a crown is not *isithsaba*, it is *isinqeketho*, because *isithsaba* is worn on the leg, and he was right.<sup>4</sup>

When he was joking around he often said: "The day I die, you will witness the grace and ease of a Christian's death." Those who were there did not forget the accuracy of what he had said. I last saw him a few days ago when he was looking after his red cows. I often said to him: "Now you're enjoying the bitter harvest of education, Ngxukumeshe." Allow me, Mr Editor, to conclude this article with these few lines:

Take him with you, Death!  
 Take him with you, Death!  
 Go home with him in high excitement,  
 for today you bear a chief –  
 you bear a Tshawe from Mtshiza's home!  
 A rooster scratching his living,  
 straining at work over metal,  
 scratching away, making it speak –  
 and the metal has much to say about life,  
 the life of the nation and all of its people.

Take him with you, Death!  
 Take him with you, Death!  
 The Hleke girls swear by him,  
 Ntlutshe women swear by him;

ndinembeko kodwa yokuba ngum-Hleli wesi Xōsa, pantsi kwe Ngqomb' o Nosantso, u Mnqayi wo mlungu yi rayifile (A.K.S.). Umfi lo waye yi Compositor (umcōlacōli-magama) nompati welitye lokushicilela. Wayesel' eyindodana yena ete vetshe, koko bendingayiqondi kakulu lonto ngenxa yem- visiswano esibe sinayo, – umfo enobuncoko obuhlekisayo obude bayakuma ezimbambeni zokuxoka. Imfundo yoshicilelo uti wayifumana e Lovedale ngemihla yamzuzu, ekunye nento zo Ntshona u James, waquba lomsebenzi ke kwindawo ngendawo.

Sibuye sapinda sakunye kwi Ofisi ye “Mvo” ngexesha endati ndane mbeko yokucelwa ngu Mhleli wayo u J.T. Jabavu, ukuba ndimbambise ngexesha lokupelelwa kwake ngama ndla ngenxa yokugula. Sasisavana ngokoko no Ngxukumeshe; kuba elo ligama lake endibe ndimbiza ngalo, noko ndandingalazi mvelapi, elinye ingu Sinqeketo, elo elityiwa zizihlobo zake ngokusuke ati i crown asiso sitsaba, 'sisingeketo' kuba isitsaba siba semlenzeni atsho enyanisile.

Pakati kwenteto zake zobuncoko ubesakutsho futi ukuti: – “Mhla ndifayo mna niyakuze nibone ukuba kuhle, nokuba lula kokufa ko Mkrestu.” Abebeko ababulibali ubunyaniso balonteto. Ndamgqibela mna kwintsuku ezitile ezadlulayo engumalusi wemazi zake ezibomvu zenkomo, – endandimana ukuti mna kuye: “Ukweyona nyongo yemfundo ke ngoku Ngxukumeshe.” Vuma ndiyipete lenteto Mhleli ngalemigcana:

Hamba naye Kufa!

Hamba naye Kufa!

Goduka naye ngemihlali;

Kuba namhl' utwel' inkosi, –

Utwel' i Tshawe lakulo Mtshiza!

U Pandul' impilo ngokwe nkunz' enkuku,

Int' esebenz' intsimbi ngemilingo;

Isuk' izipandapand' iti kuzo mazitete, –

Suk' intsimbi zitet' int' ezinkulu zokupila,

Zokupila kwesizwe nohlanga lupela.

Hamba naye Kufa!

Hamba naye Kufa!

Ngumafungwa zintombi zakwa Hleke,

Umafungwa ngama Ntlushekazi;

the daughters of Thathu and Vazi say "You."  
Bini's daughters and Mabona's say "You."  
And the daughters of Tshaka and Jwarha say "You."  
They say You, neck clashing on neck!  
They say You, thighs with a tube!!  
They say You, the Rharhabe!<sup>5</sup>

Take him with you, Death!  
Take him with you, Death!  
But, by Mother and Sister, you'll tell me –  
you'll say "Shu-u-u!" before sunrise.  
We Xhosa do not die;  
we do not die, we're only resting;  
we're people who cleanse the home and mourn.  
We're people whose bull's blood speaks;  
we're people of spirits and ancestors –  
the world of the dead knows us only too well!<sup>6</sup>

Take him with you, Death!  
Take him with you, Death!  
In this book of ours we see great things,  
we suffer no loss when you get there;  
dwellers on earth, let that word be expunged,  
destroyed and discarded for being deceptive,  
sentenced and stabbed as a waste of our time!  
The arrival of Death is a massive profit,  
a reward, a great help, an exaltation  
to readers of books of the nation and people!

Take him with you, Death!  
Take him with you, Death!  
We're consoling the Tshawe in doing so,  
when you hear us talk glibly it's in our nature,

Intombi zo Tatu nezo Vazi ziti "yena."  
Ezo Bini nezo Mabona ziti "yena."  
Ezo Tshaka nezo Jwara zikwati "yena."  
Ziti yena ntam' isinqokoto!  
Ziti yena matang' anembobo!!  
Ziti yena wakwa Butsolo-bentonga!

Hamba naye Kufa!  
Hamba naye Kufa!  
Kodwa mha dad' et' uyakundixelela, –  
Uyakuti "shu – u – u!" lingekapum' ilanga;  
Tina ma Xös' asibantu bafayo;  
Asibantu ba-kufa sibantu boku pumla;  
Sibantu ba Ntlanzamzi ne Zila.  
Sibantu ba gazi lankomo litetayo;  
Sibantu babu moya babu Londekaya,\* –  
Liyasazi tina nelo labafileyo!

Hamba naye Kufa!  
Hamba naye Kufa!  
Ngale ncwadi yakowetu sibona lukulu,  
Asina lahleko ngokufika kwako;  
Elolizwi "maligxotwe" bemi bomhlaba,  
Licitwe, lilahlwe lilulahlekiso;  
Maligwetywe lisakaswe lisidl' ixesha!  
Ukufika ko Kufa "Yingenel' enkulu,"  
Yinzuzo no Mancedi nokupakanyiswa,  
Kwabafund'incwadi zobuzwe nohlanga!

Hamba naye Kufa!  
Hamba naye Kufa!  
Siyakúza ma Tshawe noko senjenjalo,  
Nisakuva' siqavata kukuhlala kwetu,

\* *Londekayo*

† *Nasakuva*

it may seem like a joke but it goes to the root.

Peace, Chieftainess!

Peace, Princesses!

Peace, lovely ladies!

We offer condolence!

We offer you comfort!

We announce the shock of the Nation!!

That's it!!!

22

Bhungane

“He’s Bhungane great beyond measure,  
Sotondoshe,  
broad beans that grew where people pissed.  
He’s Tugela sand on the Drakensberg,<sup>1</sup>  
I found them sorting and tossing it out;  
I arrived to sort it and strutted in pride!”

I don't know – but when a nation hears something about one of its distinguished people, it used to benefit that nation, it lifted its spirits, and it would arise as though from the dead. And so today we're going to jot down a few things about this Hlubi king – and this may cause discomfort to writers who know they should be telling the stories of their own people, and using them in education – a nation will not thrive on the history of other nations that mean nothing to them; if it were so, many students would have flourished, because they have been taught only the history of other nations, and of their leading figures.<sup>2</sup>

Bhungane is the son of Ntsele, the son of Mashiya, of Dlomo, of Ngcobo, the son of Mthimkhulu. In the Right Hand House Mthimkhulu produced Rhadebe, the chief who produced the Rhaule and the Rheledwane. Bhungane was not the eldest son of Ntsele – no, there were sons before him, senior by birth and the customary status of their mothers. In fact, Bhungane was the least son in the royal houses.

Sitet' into buncokola kant' izikile.

Taru Nkosikazi!

Taruni Makosazana!

Taruni Zinzwakazi!

Siyaniküza!

Siyanitutuzela!

Sibik'omotuko we Sizwe!!

Ncincilili!!!

22

## U B'ungane

"Ngu B'ungan' Omakulukulu,  
Ngu Sotondoshe,  
Undlubu zamil' entundelweni.  
Yintlabati yo Ngi no Tsukela,  
Ngifike beyihlenga beyipalaza;  
Ngafika ngayihlenga ngaguzubala!"

Andazi ke, – kodwa into yokuti isizwe sive uluto ngomntu wakowaso omkulu ibifudula iyinto eluncedo kwesosizwe, sipakame imix'elo, sivuke besise sifile. Ukutsho oko namhla sizakuke senze icapaza ngale Kumkani yama Hlubi, – sibe ngokwenjenjalo oko situnuka abab'ali abawaziyo amabali akomawabo ukuba bawenze, bafundise ngawo, – isizwe asisoyikuze simile ngokubaliselwa ngamabali ezinye izizwe ezingento kuzo; ukuba bekunjalo ngezise zininzi imfundi ezite zamila, kuba kupela kwento eziyifundisweyo amabali ezinye izizwe, nezik'ulu zazo.

U B'ungane ngunyana ka Ntsele ka Mashiyi ka Dlomo ka Ncobo into ka Mtimkulu. U Mtimkulu lo ekunene uzele u Radebe, oyeyona nkosi izele ama Raule nama Reledwane. U B'ungane asinguyena ube yinkulu ku Ntsele, – hayi bebeko lonyana abangapambi kwake, abona bakulu nangokubela, nangokwesoko lokuzalwa kwabo ngonina. Enyanisweni u B'ungane nguyena wayesemva ngokwezindlu zobukosi.

## EDUCATION

Education assumed great importance – a young man educated in his national identity becomes a person of distinction and note among his people, because he hands on his knowledge, and knowledge is a benefit to society. Knowledge of current affairs became helpful to Bhungane. He was taught human respect, and horticulture; as the youngest, he studied all these things with interest and surpassed the princes senior to him. When the time came for someone to assume the position of Hlubi king, Bhungane was chosen. Why? Because he was educated, and that is what the nation needed. Today's education is not inviting because it is irrelevant to the nation, it has been designed for other nations who show no interest in it whatsoever.

VICTORY. – Yes, he had a host of enemies, Zingelwako<sup>3</sup> and the other senior sons, who even arranged for him to be attacked; but they could not get the better of him, because he held a firm position in his nation and he knew what people needed. Zulu and the entire Right Hand House of Rhadebe tried to overthrow him with herbal charms, but he rose above that.<sup>4</sup> Instead of falling, he rose higher and became more and more prominent, a generous, free-handed chief! No one could estrange him from the Hlubi, old and young, – and then it was that someone said, –

“Bhungane's ever newsworthy,  
he's news that reaches the furthest corners.”

Time and again the Hlubi wasted each other over Ntsele's son, as was their custom under earlier chiefs, like Ngcobo and Rhadebe – but the young man stood his ground and built the nation, which had always been difficult because of the constant battles and strife that had broken out regularly in the past. His cattle flourished – he had a herd of black cattle with scraped horns all bent downwards, and when they descended the mountain in a line to drink in the Mzinyathi river, you would hear them going “xwa! xwa! xwa! xwa! xwa!” Those cattle were said to resemble “ridges.” The man was also successful with corn; he gave generously. To this day the Hlubi believe that God can be no more generous and wealthy than Bhungane – even some Christian Hlubi maintain this notion.

## IMFUNDO

Imfundo le yavela yayinto ngobunto, – umfana ote wayifumana imfundo yobuzwe bake, uba yimbaldasane, nento ayiyo kwesosizwe, kuba upindile unolwazi, lwaye ulwazi ke luluncedo eluntwini. Into ke ete yaba luncedo ku B'ungane yintloko yemfundo yezonto zezomini. Imfundo ayifundisiweyo kukubekeka ebuntwini, nemfundo yemiti; ezizinto ke njengesinci uzifunde ngenyameko wazigqwesa inkosana ezinkulu kunaye. Kute ngexesha lokufuneka komakabe sesihlalweni sobukumkani bama Hlubi, kwafumaneka ingu B'ungane lo ngani? Kuba wayenemfundo, lento ifunwa sisizwe. Le yezimini imfundo lento ngati ayityeki ebantwini, kungokuba yimfundo engeyiyo yesisizwe sisiso, idalwe yaqutywa zezinye izizwe, ezingayikatalele nokuyikatalela.

Uloyiso. – Ewe, – ubenazo intshaba kanobom, o Zingelwako, nezinye inkulu, ezide zaya kumfunela amatengwa; koko akazange abe nakumoyisa, kuba wayemi kakuhle nobuzwe bake, ezazi imfuneko zobuntu. O Zulu, kwanayo yonke indlu yase Kunene ka Radebe, izamile ukumqetula ngamayeza nemiti, kodwa wayeyongamele. Kwati endaweni yokuba ehle, wasuke waya enyuka, wayinto ayiyo ngakumbi nangakumbi, azi inkosi yayinesandla, isipa! Akwabiko bani unako ukumnamulula kuma Hlubi, amadala namatsha, – kwakokukona ngoku umntu ati, –

“U B'ungane yindikinda yindaba,  
Uze waba yindaba nakuzikundlwana.”

Acitene acitana ama Hlubi ngaye lomfo ka Ntsele, aye ibilisiko lawo ukucitana kwakwezipambili inkosi, o Ncobo no Radebe, – Hayi wema umntwana, wasaka isizwe, kuba sasingekabi nakwakeka ngenxa yamadabi namaxwabexu abemana ukubako kwanininini. Iye inyuka indoda leyo ngenkomo, – inomhlambi wenkomo ezimnyama ebezisekwapalwa impondo zibe ngamaxaga zonke, ziti xa zihla intaba ukuya kusela emlanjeni e Mzinyati, zirozile, uve zisitsho, “xwa! xwa! xwa! xwa! xwa!” Ezonkomo ke bekutiwa “ngama Ngele ngele.” Iye inyuka indoda leyo nangamabele (amazimba); yahlofaza, yapa. Enanamhla ama Hlubi akakabi nankolo kuba u Tixo angaba ngapaya kuno B'ungane ngokupa nokuba nezinto, – nala akoliweyo ama Hlubi asaqonda ngalongqondo inxenye yawo.



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“U B'ungane yindikinda yindaba,  
Uze waba yindaba nakuzikundlwana.”

Acitene acitana ama Hlubi ngaye lomfo ka Ntsele, aye ibilisiko lawo ukucitana kwakwezipambili inkosi, o Ncobo no Radebe, – Hayi wema umntwana, wasaka isizwe, kuba sasingekabi nakwakeka ngenxa yamadabi namaxwabexu abemana ukubako kwanininini. Iye inyuka indoda leyo ngenkomo, – inomhlambi wenkomo ezimnyama ebezisekwapalwa impondo zibe ngamaxaga zonke, ziti xa zihla intaba ukuya kusela emlanjeni e Mzinyati, zirozile, uve zisitsho, “xwa! xwa! xwa! xwa! xwa!” Ezonkomo ke bekutiwa “ngama Ngele ngele.” Iye inyuka indoda leyo nangamabele (amazimba); yahlofaza, yapa. Enanamhla ama Hlubi akakabi nankolo kuba u Tixo angaba ngapaya kuno B'ungane ngokupa nokuba nezinto, – nala akoliweyo ama Hlubi asaqonda ngalongqondo inxenye yawo.

MAFU

Bhungane's enemies fell one by one, until only Mafu<sup>5</sup> was left, a bold Rhadebe who resisted authority: he once kidnapped a young girl who was wanted in the Great Place. His day came too, although his death was not in battle but in an ambush, but that was not significant; then it was that Bhungane earned these praises:

“He's the one-tusked elephant of Mqadi's home,<sup>6</sup>  
 who tore into those with two tusks;  
 gang that destroyed Bhunga's homesteads.  
 He killed his close relative Mafu  
 but today it's not important!

DESCENDANTS

In the Great House Bhungane fathered Mthimkhulu II (who was killed by the Ngwane of Matiwane, Masumpa's hunchback, which was a consequence of the dispersal and turmoil occasioned by Shaka),<sup>7</sup> fathered Langelibalele,<sup>8</sup> who fathered Siyepu, who fathered Ntontomisa or Thathazela. In the Right Hand House he fathered Mpangazitha, who fathered Sidinane, who fathered Zibi; Mehlomakhulu belongs to this house. At Mbutweni (the Xhiba House), he fathered Monakali, who fathered Zibi, who fathered Ncanywa, who fathered Patrick; the prominent person in this house is Shadrach, the son of Fuba, the son of Zibi;<sup>9</sup> Mhlambiso is a son of Mthimkhulu II, but in the minor houses.

DEATH

Bhungane did not die in peace, even if he had worked very hard to acquire the chieftainship: now his sons entered the picture and took issue with him when he wanted to hand the chieftainship to a son of a minor house, because he had been well fed in that house, and the nation began to oppose him, turning against Luzipho, to whom he wished to pass the kingdom. At the time of his death, he was still at loggerheads with his son, Mthimkhulu, who seemed about to kill him; Mpangazitha had crossed the Drakensberg to create his own chieftaincy. The king was ill for a long time and he spoke saying, “You Hlubi will be scattered all over, until you are blocked at the home of ‘Stop with a Horn.’” This chief is rumoured to have had a keen sixth sense, as in medicinal skill and generosity.

## U MAFU

Ziye zisiwa nganye intshaba zika B'ungane, kwade kwa salela u Mafu, inyalaqu eyayingavumi kugoba yakwa Radebe: yake yabuye yaqukela ngokutimba intwanazana etile eyayifunwa apa komkulu. Naye lo waba\* nomhla wake, nakuba ukufa kwake kwakunga punyelwananga edulini waba buqutyulwa; kodwa lonto ayenzanga nto, kube kokukona kubongwayo, kutiwa:

“Yindlovu yakwa Mqod’ elupondo lunye,  
 Elikanisela ezimpondo ngambili;  
 Sigeng’ eladl’ imizi yakwa B’unga.  
 Wabulal’ u Mafu kwabe k’abo,  
 Nanamhl’ akwaba ndaba zaluto!”

## INZALA

U B'ungane kwi Ndlu enkulu uzele u Mtimkulu II (owab'adwa nguma Ngwane ka Matiwane, isifombo sika Masumpa, ukuze kuzo kuhla isiyikili nesivondoviya sika Tshaka), yena uzele u Langalibalele, ozele u Siyepu, ozele u Ntontomisa okanye u Tatazela. Ekunene uzele u Mpangazita, ozele u Sidinane ozele u Zibi, u Mehlo makulu ngowaleyo ndlu. E Mbutweni (i Xhiba), uzele u Monakali, ozele u Zibi ozele u Ncanywa ozele u Patrick; kuyo lendlu kudume u Shadrach ozalwa ngu Fuba ozalwa ngu Zibi, u Mhlambiso ukwa yilonzala ka Mtimkulu II, koko ngowe ndlwana ezincinane.

## U KUFA

U B'ungane akafanga useluxolweni, noko abusebenze kangaka ubukosi ukuze abuzuze: Kungene ngoku onyana bake abavana naye, ngokusuke atande ukunikela ubukosi kunyana wendlwana encinane, kuba ebepekelwa kakuhle kona, saqala isizwe samelana naye, sicasa u Luzipo, awayefuna ukumshiya nobukunkani. Ude wafa bengajongene ngalo uxolo nonyana wake u Mtimkulu, owaye ngati sele bulawa nguye; u Mpangazita wayenqumle intaba ezo zo Ndi esiya kuzenzela obake ubukosi, yagula ituba elide inkosi iteta isiti: “nina ma Hlubi niyakucitakala nicitakale, nide niye kutinta kwa “Nqanda ngopondo.” Kuyavakala ukuba lenkosi yiyinawo kakulu umoya wobutyilelwa, kwanje ngobugcisa bamayeza, nesandla esipayo.

\* wabo

THE PERIOD 1770–1780

The extent of the rule of His Highness Mlotywa (another of his names) can be estimated as 1770–1780, which is not to say that his influence lasted for only ten years. His contemporaries in the east would be Jobe of the Mthethwa and Senzangakhona of the Zulu; Ndlambe of the Rharhabe and Bhuru or Khawuta of the Gcaleka; among the Thembu Bhungane's contemporary would be Ndaba, the father of Ngubengcuka. Let's leave him there –

“Bhungane great beyond measure!  
Threatening Buffalo, Mazibuko elephant,  
breathing through broad nostrils  
as it crosses the fords!”

**23 Rev Tiyo Soga, Shaka and Mlanjeni**

The three names above are renowned in our country for major national achievements, but I cannot say admirable achievements, because two of them, Shaka and Mlanjeni, seethe with anger, especially Shaka.

Tiyo Soga and Shaka died young at the age of 41. It is doubtful if Mlanjeni even reached 31 years, and yet these men served their nation as if they had lived to the age of 90; actually I was once misled by a scholar who insisted for a fact that Shaka lived about a hundred years, but it isn't so.

MLANJENI

Let's make a brief beginning with Mlanjeni.<sup>1</sup> This young man served the nation as a diviner, or a rainmaker, or a visionary like Ntsikana – indeed some things said by Mlanjeni are attributed to Ntsikana, such as (1) The firewagon below Ntaba kaNdoda, (2) Broadbreast's War.<sup>2</sup> He was born on the Mdushane side of the Keiskamma river; his father's name was Kala (among the Xhosa the clan name is maintained through generations). From an early age, this youngster liked to enter the river at Middledrift, where there is a pool with a rock in it, and he loved to sit on that rock – hence in the initiation school he was given his name Mlanjeni (In the River).<sup>3</sup> While he was still fresh from the initiation school, this fellow started his work of cleansing the nation, and he went about

## IXESHA 1770-1780

Ituba abepete intambo zombuso ngalo u Mhlekezazi lo u Mlotywa (kuba elo lel-  
inye igama lake) singa litandabuzela kuminyaka ye 1770-1780, singateti kuti  
waba minyaka ilishumi kupela elulaulweni. Ogxa bake e M'bo ingaba ngu Yobe  
kuba Tetwa no Senzangakona kuma Zulu; ingaba ngu Ndlambe kwa Rarabe no  
Bhuru okanye u Kauta kuma Gcaleka; kuba Tembu ugxa ka B'ungane ingaba  
ngu Ndaba uyise ka Ngubencuka. Masibe simshiya\* ke apo -

“U B'ungan' Omakulukulu!  
U Ra Lenyati indlov' akwa Mazibuko,  
Emapumul' anzinzinini,  
Equla ngaw' emazibukweni!”

## 23 U Rev. Tiyo Soga, u Tshaka no Mlanjeni

Lamagama matatu angasentl' apa, ngamagama awaziwa kunene kweli lakowetu,  
esaziwa ngeziganeko ezikulu ebuzweni; kodwa andinakutsho ukuti ngezi-  
ganeko ezihle, kuba aba babini, - u Tshaka no Mlanjeni bayangqwaqweka,  
- ngokungakumbi u Tshaka.

U Tiyo Soga no Tshaka balishiye ilizwe bese ngabafana abaminyaka ima 41.  
U Mlanjeni kungabanzima nokuba uwafikile ama 31, kanti noko isizwe sawo  
lomadoda asikonze njengokungati apile iminyaka ema 90; enyanisweni ndake  
ndaxonywa yimfundi etile, ixela inyaniso zayo zonke zokuba u Tshaka wapila  
iminyaka emalunga nekulu, kanti akunjalo.

### U MLANJENI

Masike siqale ngokufupi ngo Mlanjeni. Inkonzo yalomfana ebuzweni yey-  
obu Gogo, okanye i Tola, okanye i Mboni njengo Ntsikana, - okunene ziko  
izinto ezatetwa ngu Mlanjeni ezibalelwa ku Ntsikana; ezinjengezi: (1)  
Inqwelo yomlilo pantsi ko Ndoda. (2) Imfazwe ka Sifuba-Sibanzi. Apo avelele  
kona kuse Xesi kwelocala lemi Dushane; igama lika yise ngu Kala, into ehla  
ngokuhla ngayo ama Xosa sisiduko. Lentwana ite iselula yatandana nokuhamba

\* sis[.]mshiya

his task with great diligence; because he is said to have set up two parallel posts as a gateway, and people had to enter in pairs; but an evil or foul person could not pass between those posts – he would stand rooted to the spot! When the crowd shouted "Move, fool!" he would snap out of it and make way. This ceremony was conducted at Rede in the King Williams Town district, among the Ndlambe of Mqhayi, where there is a pool called Mlanjeni's Pool. All those found to be evil were not killed, he admonished and preached to them, and gave them Mlanjeni's twigs to protect them.<sup>4</sup> The son of Kala did this until nations such as the Sotho, Pondo, not to mention the Thembu, paid him homage.

Because of the large numbers involved the white man grew alarmed and said: "The country is headed for war – the Xhosa are stirring up conflict," but in reality the Xhosa had no intention of killing the country. The country was crushed by the war of 1850–53, known as Mlanjeni's War. He was wanted by the whites but could not be found, because he eluded pursuit and made his way to Qumrha, where he died, after all his speeches of power. In his last speech he said he would not be buried, though a grave would be dug for him, but he would pass on to the horizon that met the sea, and move westwards to meet up with Broadbreast!

Mlanjeni's youth was not despised by nations and chiefs, because he stood firm on what he said, he was courageous, he was strong. You, young man of the nation, do not look down on yourself, transmit what has been given to you to the people you have been sent to, you will not be despised.

#### SHAKA

Shaka is the son of Senzangakhona, the son of Jama, son of Ndaba, son of Punga, son of Mageba, son of Zulu, son of Malandela. The Thembu and Xhosa kings are descended from this Malandela; Shaka's mother is Nandi, a Langeni girl of the Mthethwa. When Shaka was born in 1787, there was no Zulu nation, they were truly despised children, tobacco traders. Young men should understand that this nation was created by one youth – as Moses created the Israelites and Mshweshwe the Sotho.

Shaka's mother was not a legitimate wife in Senzangakhona's house, and that alone sufficed to isolate him, because children like Dingana were there, children of legitimate houses, which was not Shaka's position. This fellow left at an early age to grow up with his mother (where his royalty was cultivated more

emlanjeni e Xesi apo, kuko isiziba esinelitye pakati, apo ebetanda ukuhlala kona kwelo litye, – kukuze igama lake ebukweteni kuse kusitiwa ngu Mlanjeni. Ute lomfo ese yingcekengcekana yerwala wangena emsebenzini wake wokuhlamba isizwe, wayenza lonto ngenkutalo enkulu; kuba kutiwa wayemisa imiti emibini ilungelelane ime ngokwesango, baze abantu baye ngababini; kanti umntu onobubi nokunc'ola akayi kugqita kulomiti, – uyakuma zote! Kude kumemeze indimbane isiti: "Suka Holowana!" aqale ke ashenxe. Lenkonzo ibisenzeka e Rede kwisiqingata se Qonce, kuma Ndlambe ka Mq'ayi, apo kuko i Cibi ebekutiwa li Cibi lika Mlanjeni. Bonke abo bate bafunyanwa bebabi bebengabulawa, ubebatetisa abashumayeze, abanike iintongana zomti ka Mlanjeni ukuba bagcinakale ngazo. Uyenze lento lomfana ka Kala zade zabusela izizwe ezinje ngabe Sutu, ama Mpondo, singasateti ke ngaba Tembu.

Uqale kwezo ziyunguma ke umfo omhlope ukoyika esiti: "liyawaza kufa ilizwe, – ama Xosa apehla imfazwe;" kanti enyanisweni ayengacingi nento ama Xosa ngokubulala ilizwe. Suke lafa tyum ngalemfazwe ye 1850–53, kutiwa yi "Mfazwe ka Mlanjeni." Ufuniwe ngamagwangqa akafunyanwa, kuba watubela waya kutsho e Qumra, apo wafela kona, emva kwenteto zake ezinamandla. Inteto yake yokugqibela ute akayi kuncwatywa, kodwa incwaba lona liya kumbiwa, kodwa yena uza kumka ngolundi oluya lolwandle, asinge e Ntshonalanga ekaulela u Sifuba-sibanzi!

Ubuncinane buka Mlanjeni abudelwanga zizizwe nazinkosi, kuba wayezimisele kwinto ateta yona, warota, womelele. Nawe ndodana yesizwe sukuzidela, into oyinikiweyo yitulule ebantwini otunywe kubo, akusayi kudelwa.

#### U TSHAKA

U Tshaka ngunyana ka Senzangakona, ka Jama, ka Ndaba, ka Punga, ka Mageba, ka Zulu, ka Malandela. Lo Malandela ke uko kuba Tembu nakuma Xosa; unina ka Tshaka ngu Nandi intombi yase Langeni kwimi Tetwa. Ekuveleni kuka Tshaka ngomnyaka we 1787 kwakungeko sizwe singama Zulu, yayizintwana ezideleke kunene, ezi ngabatengisi becuba. Amadodana makaqonde lonto, yokuba isizwe esi siyadalwa ngumfana emnye, – njengoko wenjenjalo u Mosisi kuma Sirayeli nanjengoko wenzayo u Moshoeshoe kube Sutu.

Unina ka Tshaka wayengeyiyo nenkosikazi kakuhle apa kwa Senzangakona, nalonto yodwa yayanele ukuba imdambise, kuba o Dingana babeko, abantwana bezindlu kakuhle; kodwa akubanga njalo ku Tshaka. Umke umfo lo kowabo



than it would have been at home), he learnt much from his uncle Dingiswayo<sup>5</sup> about military tactics – the fellow left home because he was braver than anyone there; and in the ranks of his uncle's forces he was active and victorious, a military man. After the death of his uncle, a legitimate son of Jobe, who was killed by Zwide, the chief of the Ndwandwe, Shaka assumed the Langeni chieftaincy on his mother's side, and combined it with his own Zulu chieftaincy, because his father was dead, and none of his brothers could stand up to him – he fought the powerful Ndwandwe nation and defeated it, and he swallowed those two great nations, the Mthethwa and the Ndwandwe, and they became Zulu.

Young educated men should note – this is a young man who went to study at his mother's home, and returned with all the spoils to raise his own nation to swallow great nations. What is this practice of studying and applying what you've learnt far from home? What have you got to say, you new breed of educated Africans! Shaka started this work as a young man of 27, and he pursued it with valour and great energy – he was also concerned about and protected another great nation, the Hlubi, who appealed for his help when they were oppressed. This alone contradicts those who draw attention to his cruelty and inhumanity; furthermore, when whites like Farewell, Fynn, Cane<sup>6</sup> and others came and asked him for land to settle on, he set aside liberal tracts of land near the sea and they became great councillors – this also undermines his reputation for cruelty. Shaka appreciated that his uncle Dingiswayo's power came from white people, so he was reluctant to disturb the white man. Doesn't that display remarkable intelligence? Please answer, youngsters!

Shaka also understood the strength of the Xhosa, because he died in 1828 having sent a shrewd message to the whites in the Cape with advice on how to conduct their many wars against the Xhosa. His message recommended a joint attack on the Xhosa – the white man from the west, the Zulu from the east, driving them to the same place, with the spoils shared: "The white man can seize all Xhosa land and the Zulu will get their cattle." The white man had not yet responded to that.

esemncinane wayakukulela kulonina (apo kwakuko ubuk'osi obute vetshe kunobakowabo), ufunde uluto olukulu kuninalume u Dingiswayo, malunga nokupatwa komk'osi, – waye umfo lo wayemke ngokukalipa gqita kwakowabo; ute nalapa kulemikosi ka ninalume wayingqakamba nesitshatsheli, into yomkosi kanye. Akuba efile uninalume umfo ka Jobe olungileyo, ebulawa ngu Zwide inkosi yama Ndwandwe, busele no Tshaka ubukosi base Langeni kulonina, wasel' ebudibanisa nobakwa Zulu kowabo, kuba uyise wayengaseko; kwaye nakubakuluwa bake kwakungeko unokumelana naye, – walwa nesosizwe sinamandla sama Ndwandwe wasoyisa, zozibini ezozizwe zikulu esemi Tetwa nesama Ndwandwe, waziginya zangama Zulu.

Amadodana afundileyo makapawule, – yiyole indodana iye emfundweni kulonina, ibuye nalo lonke ixoba yaza kufukula ngalo\* isizwe sakowayo, saginya izizwe ezikulu. Lento yokuti wakufunda uzityele lomfundo ezweni paya, yeyona ntonina ke leyo? Kani pendule ma Afrika amatsha afundisiweyo! Uwuqale lomsebenzi u Tshaka eseyindodana emnandi eminyaka ima 27, wawuquba ngobugora nangama ndlakazi angummangaliso, – esinye isizwe esikulu sama Hlubi wasitata wasifaka ekwapeni, seza kumcela ngokwaso mhla sasixinekile. Lonto yodwa ibeta emlonyeni abo bamdumise ngenkohlakalo ngoku ngati wayengasena mfobe yobuntu; kanjalo ate amagwangqa o Farewell, Fynn, Cane namanye mhla afika kuye eze kucela indawo zokuma, wawanika izibekebeke zemihlaba ngaselwandle bazi Nduna ezinkulu, – naleyo iyayipikisa inkohlakalo yake ngoluhlobo inconywa ngalo. U Tshaka wayewazi amandla ka ninalume u Dingiswayo ukuba avele kubantu abamhlope, akatanda ke ngoko nokuze ak'atazane nomntu† omhlope. Asiyiyo incamisa yengqondo leyo? Pendulani makaba!

U Tshaka waye wazi kanjalo amandla ama Xosa kuba ub'ub'e ngowe 1828 enenteto yengqondo ayib'ekisayo kumagwangqa ase Koloni ecebisa indlela yokuliwa kwama Xosa kwezimfazwe zingaka zawo. Watumela inteto eti ama Xosa la makahlanganyelwe, – umlungu makangene yena ngase Ntshonalanga, ati yena Zulu angene ngase Mpumalanga bawafingele ndawonye, lize ixoba lenjiwenje ukwabiwa: "Umlungu atabate wonke umhlaba wama Xosa, zize inkomo zifunyanwe ngu Zulu." Elo ke umlungu wayengeka lipenduli.

\* *ngayo*

† *nomtu*

## DEATH

After these few remarks about this man, we must finish off with him without covering everything. As the saying goes: "He who lives by the spear dies by the spear." And so it was for Shaka, who was murdered by his father's sons;<sup>7</sup> he died as the Mpondo were sending word that they were surrendering to him, as Mshweshwe among the Sotho was sending gifts of gratitude to "the great chief." He died having shaken the whole country, having changed it completely from what it was when he appeared – he left Zulu a very powerful nation, by no means that small despised child trading tobacco for a living! Do the young men of Africa hear this? What do they say, having heard this? We have not yet finished talking about this chief, we'll return to him one day: his career offers many excellent lessons!

## REV TIYO SOGA

Shaka died in 1828, and this minister<sup>8</sup> was born among the Ngqika in 1829; Mlanjeni was born in the same period. As there are many lessons to be learnt from this minister, we will keep on skipping from point to point. Mlanjeni died leaving one child, a girl; Shaka died without children, although he had wives, but he did not want children; this minister had many children, and he had a crowd of siblings because his father, Soga, had many wives.<sup>9</sup> Tiyo was born at Tyhume in the Alice district. From the time of his birth he had access to education and the Word; they were all the more abundant in his home because Ntsikana's disciples visited his home on their way from Twatwa. It was Tiyo's good fortune to start learning at an early age. The missionaries who were there at that time, such as Chalmers, Brownlee and others, liked him and asked his father and mother if they could take care of him, and it was agreed.

## TRAVEL OVERSEAS

Because of the frequent wars on Xhosa territory, the schools were thoroughly disrupted, and the missionaries had to bide their time; they decided to send this fellow to their country, to study without disruption, and he was indeed sent abroad after the War of the Axe. On his return, the missionaries involved him in teaching and evangelism, but he did not stay long: he was sent abroad again to accelerate his training as a full minister. He did indeed cross the sea and went as far with his studies as he could, he was ordained there and returned as a fully fledged minister.<sup>10</sup> The reader will be under the impression that Tiyo

## UKUFA

Ekubeni sisenza amabala engwe ngayo lendoda sifanelwe kukuba size ekuyiyekeni asingefumane siyifeze. Njengoko sitshoyo isiteto ukuti: "Indoda yomkonto ifa kwa ngomkonto;" waba njalo u Tshaka, ebulawa ngabafo bakayise; wafa xa ama Mpondo atumele ilizwi lokuzinikela kuye, – xa u Moshoeshoe kube Sutu atumela futi amab'aso "kwi nkosi enkulu;" wafa ilizwe lonke elishukumisile, waliguqula layinto elalingeyiyo ukucela kwake, – wamshiya u Zulu esisizwekazi esikulu, engeyiyo lantwana idelekileyo ibitengisa icuba ukuze izuze ukupila! Amadodana ase Afrika ayayivana lonto? Atinina ke ekuyiveni kwawo? Asika yishiyi lenkosi, sisaya kuyibuyela ngomnye umhla izele zizifundo ezihle inqubo yayo!

## U REV. TIYO SOGA

Ute uyafa u Tshaka ngowe 1828 wabe evela umfundisi lo kuma Ngqika ngowe 1829; u Mlanjeni uvele kwakulo minyaka naye. Ekubeni zizininzi izifundo nangaye umfundisi lo siyaku mana ukuqakata sisenza amacapaza, u Mlanjeni ufe ezele umntwana omnye oyintombi; u Tshaka ufe engena mntwana konke, pofu abafazi enabo, koko engafuni mntwana mpela, umfundisi lo yena uzele kakulu, waye naye enehlokondiba azelwe nalo kokwabo, kuba abafazi baka Soga uyise babe baninzi. Uzalelwe e Tyume u Tiyo, kwisiqingata sase Dikeni, imfundo ne Lizwi zazise ziko ezonto ukucela kwake; zayindyebo ngakumbi kokwabo, kuba amakolwa ka Ntsikana ezakuba kwalapa kokwabo esuka e Twatwa, waba nenyweba ke u Tiyo yokufunda eselula. Bate abafundisi ababeko kweso situba o Tshemese no Buluneli nabanye bamtanda, bamcela kuyise nakunina ukuba abe kubo kubekanye kwavunywa.

## UKUYA PESHEYA

Kute ngenxa yemfazwe ezifuti kweli lasema Xoseni zakolisa ukucitakala izikolo, beme bame abafundisi; bade babona ukuba lomfo mabamse kwelakowabo, afundiswe kwelo engakatazwa nto, okunene uweziwe wafunda emva kweye Zembe. Ebuyile apo ufakwe ngabafundisi kumsebenzi wobutitshala nobu vangeli be Lizwi; kodwa akahlalanga kuyapi kwezo ndawo, uhle wabuye wawezwa ukuba aseleqoqoshwa agqityiwe abe ngumfundisi kube kanye. Okunene uweziwe waya wafunda wade wati ga apo ate ga kona, wabekwa nezandla kwelo, weza nganeno apa egqityiwe cwaka. Umfundi uyakucinga ukuba u Tiyo

encountered not the slightest problem during the wars fought by his people, but that is not so; he and his mother constantly encountered violent combatants and while he was an evangelist at Keiskammahock he used a small stack of corn to hide from contending armies, although they were not after him, but war is war. The missionaries were not a target of combatants, but they suffered the loss of a war-torn country.

#### RETURN FROM OVERSEAS

Jwarha returned from overseas with a wife, a white Scotswoman. Some say he should not have done this, but the Scots wanted him to have someone to support him in the task he was undertaking because Xhosaland was still raw. He arrived in 1856, as the cattle-killing was starting, and was sent to Mgwali to start his work. His first children were born there, the eldest the renowned Dr Soga of Bomvanaland.<sup>11</sup> He worked energetically as a missionary, although his health was delicate. He built residential houses and that large, famous church at Mgwali, and while he was still busy, word arrived from King Sarhili that he should cross the Kei and be his minister in that region; this was done, and he transferred to Thuthura.<sup>12</sup> At that time his children were ready for school, and he struggled to arrange their attendance: the country was still raw, there was no transport, thunderstorms and sleet assailed him on the way, and an educated black person was hated by the neighbouring whites, who believed that he was going to teach others to be like him! In some places, while travelling with his wife Nosantso (the married name we gave the young woman), a former Miss Burnside, the woman would be welcomed and the man chased outside. He endured such things as a man, and would laugh heartily at some of them.

#### BOOKS

Who does not know the son of Soga with regard to books? Who does not know his famous hymns, like "Lizalis' idinga lakho," "Vuthelani ixilongo" and "Sinesipho esikhulu"?<sup>13</sup> Who does not know *Uhambo lomhambi*,<sup>14</sup> a truly celebrated Xhosa book which he translated into Xhosa so very beautifully? Hi! What about those young men who go to study at St Matthews for one short period and return knowing nothing of the Xhosa language? Even detesting it intensely? What about the students who do not return home with their education as booty plundered for the nation? Yet this person with that attitude

akafumananga nxax'eba yenkatazo kwi mfazwe ezibe ziliwa ngama wabo; kanti hayi, ucwacwaze futi nonina behamba bepambana nezijora zondiyalwa, nange xesha abe ngum vangeli ku Qoboqobo upume ngezita kwizimpi ezilwayo; nakuba bezinga funi yena, kodwa ke imfazwe yimfazwe. Nabafundisi babe ngafunwa nganto ngondiyalwa, kodwa ke noko bazizuzile inxwaleko zokuba lifile ilizwe.

#### UMBUYO PESHEYA

Ubuye Pesheya um Jwara seleno mfazi, intombi emhlope, isi Kotshikazi. Kukho abati lendawo ngange engayenzanga, kodwa ama Skotshi wona ayejonge ukuti, makabe nomntu oyakumgcina kulento angene kuyo, kuba oko eli lasema Xoseni lalise rwada. Ufike kweli ngowe 1856, ukuqala ko Nongqause, wanikwa u Mgwali ukuba aqale kona umsebenzi, ubazalele apo abantwana bake bokuqala o Dr. Soga wodumo lwakwa Bomvana. Uwuqube ngama ndla umsebenzi we Lizwi, umfo engaqine kuyapi nase mpilweni. Wake izindlu zokuhlala, nebhotwekazi eliyi lotyalike yaziwayo yase Mgwali, ute eseseso sinqininqini lafika ilizwi elivela ku Kumkani u Rili, lokuba maka wele i Nciba ayekuba ngumfundisi wake kwelozwe; kuqutywe leyo ke ngoku, yekoko ukuya kumisa e Tutura. Ngelixesha intsapo kwakuxa kufuneka ifundile, wayilonto ngoku ukuzame leyo, laye ilizwe lise rwada lingena zinto zokuhamba, zam-beta ezindlelini izipango namaqwa, esatiyiwe umntu omnyama ofundileyo oko ngalama gwangqa ayeseleko, ecinga ukuti uza kufundisa nabanye ukuba kwanjengaye! Kwezinye indawo ubesakuti ehamba nomkake lo u Nosantso, kuba samtiya elogama lomzi wake umfazana lowo, owaye ngu Miss Burnside, kwa mkelwe umfazi lo igxotelwe ngapandle indoda. Ezonto wazitwala ngokwe ndoda, ezinye azihleke zife.

#### INCWADI

Ngubani ongamaziyo umfo ka Soga ngasezi ncwadini? Ngubani ongawaziyo amaculo ake adumileyo? o "Lizalis' idinga' lako" no "Vutelani ixilongo" no "Sinesipo esikulu." Ngubani ongalwaziyo "Uhambo Lomhambi," incwadi eyaziwa kunene yesi Xosa awayiguqula ngesi Xosa esimnandi kunene. Hi! Atini lamadodana ati ngokuya kufunda e Mtwaku oku iminana enye, abuye

\* izipanga

† idinge

towards his own language evidently has a burning passion for the English language. It is said that Tiyo Soga died while making a start on the second section of *Uhambo lomhambi*, which is now being done by his son Rev Henderson Soga. A fellow who respected the red-blanketed people of his home, a fellow who respected that great man his father; who respected his chief Sandile; and who respected King Sarhili, with whom he travelled to King Williams Town to meet Prince Alfred in 1861, this Prince who was the son of Queen Victoria.

#### DESCENDANTS

Although this minister died young, he had already arranged a place for his children to study overseas, because of his humility he was able to get help from those who had helped him. He often said to his sons "Know that your education will set to work in Africa!" He had four sons, Rev Dr A.W. Soga of Elliotdale; Rev J. Henderson Soga, who is also there and is said to have studied surveying; Allan K. Soga of Centane, who studied law, and did indeed set up offices, but in this country colour is accorded higher status than aptitude; Jotelo Soga, who was a very successful veterinarian. Two or three girls who followed the sons were also well educated.<sup>15</sup> The children of educated men today do not study - what does this mean? Although one may have a good foundation to a house built by a father who planted fruit trees to make an orchard, so what? An educated man will bring all that crashing down! He sinks lower and lower and becomes a disgrace to education. That was not Tiyo's way.

#### DEATH

He left the earth very quietly and peacefully at Thuthura, where he is buried, with a fence around the tombstone forming an enclosure. The year was 1871. The country trembled, in courts and churches it felt like an old man who had worked long and hard had departed; yet he was only 41 years old.

sel' engasazi nento ngesi Xosa? Esicekisa nokusicekisa? zitinina ezi imfundi zingagodukiyo nemfundo nje ngexoba elizuzwe esizweni? kanti lomntu enjalonje kweyakowabo inteto, bekuvakala ukuba ungumlilo odlayo kweyesi Ngesi inteto; kuvakala ukuba ub'ub'e esaqala i Candelo lesi Bini lo Hambo Lomhambi, elipetweyo ngoku ngunyana wake u Rev. Henderson Soga. Umfo obe nembeko kumaqaba akowabo, umfo obe nembeko kwindoda enkulu uyise; onembeko kwi nkosi yake u Sandile; waza wanembeko ku Kumkani u Sarili, abade baya kunye e Qonce, ukukaulela u Prince Alfred ngowe 1861, i Prince leyo ke ingu nyana woku Mkanikazi u Victoria.

#### INZALA

Noko ub'ub'e esemncinane kangako umfundisi lo, ubesele bafunele abantwana bake indawo ze mfundo Pesheya, wati ngokuzitoba wazuza ukuncediswa kwangabo naye bamncedayo. Ubaxelele futi onyana bake ukuba "Yazini ke ukuba imfundo yenu iza kusebenza e Afrika!" Onyana zinto zone, u Rev. Dr. A.W. Soga wase Xora, Elliotdale, u Rev. J. Henderson Soga okwa kwelo eku-tiwa yena wayefundele nobu Nocando, u Allan K. Soga okwa Centane, lo wayefundiselwe u Mteto, okunene wake wasezi ofisini kodwa ibala kweli lizwe likuliswe ngapezu kwengqondo, u Jotelo Soga, owaye ngu Gqira wempahla opumelele kakuhle; intombi zimbini nantatu ngapaya kwaba nyana, zikwafunde nqi. Amadoda afundisiweyo ngezimini abafundi ababo abantwana, yintoni betu leyo? Uti nobesel' enaso nesiqalo esihle esenziwe nguyise sesak-iwo, nemiti embalwa etyelweyo ukwenza umyezo, intoni? Umfo ofundileyo azidilizele pantsi ezonto! Ehle, ehle, ayekuba lihlazo emfundweni, akenjanga njalo u Tiyo.

#### UKUFA

Walishiya ilizwe ekuzoleni okukulu nase luxolweni e Tutura, apo incwaba lake likona, libiyelwe lakelwa ilitye nentendelezo. Lowo mnyaka yayingowe 1871. Lashukuma ilizwe ezinkundleni nasezi tyalikeni kwavakala ukuba kumke indoda endala esebenzileyo; kanti imi nyaka nditi yayisema 41 kupela.



## 24 The late William C. Mthoba's memorial service

On this past 28 December at Rhode among the people of Mqhayi, significant services were held which provided an object lesson in setting a memorial stone for the late evangelist Mthoba, the first man to bring the word to that nation, living in darkness and wilderness. That stone was set by his four sons, together with their sons; the congregation and neighbours offered assistance; the stone was set in the wall of the Wesleyan Church of Rhode in the Mt Coke Circuit in the district of King Williams Town. The women's Manyano<sup>1</sup> was not found wanting in this work, they contributed to the expenses of this event – and there was scarcely sufficient time to get the work done, because Cebani's sons organised this ceremony for their father quietly – there were no announcements or requests for donations in the newspapers, everyone learnt of it only when they received an invitation to attend and support the occasion on the 28th.

### THE GUESTS

A party of guests led by the Mt Coke minister and his wife arrived the previous day, and the Circuit evangelists were also present. The son of Mji, Koko, the leading figure at Tamarha, the senior Advisor to the Bunga, arrived in the morning – and he was authorised by the Wesleyan ministers to conduct all the proceedings of the memorial service. The National Poet<sup>2</sup> arrived in the early morning, saying he had left Peelson where there was a big Christmas celebration with family lessons. The headmen and their people from many outlying places arrived – and bands of Manyano women hummed and sang sweetly – and a few girls and strapping young men were also present. A host of red-blanketed people, to whom the deceased had preached, were also there adorned with bracelets and bead necklaces; their wives wore decorated head cloths. In no time at all the building was packed – where

### THE SERVICE AND SPEECHES

were of a serious nature. After animated praise and prayer, the crammed house fell silent, and Reverend Mji took his text from II Kings 23:17 – “What is that conspicuous monument I see?” The minister moved up and down, with great dignity, speaking from his knowledge of this evangelist, linking it to the day's service. Before this sermon, the middle son of the deceased, Stephen, of Tulandiville in Johannesburg, said a few words in unveiling the plaque, and

Ngomhla wama 28 ku December odluleyo e Rode kwimpi ka Mqayi, kubeko inkonzo ezibalulekileyo, nezisisifundo sokubekwa kwelitye lesi kumbuzo somfi umvangeli u Mtoba, indoda eyaqala ilizwi kwesosizwe, emnyameni, nasenyanyeni. Ilitye elo libekwe ngonyana bake, (into zone) kunye nonyana babo; yaye i Ramente kunye nabamelwane bencedisisile; ilitye elo libekwe eludon-geni lwe tyalike yase Rode, e Wesile, kwi Seketi yase Mkangiso (Mt. Coke), kwisiqingata se Qonce. I Manyano zabafazi azibanga semva kuwo lomsebenzi zikupe iminikelo yokuncedisisa ezindlekweni zawo umsebenzi lo, – laye ituba loku yenza lonto lingabangako kakuhle; kuba abafo baka Cebani lento kayise bayiqube bete cwaka, – akubangako zi ngxolo, nazicelo zamalizo emapepeni, kupela elowo uve xa sekufika isicelo sokuba maze abeko ukuzimasa umsebenzi, ngolosuku lwama 28.

## INDWENDWE

Zifike kwange zolo inxenye ye ndwendwe ezipetwe ngum Fundisi wase Mkangiso nonkosikazi wake, baye abavangeli be Sekete bekwalapa. Ifike ngentsasa yolusuku into ka Mji, u Koko, i Ngqanga yase Tamara, Umcebisi opambili we Bu'nga, – yaye inikelwe onke amagunya ngaba-Fundisi base Wesile ukuba iziqubo ezinkonzo zesisu Kumbuzo. Ifike kwa ngentsasa i Mbongi ye Sizwe, isiti seyi puma e Peleton (Ncemera) apo bebene Kresimisi enkulu, enezifundo zentsapo. Zifikile izibonda nabantu bazo kwi nkalo ngenkalo, – zaye imazi zo Manyano ziko kanobom, zibubula zivuma kuyinto emnandi, – umlisela no mtinjana awubangako kancinci. Impi ebomvu abevangela pakati kwayo umfi lo ibeko ivete imixaka nesidanga; aye amakosikazi etsho ngesime cokoza iqiya. Kute kangepi lakubeta ixesha, wayidilinga umntu endlwini, – apo zitsho bukali kona;

## INKONZO NENTETO

Emva kwezivutevute zendumiso ne mitandazo, indlu izele cwaka, um Fundisi u Mji utabate itekisi kwincwadi 2 Kumkani 23:17, – “Lelanina ela litye lite nqampu ndilibonayo?” Wehla enyuka um-Fundisi ngokuzola okukulu, eteta ngokumazi kwake umvangeli lo, edibanisa nalenkonzo yolusuku. Pambi kwale ntshumayelo, unyana opakati ka mfi lo ongu Stephen ose Rautini kwa Tulandivile, wenze amazwana okutyila ilitye elo, watyila nomfanekiso wake

he also unveiled a photograph taken by his eldest son – people sighed deeply when they saw the evangelist as he was; this picture was taken by his son while still learning to take photographs! After a sermon of gravity by Rev Mji, Mr Stephen Mthoba made a few remarks about the evangelist's early history and conversion, and he spoke with great dignity. After him Mr S.E. Rune Mqayi rose, and his little points brought the house to its feet, saying to women (1) it must be understood that they have been handed a stick by the nation; but it's not theirs, it belongs to the nation; (2) what we are fighting is tradition, because it clings to us – and it will succeed in harming us if we do not enter into the blood of Christ; (3) he opened the scriptures to *Revelations 2:17*: "To him who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, with a new name written on the stone which no one knows except him who receives it." This man told stories about the evangelist because they knew each other well, and he concluded the assembly in a delightful manner. After that, the people were led out for refreshments.

#### IN THE EVENING AT 8 P.M.

In the evening when the bell rang, people entered the building in large numbers, which was as crammed as it had been during the day. There was a song prepared by the schoolchildren and their teacher. The function was opened by Rev Conjwa, who spoke feelingly about the occasion – other men followed him, as well as the sons of the deceased. The poet expressed deep gratitude to the sons of the evangelist for what they had done – but he also warned them to take care in case the event held blame or danger for them if their behaviour was not appropriate to the occasion. He referred to the Circuit minister and his wife, and he said the memorial plaque would soon be forgotten by the people filling the house, and so it was his duty to inform his successor, and his successor would also tell his successor in turn, who this Cebani was. A lovely song was rendered in between the speeches, and this went on till dawn.

#### MONEY AND FOOD

As provisions for this service, an ox and five small animals were slaughtered. Guests were well looked after – sacks of flour and sugar were available, the daughters-in-law of the evangelist prepared food, and they were helped by other young women from Rhode, Mt Coke, Mtyolo and so on. The money collected came to approximately £30 in total in addition to many oxen and sheep.

owenziwa mkulu, – batsho ngesingqala esikulu abantu bakumbona umvangeli enjengoko anjalo; kanti lomfanekiso watatyatwa ngunyana lo kwa esafunda ukutabata! Emva kwe ntshumayelo\* enendili ka Rev. Mji, – u Mr Stephen Mtoba wenze amabala engwe ngeziganeko zobutsha, nezenguquko yomvangeli lo, eyiteta ngokuzola okukulu. Emva kwake kusuke u Mr S.E. Rune Mqayi, wabeta amaqabaza atsho indlu yapakama, esiti kubafazi (1) mabaqondwe ukuba umnqayi bawunikiwe sisizwe; kodwa asinguwo wabo ngowesizwe (2) eyonanto silwa yona yimvelo, kuba iyasisukele, – yaye iyakufumana† isenzakalise, xa singangenanga egazini lika Krestu (3) Utyile ngoku amazwi kwincwadi yezi Tyilo 2:17, – “Lowo weyisayo ndiya kumnika ukuti adle kuyo imana efihlakeleyo, ndimnike ilitye elimhlope, elityeni apo ke igama elitsha libalwe lingaziwa bani ingenguye olamkelayo.” Itsho indoda leyo ipata kwenza amabali ngo mvangeli lo kuba bebesazana kakulu, yade yaya ekupeteni iyibambe kamnandi intlanganiso. Emveni koko kupunywe ukuyiwa ezidlweni

#### NGOKUHLWA NGO 8 P.M.

Kwalile ngokuhlwa yakutsho intsimbi, wayidilinga kwangendlu umntu, – yazala yaxela oko kwasemini. Kwaye ngoku sekuko nengoma elungiselelweyo lusapo lwesikolo netitshala yalo. Uyivulile um-Fundisi u Rev. Conjwa, watsho kakulu umfana ngesi siganeko, – alandela amanye amadoda; kwa nonyana baka mfi lo. I-Mbongi yenze kakulu umbulelo konyana bomvangeli lo ngalento bayenzileyo, – yatsho isiti kodwa ke maze balumke hleze lento ibazele netyala nengozi xa bate ukuzipata kwabo akwugqi'nelana nesisenzo. Usingise kum Fundisi nom Fundisikazi bale Seketi, esiti eliya litye lizakubuye lingaziwa nto yalo ngaba bantu bazalise lendlu, ngoko wena indawo yako kukuxelela oya kuza emva kwako, aze nalowo axelele oza emva kwake ukuba lo Cebani waye ngubanina. Itsho kamnandi pakati kwenteto ingoma, kwada kwaya ekuseni.

#### IMALI NEZITYO.

Amalungiselelo okutya kulenkonzu ibe yinkomo ebuleweyo nesihlanu sempahla emfutshane. Indwendwe zi kangelelwe indawo kakuhle, – inxowa zemigubo nezeswekile zibeko, zalungiswa kakuhle ngomolokazana bomvangeli lo, kunye nolunye ufazana lwase Rode, e Mkangiso, e Mtyolo njalo njalo.

\* *ntshumkyelo*

† *iyakufumana*

## THIS WILLIAM CEBANI MTHOBA

The fellow who is the subject of all this is a member of the Zangwa clan of Kwalo, a Ndlambe; by his father Mthoba there were many sons, but he is the eldest son on the Right Hand side, a red-blanketed son of a red-blanketed man. During the cattle-killing in 1857 he was newly circumcised, and when cattle were slaughtered, he did not want to slaughter his, but his elder brothers insisted on it! When people dispersed, he moved to Mayipase's Mdiza among the Gqunukhwebe. There he received the word and became a convert and immediately he tried to preach at Ross's Presbyterian mission Below the Forests.<sup>3</sup> He was married to an educated girl, a daughter of one of the leading Gqunukhwebe, and she helped him by teaching him the letters of the alphabet from beginning to end; but through his own intelligence he was able to write English and become a Wesleyan minister. He became involved in evangelism in 1865; he died an evangelist in 1913. In his last days he talked much about the move to establish the Bunga, urging his sons to welcome it when it came, he apportioned his belongings to his children, and he arranged everything in the house beautifully and with great joy – and then his soul departed, at the age of 77.

This fellow was immaculate in appearance, he was always presentable even at work – he opposed sin just like the oldtime believers, he detested Xhosa beliefs and customs, he would have nothing to do with them, he was a progressive fellow in building construction, farming, education and voting. At one time Cebani had a disagreement with a white man about the land of their fathers. One speaker said, "His wife was not a woman to leave the house, she was there in the morning, during the day, and at night – so this man was what he was through the support of his wife." When his son Stephen spoke he focused on this: "Our father did not tell us about his heroic deeds, or about his past sins – which is something that destroys the minds of other children when they hear their fathers telling about their evil deeds."

There are now six surviving children of the evangelist, and all are educated – there are two girls, Mrs Sabina Makeba and Mrs Jane Majombozi. The sons are William who is a headman at Rhode, formerly a school principal; Stephen Mthoba who is at TEBA<sup>4</sup> in Johannesburg, who was also a teacher; Isaac Mthoba of Rhode who is under his elder brother, a carpenter who completed his studies at Lovedale; the lastborn of them all is Holford, who was named after Rev Holford of the Wesleyan Church – he is a teacher at Mt Coke where

Imali eyenziweyo iyonke ibe kude kufupi kuma 30 eponti nento eninzi yenkabi zenkomo negusha.

#### LO WM. CEBANI MTOBA

Lomfo zingaye ezizinto ngumfo wasema Zangweni, kwa Kwalo, – um-Ndlambe; kuyise u Mtoba baliqela yena uyinkulu kwicala lase kunene, ngunyana weqaba, waye kwalilo naye. Ngono Ngqause 1857 wayeli rwala, zixelwa inkomo engavumi ukuyixela eyake, yax'elwa kodwa ngamagunya abaku'luwa! Kute kwakucitakalwa yena wacitakalela e Mdizeni ka Mayipase kuma Gqunukwebe. Apo ufike wamkela ilizwi eli Tamba, uzame uku shumayela kwa oko ese Rabe ku Ross pantsi kwa Mahlati. Uzekelwe intombi yase sikolweni, yesikulu sase Magqunukwebeni, yiyo ke eyamncedayo ngokumfundisa o "a" nezipeli zokuqala; kodwa ngangengqondo yake ubesele esib'ala nesi Ngesi ubesel' eke wangum Fundisi wase Wesile. Ungene ebuvangeline ngowe 1865; wabuba enguye ngowe 1913. Ekububeni kwake utete kakulu nge Bu'nga lingekabiko, esiti maze onyana bake balamkele lakufika, wayaba impahla elusatsheni, wazilungisa zonke izinto zomzi kamnandi nangolonwabo olukulu, – wandula ke ukupuma umpfunilo, iminyaka yake yobudala ikuma 77.

Lomfo ibisisicibalala sehomba, umfo ocacileyo yonke imihla naxa asemsebenzini, – isono esicase njengoko amakolwa akudala ayenjalo, inkolo nama siko siko esi Xosa ewatiyile, epume gqi, yena kuwo, umfo onenqubela pambili ngezakiwo, nolimo, nemfundo nevoti, ngelinye ixesha wabambana nomlungu ngomhlaba woyise u Cebani. Kubeko isiteti, esite: "umkake ubenge mfazi wake washiya indlu nakusasa ako, nasemini, nangokuhlwa, – lento ngoko wayeyiyo, yaba luncedo lo mkake." Unyana wake u Stephen xa atetayo ubandezele kwindawo eti: "Ubawo akazange abalise kuti zinto zabugora bake, nanye into ekukubalisa ngesono sake sangapambili, – into lonto ebulala ingqondo zabanye aba ntwana ukuva oyise bebalisa ngezzenzo zabo ezibi."

Abantwana abakoyo ngoku bomvangeli lo batandatu zimfundi bonke, – intombi zimbini u Mrs Sabina Makeba, no Mrs Jane Majombozi. Onyana ngu William osisibonda e Rode, wayeyititshala enkulu; Stephen Mtoba okwa Teba e Rautini, wayeyititshala naye; Isaac Mtoba ose Rode, pantsi komkuluwa wake, yena ke ngumcweli owa gqiba imfundo yake e Lovedale; u Ntongo nowokugqibela kubo bonke u Holford owatiywa ngo Rev. Holford wase Wesile, – yena ke yititshala yase Mkangiso kwalapo uyise waye vangela kona. Aba bafu ke

his father evangelised. All these fellows have sons of their own, as well as their grandchildren. And that's what happened when a white stone was set for the man of God.

## 25            **Dingiswayo, also known as Godongwana**

Perhaps young men will have some lessons to learn after we have told them the vicissitudes of this prince of the Mthethwa, the northeastern nation which was huge in its day. The reader must first understand that the name "Zulu" is new, as well as the name "Natal": we have used it in recent times, although it was given a long time ago by a fellow called Vasco da Gama (1497), who was a passerby.<sup>1</sup> South of the two rivers known as Mfolozi<sup>2</sup> in olden days, very olden days, before Shaka was born, let's say in 1700, 1730 and 1750, there was a nation called the Mthethwa which was ruled by a chief called Jobe or Yobe. The reader must also note that in those times there were almost a hundred nations in the lands to the northeast, and each one was independent. The Mthethwa nation seemed more prominent than the others; and the Zulu nation which is so extensive now was insignificant, they were just tobacco traders.

### AN ASSEGAI WOUND

This chief Jobe had two sons named Tana and Godongwana; it was understood that the chieftainship would pass to Tana. Apparently, in the course of time, the young men grew tired of waiting for the death of the old man and, because he did not die, they made plans to move him out of the way so that they could rule. But their discussions were overheard and reported to the Great Place. One day the Great Place was seen arming a detachment dispatched to kill the young men. They were taken completely by surprise when they were surrounded by the army of the council, and there was nothing they could do – Tana was stabbed first and he died, the other one tried to escape the treachery, and he succeeded in his desire although, when he jumped the wall, he heard the sound of a spear piercing his back! He escaped alone like a wild beast! The spear was shaped like a swallow, in other words it had a barb to prevent it falling out, and turning around to draw it out caused even greater harm, because drawing it out drove it further in and it would come out wherever it chose.

sebenababo onyana bonke, kwa nababo abazukulwana. Ubenjalo lomsebenzi nelitye elimhlope lendoda ka Tixo.

## 25 U Dingiswayo ogama limbi lingu Godongwana

Mhlaumbi amadodana ayakuba nezifundo ezitile azizuzayo sakuba site sawabalisela ngamabonandenzile ale nkosana yemi Tetwa isizwe sase Mbo esasisikulu kakulu ngezomini zaso. Umfundi makaqonde kuqala ukuba litsha eligama liti kwa "Zulu," neli liti e "Natala," likwa litsha ekusetyenzisweni siti nakuba ukutiywa mzuzu kakulu ngumfo owaye ngumgqiti u Vasco da Gama (1497). Emazantsi emilambo emibini ekutiwa yimi Folozi kudala, kudala kakulu, engekazalwa u Tshaka, – masiti kwa kwiminyaka yama 1700, 1730 nowe 1750, kwakumi isizwe ekwaye kusitiwa yimi Tetwa, esasipetwe yinkosi ekwaye kutiwa ngu Jobe okanye u Yobe. Umfundi makapaule kanjalo ukuba ngaleyo mihla izizwe ezazikweloze lase Mbo zazingafikayo ekulwini ngobuninzi, sabe iseso szipete ngokwaso sizilaula. Esi ke semi Tetwa sesona ngati sasivelele kunezinye; esi sona sama Zulu sesiyinkabankaba ngoku sesona sasingazelwe nento oko, singabatengisi nje becuba.

### INXEBA LOMKONTO

Inkosi leyo ke u Jobe yayinonyana ababini amagama ingu Tana no Godongwana; baye ubukosi buqondakala ukuba bunikelwe kulo ungu Tana. Kuvakala ukuba kute kupi adinwa amadodana kukulindela ukufa kwexego, kuba nali lingade life, azama ke ngoko ukwenza amalinga okulikwelelisa ade aze kupata. Ate kanti amab'unga abo ano Noncangesiduli abate bawatwala bawasa Komkulu. Libonakele i Komkulu ngamhlanazana utile liyixobisa impi ngobusuku, lifunza kubafana abo ukuba babulawe. Okunene yotuke impi yeb'unga seyingqingiwe, seyingasena<sup>†</sup> kutini, – u Tana ugwazwe kuqala yena wafa, omnye lo uzame amazwembewembe okusinda, kwati kanti kuyakuya njengomnqweno wake nakuba ete xa atsiba udonga wawuva umkonto usiti

\* *seyimqingiwe*

† *seyinkasena*



We have already said that the fellow escaped with it, and he made his way to Ntsiza's place. Perhaps he was not observed because it was night and there were a number of young men about.

#### HIS SISTER'S PITY

Where was poor Godongwana running to? Whilst he was weaving his way through the forests with his enemies hunting him hot on his heels, his sister was also hunting on her side; she was not hunting him as an enemy, she was hunting him out of pity; she found him with the spear still in his back – she tried to pull it out, and succeeded; she washed and squeezed medicine into the wound; she gave him something to eat and drink; she tried to hide him as much as she could, she sneaked him off further and further, crossing smaller nations; she was nearly caught as his father's spies were everywhere. In the end things settled down for many years, and he was believed to be dead, devoured by wild animals.

#### LITTLE LESSONS

Tana died for lack of patience – the Bible says: “The one who endures to the end will be saved.”<sup>3</sup> He died young because he had no regard for his parent, he was disrespectful to his father, like Absalom the son of David who lacked respect, and died young.<sup>4</sup> The fifth commandment says: “Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long upon the land.” Respect is something that was taught to a child long before we had the Holy Bible – Tana was in such a hurry that he forgot to honour and respect his father! Are young men hearing this? Because they are always impetuous and lack respect for the elderly. According to the law of Moses, children who do not obey their parents must be stoned to death. Nowadays, when that is no longer the custom, what kind of children in their defiance raise their hands against their parents? Girls against mothers, boys against fathers? Learn from Tana, who forfeited his chieftainship and was killed because he lacked patience. Even among you there are many who are deprived of their legacy by their fathers because they have no respect for their fathers and mothers.

Godongwana was helped by his sister: how many girls neglect their brothers so that they die without receiving help from them? How many girls constantly fight with their brothers, so that there are tears day and night, and every day people struggle to stop the fight? Godongwana and his sister were not like that

“mere” emhlana! Wab’ungca nawo ngokwenyamakazi! Waye umkonto lowo iloluhlobo luyinkonjane, oko kukuti unex’ayi elenza ukuba ungawi, nokuncotulwa awubuyi ngamva, kuba usuke wenze ingozi ngakumbi, ukuncotulwa kwawo usuke uqutyelwe pambili uye kupuma apo upuma kona. Sesitshilo ke ukuti ibungce nawo into enkulu yekoko ukuya kwela kwa Ntsiza. Mhlaumbi akaqondwanga kuba kwakusebusuku, aye amadodana eliqela.

#### INCEBA YODADE WABO

Luzakubaleka luye pi ke usizana olungu Godongwana? Ute esacwacwaza kwakulo mahlati akufupi ezingelwa zintshaba zake, wati kanti udade wabo uyazingela naye ngelake icala; engamzingeli ngabutshaba yena, ezingela ngenceba; wati kanti uyakumfumana ese nalomkonto emhlana, – wawuzama ukuwuncotula, wawoyisa; walihlamba walikamela inxeba elo; wamnika izinto zokutya nokusela; wazama ukumfihla kangangoko wabanako wamtwetwisa yekoko ukuya emka ngokumka ecandisa kwezinye izizwana, esinda ngamabonandenzile nalapo kuba izidyoli zikayise akuseko ndawo zingayifikanga. Kude kwati cwaka iminyakanyaka kucingelwa ukuba wafa, watyiwa ngamaramncwa.

#### IZIFUNDWANA

U Tana wafa ngokuswela unyamezelo, – isi B’alo siti: “Onyamezelayo kude kube sekupeleni lowo uyakusindiswa.” Ufe esengumntana kuba wayengenambeko kumzali wake, engenantlonelo kuyise, ngokuka Absalom unyana ka Davide owayeswele imbeko, wafa esemncinane; ube umteto wesihlanu usiti: “Beka uyihlo nonyoko ukuze yolulwe imihla yako elizweni.” Imbeko le yeyonanto kuti ebesakufundiswa yona umntana zingekabiko nezi B’alo ezingcwele ezi, – u Tana unxame kangokuba ayilibale nembeko nentlonelo kayise! Amadodana ayayiva na lonto njengokuba enjenje nje ukudyuduza kwawo nokuswela kwawo imbeko kubantu abakhulu? Emtetweni ka Mosisi, umntana ongabevayo abazali bake, makagityiselwe ngamatye, afe. Ngalemihla ke njengokuba ingaseko lonto banjani abantwana inkani zabo, nokuxomana kwabo nabazali babo? Intombi nonina, amakwenkwe noyise? Fundani ngo Tana ote ubukosi sebubo bake, wajika wabulawa ngenxa yokuswela unyamezelo. Nakuni sebe baninzi abawahlutwayo amafa ngoyise ngenxa yokuswela imbeko koyihlo nonyoko!

U Godongwana wancedwa ngudade wabo, zingakananina intombi ezabayekayo abanakwazo bade baya kufa zingabancedanga ntweni? Zingakananina intombi ezahlala zisilwa nabanakwazo, ibe ngamankenkenke lemihla kuliwa;

– they wept for each other and died for each other, for this girl would have been killed if she was seen showing kindness to her brother. Where are the children who die for one another? Those who show sympathy and pity for one another? Where are we heading, youngsters? In the past, even among us, there are many girls who worked to send their brothers to boarding school – but is there still such a thing today? Do you still clothe one another? Do you still die for one another? How I wish it were like that – may the Lord bless their efforts!

#### THE DEATH OF JOBE

After a time, the old king Jobe died; and since there was no heir, the chieftainship was given to a minor individual who had no right to it. But, in those places to which he fled, Jobe's son continued to listen out for news of affairs at home; and because he was listening out, he heard that his father the king was no more, and that his nation was being ruled by someone who had no right to the position – and he resolved to return home, to take his place and raise his nation with the little education he had acquired, and the little strength he could muster!

#### HIS LOCATION

The story differs on the place Godongwana fled to; some say he crossed Xhosa territory (Nguniland), he was picked up by whites far away in the Cape Colony, he stayed and worked among soldiers, and observed white military tactics, the soldiers' drill and horseriding; he resolved to do those things whenever he got the opportunity to command a regiment, so that there would be a standing army for war. Others say no, he did not go to the Cape, he sought help from the Portuguese in Delagoa Bay. I, Nzulu, agree with those who say so. Why? For these compelling reasons:

1. He could not conceive of seeking help in an unfamiliar direction, unknown to any of his people; the familiar direction was where they had all come from.
2. The land of the Xhosa, which he would have to cross, was very large in extent, and the Xhosa are a generous nation: they would pick him up, he would live happily and forget his troubles.

abantu banqande amahalihali lemihla? Wayenge njalo u Godongwana nodade wabo, – balilelana, bafelana; kuba lentombazana yayiya kubulawa nayo ukuba yayiboniwe isenzela lomnakwayo inceba. Bayapina abantwana abafelanayo? Abenzelana usizi nenceba? Yininale kuyiwa pina lutsha? Kwimini zangapambili nalapa kuti, zininzi intombi ezati ngentsebenza yazo, zafundisa abanakwazo ezi Sinaleni, – namhlanje isekona kodwa lonto? Nisambatisana na? Nisafelana na? Akwaba kungati kanti kuseko abanjalo, – i Nkosi iyisikelele imigudu yabo!

#### UKUB'UBA KUKA JOBE!

Kute kupi yab'ub'a inkosi endala u Jobe; kwaza kwati kuba kungaseko ndlamafa ikoyo ubukosi bafumane banikelwa kumfokazana obengenalungelo kubo. Ute kanti umfo ka Jobe kwezondawo wabalekela kuzo uhleli ebeke indlebe ngezinto zasekaya; ade ke ngoko koko kubeka indlebe kwake, weva ukuba inkosi uyise ayiseko, nesizwe sakowabo sesifumane sapatwa ngumfo ongenalo nelungelo kulondawo, – wazimisela ukujika agoduke, aye kutabata indawo yake, asipakamise isizwe sakowabo ngemfundwana angaba unayo, nangamandlana angaba angasipakamisa ngawo!

#### APO WAYEKONA

Apo wabaleka waya kutsho kona u Godongwana, imbali iwa ngokuwa; bati abanye watyutya kweli lasema Xoseni (ebu Nguni), wayakucolwa ngabelungu pipipi e Koloni yase Kapa, wahlala wasebenza emajonini, wabonela ukupatwa kwemikosi yase mlungwini, nokutamba kwamajoni, nokukwelwa kwamahashe; wazimisela ukuba angaze azenze ezonto mhla aze naye wanetuba lokupata amabuto, kubeko umkosi omiyo wemfazwe. Kuko abati, hayi akayanga e Koloni, wab'acela ngakuba Putukezi e Delago. Mna Nzulu ndikweloqela kanye litshoyo, – Ngani? Ngezizibakala: –

1. Wayengeze acinge ukub'acela kwicala angalaziyo, lingaziwa nangubani wakowabo; icala elalisaziwa oko leliya babevela kulo bonke.
2. Ilizwe lasema Xoseni; wayeza kucanda kulo lalise lilikulu kakulu, aye ama Xosa eluhlanga olunobubele, ayeya kumcola, ahlale kamnandi azilibale.

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\* kula

3. It is said the nation that showed him kindness were the Hlubi – the Hlubi weren't on the way to the Cape, they lay in the direction of the Portuguese. Shaka had a close relationship with the Hlubi because he heard stories about the Hlubi taking care of his uncle.
4. After Godongwana succeeded to the kingdom, he enjoyed friendly relations with the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, they treated each other kindly, made contributions to each other and supported trade with each other. If he had gone to the Cape, he could not have established close relations with the Portuguese. I, Nzulu, say he learnt these things from the Portuguese and their armies.

#### THE DEAD ARISE!

As we have already said, Jobe's son heard his father was no more, and he resolved to return home – and indeed he did so. The news reached his home ahead of him that a certain man was approaching – and this man was sitting on top of strange animals – because at that time there were no horses in the country.

In short, the man arrived with his own army, he introduced himself, they recognised him and were shown the evidence of the wound in his back from the assegai with which he escaped – that's how he won his place! This young man had been away from home for more than ten years. At that time over here among the Xhosa, Rharhabe had already produced Mlawu and Ndlambe and Nukwa; and they were not young princes; yes, Dingiswayo was older than Ndlambe! The kingship at Dingiswayo's home is called Langeni. We do not know if it was his sister Nandi who helped him, but she married a minor Zulu chieftain, Senzangakhona, who produced the chief known as Shaka.

#### LESSONS

When Godongwana accepted the kingship, he was given another name, and was called Dingiswayo because of his wanderings among other nations.<sup>5</sup> He was a very good ruler, he was a man who respected the law, he created regiments of soldiers as among the whites – he defeated all the small nations bordering his territory; but he would defeat a nation and leave it as it was, to rule and care for itself as long as he was acknowledged as king.

3. Kuyavakala ukuba isizwe esake samenzela ububele ngama Hlubi, – ama Hlubi ke ayengekona kulendlela iza e Koloni, aye kweliya icala liya e Putukezi. Ukuze u Tshaka abe nobuhlobo obungaka<sup>\*</sup> nje nama Hlubi, weva ezombali zokumgcina kwawo uninalume.
4. Akuba ebankele ubukumkani u Godongwana elona cala ate wanobudlelane nalo leliya laba Putukezi e Delagube, kwenzelwana izinto ezintle, kwalizwana, kwavulelwana amashishini. Ukuba wayeze apa e Koloni ngelengabanga nabudlelane naba Putukezi. Ukutsho nditi mna “Nzulu,” wazifunda ezi zinto kuma Putukezi, nakwimikosi yawo.

#### UKUVUKA KUKA MFI!

Sesitshilo ukuti uvile umfo ka Jobe ukuba uyise akaseko, wazimisela ke ukugoduka, – okunene wenjenjalo. Lute udaba lwamandulela wati esepi kwavakala ekaya ukuba<sup>†</sup> kuko indoda etile ezayo, – yaye lendoda ihleli pezu kwe zilo ezingaziwayo, – kaloku oko amahashe ayengekabiko kwelo.

Ngelifutshane ide yeza kufika indoda leyo seyinomkosi, yazixela, yaziwa, yanq'inwa nangenxeba elisemhlana lomkonto eyab'ungca nawo, – kwaba kukuyifumana kwayo oko indawo yayo! Iminyaka<sup>‡</sup> yemkayo lendodana kwelakowayo yayise ingapezulu kweshumi.<sup>§</sup> Ngeloxesha apa kweli lase ma Xoseni, u Rarabe wayesele emzele u Mlau no Ndlambe no Nukwa; kunjalonje babesele bezinkosana ezingencinane; ewe, u Dingiswayo ngokwake wayengengapambili ku Ndlambe! Ubukosi bakulo Dingiswayo kwakutiwa bobase Langeni.

Udade wabo ongu Nandi, asazi nokuba ngulowa na wancedayo, wendela kubukosana obupantsi bakwa Zulu, ku Senzangakona nguye ke lo wazala esisilo kutiwa ngu Tshaka.

#### IZIFUNDO

Akuba ebankele ubukosi u Godongwana, owatiywa gama limbi ngoku kwatiwa ngu Dingiswayo ngenxa yokudinga kwake emazweni, ubuqube kakuhle kakulu, wayindoda enomteto, wamisa amabuto anjengamajoni asemlungwini, – woyisa izizwana zonke ebezisiza kuzigxama kuye; kodwa abasoyisa isizwe asiyeke kwakulondawo sibe sikuyo, sizipate, sigcine nje, ukuba yena uyinkosi yaso.

\* *ohungaka*

† *uhuba*

‡ *Iminyaga*

§ *hweshumi*

Is there anything wrong when young men who return from studying overseas, from beyond familiar rivers, bring things to help their nation? Is there anything wrong when they return riding animals unknown at home, and these animals become useful to the nation?

There are many young men who left home years and years ago, and yet they receive no news of home, because they pay no attention to home affairs. Godongwana constantly thought of home! Learn, young men! With the knowledge he gained of other countries, the fellow returned to do great things to raise his nation – where are you, sluggard? Glutton, after you stuffed yourself in other countries you had no thought of home and your own people! You say you are not a chief, and have no skill in raising a nation like Dingiswayo did – a nation is not raised by the chief alone, it is promoted by ordinary people! When Dingiswayo gained power he used it effectively even among other nations, he ruled skilfully. Gratitude is extremely rare; but Dingiswayo embraced his sister Nandi and her son Shaka, and placed him under instruction – he studied intensively. What do you have to say for yourself? You have neglected the children of your sister, who made you what you are, you don't even know where your helpful sister lives because you don't care about her!

This fellow left home with the wound of an assegai that nearly killed him; but this king created no fuss in a desire to kill his father's contemporaries, who stabbed them – many of them still survived. Vengeance is mine, not yours; that's what the Bible says.<sup>6</sup>

## 26

### The late Simon M. Phamotse

Much has been said about the death of this councillor of Lesotho, in English and in Sotho; in all this I believe the Xhosa people have heard nothing about him.

The first time I met Simon he was a boy of 12 and I was 15. He had arrived in Alice with a party of boys from Lesotho who had been sent by the Lesotho government to study there. He entered Std 2, others entered Std 3 and the rest were in lower standards. The small boys I still remember in that group are Manama Molapo, James R. Makepe, Rasebulelo, Mpunyana amongst others; there was one very small boy called Roronyane Tsupane – I still recall his joy

Amadodana avela ezimfundweni Pesheya kwelwandle, naphesheya kwemilambo enamagama ananina akuza nezinto zokunceda isizwe sawo? Ananina akuza ekwele izilo ezingaziwayo emakaya, zize ezozilo zibe luncedo eluhlangeni?

Maninzi amadodana aneminyakanyaka emkayo emakaya, asuke ati kanti akaziva indaba zasema kaya, kuba akabekanga ndlebe kwizinto zakona. U Godongwana wayehleli ebeke inkumbulo ngasemva! Fundani madodana! Ngemfundo ayifundileyo lomfo ezweni, ufike ngayo wenza izinto ezinkulu zokusipakamisa isizwe, – upina wena vilandini! Dlakudlandini elite lakuhluta ezizweni alabi sacinga ngekaya nabantu bakowenu! Uti wena akuyiyo nkosi akungekwazi ukupakamisa isizwe njengo Dingiswayo, – isizwe asipakamiswa nkosi yodwa, sinnedwa kanye zintwana zaso ezipantsi! Akuba ewafumene u Dingiswayo amandla usebenze ubuhle ngawo nakwezinye izizwe, wazipata ngesonti. Umbulelo yinto enqabe kunene; kodwa u Dingiswayo umtabatile udade wabo u Nandi, kunye nonyana wake u Tshaka, wamfaka esikolweni, – wafunda imfundo engengangamfundo, – Hi utini wena ngawe? Abantwana bodade wenu owakwenza wayilento uyiyo wabalahlala, nalodade wenu wakuncedayo akumazi nalapo ahlala kona ngenxa yokungakathali kwako nguye!

Lomfo wemka ekaya enenxeba lomkonto awapantsa ukufa lilo; kodwa akuzange kuvakale sipendu sokuba inkosi nantsi ifuna ukubulala intanga zikayise, eziya zazibagwaza, – zaye zaziseko ziseninzi. Impindezelo yeyam asiyiyo eyako; sitsho isi B'alo.

## 26

### Umfi u Simon M. Phamotse

Ininzi inteto eseyenziwe malunga nokufa kwalo mpakati waselu Sutu, yenziwa ngesi Ngesi nangesi Sutu; ukwenjenje okundinga nawo ama Xosa angaba noluto aluvayo ngayo.

Mhla ndambona u Simon waye yinkwenkana ekwininyaka ilishumi lina-mibini, mna ako ndandikwiminyaka elishumi linesihlanu. Wafika yena e Dikeni kweloxesha kunye nogxudululu lwamakwenkwe aselu Sutu etunyelwe emfundeni bubu Rulumente babe Sutu; wafika yena wangena ku Standard II, amanye akwesesi III, amanye esese zantsi ngapantsi koko. Amakwenkwana endisawak'umbulayo kweloqela yayingo 'Manama Molapo, Jas. R. Makepe,



when Mr. Geddes Senior's white stallion died,<sup>1</sup> happy that it was going to be skinned and eaten, as was the custom back home – and his disappointment at learning it was going to be buried, as is the local custom. The others laughed heartily at his dejected "Aw!"

Our teacher, who taught us and all the young boys, was Thomas G. Nqandela, who is now a court interpreter, a truly excellent person in school, and in training choirs, a man who encouraged slow children and made them feel good about themselves. One thing I disliked in this teacher of ours is that he never saw fault with the girls, the boys were always to blame; but now I realise the old man scolded them in private – in an effort to teach us the worth of our women. As I said, Simon entered Std 2, and I entered Std 3. Three of us outstripped the other pupils: Fred Vockerodt, who is now the Baptist minister at Qanda, Middledrift, David Gysman, who is now a teacher at Gaga, Alice, and myself. Simon was always hot on our heels – it was hard not to like this handsome Sotho boy – not only handsome but humble and sharp in his studies – and those were the attributes that first distinguished him in my eyes, the sort of things that others saw in him too.

We were in strong competition with Simon at Lovedale right through to the senior classes. I left to teach and he remained as "Postmaster" at Lovedale, humble despite his responsible position. I don't know why he left Lovedale, but it was not over a dispute – I believe he was summoned by the government of Lesotho to help his own people, so he moved to Lesotho. Back in that region, the love of his country gleamed. I don't know how long he stayed with the government, loved by his chiefs and in high positions himself. I remember the time he served as Editor of a Lesotho newspaper called *Naledi*, or *The Star*;<sup>2</sup> at that time I was working for the newspaper *Izwi labantu* in East London, under Mr. A.K. Soga, the dark brown son of Nosantso, White man's Rifle.<sup>3</sup> We exchanged copies of our newspapers, we were quite familiar with current events in Lesotho – he and James Makepe were inseparable, effectively serving as yeast for the cause of nationalism. Burdened with frustration, Mr James R. Makepe was a welcome presence at meetings here in the Colony.

After some time, in recent years, news came that Simon Phamotse was at loggerheads with the "Pitso." (The "Pitso" (a meeting) is the highest parliamentary body in Lesotho, where all the chiefs and their councillors meet under the chairmanship of the Governor-General of the Union.) Simon viewed the policy of the chiefs as ignoring the leaderless poor, serving and satisfying only the

Rasebulelo, Mpunyana, namanye; kwakuko nenye intwana elulana ekwakutiwa ngu Roronyane Tsupane, – lentwana ndisayicinga imihlali yayo mhla kwafa inkabi emhlope yehashe ka Mr. Geddes Omdala, ivuyela ukuba lizakuya kuhlinzwa lityiwe, njengoko kwenjiwanjalo ekaya, – wadana wayinko unkabi akuba hayi lizakuya kumb'elwa ngokwela lapa isiko, amhleka kakulu amanye xa ak'uzayo ati, "Uh!"

Ititshala esasifunda kuyo ke nalamakaba yayi ngumfo ka Nqandela u Thos G. lo uyitoliki yemantyi ngoku, umfo omnandi kunene esikolweni, emfundweni nasekuvumiseni, indoda emk'utazayo nosisidenge umntana, imenze abenento acwayitayo naye ngayo. Into endibe ndingayitandi kutitshala wetu lowo, ibikukungaze alibone ityala entombazaneni, lahlala likuti makwenkwe; sendiqonda ngoku ukuba hayi, omdala intombi ubezingxolisa nazo ngase kuti, – lonto ezama ukusifundisa isidima somntu wakowenu oyinkazana. Senditshilo ukuti u Simon ufike wafunda ku St. II, mna ndiku St. III, siguxana sibatatu pambili, iyinto ka Vockerodt u Fred ongum Fundisi wase Babatizi ngoku e Qanda, Middle Drift; iyinto ka Gysman u David oyotitshala ngoku kwa Gaga, kwase Dikeni. U Simon wayesisukela nzima ngasemva, – waye lom Sutwana emhle, kunzima, nokungamtandi, – engemhle kodwa, elulamile, ebuk'ali ezifundweni, – yaba yeyonanto wazibalula ngayo kum kuqala ubuhle, nabanye abantwana bambalula ngelogama.

Six'eshene ngolohlobo no Simon e Lovedale, sade saya kwezipezulu i Classes; ndipume mna ndayakufundisa, wasala yena eyenza i "Postmaster" yase Lovedale, walulama umfo ngeloxa akulondawo ipakamileyo. Andingeze ndisixele isizatu esamkupa apo e Lovedale, kodwa asisibi, singeyiyo nengxabano, – ndicinga ukuba ubizwe zizipata mandla zo Rulumente waselu-Sutu ukuba aye kunceda kwelo lakowabo, ukuze ke aye elu-Sutu. Akuba kulomazwe kaloku umfo kuqaqambe enye into eyokutanda isizwe sakowabo. Andilazi netuba alihleliyo kwa Rulumente, etandwa zinkosi zake, engumlungu ngokwake. Ndiyalik'umbula kanjalo ituba awaye ngu Mhleli wepepa laselu Sutu ekwaye kusitiwa yi "Naledi," oko kukuti "Inkwenkwezi;" ngeloxesha nam ndandise p'ep'eni le "Zwi Labantu," e Monti, pantsi ko Mr. A.K. Soga Ingqomb' o Nosantso, u Mnqayi womlungu yi Rayifile; sasisananiselana ngamapepa, siziva kakuhle izinto ezihambisekayo elu Sutu, – waye oka Makepe u Jas. bengahlu-kananga, besebenza ubuzwe ngokwe gwele elihle. Kwintlanganiso zelixesha ebezisakuba lapa e Koloni ubekolisa ukubako u Mr. James R. Makepe lowo, atate ubuhlungu.

elite. This was serious; Phamotse had the support of a great number of students, which troubled the chiefs, who were fixed on expelling him from Lesotho, and this caused them problems, because they had absolutely no authority to expel someone from the land of his birth. The difficult situation was resolved by the Governor-General, who ruled: "The grievances of Phamotse and his group are valid, therefore the way to put things right is to make him a member of the Executive Council, so he and his group have representation in the Pitso." This is how matters were resolved.

What is the situation today? Those of us in the Cape enjoy excellent relations now with the people of Lesotho whereas, before Phamotse and company became deeply involved in protest, amicable relations did not exist between Xhosa and Sotho. The young Sotho men who studied in the Cape brought the black nations of Southern Africa closer together – as well as the young Zulu and Tswana men – and the recently deceased Simon Phamotse provided a model of close association, demonstrating the benefit of someone leaving home to study, observing progress in other countries and returning to implement that knowledge back home. We express our condolences to the family; we offer condolences to the Sotho people; we offer condolences to black nations everywhere on the loss of this great man!

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### Ngqika

*If only I had someone to tell Heaven about me. Ngqika*

A great many of the Xhosa are assertive of their humanity and proud of their nationality; these people are vigorous, attractive, mature, skilled in song and eloquent in speech. Those people are members of the nation known as the Ngqika; Ngqika is the king of the nation known as the Ngqika, but he is not the paramount chief of the Xhosa because he belongs to the Right Hand House; but he made a name for himself through the major events already referred to.<sup>1</sup>

Kute kupi, – kuleminyaka ingekude zvakala indaba zokuba u Simon Phamotse up'ambene ne "Pitso!" (I "Pitso" (Mbizo) ke, yintlanganiso enkulu eyi Palamente yaselu Sutu, apo zonke inkosi zidibana kona nezipakati zelo, ibe u Mongameli wayo iyi Ruluneli Jikelele yo Manyano). Ite inqubo yenkosi wayibona u Simon ukuba iyalulibala uk'omokazi olu lupantsi, idludla nezik'ulu ezi, ikolisa zona. Ibenkulu ke leyo; waye u Phamotse elandelwa ngumndilili omkulu wemfundi, – into leyo ezatsho inkosi zaxakwa, – zabona into enye yokuba mazingxote emke elu Sutu, – naleyo ibuye yazixaka; kuba akubanga lula ukugxota umntu ezweni lokuzalwa kwake. Yinkohla leyo engati yade yalanyulwa yi Ruluneli-Jikelele, ngeliti. "Izikalazo zika Phamotse neqela lake ziyapateka; ngako oko icebo eliya kulunga kukuti asondezwe kumagqugula olaulo, babe nabameli nabo kwi Pitso." Kwabanjalo, zalunga izinto.

Kunjani namhlanje? Tina mpi yase Koloni sivana ngoku kakulu ngoku nempi yaselu Sutu, ekubeni oko o Simon aba babengekabi kakulu kwizinto zobuzwe, kwakungeko kwazana kwanto kuma Xosa nabe Sutu! Amadodana aselu Sutu afunde e Koloni, alwenzile u Manyano pakati kwetu sizwe sintsundu se Afrika ese Zantsi, – nakwa Zulu amadodana, nakwelaba Tshwana, – le ingumfi namhla u Simon Phamotse, ingumzekelo wolumanyano, nokubonisa ukulunga kokuke umfo ofundileyo apume ekaya, abone ihambiseko yezinto kwamanye amazwe, aze eze nemfundiso kwelakowabo. Sitsho siyik'uzwa intsapo; sibak'uzwa abe Sutu; siluk'uzwa uhlanga oluntsundu lonke ngokulahlekelwa kwalo yile ndedebe!

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## U-Ngqika

*Ndinomntu ngelendibik' Ezulwini! Ngqika*

Ema Xoseni kuko abantu abaninzi kunene, abazitshoyo ngobuntu babo, abazidlayo ngobuzwe babo; ababantu bakalipile, bahle, bak'ulile bazimvumi, baye ekuteteni bengamabi amaciko. Abo bantu ke sesi sizwe kutiwa ngama Ngqika; u Ngqika lowo yi nkosi yeso sizwe, kutiwa ngama Ngqika; abe ke pofu engeyiyo inkosi enkulu yama Xosa, eku Kunene; into kodwa wazenzela igama ngenxa yeza ziganeko sesizibalile ngasentla.

LINEAGE

Ngqika's father is Mlawu, but because Mlawu died at an early age, not much is told of him. Mlawu is the son of Rharhabe, a man with a long history of significant actions because he died in old age, his son having predeceased him. Rharhabe is the son of Phalo, produced in Phalo's Right Hand House by a Thembu woman; but the son of the Great House by a Mpondo woman is Gcaleka. Perhaps this will be clear from the following family tree:

PHALO

|                    | Rharhabe | Gcaleka                    |
|--------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| Mlawu (Brother)    | Ndlambe  | Khawuta                    |
| Ngqika             | Mhala    | Hintsa                     |
| Sandile            | Makinana | Sarhili                    |
| Gonya (Edmund)     | Msintsi  | Sigcawu (Nonqane)          |
| Faku (Albert)      |          | Gwebinkumbi (Salakupathwa) |
| Velile (Archibald) |          | Ngangomhlaba (Mpisekhaya)  |

As for Phalo, he is the son of Tshiwo, the son of Ngconde, son of Togu, son of Sikhomo, son of Ngcwangu, son of Tshawe, son of Nkosiyamntu, son of Malangana, son of Xhosa.

HIS MOTHER

Ngqika's mother is Yese, the daughter of Xigxa, a Thembu chieftain. This daughter is the woman who is said to have gone down through the slime to her home at Xigxa's place, yet she is said to have come here to her in-laws through the mist. Although this Xigxa is a Thembu chief, his daughter could not produce the senior son because he is a low-ranking chieftain. Because of that, Mlawu died before marrying any senior queen, apart from Yese. Mlawu had another wife, called Tsekwa, who gave birth to Ntimbo, and his two sons were the subject of intense debate within the nation.

THE CLAIM

Mlawu died on the day of his wedding dance, the day he was to marry his wife; it is said he smeared on the ochre and stepped outside to dry it; as he was coming back in, he suddenly collapsed, and that was the end. The nation turned to

## UMLIBO WOKUZALWA

Uyise ka Ngqika ngu Mlawu, kodwa ekubeni u Mlawu lowo wafa ese mncinane, akukonto ipi itetekayo ngaye. U Mlawu uzalwa ngu Rarabe, yileyo ke indoda enebali elide, neline ziganeko, kuba wafa seyiyi ndoda, nonyana lo ub'ub'e pambi kwayo. U Rarabe ke uzalwa ngu Palo, oku Kunene yena ku Palo apo, ngentombi yaseba Tenjini; kuba inkulu ngu Gcaleka, nge ntombi yasema Mpondweni. Mhlaumbi ungacaca lomlibo xa ndiwenjenje.

## PALO

|                    | Rarabe   | Gcaleka                   |
|--------------------|----------|---------------------------|
| Mlawu (Brother)    | Ndlambe  | Kawuta                    |
| Ngqika             | M'hala   | Hintsa                    |
| Sandile            | Makinana | Sarili                    |
| Gonya (Edmund)     | Msintsi  | Sigcawu (Nonqane)         |
| Faku (Albert)      |          | Gwebinkumbi (Salakupatwa) |
| Velile (Archibard) |          | Ngangomhlaba (Mpisekaya)  |

U Palo ngokwake uzalwa ngu Tshiwo unyana ka Ngconde ka Togu, ka Sikomo, ka Ncw'angu, ka Tshawe, ka Nkosiyamntu, ka Malangana, ka Xosa.

## UNINA

Unina ka Ngqika ngu Yese, intokazi ka Xigxa,<sup>\*</sup> inkosana yaseba Tenjini. Lentombi yintokazi ekutiwa yehla ngobulembu ukuya kawayo kwa Xigxa, kanti nalapa emzini wayo kutiwa yeza ngenkungu; noko u Xigxa lowo uyinkosi yaseba Tenjini, ibingeze intombi yake izale inkosi enkulu, kuba uyinkosana esezantsi. Ngako oko ke u Mlawu ufe engeka yizeki eyona nkosikazi, ngapandle ko Yese, u Mlawu waye nomnye umfazi ekutiwa ngu Tsekwa, ekwati ngaye kwazalwa u Ntimbo, lamakwenkwe ke amabini ake enza ingxoxo enkulu pakati kwesizwe.

## IBANGO

U Mlawu wafa ngalomhla womdudo wake wokuba ezakuzeka namhla inkosikazi; kutiwa uqabe waqaba imbola, wapuma pandle ukuyomisa; ute ukuba

\* Kigxa

his younger brother Ndlambe to assume the kingship, but he refused and said, pointing to Ngqika and Ntimbo: "Choose a king for yourselves, here are the sons of your king." In actual fact, the nation had never considered those boys as their potential king because their mothers were not married women. Since Ndlambe refused to assume the kingship, the nation requested him to marry the lady Mlawu was about to marry in order to produce a king on behalf of his older brother,<sup>2</sup> and this Ndlambe did, but this woman produced only a girl, called Cebo.

After a while paramount chief Rharhabe died; Rharhabe produced Mlawu, Ndlambe and Nukwa, and two girls, Ntsusa and Khinzeka.<sup>3</sup> He produced all these children with the same wife, Nojoli. Again, the nation looked to Ndlambe to assume the kingship but still he refused. Eventually, in despair, the nation preferred Ntimbo, a tearful, silent chap who did not seem particularly healthy; because Ngqika was extremely high-spirited, he was considered unsuitable. Yet Ndlambe favoured Ngqika, saying Ntimbo was in poor health; he would say, "Must I attend frequent funerals?" (he would say so because he buried his elder brother and his father at much the same time). And so matters stood for Ndlambe and his councillors.

#### NGQIKA IS KING

Time passed, and the nation sent a message to the Gcaleka Great Place that a king should be approved for them; the nation's unanimous choice was the reserved prince Ntimbo. But the messengers included those to whom Ndlambe had imparted the secret message for the Great Place that his personal choice was the boy Ngqika, because he was healthy and strong, while the other was delicate.

Indeed, King Khawuta, the son of Gcaleka, arrived, and large crowds participated in festivities in the country that lasted for many days, until on one particular day the king went to the kraal, and there he sent for both princes to be brought before him. It is said he took the royal necklace of gold and cast it over Ngqika's neck, and he placed a long-bladed spear in his hand. After that he took a small spear and gave it to Ntimbo and invested him with a stiff necklace. Then the whole nation knew that Ngqika had been made king.

angene wangena ngokujokujeleka, kwaba kuyapela njalo. Isizwe ke sijongise ku Ndlambe umninawa wake ukuba apate ubuk'osi kuloko u Ndlambe wapikela ukwalata ku Ngqika no Ntimbo esiti: "zinyuleleni inkosi naba onyana benkosi yenu." Masitsho ukuti enyanisweni isizwe sasingacingi nento ngalamakwenkwe ukuba angaba nobuk'osi kuso, kuba onina babengekabi bafazi. Ekubeniweni u Ndlambe engabuvumi ubuk'osi, site isizwe makayitabate lentombi ibiza kuzekwa ngu Mlawu, amzalele umkuluwa wake inkosi, wakwenza oko u Ndlambe, ukuze lentokazi izele intombi qa engu Cebo.

Kute kupi wab'ub'a u Rarabe inkosi enkulu; u Rarabe lo uzele u Mlawu, Ndlambe no Nukwa, nentombi ezimbini, u Ntsusa no Kinzeka. Bonke aba bantwana ubazele ngomfazi omnye u Nojoli. Sipindile isizwe sakangelisa ku Ndlambe ukuba atabate ubuk'osi, kuloko u Ndlambe nangoku akabuvumanga. Side isizwe ngokuncama safuna u Ntimbo, owaye yi ndyengendyengana ezo-lileyo, noko ingabonakalisi mpilo yomeleleyo; saye sisiti u Ngqika udlamkile kakulu akayi kulunga. Ute kanti u Ndlambe yena ufuna kanye u Ngqika lowo, kuba wayesiti u Ntimbo akanampilo, utsho esiti: "Ndobakona ukuncwaba futi?" (waye sitsho kuba ke uncwabe umkuluwa wake no yise ngexesha elinye). Kuhleliwe ngolohlobo ke ngu Ndlambe namapakati akowabo.

#### U NGQIKA NGU KUMKANI

Ekuhambeni kwexesha, isizwe side satumela Komkulu kwa Gcaleka ukuba masize kubekelwa ukumkani; saye ke sivumelene ngo Ntimbo inkosana engageziyo. Kute kwa pakati kwaba tunywa aba wati kanti u Ndlambe ufake ilizwi ngasese kubatunywa abatile, ilizwi eliti maze baxele apo komkulu ukuba ke yena isiqu ubona le nkwenkwe, ingu Ngqika kuba ipilile, yomelele, enye le itambile.

Efikile okunene u kumkani u Kawuta unyana ka Gcaleka, ibe ziziyunguma zeziyolo elizweni, ezitabate intsuku ezitile, kude kwati ngomhla otile ukumkani waya kutsho ebuhlanti, ute elapo wati maziziswe inkosana zombini, okwenene zasondezwa kuye. Kutiwa utabate\* isidanga sobuhlalu (gold) wasiti gatyga ku Ngqika, watabata intshuntshe wamnika esandleni. Emveni koko utabate irwana walinika u Ntimbo, watabata isidanga sonyiwa wamti gatyangaso. Site ke ngoku sonke isizwe sazi ukuba u Ngqika wenziwe u kumkani.

\* *utamate*



## SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

It is clear that Ndlambe took particular care of his elder brother's son, and saw to his initiation, a tough, dark black fellow, quite tall, a fearless hothead. Even while Mlawu's son was still in the initiation lodge, he showed little regard for his uncle Ndlambe. It is obvious his attitude was influenced by his councillors, who kept on saying Ndlambe coveted Ngqika's kingship and wanted to undermine it. On his emergence from the initiation school he demonstrated contempt for his uncle and kept company with Yese's unscrupulous bully boys who called Ndlambe "Big Shot" and kept repeating "This Big Shot's making off with the people because they're used to him."

But these chiefs maintained good relations, and Ndlambe was sincere in his love for his nephew even though he was very much aware of what he was about. On many occasions while the chiefs were still close, their supporters would take sides and come to blows.

## WAR

At one time when Ndlambe was at his outlying kraals at the Xuxuwa<sup>4</sup> near Adelaide, he saw the king approaching in the company of his councillors; they said they were out hunting. Ndlambe welcomed the king by slaughtering an animal, but while the chiefs were eating the meat and chatting, to their surprise, they heard the fierce clash of weapons, veterans immediately fell on both sides, and the chiefs began to part company. Ndlambe's warriors were scattered and chased eastwards across the Mathole mountains. They were chased across the upper Kei river, and there they were left to their own devices. So Ndlambe decided to go to his mother among the Qwathi, and he stayed there for a time.

Out of fear that Ngqika might come and completely destroy them for protecting Ndlambe, the Qwathi sent Ndlambe home to Gcalekaland. Ndlambe stayed with the Gcaleka for quite a while until it seemed opportune for them to send him back home. Animals were slaughtered and the Gcaleka trimmed the hides for shields and when their army was mobilised, they crossed the Kei. But just as the Gcaleka army was below the Mngqesha forests near King Williams Town, the irrepressible forces of Mlawu's Lwaganda appeared and scattered the Gcaleka to the extent that they had to call to each other on those hills by whistling.

## IZIGANEKO

Kuyavakala ukuba u Ndlambe wayigcina okunene inkwenkwe yomkuluwa wake wade wayalusa, umdak' omnyama ongqongqo, osukileyo kanobom egad-  
eni, idlongodlongo\* lonifo ongoyikiyo. Ute esengu mkweta umfo ka Mlawu,  
wahle wabonisa ukuba akazi kuba nanto noyisekazi u Ndlambe. Lowo moya  
kumhlope ukuba wawufakwa ngamapakati ako kwabo; awapikela ukuti u  
Ndlambe lo ufuna ubuk'osi bake, uya bubulala obuka Ngqika. Ute uyapuma  
nje esutwini wabe engasenanto noyisekazi lo; selengqongwe zizijora zako Yese  
ezikohlakele kunene, into ezati ukumbiza u Ndlambe ngu "Mduna," zapikela  
ukuteta ngokuti "Lo Mduna umka nabantu kuba bamqelile."

Pofu inkosi ezi zona bezivana, u Ndlambe engazenzisi ukumtanda unyana lo  
wake, noko azibonayo ezizinto azenzayo ekubafuti eziti inkosi ezi zisahleli zive  
ngentonga† sezinqoza kanti kulwa izimpi zazo zahlulelene.

## IMFAZWE

Kude kwati ngelinye ixesha u Ndlambe esematanga e Xoxowa ngase  
K'obonqaba wabona ifika inkosi ingqongwe ngamapakati ayo; bate bahamba  
bezingela, uqukeze u Ndlambe wax'ela, ex'elela inkosi, kodwa kute kusatyiswa  
lonyama, inkosi zisa ncokola zingazinto, zeva ngezikali sezisitsho kalukuni,  
kwalala imik'utuka macala omabini ngepanyazo, ziqalile inkosi zahlukana.  
Yacitwa eka Ndlambe yasukeliswa, yekoko ukujonga empumalanga, yekoko  
ukuya kuqatyeliswa kwezo ntaba zakwa Matole. Yekoko ukuya kuwezwa i Nciba  
pezulu, yashiywa kweze zituba ukuze izibonele. Kuk'uze ke u Ndlambe acinge  
ngokuya kulonina ema Qwatinini wahlala kona ituba elitile.

Ate ama Qwati ngokoyika ukuti hleze u Ngqika eze kuwacitacita nawo kuba  
ekusela u Ndlambe, nango emtabata u Ndlambe emgodusa, emsa kwa Gcaleka.  
Ahleli ahlala nawo ama Gcaleka no Ndlambe, ade abonakala ezilungiselela  
ukumgodusa, kux'eliwe kwasikwa kunene amak'ak'a ngama Gcaleka, wade  
wabonakala ufunquka umkosi wawo, yekoko ukuwela i Nciba. Kodwa kwalile  
ukuba lomkosi wama Gcaleka ube pantsi kwalo mahlatana o Mnqesha ngase  
Qonce, yavela impi engevayo ka Lwaganda ka Mlawu, yawacita ama Gcaleka  
atsho ahamba ebizana ngama kwelo kwezo nduli.

\* idlongodlonga

† ngentanga

Ndlambe's hands were bound, but he was saved by his councillors when his nephew wanted to finish him off. Apparently the fellow burst into tears, saying: "You have helped me, my children, because what I was about to do would have been a disaster for me!"

Ndlambe was sent as a captive to Rhabula near Keiskammahoek. He was chained so that he stayed in that place and did not mix with people, because the people knew him and might take him to be a great chief. Ndlambe stayed there afflicted by hunger because he was not allowed to hunt anywhere. It is said that when he sent messages to the Great Place reporting on his hunger, the king would answer unkindly: "Tell him to ask that somebody!" He said that referring to one of Ndlambe's councillors; one day he would say "give it to him," another day he would answer unkindly.

#### A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION

After a time, Mlawu's son announced to the nation that he wanted to cross the Kei for a thorough investigation in Gcalekaland. In other words, he wanted to ask the Gcaleka why they had come to him fully armed. Indeed, a large number of animals were slaughtered and shields were trimmed in preparation. When this whole army of hotheads was properly mobilised, they crossed the Kei making for Thethe's place.

The Gcaleka were caught like chicks snatched by an eagle, and they took to their heels in headlong flight. The hands of Hintsu, who was still a small boy at the time, were bound – but he was saved by the councillors as Mlawu's son stood with dagger drawn. Again he burst into tears: "Hi! hi! hi! I surprise myself, my fellow countrymen: this is my chief whom I wanted to treat like this, hi! hi! hi!"

#### THE PRISONER SLIPS AWAY

After some time as a prisoner, Ndlambe seized the opportunity to escape from bondage. He crossed the Keiskamma and the Fish until he reached Alexandria beyond Grahamstown. On hearing that Ndlambe had slipped free of bondage and hidden himself in his own territory, the Tshiwo<sup>5</sup> raised dust in pursuit! The people followed him, loving him for his long-term support. Soon Ndlambe commanded a large army. The names "a Ndlambe" and "a Ngqika" originate from this period.

U Ndlambe wabanjwa ngezandla, wasindiswa ngamapakati, unyana wake selefuna ukumgqibela. Kutiwa yafumane yagixa yalila inkewu, isiti: "Nindincedile bantwana bakokwetu, kuba lento ndipantse ukuyenza ibiya kundizisela amashwa!"

Akuba ebanjiwe u Ndlambe watatyatwa wasiwa e Rab'ula ngakwa Qoboqobo, wakonxwa apo, ukuba ahlale kulondawo, angahambahambi pakati kwabantu, kuba abantu bamqelile, basuke bantabate njenge nkosi enkulu. Ube lapo ke u Ndlambe esifa zindlala kuba abavunyelwe nokuba azingele ayepi. Kutiwa ubesiti kanjalo akutumela komkulu ukuya kuzibika ukulamba, isuke inkosi ipendule ngokuqavata isiti: Yitshoni acele kuzibanizeshe lowo!" Itsho ikankanya omnye kula mapakati anaye, iti ngomnye umhla impe, iti ngomnye umhla iqavate.

#### UKUNYENYETWA KWEMI NYANI

Emva kwetuba elitile ivakalisile into ka Mlawu esizweni ukuba ifuna ngoku ukuke iwele i Nciba iye kunye nyeta iminyani kwa Gcaleka. Oko kukuti iye kubuza kuma Gcaleka ukuba aye nyanga nina ukuza apa exobile? Okunene ke kux'elwe kwa nyikizwa, kusikwa amak'ak'a, kwafumane kwayilonto. Kute kwakulungwa yefunqu lompi yama dlongodlongo odwa, yekoko ukuwela i Nciba ukusinga kulo Tete.

Ate ayabona ama Gcaleka abona seleriwula ngokwa mantshontsho eriwulwa lukosi, asaba azizib'ekede. U-Hintsa owaye yinkwenkwana ngelo xesha wabanjwa ngezandla, - wasindiswa kwa ngamapakati into ka Mlawu seyimqiwulele irwana. Ibuye yapinda yagixa yalila: Hi! hi! hi! ndimangel' ukuti bantwana bakokwetu kwam yinkosi yam le bendifuna ukuyenjenje, hi hi hi!

#### UKU BUNGCA KOMBANJWA

Emva kwetuba elitile u Ndlambe esebubanjweni ude wafumana ituba lokuba azikupe ebukonxweni, yekoko ukuwela i Xesi ukuwela i Nxuba yekoko ukuya kutsho e Mnyameni ngapaya kwe Rini. Ate ama Tshiwo akuya ukuba u Ndlambe upumile ebukonxweni, waya kuzimela kumhlaba wake yeka ke utuli emva kwake! Abantu balandela yena, kuba babe mtanda ngoku ngazenzisiyo kakade. Kwa kamsinya u Ndlambe waba nempi eninzi. Avele kweso situba amagama ati um-Ndlambe nom Ngqika.

## THE CONFLICT OVER THUTHULA

While Ndlambe was at Alexandria, he had a wife called Thuthula, a lady celebrated for her beauty. Those wicked councillors of Yese encouraged their prince to walk with Thuthula. The main instigator was Ntlebi, a man of Hottentot origin, because he was a Gqwashe. It was Ntlebi's intention in this to ensure that nephew and uncle were never again reconciled; but this affair undermined the chiefling's power, because he was deserted by his supporters.<sup>6</sup> The Ndlambe went to fetch Thuthula, the Ngqika abandoned their chiefling, Thuthula was returned home, and she died an old woman among the Ndlambe at Mncotsho.

## THE BATTLE OF AMALINDE

Ngqika fought this Battle of Amalinde<sup>7</sup> after several meetings with white leaders, especially Lord Charles Somerset, who met him at a great gathering at the Kat river in 1817; old Xhosa chiefs such as Ndlambe, Tshatshu, Kobe, Nqeno, Mahote and others attended but Somerset paid them absolutely no attention and passed over to this youngster, and they realised that this youngster had sold them to the whites. They resolved to embarrass him and deprive him of power before he went too far.

The reader will understand that among these chiefs there was none who could oppose Ngqika; hence they collectively came to an agreement to embarrass him. While Ndlambe was still a prisoner, Ngqika was visited by a certain white man (J. Barrow)<sup>8</sup> at Middledrift; they discussed crucial issues and reached agreements without referring to Ndlambe at all, and Ndlambe remembered this.

And so the principal reason for this Battle of Amalinde was to disempower Ngqika, and it was not over Thuthula, as most people believe.

The entire Xhosa nation assembled on the Debe flats near King Williams Town: the Gcaleka, Ntinde, Mbalu, Gqunukhwebe, Hleke, Dange and Ndlambe. The massed army was under the command of Ndlambe's son Mdushane. Ngqika's small force was under the command of his son Maqoma. Both young men had recently returned from initiation and were the same age. Suffice to say that on this day Ngqika's warriors were destroyed in large-scale slaughter.

## IMFAZWE KA TUTULA

Ngelo xesha u Ndlambe ase Mnyameni ube nomfazi ogama kutiwa ngu Tutula, intokazi ebinconywa kakulu ubunzwakazi. Lamapakati akohlakeleyo ako Yese ayenzile lenkosana yawo ukuba iya hamba u Tutula lowo. Lento yasetyenzwa ikakulu ngu Ntlebi, indoda eli Lawo ngomlibo wayo kuba ngum-Gqwashe. Ekucingeni kwake yena u Ntlebi wayezama ukuba kungalo kubuye kubuyelane nyana lo noyise; kanti ke lonto yeyona yawat'isayo amandla enkosana leyo, yashiywa ngabantu abalungileyo bakowayo. Uputunyiwe u Tutula ngama Ndlambe, ati ama Ngqika ayishiya inkosana yawo, wagoduswa u Tutula, owafela e Mncotsho kuma Ndlambe sele ngumfazi omdala.

## IMFAZWE YAMA LINDE

Le imfazwe yama Linde iliwe u Ngqika seleke wadibana futi nenkosi zasemlungwini, ngakumbi u Lord Charles Somerset, owadibana naye kwi mbizokazi enkulu eyayise Ncwenxa ngomnyaka we 1817; zazi lapa inkosi ezindala zama Xosa o Ndlambe, o Tshatshu, o Kobe, o Nqeno, o Mahote, nezinye; kodwa u Somaseti wasuka wadlula nalomfana akazi hoyo nangento le, zase ziqonda ke ukuba lomfana selezitengisile kubelungu. Zagqiba ekubeni makohlwaywe, etiswe amandla, uzakude agqite emdeni.

Umfundi uyakuqonda ke ukuba kwezi nkosi kwakungeko yayinokulwa no Ngqika; kungoko zati zab'unga ukuba makohlwaywe. U Ndlambe wayesese bubanjweni nyakana u Ngqika wafikelwa ngumlungu otila e Xesi (J. Barrow); bateta izinto ezinkulu bazigqiba bengabuzanga nento le kuye yamhlala lonto u Ndlambe.

Lemfazwe yama Linde ke ngoko esonansizatu sayo yayi kukwapula amandla ka Ngqika, ingesiso isizatu sika Tutula, njengoko uninzi lucinga njalo.

Zihlanganisene ke okunene isizwe zonke zasema Xoseni, ama Gcaleka, ama Ntinde, ama Mbalu, ama Gqunukwebe, ama Hleke, imi Dange nama Ndlambe kwelo tafa le Debe ngase Qonce. Yonke ke lonyakanyaka yomkosi yayi petwe ngunyana ka Ndlambe ogama lingu Mdushane. Oka Ngqika umk'osana wawu-petwe ngu nyana wake ogama lingu "Maqoma." Omabini lamadodana kwakuxa angama rwala, engontanga. Makwanele apa xa nditi wacitwa u Ngqika namhla, ngemb'ub'okazi' enkulu.

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\* *umk'asana*

† *ngemb'ub'akazi*

Before hostilities commenced, Ndlambe addressed these words to his army: "Tribes of Phalo, of Tshiwo, of Ngconde, I have no idea why things have come to this pass; all I did was rear a child, and today he rises against me. Keep strong and fight to the bitter end! Fight to the bitter end!"

Ngqika said to his troops: "Do you see? We mean something to you! This plain is full because of this name, – because of this name! For a long time you've been dying, tribes of Rharhabe, for a long time you've been dying! Today I'm still saying, 'Go risk your lives, tribes of Phalo, of Rharhabe.'"

When Ngqika was defeated in the Battle of Amalinde he fled to the white man who knew all about this. He did indeed receive help, but the victims received nothing, hence he began to refer to the whites with this poem:

They're Nonibe's coarse things,  
who halter a pregnant cow:  
"Let it give birth so we can drink the first milk."  
The turncoats,  
who wheel and stab their own people,  
with eyes like forest berries!

#### DESCENDANTS

Ngqika had many children but the most important are: (1) Sandile in the Great House, with his wife Suthu, (2) Maqoma in the Right Hand House, with his wife Nothonto, or Menyezwa, (3) Tyhali in the Xhiba House, with his wife Nonibe, (4) Anta, who was made Ngqika's younger brother in the place of Ntimbo, who died without children, (5) Xhoxho, who was placed in Tyhali's supporting house.

#### FURTHER POINTS

Ngqika was energetic amongst his own people, but when guns arrived he grew listless; they arrived at the same time as his people were criticising him. As a chief, he was kind and approachable; he was fond of attractive people, and he liked to be praised. It is said that his poet would praise him as soon as he caught sight of the Great Place:

Pambi kokuba zinqoze, u Ndlambe wenjenje ukuwutetela kwake umkosi:

"Kambe mabandla ka Palo, ka Tshiwo, ka Ngconde, kunjeyanjeya nje andazi nto; nto ndiyenzileyo ndondle umntana, namhla ndivukelwa kwanguye. Maze nibambe kube yinkwa nenkwa! kube yinkwa nenkwa!" U Ngqika wenjenje kowake.

"Anisikangeli na? siluluto lwenu! Eliya tafa lizele nje kungenxa\* yeli gama, - kungenxa yeli gama! kade nisifa mabandla ka Rarabe, kade nisifa! namhla ke ndisatsho, ndisati hambani niye kufa, mabandla ka Palo, ka Butsolo Bentonga."

Akuba oyisiwe u Ngqika kwimfazwe yase Malinde ubalekele kwaku mlungu lowa uyaziya lento. Okunene wancedwa; kodwa akazuza nto emaxobeni, kukuze aqale kaloku awa bonge amabandla ako Nibe ngezibongo eziti:

"Ngama rwex'ako Nibe,  
O Qina ka Qonono,  
Mayizal' inkomo sidl' isigqoro,  
O K'aka ka Mpetu,  
Omajik' abinze kweyase kaya,  
Aba mehl' ang'a gcageleya yehlati!"

#### INZALA.

U Ngqika uzele kakulu kodwa abona nyana bake babalulekileyo (1) inkulu ngu Sandile (ngo Sutu), (2) u kunene ngu Maqoma (ngo Notonto u Menyezwa), (3) i x'iba ngu Tyali (ngo Nonibe), (4) u Anta wenziwa umninawa ka Ngqika endaweni ka Ntimbo owafa engekazali, (5) u X'ox'o wenziwa i Qadi lakulo Tyali.

#### EZINYE INDAWANA

U Ngqika waye likalipa kowabo; kodwa ite yakufika imipu wadangala; yaye ifike kunye nokungxoliswa kwake ngamakowabo. Njenge nkosi ubengumfo omnandi ongoyikekiyo; ubebatanda abantu abahle ekutanda ukubongwa. Kutiwa imbongi yake ibisiti isati t'u emzini wakomkulu ibe seyimtshe isiti:

\* *kunkenxa*



“Lwaganda, Scandalmonger,  
 who avoids hyenas on their way home,  
 kite in its cage in the swamps,  
 wild beast that devours his own home but denies it,  
 blaming Nyelenzi and Makabalekile.”<sup>9</sup>

It is said that one day the poet was caught up in conversation with some councillors until he arrived at the Great Place. He was confronted angrily. “Why does he always praise us and now suddenly fall flat? Scrag him!!!” Oh, how the poet ran from them to save his life and then returned to the Great Place following proper procedure. Another man, Bomboto, who was particularly ugly, noted the cattle the poet was given and thought he would try his luck, but without success; as he was starting “Oh! Oh! ...” he heard someone say; “What is this thing insulting us? Scrag him!!” Bomboto took to his heels at full speed to hide himself! After this, whenever he wanted cattle, he would stand on the ridge and say: “I’ll come back later to make you sick!” Some heifers would immediately be rushed over to him.

In Ntsikana’s time, Ngqika became his convert; but his councillors undermined this by creating wedding dances that lasted for three months, and His Majesty did indeed withdraw; but he did not withdraw entirely because he was often heard crying out: “If only I had someone to tell Heaven about me!!!”

He very much welcomed the arrival of the missionaries because he said they are the people to report on him in heaven. He sang and danced naked<sup>10</sup> at wedding dances. It is said he would avoid the dance for two or three days and, on the third day, Mlawu’s son would pitch in with his chosen toughs, and their arrival would resemble that of race oxen, with noisy confusion, with old and young moved out of the way! And the dance would resume.

#### DEATH

I can’t complete the story of Lwaganda because he is the entire country; so let me close by saying: “A beloved chief died!” He died at Burnshill, near Middledrift, on 3 November 1829.

“U Lwaganda ngu So Tshul’ ubembe  
 Umpambani nenc’uka zigoduka,  
 Untloyiy’ onendlwane wasemajojweni,  
 Iramncw’ elidl’ umzi liwukanyela,  
 Lisiti udliwa ngu Nyelenzi no Makabalekile.”

Kutiwa ite ngenye imini imbongi yalibala yingxoxo ihamba namanye amapakati yade yaya kufika komkulu. Iva imbongi seyibaramlelwa kutiwa: “Yintoni lento isidumisa isidumise ibuy’ isiti tya? Yibambeni!” Awu! Yababelek’ abasicatyana imbongi ukuya kungena ngesiko komkulu! Enye indoda egama lingu B’omb’oto, umfo owaye nobunx’atu kanobom, ute akubona inkomo esizuzwe yimbongi wanga naye angake alinge; koko nto esati: “Awu! Awu – !” weva ngento seyisiti; “Yintoni lento isihlambelayo? Yibambeni!!” Yeka ke, wasib’ekede u B’omb’oto ukuya kwela kwantsiza! Ubesel’ aman’ ukuti emva koko xa akanuka inkomo avele enkalweni ati: Ndobene ndivele ke ndize kukuhlambela! Bekusakuti ke kwa kamsinya akawulezelwe ngamatokazana atile.

Ngexesha lika Ntsikana, u Ngqika wayekolwe kanye nguye; kodwa ama pakati ake ayicita lonto ngokwenza umdudo onyanga ntatu, okunene walahla u Mhlekezi; nto kanti noko ulahla engalahli kuba kubefuti emana eviwa etyanduluka esiti: “Ndinomntu ngele ndibik’ ezulwini!!!”

Wabatanda kakulu aba Fundisi bakufika, kuba wayesiti ngabona bantu baya kumbika ezulwini. Emdudweni ube yimvumi nentyulubi. Kutiwa ubesakuti awuyeye umdudo ube ntsuku mbini nantatu uquba, kwale ngolu usuku lwesitatu, ati t’u umfo ka Mlawu kunye nengxilimbela eziketiweyo, ziti ukufika kwazo kunge kukufika kwe nkabi zeleqe, kufumane kube sipotshongela sesapontshane, kuke kukweleliswe amaxego nabantwana! Uqalwe emva umdudo.

#### UKUFA

Andingemqibi u Lwaganda kuba ulilizwe lipela; ngako oko mandipeze ngeliti: “Yaf’ inkos’ itandwa!” Wafela e Mkubiso, (Burnshill), e Xesi, ngomhla wesitatu kwi nyanga ye Nkanga, ngomnyaka we 1829, 3rd November 1829.

**Rharhabe**

*Tsi-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha! Rharhabe's spears!*

Rharhabe is Ngqika's grandfather; he himself is the son of Phalo, the Phalo from whom the Gcaleka and Ngqika are descended:

PHALO

|          |         |
|----------|---------|
| Rharhabe | Gcaleka |
| Mlawu    | Khawuta |
| Ngqika   | Hintsá  |
| Sandile  | Sarhili |
| etc      | etc     |

THE ORIGIN OF THE RIGHT HAND HOUSE

Phalo is the son of Tshiwo, of Ngconde, of Togu, of Sikhomo, of Ngcwangu, of Tshawe, of Nkosiyanmtu, of Malangana, of Xhosa.

Phalo settled in that low-lying area a little beyond Butterworth. While he was there he received two bridal parties – one brought him a Mpondo girl, the other a Thembu girl. This created the problem of deciding who should be senior and who should be junior, because they were both from prominent royal houses. While they were puzzling over this, a certain wise man came to mind – his name was Majeke, a Qwambi living at the Nqabarha river; this Majeke was very old, he could no longer see, and he was hard of hearing as well. He was led to the Great Place on an ox, and was told of the nation's dilemma – Majeke listened attentively and said: "Let one be the king's Head and the other the king's Right Hand!" And that was the end of the discussion – the Mpondo princess was made "the head" of the king, and the Thembu princess was made the "right hand" of the king. This remarkable event initiated the Right Hand House among the Xhosa.

## U Rarabe

*Tsi-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha! Izikali zika Rarabe!*

U Rarabe nguyise omkulu ka Ngqika; yena ngunyana ka Palo, u Palo ke apuma kuye ama Gcaleka nama Ngqika, ngoluhlobo: –

## PALO

|         |         |
|---------|---------|
| Rarabe  | Gcaleka |
| Mlawu   | Ka'wuta |
| Ngqika  | H'intsá |
| Sandile | Sar'ili |
| Etc.    | Etc.    |

## UKUVELA KO KUNENE

U Palo ke ngunyana ka Tshiwo, ka Ngconde, ka Togu, ka Sikomo, ka Ncw'angu, ka Tshawe, ka Nkosiyamntu, ka Malangana, ka Xosa.

Apo ebemi kona u Palo lowo kukulo ntili ingqutu ingapaya kancinane kwelodopu yase Gcuwa (Butterworth). Ute elapo u Palo wafikelwa zinduli ezimbini, – olunye lumzisele intombi yasema Mpondweni, olunye luzise intombi yaseba Tenjini. Suke kube yinkohla ngoku ukudala ukuba yiyipina ezakuba nkulu, iyiyipina ezakuba ncinane kuba zivela ebukumanini obukulu zombini. Kude kuti ngalo nkohlamntu kucingwe ngaqawe litile, – igama lalo ngu Majeke, into yase ma Qwambini, e Nqabara; u Majeke lowo ke wayesel' emdala kakulu, engasaboni ngamehlo, nendlebe sezibutuntu kakulu. Uputunyiwe ngeqegu weza apa Komkulu, wafika wayibikelwa lento ixake isizwe, – uve weva u Majeke wapuma kweli liti: “Omnye makube yi Ntloko yenkosi, aze omnye abe yingalo yase Kunene enkosini!” Yaba njalo iyapela into ebitetwa, – ite eyasema Mpondweni inkosazana yenziwa “intloko” yenkosi; yaza eyaseba Tenjini inkosazana yenziwa ingalo yase “Kunene” yenkosi. Esi siganeko sibe sesokuqala esavelisa u “Kunene” ema Xoseni.

## GCALEKA AND RHARHABE 1720

These two women produced children together, because they were born at the same time, both of them boys; the Mpondo princess's son was named Gcaleka, and the Thembu princess's was named Rharhabe. Both had men for midwives. We can estimate the year as 1720. These boys grew up together, but they differed in disposition; Gcaleka, the elder, was meek, and his health remained delicate. The son in the Right Hand House, Rharhabe, appeared fearless and alert, and he had no problems with his health.<sup>1</sup> The time for their initiation arrived, and both their lodges were secluded beyond their homes, down from the village known as Mabinza's, below the town of Butterworth.

## THE MIGRATION 1736

In the aforementioned year, trouble arose involving certain whites who arrived at the Great Place – there was doubt about whether they were shipwreck survivors, or a party spying out the land. But these people were cared for at the Great Place, they were fed well, and honourably entertained – until they grew ill-disposed and caused trouble, and were killed, but a few were spared to report what had happened to them.<sup>2</sup>

After this unfortunate incident a very long journey to the west was undertaken. We believe the King wanted to explore the country – by this time both princes were young men. The journey took this form: Rharhabe went ahead with his army; Phalo and Gcaleka (of the Great Place) followed behind, separated by a distance of 30 miles; it was Rharhabe's task to protect his chiefs from enemies, so that no danger befell them. Slow progress was made on the journey: the party would travel, erect temporary shelters, build, plant and harvest, and then move on. They followed a route that passed the Kei, the Nxarhuni, King Williams Town, the Keiskamma, the Nyuba, Tyelerha, Qhorha, through the scrubland of Mnyama and Nyweba, until the Qagqiwa mountains came into view, the ones we now call Vuba's – down there at Uitenhage.

## U GCALEKA NO RARABE 1720

Zite ezintokazi zombini zazibula kunye, kwanje ngokuba zazifike kunye, zombini zazibula ngamakwenkwe; eyom Pondokazi inkwenkwe yanikwa igama lokuba ngu Gcaleka, – eyom Tembukazi kwatiwa ngu Rarabe. Abafukamisi bazo zombini yoyingamadoda.\* Eloxesha ke silicingela kumnyaka we 1720. Ak'ule kunye lamakwenkwe, aye engafani ngemikwa; inkulu le, u Gcaleka ibe sisilulami, yati nempilo yayo ayabonakala komelela kungakanani. Eyase kunene, u Rarabe ivele yona yaqava, yap'ap'ama, yati nempilo yayo ayasoleka. Lide lafika nexesha lokuba aluswe, zagxunyekwa izindlu zawo zombini ngenx' engapshesha kwamakaya, pantsi kwalolali besisakuti yeka Mabinza, emazants' edolopu yase Gcuwa.

## IMFUDUKO 1736

Ngawo lomnyaka ungasentl' apa, kuke kwako inkatazo ete yabako ebuzweni eyabangelwa ngamagwangqa atile awati afika apo Komkulu, – akucaneki nokokuba ayeqekkelwe yinqanawa, nokuba liqela labantu ababehlola umhlaba na. Kodwa bagcinwa apa komkulu abobantu, betyiswa kakuhle, bek'atalelwe ngesonti, – suke bavukwa bubutshaba benza inkatazo, babulawa, kwasindiswa abambalwa ukuba baye kushumayela into ebahleleyo.

Emveni kwayo ke lentlekele kutatyatwe uhambo olude kunene olusinga e Ntshonalanga. Sicinga ukuba u Kumkani lo watanda ukuke ahlole ilizwe, – ngeloxesha amakosana la omabini ayesele ngamadodana. Olu hambo lwalunje: U Rarabe wayehamba pambili kunye nempi yake; eyakomkulu (u Palo no Gcaleka), ilandela ngasemva isituba semayile ezimashumi matatu pakati kwabo; ukwenjenjalo oko u Rarabe wayegabulela inkosi zake intshaba; nengozi ebezingati zihlelwe zizo. Koluhambo ke kuhanjwa kancinane, umzi uhamba ugxumeka iminquba, kuke kwakiwe, kulinywe kuvunwe, kundulukwe. Ngayo lendlela ke ide yawelwa i Nciba, i Njaruni, i Qonce, i Xesi, i Nyuba, i Tyelera, i Qora, kwacandiswa kwezondada zo Mnyama ne Nyweba, yekoko ukuya kuti cititi kwezontaba ze Qagqiwa, nezo siti ngoku zezika Vuba, – kuse Tinara ke apo.

\* *Imibengo* adds *ngenxa yokoyikela ababulali* (130), for fear of killers.

† *Imibengo* has *ukhankanyiweyo* (the last-mentioned) for *ungasentl' apa* (130).

## THE RETURN 1740

The King did not stay long in those places before he thought of returning home. Perhaps he wished to spend his final years at home; that land was notorious for its abundance of snakes because it was a rainy region. Captain Veldtman used to say that three things caused the Mfengu to move away from Tsitsikama: (1) a Boer's sjambok; (2) the region's hyperactive snakes; (3) the fire that consumed the nation. In Phalo's time neither the fire nor the Boer's sjambok were there yet; but we know all about the snakes in those days.

On the return Rharhabe travelled ahead as he had done initially, and the group made slow progress, travelling and stopping, planting, harvesting, moving on. The group stopped for a few years at the Nxarhuni, which explains "Phalo's Rock above Mr Roach" at the Nkobongo. The host grazed onwards, drawing distinctions between the people of Cintsa and those of Cefane, and here a bad thing happened.

## AT NXINXOLO 1743

This is the name of a rivulet renowned to this day among the Xhosa, which enters the Kwenxurha south of the Qumrha district. It is said that Prince Gcaleka was summoned into this rivulet when he received the call to enter a river and become a diviner. Reader, you will know that this process entails a series of rituals; for a long time the diviner's fits possessed this chief. To this day Xhosa women pay their respects to this rivulet, and men fear it; it is covered in shadow. To this day the Gcaleka still journey to slaughter an ox there, asking permission from the owners to cross their farms in order to take secret counsel at the Great Place there, for it is said that this prince eventually ended his days in these Nxinxolo pools.

This business of the chief's becoming a diviner worried Rharhabe, and he flew into a rage, saying divination was all right for commoners, as they would be afraid to smell out a chief; now that a chief had become a diviner, who would be safe from smelling out? To this day this declaration of Rharhabe remains salient in the Right Hand House, as a member of the royal family would not be "disturbed," but among the Gcaleka it is common to see a member of the royal family wearing a baboon skin headdress.

## UMBUYO 1740

U Kumkani akabanga natuba lingakanani kulawo mazwe, wahle wacinga ukujika agoduke. Mhlaumbi utande ukuba maziti zifika imini zake zokwalupala zimfikele esekaya; elozwe lilizwe elibe linconywa kakulu ubuninzi benyoka kuba lilizwe elenileyo. U Capt. Veldtman ubesakuti izinto zintatu ezajikisa ama Mfengu e Tsitsikama, – (1) sisabokwe se Bulu. (2) Zinyoka ezibukali zelozwe; (3) Ngulomlilo wagqiba isizwe. Ngezomini ke zika Palo umlilo lowo wawungekabiko kunye nesabokwe eso se Bulu; kodwa inyoka siyazazi zona ukuba zaziyo ezaziyo kwangazo ezomini.

Kule ndlela yokubuya ke uhambe kwapambili u Rarabe kwanje ngo kwanga pambili, yaye impi ihamba kancinane, ihamba imisa, ilime, ivune, induluke. Ike impi yemisa kanobom e Nxaruni kwade kwafuna ukudlulisa eminyakeni etile, kukuze kubeko eli “Litye lika Palo lipezu ko Loji” (Mr. Roach) e Nkobongo. Ude umzi we xangxe wehlela ema Cintsa nama Cefane, kanti koku kuzakuhla into embi.

## E NXINXOLO 1743

Eligama ke ligama lentlanjana esadumileyo nanamhlanje kuma Xosa, yona ingena e Kwenxura emazantsi esiqingata se Qumra (Komgha District), kuyo ke lentlanjana kutiwa inkosana u Gcaleka yabizwa emlanjeni yati kanti ibizelwa ukutwasiswa, uyazi ke nawe mlesi ukuba lowo ngumcimbi onawawo amatilile; isetyenziwe ke inkosi leyo yade yayingcamevu yegqira. Nanamhlanje abafazi bama Xosa basayihlonipa lo ntlanjana, isoyikeka nakumadoda, inesi tunzi. Ama Gcaleka asalutata nanamhlanje uhambo lokuya kuxela inkomo apo, secelela indlela kumafama angabanini belozwe ukuya kugqubuza apo komkulu, kuba kutiwa inkosana leyo yade yapelela kwezo ziziba ze Nxinxolo.

Asikuko nokuba u Rarabe yamkataza lento yokutwasa kwe nkosi engaka, wanobu ralarume, esiti lento yentwaso ifanele abantu abamnyama, bona bayakuti boyike ukunuka inkosi; ngoku xa kutwasa inkosi nguba nina oyakusinda ekunukweni? Le nteto ka Rarabe isabalulekile nanamhlanje kweli lase Kunene, kuba i Tshawe belingafumane libe “nenkatazo,” kanti kwa Gcaleka yinto elula ukubona i Tshawe litsho ngesidlokolo semfene.



AT RHARHABE'S SLABS 1745

When he reached the ford over the Kei below Njamkhulu,<sup>3</sup> before the approach to Butterworth, Rharhabe came upon a buffalo and speared it, he killed and ate it, and sent the right hind leg and *lwanga* to his chiefs; *lwanga* is the belly of the buffalo or eland (a flabby creature), the meat someone who killed a buffalo offered the Great Place as tribute, otherwise he would be punished with a fine. From then on that ford was known as Buffalo Ford, which Rev J. Ayliff and Colonel Somerset crossed when they conducted the Mfengu from Hintsa's place.<sup>4</sup> After crossing the Kei, Phalo stopped at the Tongwane;<sup>5</sup> this is the territory of the Ceru-Bawa and the Tombe, up to Ntsimango on the Kobodi. It is said he died there, and was buried at Mthombe. Gcaleka settled at the old Butterworth sites beyond the Ntlambe, and Rharhabe settled at Thoboshane on those slabs now known as Rharhabe's Slabs on the Gcuwa. His territory is that of the Rwantsana, Ndotshanga and Qhina.

In this way these princes lived happily side by side, they occupied the same space and the young men were made to stand in line to bring meat to the princes, straight from the pot, still hot, with gravy and all the trimmings! At this point I set aside the other kings, and concentrate on Rharhabe and his Right Hand House.

THE DEPARTURE 1750

His Majesty continued to live at Toboshana, above those slabs, until he came to a realisation under the guidance of his councillors. He was advised to stand down here as (1) his reputation would never be independent because of his junior rank, (2) his senior brother's status as diviner caused him alarm. In the end, because his father was still alive, he asked his permission to leave; he told his father he had heard reports of an abundance of game on the other side, and he wanted to go there. He did indeed receive leave from the Great Place and was granted men to accompany him. By this time Rharhabe could not be matched on these points: (1) wealth, (2) generosity, (3) courage. And so he departed,

Nomagwayi's tendons,  
 Rocker who rocked the nation;  
 Dark of hue,  
 he wears his clothing short,

## KU LWALWA LUKA RARABE 1745

Ute ukuba abe se Nciba u Rarabe kwelo zibuko lipantsi ko Njamkulu, entla kokungena kwe Gcuwa, waqubisana ne nyati wayibinza, wayibulala wayitya, watumela umlenze no "lwanga" ezinkosini zake; u lwanga ke sisisu esi senyati okanye impofu (inx'eba), yinyama leyo abesakuti ubani obulele inyati ayise komkulu, adliwe ab'ushuliswe ukuba lonto akayenzanga. Ukususela koko elozibuko labizwa ngokuba lele Nyati, lilo eliyawawela ngalo u Elefu (Rev. J. Ayliff) no Somaseti (Colonel Somerset), ukuk'upa kwabo ama Mfengu kwa Hintsa. Ite inkosi enkulu yona u Palo yakuwela i Nciba yase imisa e Tongwane; ama Ceru-Bawa nemi Tombe leyo zindawo zayo, kude kuse ku Ntsimango e Kobodi. Kuvakala ukuba kulapo wada wafela kona, wancwatyelwa e Mtombe. U Gcaleka uye yena wagxumeka kwa kumanxowa amadala e Gcuwa pesheya kwe Ntlambe, u Rarabe ugxumeke yena e Toboshane pezu kolo lwalwa nanamhlanje kusatiwa lu "Lwalwa luka Rarabe," e Gcuwa emlanjeni, ama Rwantswana lawo no Ndotshanga nama Qina zindawo zake.

Zihlalelene kakuhle ngalo ndlela ke ezo nkosana, zibuta ndawenye kuroziswa amadodana ukusa inyama, isopolwa eziko, iyakufika ezi nkosini iseshushu, kunye nemihluzi yonke lonto! Apa ke ndiyaziyeka ezinye i Kumkani ezi, ndizakutabata u Rarabe yedwa necala lake lase Kunene.

## UPUMO 1750

Uhleli wahlala u mhlekazi lo e Toboshana, pezu kolo lwalwa, wade wanento ate wayiqonda, ngokuyifundiswa ngamapakati akowabo. Ucetyiswe ukuba (1) ash-enxe apa kuba usisinci ngako oko igama lake alisayi kuze lavela, (2) obu bugqira bale nkosi ingumkuluwa wake bumnike amavuso. Ude ke ngoko wacela indlela komkulu kuyise, kuba wayeseke; wati uva kusitiwa inyamakazi ziyapulana ngasentl' apa, unga ke ngoko angake aye ngaku lawo macala. Okunene uyi-fumene imvume komkulu wanikwa namadoda ecala lokowabo ukuba ahambe naye. Ngeli xesha ke u Rarabe lo kwakungeko ndoda ingangaye ngezi ndawo: (1) ubutyebi, (2) isandla (ukupa), (3) uburoti. Undulukile ke:

"U Ntsinga ka Nomagwayi,  
U Zamazamis' ilizwe lizamazame;  
U Sib'ala mdaka,  
U Sambata zimfutshane

yet it suits him:  
 long clothes would cover his knees,  
 Sitsheketshe's Hamham!  
 Sharp Weapon.

He crossed that territory we now call Fingoland, travelling, settling down and moving on again, planting and harvesting, just as on the first migration. He scaled the Cegcuwana, beckoned from Sinxonxweni at Nqamakhwe, descended Gongota, crossed the Tsomo where it meets the Mbulu, went down this side of the Mbulu to the Xolobe, beckoned at Nqolosa, trod in the Banzi and set up residence at the Hohita in those settlements now inhabited by the Ndungwane. In his time Sarhili also set up residence there at Hohita among Rharhabe's witgatboom and boerbean.<sup>6</sup>

#### WAR

At this stage Rharhabe, like Gideon, taught his army to roar his name when they stabbed something, whether on a major hunting expedition or in a small hunting party, or in battle. One might assume that the chief's intention was to exalt himself, but that is not the case; by this time many people were joining him, some came from the Gcaleka Great Place, and identified themselves as having come from the Great Place; there were Thembu, who took pride in their identity, there were also Hottentots (the Khona). In order to eliminate confusion and make it clear they were supporters of one chief, they were taught this warcry: "Tsi-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha! Rharhabe's spears!!"

Rharhabe settled down at Hohita, but the Bushmen leapt into action; with a "manna" of cattle lying unattended in the fields, they ate for their amusement, as if a new land had been set before them. By the time Rharhabe woke up, there were only bones to be seen, and the fringes of the hides of their cattle lying on the rocks, and he realised there was no prospect of peace with the Bushmen; but they made it difficult for him, because the land attracted rain, and they understood the conditions better than he did. Phalo's son eventually crossed the Kei to the Bolo side, and with his spear he put an end to any Bushmen he encountered.

Kanti zomlingana:  
 Kub' ezinkul' uti zimfihl' amadolo,  
 U Hamham ka sitsheketshe!  
 U Butsolo bentonga."

Yekoko ukucanda kwelozwe siti ngoku yi Fingoland, ehamba egxumeka efuduka, elima evuna kwanje ngo luya uhlobo babe hambe ngalo kuqala, unyuke i Cegcuwana, waya kuti tya e Sixonxweni e Nqamakwe, wehl' u Gongota lowo, yekok' ukuya kuwela ekungeneni kwe Mbulu e Tsomo, uyi kweze ngenx' engapesheya i Mbulu, waya kunqumla i Xolobe, uye kuti tya e Nqolosa waya kunyatela ku Banzi, waya wemisa e Hohita kwezo lali zimiwe ngama Ndungwana ngoku. U Sarili ngelake naye ixesha uke wemisa apo e Hohita kuleyo migqomogqomo nemi qonci ka Rarabe.

#### IMFAZWE

Kwesi situba u Rarabe uxelise u Gidiyoni wayifundisa impi yakowabo ukuduma ngegama lake yakubinza into nokuba kusepulo, nokuba kuse ngqina, nokuba kuse mfazweni. Omnye angacinga ukuti oko yayikukuzidumisa kwale nkosi kanti hayi; ngeloxesha babe baninzi abangeneleli, babeko abavela komkulu kwa Gcaleka, bezitsho kuba beyeya komkulu; babeko aba Tembu, nabo bezingca ngobabo ubuntu, ayeko ama Lawo (ama Rona). Ngoko ke ukwe nzela ukuba izinto zingabi ngxumbu ngxumbu ukuze kucace ukuba yeya nkosinye apa kwenziwa lomkalimo uti: "Tsi ha ha ha ha ha! Izikali zika Rarabe!!"

Ute egxumeka nje u Rarabe apa e Hohita bati kanti aba Twa abayilibali; "mana" yenkomo ezilala zodwa ezindle, batya ke abafeketa, lake lakandwa kubo ilizwe lalitsha. Seleso tuka yena u Rarabe ngokubona ama tambo, nengqoto zezikumba zenkomo zakowabo emiweweni, ute akuqonda ukuba kunje, akabi saba naluxolo naba Twa; kodwa bamnqabisela kuba ilizwe lenile, baye beliqonda bona ngapezu kwake. Ude wayiwela i Nciba wakweli cala lase B'olo ehamba eshunqikisela intshuntshe umfo ka Palo kum Twa ngamnye ahangene naye.

\* *Imibengo adds Kuqhube kwaqhuba, kwathi shwaka iqela lenkomo (134), After a while, a number of cattle disappeared.*

When the Bushmen suffered the ill-treatment meted out to them, they struck back harshly, they carried off some of their women, but that was little help to them. Rharhabe rallied and scattered them! They did their paintings in the Amathole and Daliwe mountains and moved on in search of large forests, and from those days "Hahabe" was a dirty word to the Bushmen.

While His Majesty was still dealing with this problem, he was surprised to find himself in the deepest of trouble; at this point he came up against the Hottentots, perhaps incited by the Bushmen; but the implacable son of Phalo did not retreat, he attacked with only his stabbing spear. The Hottentots withdrew to the forests of Hoho; when the Hottentots entered the forests they dug in and took to raiding; although Rharhabe tried to come at them here and there and there, no, he got nowhere; these men were not like the Bushmen, because they kept cattle and fed on them, although they grew no corn. Because His Majesty had developed a liking for those forests, he thought of securing peace for the nation by buying them. Indeed he reached an agreement with Hoho, the Hottentot queen, and they were bought with a large drove of cattle, some of which were taken during the war; that's how those forests came to us.

#### DESCENDANTS

The sites Rharhabe occupied are at Mngqesha in the King Williams Town district and others facing the Debe station near Middledrift. He produced his senior children with his wife Nojoli, after whom the Nojoli mountains in Somerset East are named. This Nojoli is a Qwathi woman from the Thembu. Rharhabe's mother was drawn from the eastern Thembu, which is why we refer to him as "the son of Nomagwayi of the east"; she might have been from the Qhudeni section of the Thembu. She was not the "head" wife of the chief but was made an arm of the chief's "right hand". This Qwathi woman gave birth to two females and three males, children who later earned great fame and produced many offspring in the land. In order of their birth they were: the female Ntsusa, Mlawu, Ndlambe, Nukwa and the female Khinzela.<sup>7</sup> Mlawu is our

Bate aba Twa, bakuqonda ukuba impato imbi kanye ngakubo bazama nzima ukuzipindezela, batimba aba fazi abatile, bangakubo, kodwa ababi nakunceda nto, wabap'asulisa u Rarabe bazintsali! Baqabele ezintabeni zo Matole nako Daliwe yekoko ukufuna amahlali amakulu, liqalele ngezo mini ke ukunc'ola igama lika "Hahabe" kuba Twa.

Ute umhlekezazi ese kuleyo ingxaki wazotuka selepakati kweyona nkohla; uqubisene ngoku nama Lawo kweso situba, angaba mhlaumbi ahlatyelwe ngaba Twa; kodwa ayibanga sabuyo ngamva into ka Palo engevayo, yafaka irwana emntwini kwakupela. Yahlehla eyama Lawo yade yaya kulo mahlati akwa Hoho; ate akuba angene emahlalini ama Qeya, aqala kaloku anqaba, axilinga; ube kusuka ewavela ngapa nangapa, nangapaya u Rarabe hayi, akwamlungela, aye la amadoda enga fani naba Twa, kuba wona eyene nkomo, esitya zona, nangani aye nge nawo amazimba. Ude umhlekezazi kuba lama hlali wayesel' ewatandile, wacinga ngokuba alixolise ilizwe ngo kuwatenga. Okunene ke benza imvumelwano noHoho, inkosikazi ye Lawokazi, atengwa ke ngets-hitshitshi lenkomo, inxalenye izezi bezitinjwe kuwo ngemfazwe ezi; kukuze ke loma hlali abe alunge kuti.

#### INZALA

Amanxowa abemi kuwo u Rarabe nango Mnqesha kwisi qingata se Qonce, amanye nango ejongene nesitishi sase Debe ngase Dawuwa (Middle Drift); intsapo ebalulekileyo<sup>\*</sup> uyizele ngomfazi omnye u Nojoli, ezibizwa ngaye eziya Ntaba zo Nojoli e Somaseti, u Nojoli lowo ke ngum Qwatikazi,<sup>†</sup> kwaseba Tenjini. Unina ka Rarabe ufumaneka yena engati ngum Tembukazi olunge kwi cala lase Mbo, kon' ukuze nje simane ukuti nje "yinto yo Nomagwayi wase Mbo;" mhlaumbi ubu Tembukazi bake babu bobecalalase Qudeni, eku yilonto ate akabi "ntloko" yenkosi, koko enziwe ingalo yase "kunene" yenkosi. Lom Qwatikazi<sup>‡</sup> ke uzele intombi zombini nabafo abatatu, aba ntwana abati kamva benza udumo nenzala eninzi kunene kweli lizwe. Benjenje ukulandelelana ngokuzalwa kwabo: u Kinzela<sup>§</sup> intombi, u Mlawu, u Ndlambe, u Nukwa no Ntsusa<sup>¶</sup> intombi. U Mlawu nguyise wetu sonke ma Ngqika, u Ndlambe nguyise

\* *ebalulekileyi*

† *Imibengo* has *Ndungwanekazi* (135).

‡ *Imibengo* has *Lo Mndungwanekazi* (136).

§ *Imibengo* has *nguNtsusa* (136).

¶ *Imibengo* has *Khinzela* (136).

father of all the Ngqika, Ndlambe is the father of all the Ndlambe, Nukwa is the father of all the Toyise Gasela, and Ntsusa married into her mother's Qwathi. The marriage cattle transferred for Ntsusa numbered less than 200 head, which did not sit well with her people. After a while one of Phalo's sons went to request the concubine's fee<sup>8</sup> from the Qwathi and because of the annoyance he caused, and his contempt, the Qwathi fell on him and killed him.

#### THE END 1785

The murder of this prince by the Qwathi was unacceptable to Rharhabe and the whole nation, all the more so because the marriage cattle of his daughter was poor compensation. Accordingly, one day Rharhabe and his sons and a small group of men armed with spears travelled to Qwathi territory, because those minor nations were held in contempt. On his arrival, His Majesty herded the cattle that were out on the slopes and gave them to drovers to take home. At this point the Qwathi launched a sustained attack on him. (Thembu territory is a land of mountains and plains difficult to hurry cattle across.) In a short time the Thembu assembled like a flooding river. Nomagwayi's Tendons saw that he was surrounded by an army of his daughter's people, with his daughter issuing urgent commands to the troops; the chief sought to withdraw, but the Xuka river had flooded the plain; the Qwathi engaged them at the river. The warrior chief turned to his party and shouted "Make a storm of your spears!" Phalo's people arose to create a storm, but all to no avail. The warparty filed through together with the chief's son and many cattle, but His Majesty remained behind in that turbulent river. That was the end of this great hero, confirming the saying: "Whoever lives by the spear, dies by the spear."

After Ntsusa had urged her army on against her father, she returned home to her own people and was put in charge of the Kalini army at Rhabula, which she commanded as befitted a queen. After this we'll add some notes on lessons to be learnt from this king, and so – Greetings, Editor!

We have already mentioned that Rharhabe was a rich, generous and brave king; and these were convincing reasons for him to attract many people to himself, and he welcomed them all. The Ntinde, Hleke, Mbalu and Dange formed independent chiefdoms, but at his place they recognised his authority and held him as their paramount chief. There are certain young men with fine possessions

wawo onke ama Ndlambe, u Nukwa nguyise wama Toyise Gasela onke, u Ntsusa wendiselwa ema Qwatini kwakulo nina; ikazi alotyolwe ngalo u Ntsusa alifikanga nakuma 200 enkomo, yati lonto ayenza kulunga kowabo. Kute kungenini kwesuka omnye wonyana baka Palo waya kucela "ihogu" kwa ntombi ema Qwatini, suke kwange nkatazo zake nendelo, ama Qwati amwele ambulale.

## ISIPELO 1785

Kute oku kubulawa kwale nkosana ngama Qwati akwaze kuhlale kamnandi kukumkani u Rarabe nakwi sizwe sonke; kude kube ngakumbi kuba nekazi lale ntombi lalingengako; ude wenjenjeya ngolunye usuku u Rarabe esinga ema Qwatini, ekunye nonyana bake, ne binzana lamadoda kuba asikuko nokuba bezideliwe ezo zizwana; ufike umhlekezi wawola inkomo eziya paya emimangweni, wanikela abaqubi, baquba bezisa neno. Kute kweso situba, awuhlaba wamde ama Qwati (Ilizwe laba Tembu ke lilizwe lentaba nentili, elingakufaneleyo kanye ukukaulezisa inkomo).<sup>1</sup> Bate wayi wayi aba Tembu ngetutyana elingepi, kwanga kukuzala komlambo. Ute uyabona u Ntsinga ka Nomagwayi ubona sele ranqiwe yimpi yakwa ntombi, yaye intombi yake iwutetela shushu umkosi, ite yakufuna ukuroxa inkosi, wati kanti umlambo i Xuka, uzele wema ngentili; bangundaniselwa emlanjeni apo ngama Qwati, ivakele ikalima inkosi ib'ekisa kwimpi yayo isiti: "Dalan' isipango ukubinza kwenu!" Abe kusuka esenza isipango namhl' ama bandla ka Palo hayi, akwabi koko. Lapumela iqela lomk'osi kunye no nyana benkosi, nento eninzi yenkomo, kodwa umhlekezi wasala kobo bux'ashix'ashi bomlambo. Saba sisipelo eso seg'ora elikulu, kwazaliseka isiteto esiti: "Umfo womkonto ufa ngo mkonto."

U Ntsusa lowo wayefunza imik'osi yake kuyise wabuye wagoduka weza kowabo, kukuze anikwe impi yasezi K'alini e Rab'ula ukuba ayongamele, ayipate njengo Kumkanikazi wayo. Emva koku siyakuke senze amacapaza ezifundo ngayo le kumkani, okwa kaloku kau B'ote Mhleli!

Besise sitshilo ukuti u Rarabe ibiyi nkosi esisityebi, epayo, nelikalipa; ute ke ngezo zibakala wabizela kuye abantu abaninzi, wabahlalisa kakuhle. Ama Ntinde, ama Hleke, ama Mbalu, nemi Dange, nangana yabe ibubukosi obuzimeleyo geqe, kute ngokuba lapa kwake bamtobela, bambeka njenge nkosi

\* *Imibengo* has *Rarabe*, and adds the name *uCebo* (136).

† *Imibengo* has *umkhosi* (136).



who use them to fulfil their wishes and desires and lusts; Rharhabe was not like this. Learn a lesson, fellow! Rharhabe united the nation by distributing the gifts he received. As a young man, he agreed to clear out of the way of his father and his elder brother any enemies who might be there, who attacked Rharhabe so that his father and brother could travel freely.<sup>9</sup> And now? Who do your father's enemies attack? Are they not attacking him, while you his son are studying? When he killed a buffalo at the Kei, did he not send the thigh and the belly to the Great Place as an offering according to custom? And you? The church in which you worship the God of your father still receives nothing from you; you make no offering. When Rharhabe saw something he didn't like in his elder brother (becoming a diviner), he didn't try it for himself; when he wanted to settle elsewhere, he asked his father's permission, and the way was freely opened to him. Where are you? Do you and your father communicate wherever you are? Never. That's why you will suffer misfortune! Even when Rharhabe had settled alone in his own country, he referred major cases back to his own people, the Gcaleka. What do you have to say? While you pursue your own affairs, what do your people feel back there? Let me come to a stop, we must make a quick end to the story of this chief; the reader can draw other lessons for himself, because there are many. Rharhabe's courage did not make him the kind of hero who is a hero only at home, he behaved like a hero to defend himself and help the nation. Rharhabe had innumerable cattle, so entering Qwathi territory with hostile intent was an act of nationalism, to punish that chiefdom, and he did indeed die exhausted for the nation, and he was victorious because through his death his daughter came over to his side and tormented the Qwathi, and after that she went home and her nation thanked her by granting her territory to rule under no one else's control.

#### WORSHIP

In Xhosa territory piles of stones are deliberately erected. They are called *izivivane*. Those cairns remind the traveller to draw a blessing so that the journey will go well, the act of worship reaching the Creator, the Immanent. It is said that Rharhabe eagerly practised that form of worship and he spread it among nations; that is why the Hottentots who served as interpreters for the first missionaries, who introduced the Congregational Church and built a church on top of a pile of stones, called it "Rharhabe's Kerk". They said so

yabo enkulu. Kuko amadodana ati akuba nezinto kakuhle, atande ukwenza intando zawo nenkanuko, neminqweno yawo ngezonto; akabanga njala u Rarabe. Funda mfo! Ubumbe isizwe ngezipo azipiweyo U Rarabe esemncinane wavuma ukuba agabulele uyise nomkuluwa wake intshaba ezikoyo, zibete kuye bahambe lula bona. Hi? Ezikayihlo intshaba zibeta kubani? Azibeti kwakuye yini, uko wena nyana wake ufundisiwe? Mhla wabulala inyati e Nciba umlenze ongapezulu kunye nolwanga aziyangana komkulu njengo mnikelo osesikweni? Hi wena? Ityalike onqula kuyo u Tixo kayihlo ayisazuzi nento evela kuwe; akunamnikelo. Mhla u Rarabe waba nento angayitandanga ngaku mkuluwa wake (eyokutwasa) akagwagazanga ngayo lonto; mhla<sup>\*</sup> wafuna ukuzimela indawo yake, wenza isicelo kuyise, wayivulelwa indlela ngezandla ezimhlope, wena upi? Uya zanana noyihlo ngobulapo bako?<sup>†</sup> napakade. Yiyo ke lonto ulandelwa ngamashwa! Ute naxa selezimele ilizwe lake yedwa u Rarabe, wabe amatyala amakulu esawasingisa emva kowabo kwaGcaleka, kautsho ngawe? ugqiba izinto ezingako njalo apo kutiwanina kowenu? Mandize ekupeleni, elibali lale nkosi kumzuzu sipetene nalo, umfundi makazenzele ngo kwake ezinye izifundo, kuba zininzi.<sup>‡</sup> U Rarabe ekukalipeni kwake akabanga liroto elirote ekaya, urotele ukuzi kusela nokunceda isizwe. Inkomo zika Rarabe zazingena kubalwa; ngako oko into yokuya ema Qwatini no mkosi yayiyinto yobuzwe, ukuya kohlwaya obo bukumkani, okunene wafela edinisweni lesizwe, wapumelela nalo kuba naxa yena selefile intombi yake yajika yangakuye, yawatutumbisa ama Qwati, yagoduka emva koko, sayibulela isizwe sakowayo ngokuyi nika isizwe ukuba isipate; ingabi pantsi kwamntu yona.

#### UNQULO

Ema Xoseni kuko izixobolozane zamaty ezenziwe ngabom. Igama lalonto bekutiwa "zizivivane." Ezo ndawo ke bezizindawo zokuk'umbuza umhambi ukuba makake atabete itamsanqa, azuze ukuhamba indlela yake kakuhle, elufumene unqulo kumenzi, u Ndikoyo. Kutiwa u Rarabe ube lukutalele kakulu olu nqulo, walwandisa ebuzweni; yiyo lonto ama Lawo awaye zitoliki zaba Fundisi bokuqala ati ukuyiseka kwawo ityalike yase Rabe ayiseka pezu kwegama lesi sivivane ati yi "Rarabe's Kerk." Atsho kuba ayeqale atsho, ati izivivane ezi yityalike ka Rarabe. Unanamhla zininzi kwelilizwe letu ityalike ezizibiza

\* *Imibengo omits akagwagazanga ngayo lonto; mhla (138), one line in the original article.*

† *Imibengo omits this sentence.*

‡ *Imibengo omits this sentence.*

initially, saying the cairn was Rharhabe's church. Even today there are many churches in our country called "Rhabe," because they are Rharhabe's churches. Reader, I must stop here, and you can carry on in your own mind.

POETRY: His own people used to say this of him:

Tendons of Nomagwayi of the east,  
Sharp Weapon,  
rock the nation;  
Black writing;  
if we were only present  
when we were absent,  
as if we don't go  
on the day we must go;  
he wears his clothing short,  
yet it suits him:  
long clothes, he says,  
would cover his knees,  
like a wild laurel with two little sticks,  
yet he preens among other birds;  
Sitsheketshe's Hamham,  
from Phalo's Right Hand House.

The modern poet says of him:

Clear the way for Phalo!  
Trample thorn and mint;  
antbear made by hand  
in the forests of Hobo and Nqweba;  
flying buzzard of the Great Place,  
who takes the chief's cut with him,  
to build the Right Hand House!  
Arm whose tendons snapped the armbands

ngokuba zezase "Rabe," oko kukuti zityalike zika Rarabe. Mandipeze mlesi uzandisele ngokwako<sup>\*</sup> unengqondo.<sup>†</sup>

IZIBONGO – Awakowabo kambe ebesenjenje wona ngaye:

Ntsinga ka Nomagwayi wase Mbo,  
 Butsolo bentonga,  
 Zamazam' ilizwe;  
 Sib'ala mdaka;  
 Singa siyakona,  
 Mhla singayikona;  
 Size singe asiyi  
 Kanti kumhla siyayo;  
 Sambata zimfutshane  
 Kanti zomlingana,  
 Kub' ezinkul' esiti, –  
 Zona zimfihl' amadolo,  
 Sahlungulu lapat' isiqwayi,  
 Kanti liyazingca kweziny' intaka;  
 Ham ham ka Sitsheketshe,  
 Into yase Kunene kuka Palo.

Ezintsha i Mbongi ziti ngaye: –

Gabul' ukwena<sup>‡</sup> ka Palo!  
 Gqush' ubobo nohlololwane;  
 Ngahodi lapum' ezandleni,  
 Kuma hlat' o Hoho ne Nqweba;  
 Ngqang' enepiko ya Komkulu,  
 Ehloml' isihlunu<sup>§</sup> yemka naso,  
 Yaya kwak' umzi wase Kunene!  
 Ngal' inentsing' ezapul' imixaga  
 Zide zabalek' indlovu zay' e Lundini,

\* ngokwaka

† Imibengo omits this sentence.

‡ ukuc[a]na. Imibengo alters this to ukwena.

§ Imibengo has inxaxheba (139).

so elephants fled to the Drakensberg:  
 why don't they return when we cut off the armbands?<sup>10</sup>  
 You wipe out Bushmen and Hottentots,  
 eradicate baboons and monkeys;  
 roll down roaring children,  
 rumble on the road to the west,  
 yet you go to meet messengers of peace;  
 hen that gathers its chicks,  
 that gathers attracted nations.

Excuse me, Thembu, you're blameless,  
 but the rascal's bone will respond.  
 You bring back those who left their homes,  
 you bring back the Ntinde and Gwali;  
 you bring back the Dange and Mbalu,  
 the Hleke and Gqunukhwebe return.  
 Excuse me, my father, I'm finishing now!  
 And now the youth will respond,  
 they'll strike like torrents of rain!  
 They'll soon stand back to back,  
 they'll soon stand face to face!  
 And the Xuka, chief, will boil with rage!  
 He'll come from the sea clinging to driftwood;  
 and after that the sky will clear,  
 we'll command the risen dead,  
 Tsi ha ha-ha ha ha-a-a-a!  
 I'm like a star entering cloud.

Zinanina zingabuyi sisik' imixaga?  
Wena gqugqis' aba Twa no Qakancu,  
Ang' ugqogq' inc'ama nentsimango;  
Gungxula ntwana zigqumayo,  
Gongqoz' indlela yase Ntshonalanga,  
Kant' ukaulel' izitunywa zo Xolo;  
Sikukukazi siqoqosh' amantshontsho,  
Siqoqosh' izizw' ezifikayo.

Taruni baTemb' aninatyala,  
Kodw' itambo lenkewu lizakupendula  
Umaguqul' intsali zicing' amakaya,  
Uguqul' ama Ntinde nama Gwali;  
Waguqul' imi Dange nama Mbalu  
Abuy' ama Hleke nama Gqunukwebe  
Taru bawo wam ngoku ndiyapeta!  
Amak'aba kungoku ayapendula,  
Azakubinz' axel' isipango!  
Adibana futi ngemihlana,  
Az' adibane futi ngamabunzi!  
Kulok' iXuka' nkosi liyaguguma!  
Lipum' elwandle nangamaviti;  
Emva koku kuza kugabuka,  
Lamavus' onke sowongamela,  
Tsi ha ha-ha ha ha-a-a-a!  
Ndaxel' inkwenkwez' ingen' efini!!

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\* *ixuka. Imibengo has Kulok' iXuka, nkosi, liyaguguma (140).*

**Hail, Ngangomhlaba!**

Last month I stood before this king at Nqadu in Willowvale. We were with Mr A.E. Mbuya of the Zikhali clan, who is a teacher and inspector in government schools. We talked to him for a long time about his care for us and for the nation. The king was really surprised to see me; evidently he thought I would be about 100 years old by now.

It so happened that the king had been thinking of visiting East London – where, they say, he was welcomed as a true king – as the grandson of Sarhili's son:

The whole municipality stood to attention,  
 the army soldiers stood in rank,  
 the I.C.U.<sup>1</sup> tambourines thudded excitedly:  
 Ngambu! Ngambu! Ngambu!  
 Motors and motor-cars paraded past,  
 the blood of three oxen was spilled,  
 and as they were stabbed they bellowed consent<sup>2</sup>  
 with the Bho-ho-ho of cattle!  
 All of East London trembled,  
 women patted on their make-up;  
 the white chauffeur was bemused:  
 "It's not over yet for the cannon."<sup>3</sup>

Hail, Ngangomhlaba!<sup>4</sup>

Hail, Ngangomhlaba!"

Ngangomhlaba, the chief who is King of all the country's Xhosa, whose home name is Mpisekhaya, is the son of the great King Salakupathwa, also known as Gwebinkumbi, the son of Sigcawu, son of Sarhili, son of Hintsu, son of Khawuta, son of Gcaleka, son of Phalo, son of Tshiwo, son of Togu, son of Sikhoma, son of Ngconde, son of Malangana, son of Tshawe, son of Nkosiyamntu, son of Xhosa. His mother is Nohefile, the daughter of Langa, the son of Moni, King of the Bomvana. His mother's home name is Nongxeze. The favourite ox of this Great Place is named Hoho.

This king was circumcised in 1922 by Sibunwana, the son of Delekile of the Ngqosini clan. His poet was Ngubengcuka Nongweqe, a Bomvana prince.

These are the praises of the King:

**A! Ngangomhlaba!**

Kwinyanga epelileyo ndibe ndimi pambi kwake lo Kumkani e Nqadu, Willowvale sino Zikâli into ka Mbuya (A.E.) engu mhloli nomfundisi kwi zikolo zika Rulumente. Sitsho kakulu awokuziyaleza nokuyaleza isizwe kuye. Wotuke kakulu kunene u Kumkani lo akundibona; kubonakala ukuba ube cinga ukuba iminyaka yam ngoku ndiko ikwi 100.

Ite kanti inkosi le inomcamango wokuhambela e Monti, – apo kutiwa yamkelwe ngoko kumkani kanye, – ngoko mzukulwana wonyana ka Sarili kanye:

Yema mangqangq' i Mansipaliti,  
 Aroz' amajon' o Mkosi, –  
 Yahlahlamb' i Ntambula ka I.C.U.  
 Yati: Ngambu-ngambu-ngambu!  
 "Zapal' imoto nemotokali, –  
 Lapalal' igazi lenkabi zontatu, –  
 Zakâla zakuhlatelywa zatakazela!  
 Zati, Bho-ho-ho ka nkomo!  
 Lanyikima lonk' elakwa Gompo,  
 Zaqaba calany' intokazi;  
 Laxakek' igwangqa lenqwélem:  
 Lafun' ukut' inkanun' ayikenzinto.  
 A! Ngangomhlaba!  
 A! Ngangomhlaba!"

U Ngangomhlaba, inkosi engu Kumkani wawo onke ama Xosa akoyo elizweni, ogama limbi lakowabo lingu Mp'isekaya ngunyana wo Kumkani omkulu, u Salakupatwa, ogama limbi lingu Gweb'inkumbi, into ka Sigcau, ka Rili, ka Hintsa, ka Kauta, ka Gcaleka, ka Palo, ka Tshiwo, ka Togu, ka Sikomo ka Ngconde, ka Malangana, ka Tshawe, ka Nkosiyamntu, ka Xosa. Unina ngu Nohefile, intokazi ka Langa ka Moni, u Kumkani wama Bomvana, elakokwabo igama ngu Nongxeze. Igama le nkabi yeli Komkulu kutiwa kukolo Hoho.

Lo Kumkani waluke ngomnyaka we 1922, esaluswa yinto ka Delekile, u Sibunwana, yasema Nqösini. Imbongi yayo yayingu Ngubencúka Nongweqe, inkosana yakwa Bomvana.

Izibongo zo Kumkani lo zenjenje: –



He's Sokungqonoza,  
 red ramparts running with tears,  
 Mqanduli's his inner purse,  
 Goliva's his tobacco pouch;  
 he's expansive as old men are,  
 but a man who lives in a sack is thin –  
 food for the road doesn't reach the stomach,  
 it sticks in the feet and on top of the head:  
 when it goes down, it goes through the gullet.  
 Soyi's blanket's full of tricks:  
 he uncovers the vat but denies it,  
 depriving the Bhunga gang –  
 the news is of George and Kaiser<sup>5</sup>  
 who disputed the kist's legacy;  
 the house of Dweba smells of cowpats.  
 Keep me company over the ocean,  
 going to my Bomvana home.  
 Go find a poet you trust,  
 I'm not wanted, I'm broken,  
 I'm not wanted, I'm meddlesome,  
 go find a poet you trust,  
 send a young man to Mthotho's son,  
 to go to Ludidi and Waqakatha.  
 The young man's returned with the news  
 that Ludidi and Waqakatha are engaged with brass bracelets.  
 Hail, Ngangomhlaba! Hail, Ngangomhlaba!  
 Make your report!  
 The king's star's lost,  
 Nophanyaza's son<sup>6</sup> groaned in East London,  
 Brownlee took fright in Hintsas's domain,  
 Nosikhakhana crackled in the Toleni hills,  
 and clouds massed over Luzipho's Right Hand House.  
 Letters whizzed off to Umtata;  
 dust rose as they approached Matshona;  
 letters returned appointing the sixth  
 as the day for the cubs to meet –

Ngu So-kugqononoza;  
 Udong' olubomv' olulil' inyembezi,  
 U Mqanduli yinxil' engapakati,  
 U Goliva yinxow' okutshayela;  
 Sisiyangayanga yindab' amaxego,  
 Ubityil' umnt' ohlal' enxoweni, –  
 Ukutya kokuhamb' akuyi siswini  
 Kuhlal' ezinyaweni kwelipezulu,  
 Zekuti ukuhla kuhle nomnqambulo.  
 Ngubo ka Soy' izel' amaqinga  
 Kub' uyityil' ifatyi wayikanyela,  
 Wayivimb' impi yase Bûngeni, –  
 Yindaba ka Joji zo Kezala  
 Babambene ngelif' elisetyesini;  
 Mzi ka Dweb' unuk' amalongo.  
 Ndikapen' ndikapen' ndicand' ulwandle,  
 Ndiye kwa Bomvana kowetu,  
 Hambani niyokufun' i Mbong' enokolwa yiyo.  
 Mn' andifunwanga ndimoshiwe,  
 Mn' andifunwanga ndibalekele,  
 Hamban' nokufun' i Mbong' eyokolwa nini,  
 Tumelan' umfana koka Mtoto,  
 Oka Mtot' aye ku Ludidi no Waqakata,  
 Ubuyil' umfana weza nelizwi  
 Ut' u Ludidi no Waqakata balibele ziwatsha.  
 A! Ngangomhlaba! A! Ngangomhlaba!!  
 Sinika!!  
 Kulahlek' inkwenkwezi yo Kumkani.  
 Kwagqum' oka Nopanyaza kwa Gompo,  
 Wotuk' u Busobengwe kwelika Hintsa,  
 Kwaququmb' u Nosikakana pezu kwe Tole.  
 Yamatumb' antaka eka Luzipo e Kunene.  
 Zag' dim' incwad' ukusing' e Mtata;  
 Lwamböx' utul' ukubëk' e Matshona;  
 Zabuy' incwadi zisiti kwa Nombor' Sikis, –  
 Ap' izilonyana zodibana kona, –

Ngangomhlaba and Zweliyazuza.  
 In De Aar on that day in the evening  
 iron and gunpowder filled the air  
 and wood clashed on wood,  
 blanket and rope tore loose  
 and someone said the earth touched the sky!  
 Why were the great ones brought together?  
 Where are we now that the spears are broken?  
 That's how things came to pass.  
 Let the country be peaceful: the star has been found.  
 All must return to its place.<sup>7</sup>  
 Peace, Jikijwa and Rubusana's son,  
 sirs, we've always told you –  
 look after our royal sovereigns!!  
 That's it!!!

30

**The origin of the Ndlambe**

The names of the Ndlambe and Ngqika peoples emerged at the same time.<sup>1</sup> Both were used at first as insults. They emerged around the year 1815. It should be clear that Ndlambe is a middle son of Rharhabe, whose eldest son was Mlawu, the father of Ngqika. Mlawu, however, died while still young, and Ngqika was raised and nurtured by his uncle Ndlambe. At that time the whole nation was known as the Rharhabe; Ngqika became chief while he was still a boy, Khawuta travelling to instal him.<sup>2</sup> Yese's councillors<sup>3</sup> formed his exclusive bodyguard and poisoned his mind against his uncle, telling him "Ndlambe is destroying the kingship of Ngqika." In reality Ndlambe was a chief blameless with regard to the Xhosa kingship and land.

After Ngqika's initiation, the people of the nation were placed in his charge together with all their land. His opposition to his uncle grew intense, and they called him Big Shot<sup>4</sup> and said, "Big Shot's stealing the people because they're used to him." Now Ndlambe began to distance himself from the affairs of the Great Place. Because the chief truly adored cattle, he would constantly visit the outlying kraals in search of pasture for the stock. One day, when he was at the

U Ngangomhlaba no Zweliyazuza.  
 Mhla kwahlw' emin' e Diyare;  
 Kwanuk' iruluwa nentsimbi;  
 Kwatshixiz' umti komny'umti;  
 Kwaqauk' imbēleko nemibeleso\*;  
 Wati umntu kudiben' izulu nomhlaba!  
 Bebedityaniselwa ntoninan' abangaka?  
 Kusapuk' imikonto nje ngoku sipina ?  
 Yaba kukudlula kwalo njalo  
 Malixol' ilizw' inkwenkwez' ifumanekile.  
 Mazibuy' izinto ziye ngendawo zazo.  
 Taru Jikijwa, nawe nto ka Rubusana  
 Kade sinixelela zinkosi –  
 Sisiti wagcinen' amadun' akowenu!!  
 Ncincilili!!!

## 30

## Ukuvela kwama Ndlambe

Eligama liti ama Ndlambe, livele kunye neli liti ama Ngqika. Omabini ayezizituko kuqala. Ixesha lokubela kwawo limalunga nomnyaka we 1815, u Ndlambe makucace ukuba yinto ka Rarabe epakati, inkulu ngu Mlawu ozele u Ngqika, koko wafa esemncinane u Mlawu lowo, waza ke u Ngqika wondliwa wakuliswa ngu Ndlambe uyisekazi. Ngalo mihla ke bonke kutiwa ngama Rarabe; u Ngqika wabufumana ubukumkani eseyi nkwenkwe, okuya kweza u Kawuta† ukuza kummisela. Lonto ke yenza ukuba amapakati akokwabo ako Yese, ahlale emgcine yedwa, amenza ukuba angaze avane noyisekazi lo, ati ukuteta kwawo “u Ndlambe lo uyabubulala ubu kosi buka Ngqika.” Enyanisweni u Ndlambe yinkosi engenabala ebukosini nasebuzweni basema Xoseni.

Akuba ngoku u Ngqika alusiwe, wawunikelwa umzi wakowabo, nemi hlaba yakowabo, uqale ku Ndlambe wamcasa ngamandla, bamtiya negama lokuba ngu “Mduna,” bati, “Lo Mduna umka nabantu kuba bemqelile.” Waqala ke u

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\* *nemibeles*

† *Kawata*

Xhuxhuwa beyond Fort Beaufort, he saw the chief approaching with a small party of his councillors, and when he asked why they were there they said they were hunting game; at that time the Great Place was at Mankazana. And so the two chiefs continued chatting all the time while the councillors slaughtered and roasted meat to entertain the chief.

#### EXPULSED FROM HOME

While everything was going well, Hili emerged from the reeds, come to enquire what was really going on here.<sup>5</sup> The councillors took up arms. Out came spears and weapons! The veterans fell to earth on both sides. Ndlambe's supporters were driven out and chased together across the Winterberg, until they crossed the Daliwe and the Kei, and at that point Ndlambe was abandoned to fend for himself. He made his way to his mother among the Qwathi.

Ndlambe lived with the Qwathi until they began to fear for their safety, believing that Ngqika would attack them one day, drawn by the presence of Ndlambe. So, with this in mind, they sent a message to their Gcaleka relatives. At that time, Burhu<sup>6</sup> ruled the Gcaleka nation. Indeed, Ndlambe travelled down to Thethe's place, and stayed there. After a while, the Gcaleka felt they should send Ndlambe home. They did indeed slaughter cattle, and their shields were trimmed in preparation for war against Ngqika. "Arm yourselves well, I know my nephew."

#### BROUGHT HOME

Not long after that, the Gcaleka army went out, armed to the teeth, and crossed the Kei, bound for Rharhabe territory. They marched through the land where King Williams Town stands today and went up to the Mngqesha – and when the Gcaleka army was at the source of the Mngqesha, Lwaganda's vigorous army appeared, and the Gcaleka just could not face them. They were scattered and dispersed! At this stage Ndlambe was caught and taken prisoner. His nephew Ngqika cut a short spear to stab him but his councillors held him back<sup>7</sup> by the spear shaft, saying "What are you doing! Who are you raising your hand against?" Cut down to size,<sup>8</sup> the rascal sobbed and said: "Thank you, fellow countryman, for reminding me it's my uncle I have in my power! Hi-hi-hi!"

Ndlambe ngoku wahambela bucala kwizinto zakomkulu. Ute kuba yinkosi ebitanda kunene inkomo wapikela ukuhamba ematanga, efunela inkomo amadlelo. Ngenye imini ute ese X'ux'uwa, ngapaya kwe B'ofolo, wabona inkosi ifika ineqqiza lamadoda lamapakati, bate bakubuzwa imvelapi, bati bahamba bezingela inyamakazi; ngelo xesha umzi wako mkulu wawukwa Mankazana. Zihleli ke inkosi ezo zimana zincokola zombini, amapakati ex'ela esoja kuba inkosi yayi x'elelwe.

#### UKUGXOTWA EKAYA

Kute kusengati<sup>\*</sup> kuhle kunjalo, wapuma yena u Hili ezi ngcongolweni, yavela eyonanto ibize kwenziwa apa; zivakele intonga sezisitsho kumapakati paya! Nezikwili, nezik'ali, yeka ke! yawa bume imik'utuka kumacala omabini! Yagxotwa eke Ndlambe kunye naye yasukeliswa yekoko ukuya kuqatyeliswa kwezo ntaba ze Nkonkobe, yekoko ukuya kuwezwa u Daliwe, i Nciba; washiywa ke kwezo zituba ukuze azibonele. Umkile ke u Ndlambe yekoko ukuya kutsho kulo nina ema Qwatini.

Ahleli ahlala ama Qwati, no Ndlambe ade ngoku angenelwa kukoyika, acinga ukuti u Ngqika uyakuze eze kuwangenela ngenye imini, etsalwa bubalapa buka Ndlambe. Ate akuba ecinge njalo, atuma aya kumbika kowabo kwa Gcaleka, ingu Burhu ngalomihla opete isizwe sama Gcaleka. Okunene u Ndlambe uhlile waya kulo Tete, wahlala kona. Lide lafika ixesha emzuzwini, lokuba ama Gcaleka acinge ukumgodusa u Ndlambe. Okunene ke kux'eliwe, kwasikwa amak'aka, kulungiselelwa ukuliwa no Ngqika, – "Xobani kakulu yinkwenkwe yam leya ndiyayazi."

#### UKUGODUSWA

Kute kungenini wapuma umk'osi wama Gcaleka uxobe tu, yekoko ukuwela i Nciba, uyakwelakwa Rarabe. Uze kunyatela e Qonce kulendawo inedolopu ngoku, yekoko ukukweza u Mnq'esha, – kwalile ukuba umkosi wama Gcaleka ube semantloko o Mnqesha lowo, yavela impi ka Lwaganda (Ngqika) kweza ingqakamba zabafo, into ezatsho ama Gcaleka akabi nako nokumisa; acitwa enziwa indlakadla! Kute kweso situba wafunyanwa u Ndlambe, wabanjwa. Uze unyana wake u Ngqika seleligamlele irwana efuna ukumgqimbela, koko amapakati ake amnqwabula ngoluthi lomkonto esiti, yinile! Ngubani wena lo

\* kusangati

The Gcaleka turned and headed home, chased at full stretch; Ndlambe was taken and placed AS A PRISONER at Rhabula, where he was not allowed to move around because he was well known! Ndlambe spent a lonely period in this place because he was a man given to socialising. At times he would send a councillor to the Great Place to ask for something to eat; sometimes he was given some cows to milk and some cattle for slaughter but sometimes excuses would be made and he would be told to go and hunt as there was still game, sometimes he would be told to ask his councillors, who had nothing.

In 1796, Mr J. Barrow, an Englishman who was secretary to Lord Macartney,<sup>9</sup> visited Ngqika at Ngcwazi, and when he arrived, Ndlambe was at the Great Place, visiting though still a prisoner. Ngqika and Mr Barrow discussed many issues and exchanged handsome gifts, but at no stage was Ndlambe consulted. This hurt Ndlambe, who realised that his nephew thought little of him. But he bided his time.

#### THE PRISONER ESCAPES!

After some time, Ngqika and his councillors resolved to go and make a thorough investigation of the Gcaleka, that is to say to go and ask the Gcaleka what they were up to in coming here heavily armed to bring Ndlambe home. So a large force made for Thethe's place, and the Gcaleka were attacked unexpectedly and they fled headlong from their own land. Ngqika's army captured Hintsu, who was a young boy. Again the councillors stopped the son of Mlawu raising a short spear. Again the great one was cut down to size and sobbed: "Hi hi-hi hi! fellow countrymen, don't ever stop. I'm reminded it's my chief I've raised my arm against!"

While Ngqika was away attacking the Gcaleka, Ndlambe took the opportunity to escape from Rhabula; he crossed the Keiskamma, Fish and Tyelerha rivers and reached Alexandria, so that when the whites arrived there, he was already settled in Alexandria and was reluctant ever to cross the Fish again.

Large numbers made their way to Alexandria to join Ndlambe, because he was popular among his people. Those who joined him were reviled as "the Ndlambe" and those who remained were mocked as "the Ngqika." That is when those names were first used.

umpakamisela isandla? Yafumane yagixa yalila inkewu isiti: "Ndiyabulela mntan' akokwetu! Kuba ndik'umbul' ukuti ngubawo lo ndipants' ukumenjenje! Hi-hi-hi!!"

Ajikile ama Gcaleka agoduka, asukeliswa azizibekede; U-Ndlambe utatyatiwe waya kubekwa e Rabula WANGUMBANJWA kona, akavunyelwa ukuba ayepi napi, – kuba kwakusitiwa abantu bamqelile! Wenze ituba kulendawo u Ndlambe esesitukutezini kuba ibiyindoda eqele ukuhamba hamba. Ubesakuti ngexesha elitile atumele umpakati ukuya kucela into etyiwayo Komkulu; ubesakuti ke ngaxa limbi anikwe imazi ezitile zokusenga nenkabi ezitile zokuxela; ngaxa limbi ubesakuti alandulelwe kutiwe makazingele nguyena usezinyamakazini! ngaxa limbi kutiwe makacele kumapakati lawo anawo.

Ngomnyaka we 1796, u Mr. J. Barrow, i Ngesi elalingu Nob'ala ku Lord Macartney, elake lahambela ku Ngqika ese Ncw'azi, lafika u Ndlambe elapo komkulu, ehambele ese libanjwa. U Ngqika no Mr. Barrow lowo baxoxa imicimbi emininzi, bapana nezipo ezihle, – akwasingiswa nezwi ku Ndlambe. Yinto leyo eyamhlala u Ndlambe kabuhlungu, waqonda ukuba yinene-yinene akasento kulonyana wake. Kodwa walinda eyake imini.

#### UKUP'UMA KOMBANJWA!

Kute emva kwetuba elitile, u Ngqika namapakati ake bagqiba kwelokuba makuyiwe kuny'eny'etwa iminyani kwa Gcaleka, oko kukuti makuye kubuzwa kuma Gcaleka ukuba ayenyanga nina ukuza apa exobile, oko ayegodusa u Ndlambe? Wenjenjeya ke umkosi omkulu, ukusinga kulo Tete, aqutyulwe ama Gcaleka engakumbulele nento, azizibekede ezweni lawo! Impi ka Ngqika yambamba u Hints xa ayinkwenkwana, – wabuye wasindiswa ngamapakati xa into ka Mlawu seyimpakamisele irwana; ibuye yagixa yalila into enkulu, – "Hi hi-hi hi! bantwana bakowetu nasakuyeka. Ndikumbul' ukuti yinkosi yam le ndiyipakamisel' ingalo!"

Ngelo xesha u Ngqika asinge kwa Gcaleka u Ndlambe ufumene ituba elihle lokupuma e Rab'ula; yekoko ukuwela i Xesi ne Nxuba ne Tyelera ukuya kwelase Mnyameni, ukuze abe lungu bafike selengu mntu wase Mnyameni nje, engavumiyo ukupinda ayiwele i Nxuba.

Ziqalile ke izimpi zajozela ukuya kwelase Mnyameni, ukuya ku Ndlambe, kuba ebe ngemfo ukutandwa sisizwe. Bate abo baye kuye batukwa kwatiwa ngama "Ndlambe," bati abaseleyo nabo banyeliswa kwa tiwa ngama "Ngqika." Aqalele apo lomagama ukusetyenziswa.



1817-1819

The reader should note that at that stage Ngqika ruled all Xhosa territory; he had vanquished the Gcaleka Great Place; in 1817 he presented himself as paramount to Lord C. Somerset at the Kat river. Then his fellow countrymen understood that they must unite against him, his authority was challenged, and he was shown his place. Thus the nation engaged him, thrashed and scattered him in 1818 and 1819.

It is a serious mistake to call this the war of Thuthula.

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### Langalibalele

Langalibalele is the ruler of all the Hlubi, because he is the son of Mthimkhulu II, and Mthimkhulu, as I once said here,<sup>1</sup> is the senior son of Bhungane. Bhungane's son in the Right Hand House is Mpangazitha; in the Mbutho (Xhiba house in Xhosa) it is Monakali. Langalibalele grew up without his father as a result of the turmoil created by Shaka, which prompted an attack on Mthimkhulu by the Ngwane led by Matiwane, the hunchbacked son of Masumpa. At the height of the disruption, Mthimkhulu was already dead, and for this reason Shaka pursued Matiwane to avenge the Hlubi. Scholars disagree on this point, saying it was Shaka who scattered the Hlubi; on the contrary, he was fighting for them.

Amongst all the northeastern peoples, who were very numerous in those days, the Hlubi were the most honoured and the most powerful. The Zulu in those days were not a nation of note, they were only tobacco traders. In those days the Hlubi occupied the upper reaches of the Drakensberg foothills spreading to the confluence of the Mzinyathi and Tugela rivers. The nations chased each other, killed each other; but for a long time they left the Hlubi untouched in their territory, especially the Great House, because the Right Hand House had crossed the Drakensberg while Bhungane was still alive. The Hlubi suffered many domestic disputes, which is why they are not a unified nation at present. And so, after these Zulu wars, they almost petered out, but survived because they were under the Zulu wing; they returned to their refuge when there was peace. One year Mpande,<sup>2</sup> the father of Cetshwayo, wanted to demonstrate his independence, so he transplanted the Hlubi to districts under government

## NGOWE 1817-1819

Umfundi makapawule ukuba kwesisituba u Ngqika uyinto ayiyo kwa Xosa wonke; woyisa ne Komkulu ama-Gcaleka; Wazibonakalisa ubu "nduna" baka ngomnyaka we 1817 beno Lord C. Somerset e New'enza. Aqonda ke amawabo ukuba makahlanganyelwe, atotywe amagunya, aboniswe indawo yake. Kukuze ke isizwe sibizane, simbete simcite ngomnyaka we 1818 ne 1819.

Yimposiso enkulu kwabo bati le yayiyi "mfazwe ka Tutula."

## 31

## U-Langalibalele

U Langalibalele yeyona ntloko yawo onke ama Hlubi, kuba ngu nyana ka Mtimkulu II, waye u Mtimkulu lowo njengoko sendike ndatsho apa ngenye imini, engunyana omkulu ka B'ungane. U Kunene kuka B'ungane ngu Mpangazita; u Mbuto (Xhiba ngesi Xosa) ngu Monakali. U Langalibalele ukule ngapandle koyise, kuba ukuze kubeko isivondoviya sika Tshaka, intsusa kukugetyengwa kuka Mtimkulu lowo ngama Ngwane, epetwe ngu Matiwana isifombo sika Masumpa. Sivela nje ke isipitipiti esi u Mtimkulu akaseko, apo angene kona yena u Tshaka ungene ngokusukela u Matiwana lowo, epindezelela ama Hlubi. Lendawo ke ababalisi badla ngokupambana kuyo, bati ngu Tshaka owacita ama Hlubi, kanti hayi, yena waye walwela.

Pakati kwazo zonke intlanga zase Mbo, ezazininzi kunene ngezo mini, olona luhlanga lwaluse zimbekweni, nolona lwaluna mandla ngapezu kwazo zonke ezinye yayingama Hlubi la. Ama Zulu ngezo mini ayengesiso sizwe saluto, aye ngabatengisi becuba kupela. Apo ayemi kona ama Hlubi ngezo mini kwakuse mantloko o Mzantsi, pantsi kwe ntaba zo Ndi, ete xangxe ade eze ekungeneni ko Mzinyati elu Tukela. Zasukelana ke izizwe, zabulalana; kodwa sawashiya ama Hlubi wona kwakwezo ndawo ebekuzo kakade, ngakumbi lendlu inkulu, kuba eyase Kunene yafudukela ngapaya kwe ntaba eseko no B'ungane. Esi sizwe sama Hlubi sisi zwe esati saba nengxabano zapakati kwekaya zaninzi, saza asabi sisizwe esiqinileyo ke ngoko. Kute kona emza kwezi mfazwe zika Zulu, sapantsa ukutshona mpela, sasinda kuba sasisoloko sipantsi kwepiko lika Zulu; sabuyela kwase manxoweni aso laku xola. U Mpande uyise ka Cetywayo, uke wafuna ukuzi bonakalalisa ubuntu abubo ngomnye umnyaka, ngoku sityala

control; he did this before the war of Mlanjeni, showing that "Now things are this way, now that."

#### THE DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS – 1867

The king settled where he had been placed; he ordered every young man who went to work in the diamond mines to return with a gun; it was easy to purchase guns in those days.<sup>3</sup> As a result, many young men returned with clutches of guns, so that almost no Hlubi household was unarmed. The reader must understand that the respect shown to Bhungane was transferred to this king, who was respected as much as in the old days – all the more so because all the Hlubi kings were expert diviners. A white person is a man who does not like it when there is another bull close by whose source of strength he cannot fathom. So the government grew anxious about this man and sought a pretext for confrontation. The government contrived this by proclaiming

#### A GUN COUNT

The king was constantly summoned to the magistrate's office, to bring in guns according to the proclamation;<sup>4</sup> as often as he was sent for, so often was he summoned to bring in more; when he made excuses, they said it was well known that the Hlubi had many guns, which made the proclamation necessary. The Hlubi said that under this proclamation if a gun was sent in it returned as a rattletrap. When the king grew suspicious of these persistent demands, he took to saying, "I'm coming," and sometimes he would report and sometimes he wouldn't. So the white army began to consider Langalibalele a hostile, and they resolved to put into effect what they had planned to do all along.

#### HOSTILITIES COMMENCE

The king heard word that "The army's advancing on Hlathikhulu!" The Governor was there, and Shepstone was also there!<sup>5</sup> O! The king saw it was time to leave so he sneaked off to Lesotho along the back paths. His livestock followed later with his little son in the charge of his chief councillor, Simakuhle ("Do Well"). This councillor did well indeed in a river gorge when he unexpectedly met up with the white army that was pursuing him – the weapons rang strongly on both sides; no, the white army realised that day that no, there was no escape! They withdrew and took no further interest. But five fighters lay slain among the white army, three whites and two blacks, the sons of Kambule

esisizwe apo besimi kona asi dudulele ezilalini zika Rulumente; ok[o] ukwenze pambi kwemfazwe ka Mlanjeni, esenza ukusibonisa ukuba, "Ngoko kwakungoko, ngoku kungoku."

#### UKUVELA KWE DAYIMANI, – 1867

Uzihlalele ke umntwan' enkosi, kwezondawo abekwe kuzo; umteto ate wawuwisa kuwo onke amadodana aya e Dayimani ukuya kusebenza ibe ngowokuba maze kungabiko mfana uya e Dayimani, aze abuye engapete mpu; ngezomini yayisa tengiswa lula imipu. Okunene amadodana abuye nezip'a ngezip'a zemipu, yade yangulowo nalowo umzi ongenantonga inkone ema Hlubini. Umfundi makapaule ukuba imbeko eyayinikwa u B'ungane yayise ngako kulenkosi, ihloneleke ngobukulu bayo bokubela, – ngapaya koko, njengazo zonke i Kumkani zama Hlubi, yayiyi ncutshe yegqira. Umntu omhlope ke, yindoda engatandiyo ukuba kubeko enye inkunzi eses' apa engayaziyo ukuba ipila yintonina. Ute ke ngoko u Rulumente wanex'ala yilendoda, wanga angabamento yokutanani nayo. Isizatu asifumeneyo ke u Rulumente ibe sesokuba.

#### IMIPU MAYIB'ALWE

Ubizwe futi u Kumkani lo e Ofisini, kusitiwa makeze nemipu ize kub'alwa; ute okukona ayitumelayo, kwabe kukokukona abizwayo ukuba makazise eminye; ute ngoku elandula kwabe kuxa kutiwa iyaziwa imipu yama Hlubi ubunizi bayo, ngoko makeze nayo ib'alwe. Ati ke ama Hlubi nakulo olub'alo, ubusiti umpu osiweyo, ubuye sewulir'oxor'oxo. Lude olurorazi lwembiza alwabi saqondakala ku Mntwan' omhle lo, wagcina ngoku ukuti "ndiyeza," ati kwenye afike ati kwenye angafiki. Iqalile impi emhlope kaloku yagqiba kwelokuba u Langalibalele ungu Ndiyalwa, yazimisela ke ngoko ukuyenza lonto ibihleli inqwenela ukuyenza kakade kuye.

#### ZADA ZANQOZA

Ite inkosi iyeva iva sekusitiwa "imikosi kuzele ku Hlatikulu!" I Ruluneli seyilapo, u Somtseu naye selelapo! O! Inkosi ibone ukuba ngoku mayingcacele imke ngendledlana ezitwetwayo iye kutsho e Lusutu. Impahla ehambayo ilandele nomkwana opetwe yinduna ekutiwa ngu Simakuhle igama. Okunene lenduna ite yema kuhle kwingxingwa etile yomlambo, apo kuqubisene kona nempi emhlope eyayimlandela, – ik'ale intonga yatsho ngamandla kumacala omabini; Hayi, iqondile emhlope okwalomini ukuba hayi, – akungangayo!

and Katana. We see these names on a memorial pillar in the market square in Mgungundlovu.<sup>6</sup> The king was at pains to curry favour when he arrived at Molapo's residence<sup>7</sup> in Lesotho – and Simakuhle joined him with the livestock and before too long the troops rushed in. They rushed in in large numbers. The Sotho handed them over to save their own country – he was brought back to Mgungundlovu, wearing robes of two skins.<sup>8</sup> The king was captured in Lesotho with a few leading men of the nation, but Simakuhle was never found. All the cattle were seized.

ON ROBBEN ISLAND!

At his arraignment he was charged with high treason and was sentenced to life on Robben Island. One of his sons received five years.<sup>9</sup> However, the king left the island, and served his sentence in Cape Town, because of the intercession of Bishop Colenso, the first bishop of Natal, a great spokesman for black people, as was his family.<sup>10</sup>

Eventually, this chief was returned to Natal where he died in 1889. He left his son, Siyepu, who lived in the country and was not recognised by the government, and all Hlubi territory was declared wasteland and the government divided it up amongst themselves. Siyepu's son is Ntontomisa or Thathazela. The chiefs of the Hlubi and Rheledwane are Zibi, Mhlambiso, Mehlomakhulu, Zimema, Thefu, Mathomela and other houses from minor wives. Langalibalele's line came to an end.

He's "Go, Hlubi, I can't watch over you!  
 Go to the land of Lead Home by the Horn –  
 the land our fathers spoke of;  
 I'll keep my name and my bags,  
 and the grave of Bhungane, great beyond measure,  
 the one wearing lion and leopard skin,  
 sun that rose from an elephant's ear  
 and set in the ear of a lion:  
 of course it rose as a powerful man,  
 and passed on to set as a powerful man;  
 its offspring are destined for power,

Yaroxa yayekelela. Kute kanti sekuko imikutuka emihlanu ngakwemhlope impi, eqengqiweyo, – amagwangqa omatatu, imidaka yomibini, oka Kambule noka Katana. Nango lomagama siwabona kwisimiso esikwi bala lemalike e Mgungudlovu. Itshakazile i Kumkani yaya kufika okunene e Lesutu kwa Molapo, – ulandele u Simakuhle nempahla waya kufika naye; koko ababanga ntsuku ngapi, yagaleleka impi! Yagaleleka seyinganoboya. Bayinikela abe Sutu ukusindisa ilizwe labo, – yabuyiselwa kwase Mgungundlovu, yambete ingubo yemfele ezimbini, – olwe ngwe nolwe ngonyama. U Kumkani ufunyenwe e Lusutu enamadoda am balwa azintloko zesizwe, – ngu Sima kuhle ongazange afunyanwe. Inkomo zatinjwa zonke.

### ESIQITINI!

Ufike wanikwa ityala lokuvukela umbuso, wagwetywa ukuba ayekuba se Siqitini bonke ubom bake. Kubeko omnye wonyana bake onikwe iminyaka emihlanu. Uhle wapuma noko u Mhlelezi esiqitini, wabekwa kumhlaba owomileyo ngase Kapa, ngenxa yokutetelelwa ngu Bishop Colenso, i Bishop yokuqala yase Natala ebitetelela kakulu abantu abantsundu injalo nentsapo yayo.

Ide yabuya yabuyiswa inkosi le, yasingiswa kwase Natala apo ib'ub'ele kona ngomnyaka we 1889. Ishiye u nyana ongu Siyepu, owaba sezilalini apo, engananzwe nganto ngu Rulumente, nelizwe lonke lama Hlubi selenziwe uciti; kwabelwana ngalo layilonto; Unyana ka Siyepu ngu Ntontomisa okanye u Tazazela. Inkosi zama Hlubi nama Reledwane o Zibi, Mhlambiso, Mehlo makulu, Zimema, Thefu, Matomela, zizinci zalomzi. Sibe njalo isipelo sika Langalibalele, –

U Hamban' ma-Hlubi ningakangeli mna.  
 Hambani niye kwa Nqanda-ngopondo, –  
 Izw'elo elaxelwa ngo Babe betu;  
 Sendogcin'igama namanxowa mna,  
 Nencw'aba lo Bungan'Omakulukulu  
 U Sombata Ngwe no Bubesi,  
 U Langa lapuma ndlebeni yandlovu,  
 Laya latshona ndlebeni yangonyama  
 Belipume kakade liyinkunzi,  
 Lide layakutshona liyinkunzi;  
 Nezitole zalo zoba zinkunzi,

a bull that bellowed on White Mountain,  
 till the cliffs and the brooks resounded!"  
 He swallowed the islands' bullets –  
 the islands washed his heart,  
 made him pay his debt in the Cape,  
 till the Cape cried out "I'm burning!"<sup>11</sup>  
 and he was sent back home,  
 and storms and heartache ceased.

### 32            **The Battle of Amalinde: white provocation (1818–1819)**

By this stage the reader has already heard that Ngqika was a warlike ruler. He defeated the Gcaleka, he defeated the Ndlambe, and now it seemed no nation could withstand him in battle.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, no one was much impressed, because it was recognised that he was not the paramount, and so he posed no threat. The reader must understand that Xhosa kingship passes down in a direct line, and minor princes assume their appropriate rank – no one usurps another's rightful place. For this reason, no one was much impressed with Ngqika's prowess in battle.

#### THUTHULA'S WAR

It is a serious mistake for historians to call the Battle of Amalinde Thuthula's War. The Thuthula affair took place earlier, it was resolved internally by the Ngqika, who passed sentence after discovering the person who went to Alexandria for Thuthula. Mguye was found guilty and Ntlebi exonerated, because he was the senior royal councillor, and Thuthula was sent home before anyone came to blows. The relationship between Ngqika and Ndlambe could not affect affairs of state.

Complaints that Ngqika was promoting himself came with the appearance of the white men, Earl Macartney and Sir John Barrow, in 1798. Lord Macartney was sent from overseas to assume the reins of government in 1798. This Macartney had an assistant called Sir John Barrow who, with youthful exuberance, recorded history and went about visiting minor chiefs beyond the

Nkunz'eggume ku Ntabamhlope,  
 Kwahlokom'amawa nentlanjana!  
 Ike yaginywa mbumbulu ziqiti, –  
 Suk'iziqiti zahlamb'intliziyo,  
 Zamhlauzela kwelase Koloni,  
 Yakal' i Koloni yati "Ngiyasha!"  
 Kuz'agodukele kwela kubo, –  
 Zipel'i zaqwiti nezivandoviya.

### 32      **Idabi lama Linde: Ukutelekiwa ngu Mlungu (1818–1819)**

Umfundi selevile ngoku ukuba u Ngqika usamele ngasezintongeni, uyawoyisa ama Gcaleka, uyawoyisa ama Ndlambe, akuko sizwe ngoku singabanako ukumelana naye edabini. Ite noko lonto ayatatyatelwa ngqalelweni inkulu kuba wayesaziwa ukuba akayiyo ntloko, ngoko ke akanangozi ayakude enze yona. Umfundi mabaqonde ukuba ubukumkani basema Xoseni buhamba ngomgca wabo, nenkosana ezingapantsi zihamba ngeziganga zezo, – ibingeko into yokuba ubani atsibele indawo engeyiyo eyake. Kungoko ke ate esenje u Ngqika wabe engatatelwe ngqalelo yaluto.

#### IMFAZWE KA TUTULA

Yimposiso enkulu kubenzi bemb'ali xa bati elidabi lasema Linde yimfazwe ka Tutula. Into ka Tutula yona ingapambili kanye, nayo yapeliswa kwangama Ngqika odwa, ayigweba afuna ukuba ngubanina lo uye ukuba u Tutula e Mnyameni, – kwatyolwa u Mguye kufihlwa u Ntlebi owaye ngumpakati omkulu kakulu, wagoduswa u Tutula lowo kungadange kubeko kupatelana zikali. Ubuhlobo bona pakati ko Ngqika no Ndlambe, babungeko bumke nezinto zombuso.

Ukuze aze kurorelwa u Ngqika ukuba uzipakamisile kuxa kwafika amagwangqa u Earl Macartney no Sir John Barrow ngo 1798, u Lord Macartney wayetunywe li Phesheya ukuba eze kubamba intambo zombuso ngo 1798.

\* This paragraph is omitted in *Imibengo*.



Fish river, collecting information about such things, and about national borders; when these minor chiefs were dictating to him, they told him that their paramount chief was at the Keiskamma river – Ngqika. To be brief, Mr Barrow did indeed travel with a small party of young men to call on Ngqika at Ngcwazi. He says he met a truly handsome fellow coming from his garden, memorable for his intelligence, who, though a young man, could satisfy scholars with ready answers on affairs of state. They ended by exchanging gifts.

While Ngqika and Barrow were discussing a whole range of subjects, Ndlambe was present at the Great Place, but he was not consulted, he was entirely excluded, because at that time he was still a prisoner at Rhabula. In fact, Ngqika told Barrow that Ndlambe was his uncle, though a prisoner – at that stage Barrow paid no attention because Ndlambe's name meant nothing to him, since Ndlambe had not yet escaped to Alexandria. On that day Ndlambe began to understand that this son of his older brother was in actual fact an out and out hypocrite – he spoke to his fellow chiefs about this, that "this chap of mine has already sold us out to a foreign nation."

#### LORD CHARLES SOMERSET (1817)

The nation and all the chiefs came to the realisation that Ngqika had sold the land when the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, summoned a great meeting in 1817 that assembled at the Kat river, where the town of Fort Beaufort now stands. Somerset wanted to establish their borders with us and as a man newly appointed as Governor he wanted certain issues discussed. The meeting involved the entire Xhosa nation. Having escaped from captivity, Ndlambe was there with his people; Kobe the son of Chungwa was there with the Gqunukhwebe; Tshatshu was there with the Ntinde; Nqeno was there with the Mbalu; Bhotomane was there with the Dange; and the Gwali were there.

Ngqika's hair stood on end at the prospect, and he did not attend; but the Governor sent Rev Joseph Williams to fetch him – he did not treat the minister well<sup>2</sup> because this Somerset was a brusque sort of fellow whose word went unchallenged among his own people. Ngqika was at Mankazana at the time. In the event, Ngqika arrived with 100 men, timid and submissive, avoiding the eyes of his people, because he had heard the news that his entire nation was at odds with him. But the Governor went to meet him, awkward and timid as he

U Makatini lowo wayenegosa ekutiwa ngu Sir John Barrow, elati lona ngobungqakamba bobudodana nom-Bali wamabali, wajikeleza kweziya nkosana zazinga pesheya kwe Nxuba efuna ukuqonda izinto kuzo, kunye nemida yabo kwelilizwe; zite zimbalisela inkosana ezo zabe zixelela ukuba inkosi yetu enkulu ise Xesi, – u Ngqika. Okunene ke ngelifutshane u Mr. Barrow wenjenjeya ehamba negqiza lamadodana, esiya kubonana no Ngqika e Ncwazi. Uti bafika kumfo omhle kunene, osukileyo egadini, ongqondo bangabanga nako ukuyilibala, ukuti umfana ongakaya akwazi ukwanelisa amadoda afundileyo ngezinto zombuso, nangemibuzo abayibuzayo. Bagqiba ngokunikana amab'aso.

Eteta nje u Ngqika no Baro, ngayo yonke lemicimbi, u Ndlambe uko apa komkulu, koko akubuzwa nento kuye, akubekiswa nelimdaka kuba lelaxesha wayese Rabula ebubanjweni. Kunjalonje u Ngqika wayixela nalonto ku Baro yokuba lo ke ngubawokazi, koko ulibanjwa, – ngezomini no Baro akakatalanga kuba igama lika Ndlambe lalingekavakali nganto, wayengekabungci aye e Mnyameni. Waqala ngalomini u Ndlambe ukumqonda lomfo womkuluwa wake, ukuba yinene yinene uzenza otile, – uyitetile u Ndlambe lento kwabo ateta nabo, ukuba lomfo wam selesigqibile ukusitengisa kumzi wasemzini.

#### U LORD CHAS. SOMERSET (1817)

Apo isizwe, nenkosi zonke zize kumqonda kona u Ngqika ukuba uhlanga ulutengisile kumhla ngembizokazi enkulu eyayibizwe yi Ruluneli u Lord Chas. Somerset, eyibizela e Ncwenxa kulendawo ngoku inedolopu yase Bofolo ngomnyaka ka 1817. U Somerseti naye wayefuna ukuqonda imida yabo neyetu, waye njengendoda efikayo ebu Rulunelini wayenezinto awayefuna kutetwatetwene ngazo. Imbizo leyo yayiyeka Xosa wonke. Okunene u Ndlambe walapa kunye nesizwe sake; wapumayo ebubanjweni; u Kobe Cungwa wayelapo kunye nama Gqunukwebu; u Tshatshu wayelapo kunye nama Ntinde; u Nqeno\* wayelapo kunye nama Mbalu; u Botomani wayelapo kunye nemi Dange; ayekwalapo ama Gwali.

U Ngqika waba namanwele akaya; kodwa i Ruluneli yasusa u Mfundisi u Velidyam ukuba makeze naye, – ayampata kakuhle nomfundisi lowo kuba lomfo ungu Somaseti yayiyi ngqwangangqwili yendoda into elizwi lingajikelwa ngapambili nangamawabo. Oko u Ngqika wayekwa Mankazana. Okunene ufikile u Ngqika; ehamba namadoda akwik'ulu elinye (100) wafika lomfo

\* *Nqeno*

was – he fussed over him – he took him into this tent and that tent! He was fed dainty delicacies until Ngqika quite laid aside his shame and terror. Now he began to accept that he was a king, afraid of no man.

#### A PROVOCATIVE, ILL-ADVISED SPEECH

A wide variety of British regiments were there in scarlet uniforms – and in his uniform the Governor brought order to his men rushing about all over the place. Over there the horses glittered with studs and buttons on bridle and saddle; here weapons were stacked – soldiers were drilled on foot and horseback – and all this was designed to impress on a Xhosa the might of the white man and deter him from conflict.

Although all the chiefs were present, the Governor entirely excluded them from the discussion and dealt with Ngqika, who accompanied him everywhere. At that time, Ngqika was a young man of about 40. At the conclusion of deliberations between these two leaders, after all their decisions, the Governor ended with an ill-advised speech directed to Ngqika in the hearing of all: “I recognise you alone as paramount chief of the Xhosa here, and I intend to consult only you. Therefore, look to my interests and I will look to yours.”

Those words spelt trouble for Ngqika because after that meeting all the chiefs, with the Gcaleka in support, resolved that this young man must be punished, he was assuming airs, and he had sold the nation to the white man. This fact was accepted by the Gcaleka, so that Hintsa now joined his people to punish the young man at the “Battle of Amalinde.” This took place the following year in 1818.

The decisions reached by Ngqika and Lord Charles Somerset at that momentous meeting at the Kat river were as follows. But first let me stress that, from the time of Barrow in 1798 right up to this point in time, Ngqika had insisted that he was not the paramount chief, that he himself was lower in status than the paramount, who was a Gcaleka. Ngqika explained his position to the whites in these terms: “Yes, I am the paramount chief here on this side; but there are other smaller nations on my borders, and I lack the authority to bind them to do what I say” – and he would list the Mbalu, the Dange, Gwali, Gqunukhwebe, Ntinde, and so on. The Kat river decisions were:

esoyika, etambile, engatandi kubonwa ngamawabo, kuba lwaluye lwafika kuye ulwandile lokuba umzi wonke wakowabo ucasene naye. Koko ute eselelo tolotolo loyikayo, wahlangatyezwa yi Ruluneli, – yamtatela pezulu, – yamfaka kulantente, nakuleya! Kuhamba kupuzwa izityo ezimnandana, ezatsho u Ngqika wapela gede intloni, nokoyika! Waqala ngoku nayewaziqonda ukuba ungu Kumkani, akanakoyikanto.

#### ILIZWI ELIBI ELIYINGOZI

Intlobo ngentlobo zemikosi yase mlungwini yayilapo; izivato ezimbejembeje zilapo, – yaye i Ruluneli ngokwayo ibugaxele bonke ubugaxagaxa bakowayo. Amahashe ayefumane atsho ngobukazikazi bamaqula namaqosha, ituma nesali zezingapaya; izixobo zazikwalapa nazo, – kutanjwa ngamajoni enyawo nawamahashe, – lonto yonke ikukubonisa u Xosa ukuba makaqonde ubukulu bomlungu ayeke ukulwa naye.

Kwezi nkosi zonke zingaka, i Ruluneli ayib'ekisanga nelimdaka ilizwi isuke yadludla no Ngqika lo, yangena ipuma naye, ngalo mihla u Ngqika waye ngumfana okwimi nyaka emashumi mane (40). Emva kwe nteto zezi nkosi zombini, nezigqibo zazo zodwa, i Ruluneli igqibe ngeli zwi elibi elib'ekise ku Ngqika, kuviwa ngumntu wonke yati: “Ndazi wena wedwa inkosi enkulu apa ema Xoseni neyona ndinokub'ekisa kuyo into, ngoko ke gcina mna wena, namndikugcine.”

Lomazwi aba yingozi ku Ngqika, kuba ukusuka kulombizo inkosi zonke zaba nesigqibo eside saziwa nakwa Gcaleka sokuba lomfana makohlwaywe, utabate indawo<sup>\*</sup> ezingapaya kwake, waye nesizwe usitengisile kumlungu. Esi sigqibo samkelwa kwa Gcaleka, ukuze ke ngoku awele u Hintsu ngokwake, ukuza kumohlwaya umfana kwelo “Dabi lama Linde.” Oko kukuti kwa kumn-yaka olandelayo we 1818.

Izigqibo esenziwe ngu Ngqika no Lord Chas. Somerset kolonkahlukazi yembizo yase Ncwenxa nanzi: gxebe apa mandiliweze elokuba kwaku Baro ngowe 1798, kude kube lapa u Ngqika uyaxela ukuba akayiyo nkosi enkulu yena, inkosi enkulu apantsi kwayo naye ikwa Gcaleka. Kenjalo u Ngqika ube liqayisa kubelungu ilizwi eliti: – “Ewe, ndiyinkosi enkulu nganeno apa; kodwa ezinye eziya izizwana zizipete, andinamteto ungaya kuzibopa ukuba zenze

\* *indawe*

1. That Ngqika should send word to those Xhosa living on the other side of the Fish river, that they should return to this side of the Fish.
2. That no Xhosa should cross the Fish unless sent by this chief, and he should carry a snuffbox to show that he is the messenger of the king.
3. That no Xhosa should come to blows with a white; if a white was found loitering on the Xhosa side, Ngqika should arrest him and conduct him to Graaff-Reinet. This was the magistrate's office closest to the Xhosa.
4. Thieving must be banned; the nation to which the trail leads should be fined if the trail ends there. This is an old law among the Xhosa; however, now that nation would be invited to join the trail before it reached them so that they could follow the trail together.
5. If a ship is wrecked on the Xhosa seashore, they should treat the shipwrecked people well, feed them and shepherd them home to Graaff-Reinet.
6. If slaves, whether Hottentot or black (Mozambicans), escape from their masters and seek refuge in Xhosa territory, they must be returned to the magistrate's office in Graaff-Reinet.
7. Ngqika must maintain friendly relations with the magistrate in Graaff-Reinet, regularly sending his man with a snuffbox to inform him about what was happening in Xhosa territory.

Ngqika yielded to these terms although he was not entirely happy with them – actually, the young man was confused by many things: confused by the clipped manner in which the whites spoke, with no questions asked; confused by the variety of regiments, the surrounding bustle, the feast laid before him which dispelled his reticence.

The chief was presented with a large white bead, a bracelet, a blanket, this and that – and finally he was presented with a grey stallion with saddle and bridle – it is said he was so delighted with this present that he broke into a dance.

lonto itetwa ndim," – atsho ebalala ke oma Mbalu, Dange, Gwali, Gqunukwebe, Ntinde njalonjalo. Izigqibo zase Ncwenxa zenjiwanje: –

1. U Ngqika makatumele ilizwi kulawa ma Xosa apesheya kwe Nxuba, atsho abuye abe nganeno kwe Nxuba.
2. Makungabiko m-Xosa uyiweleyo iNxuba, ide ibe ngotunywe yinkosi le, naye abe neqaga lokumxela ukuba ungumtunywa wo Kumkani.
3. Makungabiko m-Xosa unangxabano nomlungu; makuti ukuba kute kwako umlungu obonwa eyantaza<sup>\*</sup> kwelicala lasema Xoseni, abanjwe ngu Ngqika osiwe e Rafu (Graaf Reinet). Le yayiye yona ofisi ikufupi ema Xoseni.
4. Ukusela makupeliswe; isizwe ote umkondo waduka kuso, masidliwe, ukuba asiwugqitisi. Lo ibingumteto omdala wasema Xoseni; koko ke wona ebesibiza eso sizwe usekude umkondo, kuziwe nawo kunye naso.
5. Makuye<sup>†</sup> kuti xa kute kwaqekeka inqanawa kulonxweme lolwandle lwasema Xoseni, abapate kakuhle abobantu benqanawa, abatyise, abatundeze ukubasa e Rafu.
6. Amakoboka, nokuba ngama Lawo, nokuba ngaba bamnyama (o Masibikili) xa ate azimela ezinkosini zawo, ezimelela kweli lasema Xoseni, mababuyiswe basiwe e Ofisini e Rafu.
7. U Ngqika makagcine ubuhlobo nemantyi yase Rafu amane ukutumela umntu wake kuyo epete iqaga ayivise izinto ezikoyo ema Xoseni.

Waziyekelela u Ngqika ezizinto noko zingehli kamnandi kuye, – waye umtana exakwe zinto ezininzi, exakwe kukuteta komlungu okuqupaqupayo, okungabuziyo; exakwe nazintlobo zemikosi, nobupitipiti obukoyo, nezityo ezib'eka entloko, eziqabula nentloni.

Inkosi yanikwa amaso, izac'olo, ibulankete, intoni nentoni, – yagqitywa ngokunikwa inkabi engwevu yehashe inetuma nesali sayo, – kutiwa yasivuyela esisipo i Kumkani yade yax'entsa.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> *cyataza*

<sup>†</sup> *Makuyo*

<sup>‡</sup> The preceding ten paragraphs, commencing with *Izigqibo esenziwe*, are omitted in *Imibengo*.

### THE BATTLE

I have already said that all the chiefs decided Ngqika should be punished. A battle did indeed ensue on the Keiskammahoek plain near Debe Nek station. The location provided ample space for the allied forces to dispose their troops.

Ntsikana strove to stop the Ngqika, saying don't go into this battle, let them eat his cattle,<sup>3</sup> and when they are returning home ambush them – but the Ngqika completely spurned that advice because on the previous day and on that day large herds of cattle had been captured by the allies. Suddenly instigators came forward disparaging Ntsikana asking where he came from, because at one time he had declared himself to be a Ndlambe.<sup>4</sup> The Ngqika army in the event advanced into battle under the newly circumcised Maqoma, about 21 years of age. The allies were entrusted to Mdushane's command.

### MOBILISATION

The allied army distributed their blue crane headdresses<sup>5</sup> to the rookies to hoodwink Ngqika's forces. Then Ndlambe addressed these words to his forces:

"Listen, tribes of Phalo, tribes of Tshiwo, tribes of Ngconde; you know that I have done nothing, and will do nothing. All I did was raise a child who wants to kill me. Advance! I'm sending you! Stop this before it gets out of hand. I don't understand the cause, you don't understand the cause. Stick together and fight to the bitter end! Fight to the bitter end."

And Ngqika said to his forces:

"Aren't you concerned about us? We mean something to you! Darkness sets in because of our name. Go! Go like in olden times, seek an explanation at close quarters. Go, risk your lives! Death is no stranger to us!"

## IDABI

Senditshilo ukuti zonke inkosi zigqibe kwelokuba u Ngqika ohlwaywe. Okunene ke idabi libekwe kwelo Tafa lise Lukalweni ngase Debe Nek Station. Kwaye kusitiwa yeyona ndawo ip'angaleleyo abayakuti abancedani bakwazi ukulaka ihlelo.

Emva kwemizamo ka Ntsikana, owayenqanda ama Ngqika esiti makangayi kulamgando, makayeke yena bazitye inkomo ezo zake, bati xa bagodukayo aqale amane ukubanqoloba' ngabanye, – hayi lento ayiva engayiva ama Ngqika ngenxa yokuti izolo namhla kumke amaqela enkomo eyakutshona kweyaba Ncedani. Kude kwavela ngoku into ezintyontye amakwelo, zimlanda no Ntsikana lowo zisiti, – “Uvela pina yena!” Zitsho kuba wayeke wangum Ndlambe, ukusungulwa kwake. Okunene iyile eyama Ngqika ipetwe ngu Maqoma xa alirwala, iminyaka yake evelile ima 21. Eyaba Ncedani yanikelwa ku Mdushane ukuba ayipate.

## PAMBI KOKUBA ZINQOZE

Impi yaba Ncedani itate indwe yayipaka kumagwaba' yawatumela ukuba aye kuhesha umkosi ka Ngqika. Waza u Ndlambe wawutetela umkosi wake wenjenje:

“Wauko kambe mabandla ka Palo, mabandla ka Tshiwo, mabandla ka Ngconde; kunje yanjeya nje andenzanga luto, andoze ni; ndondle kupela umntwana, ndibulawa kwa nguye. Hambani, ndiyanituma, nditi linqandeni elohlhla, andilazi nam, anilazi nani. Maze nibambe ibeyinkwanenkwa! Ibe yinkwanenkwa.”

U Ngqika wenjenje kweyake:

“Anisikangelina! Siluluto lwenu! Kucim' ilanga kusenjenjeya nje ku ngenxa yeli gama! Hambani bo! Hambani nixel' okwemihla, niyibuze kufupi lonto – Hambani niye kufa! Ikukuhlala kwetu kakad' ukubulawa!”

\* ukubangoloba

† Altered to *yayifaka kumaGwala* in *Imibengo* (195).



“I’m addressing you, tribes of Rharhabe! I’m addressing you, tribes of Sharp Weapon!”<sup>6</sup>

IN BATTLE

After such words of exhortation, reader, you can imagine how many of your fathers fell in battle. It’s said the weapons blotted out the sun and the day turned to night! That day saw the defeat of the army of Ngqika, of Mlawu’s Lwaganda! It was chased across the Keiskamma – leaving great councillors and veterans on that Debe plain. Among the dead was Jotelo, the father of Soga, of the Jwarha clan; to this day his descendants remain vigorous in fighting the nation’s battles! Ntlukwana remained behind, the father of Neku, of the Cirha clan; Qukwana remained behind, the father of Nxokwana, of the Ntakwenda clan; Nteyi remained behind, the father of Tyala, of the Dala clan. Ever since then there has been something between their descendants.

THE WHITES ARE DRAWN IN!

Ngqika was chased across the Tyhume, the Kat and the Koonap – and there he was left. Then he recalled Somerset’s words, “Look to my interests and I will look to yours.” Maqabashana was living there, a slave who had an affair with a Jwarha girl and accordingly became a Jwarha himself, and he fathered Hlanganise among others, who in turn fathered Somana, a Ngqika orator in Centane. It was resolved in consultation there to approach Somerset for assistance. This appealed immensely to Somerset, because that is just what he had wanted all along! He dispatched Colonel Brereton<sup>7</sup> with a massed army, to go to the aid of Ngqika, their friend! When this army arrived, the members of the nation had already dispersed – and the army smashed only the Ndlambe, and seized many cattle – and then the white army went off on its way; but Ngqika invited them to stay at Ngqakayi, to protect him in case the Ndlambe returned to kill him. The first barracks were built there, between Alice and Peddie, and it was called Fort Willshire.<sup>8</sup>

NXELE AT GRAHAMSTOWN (1819)

At this point Nxele came forward to urge the Ndlambe and Dushane forces to attack the garrison at Grahamstown; at that point Ngqika was nothing to Ndlambe; Ngqika’s power destroyed other nations because he had handed

"Sitsho kuni mabandla ka Rarabe! Sitsho kuni mabandla ka' Butsolo bentonga!

#### XA ZINQOZAYO!

Emva kwalamazwi emiyolelo ke mlesi ungatelekelela ngokwako ukuwa kwamadoda akowenu, oyihlo! Izikali kutiwa zacim' ilanga kwatsho kwahlw' emini! Kumhla woyiswa ke lomini umkosi ka Ngqika, – ka Lwaganda ka Mlawu! Wasukeliswa waya kuwezwa i Xesi, – ushiya amapakati amakulu nezitwalandwe kwelotafa le Debe. Pakati kwabafi kwakuko u Jotelo, uyise ka Soga um-Jwara; lenzala ise bukali nanamhlanje ukulwa amadabi ohlanga! Kwasala u Ntlukwana, uyise ka Neku um Cira, kwasala u Qukwana uyise ka Nxokwana um-Ntakwenda, kwasala u Nteyi, uyise ka Tyala, um-Dala. Kunanamhlanje lomilibo isalwa izinto zobuzwe.

#### UKUCIZWA KOMLUNGU!

Usukeliswe u Ngqika waya kuwezwa i Tyume, ne Ncwenxa, ne Kobonqaba,\* – washiywa ke kwezondawo. Kulapo ke alicinge kona ilizwi lika Somaseti eliti "Ugcine mna nam ndikugcine." Kwakuko apo u Maqabashana ikoboka elazeka intombi yasema Jwareni laseliba ngum Jwara ngokwalo, ukuze lizale o Hlanganise, ati yena azale u Somana isiteti sakwa Ngqika kwa Centane. Ib'ungwe apo ke into yokuba makuyiwe ku Somaseti aze kunceda. Okunene u Somaseti uyivumele pezulu lonto, kuba yeyonanto ebefuna yona kakade! Ukupe u Colonel Brereton nomkosi ongqindilili ukuba mawuye kunceda u Ngqika, umhlobo wabo! Ufike umkosi lo isizwe sezimkile zaya ngendawo zazo, – wafika wacumza ama Ndlambe odwa, kwatinjwa kuwo into eninzi yenkomo, – wemka umkosi wabelungu; kodwa u Ngqika ute mawuhlale e Ngqakayi, umgcine hleze abuyelwe aze kubulawa. Kwakiwa apo ke ibalakisi yokuqala, pakati kwe Dike ne Nqushwa, kwatiwa igama yi Fort Wiltshire.

#### U NXELE E RINI (1819)

Uvele kweso situba ke u Nxele wafunza impi e Rini enomkosi wama Ndlambe nowemi Dushane; ngeloxesha u Ngqika wayengento ku Ndlambe; amandla

\* ku

† Kobongaba

‡ The article ends here in *Imibengo*.

himself over to the whites – people abandoned him for Ndlambe. And that's the story of the Battle of Amalinde and its consequences!

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### The Right Rev William Mpamba

*Because by thee I can crush a troop. II Sam 22:30*

My Lord Editor –

I am concerned about the comments made by Rev Y. Mbali<sup>1</sup> in the August issue of *The Blythiswood Review* about the abovenamed minister.

About 40 years ago I was a small boy at school in Alice. One day I was in the church service for blacks there, and a “boy” came in and sat down next to me while the pastor, the son of Mzimba, was talking.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of his sermon I heard the words: “A drunkard should marry a drunkard so nothing will trouble them: they are both alike.” As he said that the “boy” next to me chuckled in amusement; as the preacher pressed on and on with this point, I realised that the “boy” was struggling to contain his laughter. For my part I did not judge the “boy” harshly because he found the preaching of the Word in a holy church something to laugh at. (Well, Mr Editor, maybe it was the case at the time.)

This “boy” was short, 22 years old, light brown in complexion, bursting with life, with the long hair above his forehead neatly caught into a pointed feather in a fashion loved by boys and girls. After a time I saw that “boy” in the boarding school dressed stylishly in a mode I imitated, drawing attention to himself with his fiery eyes and always carrying a pile of books. Then I heard him talking in meetings, and at prayers, preaching, and translating for the white ministers during the services and now I completely forgave the “boy” for his sin (?) of laughing in church.

As the years passed this boy and I grew to know each other very well, and he was none other than the Right Rev William Mpamba who became Head of the Bantu Presbyterian Church in Somerset East in this month of this year.

In those days the son of Mpamba was a lay preacher known throughout the Alice district, while he was studying for the ministry. During the revival at

ake u Ngqika wawabulala ezizweni ngokusuke azinikele kumntu omhlope, – bamshiya abantu bapelela kwaku Ndlambe. Sibe njalo ke idabi lama Linde kwanezipumo zalo!

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### The Right Rev. Wm. Mpamba

*Kuba ngawe ndigila impi. 2 Sam 22:30*

Nkosi Mhleli, –

Ndikatazwe ngamacapaza awenziwe ngumfundisi u Y. Mbali kwi Blythswood Review ka Aug. malunga, nalomfundisi ngama lingasentla.

Kwiminyaka ekufupi kumashumi omane (40) eyadlulayo, ndandiyinkwenk-wana ndifunda e Dikeni. Ngenye imini ndisahleli enkonzweni leya yabantsundu kwangena “umfana,” wahlala ecaleni lam kwayo kwakuteta u mninimzi into ka Mzimba. Ute ekuteteni ndeva efika kumazwi awenjenje: “Maliti inxila lizeke kwa inxilakazi zokungabiko ukatazekayo, bafane abobantu bobabini.” Ute xa atshoyo wavakala “umfana” ecaleni lam esiti tuzutuzu eyihleka lento; ute kuba nomshumayeli lento wayibandezela wayijoka, ndamqonda ukuba “umfana” uyazama ukuzibamba asikuko nokuba lenteto imbulele ngentsini. Ngelam icala asikuko ne kuba “umfana” lowo ndamkangela kakubi, ukuti kushunyayelwa i Lizwi kwi Ndlu Engcwele abe nento yokuhleka kulonto; (kambe Mhleli oko kwakungoko).

“Lomfana” waye sisiqingqana esinesibili esilingeneyo, igwangqana elinga bunobom kakulu, elide laqwela ngonwelana olu pume pezu kwe bunzi apa, ladala usiba olutsolo, into lonto abezibulala ngayo amakwenkwe ne ntombi ukuyitanda. Kute emva koko ndambona futi “umfana” lo apa esinaleni, waye emhle kukanye, nokunxiba kwake ku ndilisekile, ebundwetyandwetyana, amehlo etshawuza enomlilo, ehlala epete isipa sencwadi. Kude kwati kupi ndamva eteta mhla kuko izinto ezitwayo waquba nemitandazo, wenza ne ntshumayelo, watolikela nabafundisi abamhlope ezinkonzweni apa, hayi ngoku ndamxolela kwa kanye “umfana” lo kwesiya sono (?) sake sokuhleka enkonzweni.

Lovedale Station, he stood out far above others, as if alone, so that it was called Mpamba's revival, and he was unrestrained, flapping his arms as if to fly over those shut up and packed close together in the round huts here – and he took off his shoes and jumped about in his bare feet. On another day he preached about Jonah in the Native Church, slamming the table as he named Jonah, so that I feared the table would shatter. Still active like this, he left Alice and travelled to a number of schools he was placed in to assist senior ministers. In the course of time he was sent to the Zoutpansberg in the northern Transvaal, where Gwayi Tyamzashe had broken the ground.<sup>3</sup> Among those nations the son of Mpamba did outstanding work for God.<sup>4</sup> In those days large church communities developed wherever he broke the ground.

I have never forgotten the inspiration of his speech when I saw him again on his return from that region, the calming effect of his sermon, the submission to the word – so that I remarked "Wow! This talk is a mill to grind people!"

In the same year we met in his home at Duff Mission in Idutywa, which I visited often because I had a place at the Ndlambe Great Place of Mbambonduna.<sup>5</sup> We often discussed his trepidation over moving to Main Mission to which he had been posted, because that was his home village among the Thembu, from which his father moved to the Gaga in Alice.

I specifically raised this recent awkward summons by his people, which he feared, saying it did not suit him, but I argued it did suit him at the present time.

I offer my apologies, Editor, for my comments about people: I've omitted much of what I had to say, worried about this issue involving your advisors. I am grateful to the church for its wisdom in appointing this man to serve God, because the fellow it has singled out today is a holy man of God.

Ute kanti umfana lo sisaza kwazana kakulu ekuhambeni kwe minyaka, kuba yati kanti ngulo Right Rev Wm. Mpamba lowo ozakuba yi Nqanga ye Bantu Presbyterian Church kwa Somaseti, kuyo lenyanga, kuwo lomnyaka.

Ngezomini umfo ka Mpamba ube lugenqengenqe lomvangeli owaziwayo kuso sonke eso sitili se Dike; waye esafundela ubu fundisi oko. Bebesakuti xa baquba imvuselelo e Lovedale Station, apawuleke kakulu kwa banye, ade ange uyedwa, kutetwe ngemvuselelo zika Mpamba, adyuduze naye, ange uyababa pezu kwabantu apa bevaleleke kwizindlu zamanqugwala bexinene shinyi, – apate kuzikulula izihlangu agqadaze ngenyawo. Etyalikeni (Native Church), kuko umhla awayeshumayela ngo Jona mhla wayibeta itafile ebiza u Jona, ndoyika ndati itafile izakwapuka. Ude wapuma e Dikeni ese yilo ngqadangqada, wahamba efakwa kwimizi nge mizi yesikolo, encedisa abafundisi abakulu. Kude kwati kupi, watunyelwa emntla we Transvali e Zoutpansberg, kwizwe elaqandulwa yinto ka Tyamzashe u Gwayi. Ifike yenzela u Tixo umsebenzi onge nganganto kwe zontlanga into ka Mpamba yaqandula ebunzimeni nase bumn-yameni. Ngezimini seyingamazwekazi evangeli apo kwezondawo yayiqandula kuzo.

Ukupinda ukumbona selebuyile kulawo mazwe, andilibalanga uku coleka kwenteto; ukuzola kwe ntshumayelo; ngokutoba kwelizwi, – endade ndati “kwak! Ilizwi eli ngu mashini wokusila umntu!”

Nyakenye besisemzin' ake e Nqabara (Duff), e Dutywa, ndade mna ndamana ukupindapinda ukuya, kuba ndandinomkamo kuma Ndlambe Komkulu kwa Mbambonduna. Siyitete futi into yokuya kwake e Qwebeqwebe, (Main), apo wayetunyelwe kona, esoyika kuba nguwona mzi wakowabo kanye lowo eba Tenjini awaya kona noyise besuka kwa Gaga, e Dikeni.

Lenjombe ayihloniyiweyo namhla ngamakowabo wayeke wayiti tupa kum, eyoyika nayo esiti, “ayimfanele,” ndaye ndisiti mna ifanele yena kanye kwezi mini kukuzo.

Uxolo Mhleli ngesituba sezidweshwa, ndilushiyile uninzi lwe nteto ngenxa yokoyikela londawo yezipakati zakowenu. Ndibulela i Bandla la Bantu ngokwazi kwalo ukumpatela u Tixo walo; kuba lomfo limcongileyo namhla nje, yindoda engcwele ka Tixo.

Take that Chair,  
command that summit,  
claim our nation,  
good-looking man of ours.

We're just right for you,  
so you must stand tall –  
in your fine task,  
in your good years.

We've no one at home!  
The young man's left home  
for the house of delight  
where a girl sells herself!

The girls hard at work!  
Education's been dumped,  
their homes miles away,  
their name and compassion dead.

So stand like a man,  
planted firm as a pole,  
comfort your church –  
the Almighty will be at your side.

Men are ailing,  
women are weeping:  
their homes are just sacks,  
rank as mushrooms.

You must understand I've not yet sung praises,  
unsure as I am of the times;  
but you're truly great,  
as this moon bears witness.

Sitabat' eso Sihlalo,  
Uyivelele lonkalo.  
Ububang' ubuzwe betu, –  
Dun' Elihle lakowetu,

Sikufanele kakuhle,  
Nawe uzume kakuhle, –  
Ngomsebenzi wako omhle,  
Neminyaka yak' emihle.

Asinamntu kwelikaya!  
Udodana lwemk' ekaya.  
Nalo kwantliziyo ndise!  
Entla ko Ntombi zendise!

Nanz' intombi ezangcibeni!  
Imfund' isezizibeni.  
Imizi yashiywa mgama.  
Ubuntu bafa negama!

Ngoko yima ngokwendoda,  
Uti ngxi ngokwesibonda,  
Ulitutuzel' i Bandla, –  
Aba nawe u Somandla.

Amadoda ayagula,  
Abafazi bayalila,  
Kub' imiz' ingama nxowa,  
Ibole ngokwama kowa.

Uz' uqond' andikabongi,  
Nelixesh' andiliqondi;  
Kodwa ke wen' uyinganga;  
Iyangqina nalenyanga.



That's how it is, Boss,  
Satan reaps his harvest;  
he wanted to end our nation,  
but God came to our aid.

Thanks to you, church,  
for creating the word of the people,  
the word of people is God,  
for God is also a person.

Flourish and keep on expanding,  
bring back those who have left;  
your strength has earned you  
the blessings of God.

You've consumed the legacy of the dead,  
of those already departed,  
which used to come to you compact,  
refined, and ever renewed.

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**The African National Congress**

Mr R.V. Selope Thema follows an admirable trail in tracking the origins of this widely renowned movement called Congress.<sup>1</sup> He seems to be making strenuous efforts in following the trail, except for his jealousy in envy of the leaders who preceded him – a dreadful disease in our leaders. So it is my earnest desire, Mr Editor and honoured readers of this newspaper *Umteteli*, to support this new leader, but to indicate other tracks he may not have noticed, because he has an earnest desire to follow in the steps of Congress policy.

This gentleman says that this assembly was founded by Dr Seme in 1912.<sup>2</sup> In this connection he says local meetings had taken place, but that they did not represent the whole of Southern Africa. It is on precisely this point that I wish to enlighten this young man so that he sees his way clearly, because what he is focusing on is a worthy story indeed.

Zinjal' izinto Maduna,  
Ongendawo uyavuna;  
Umz' ufun' ukuwuqeda,  
Kok' u Tixo wasinceda.

Enkosi Bandla la Bantu,  
Ngokwenz' ilizwi labantu,  
Lingu Tix' izwi labantu,  
Kub' u Tixo naye ngumntu.

Ngamana nacuma nanda;  
Abemkayo nabanqanda;  
Nazuza intsikelelo,  
Zo Somandla, ngomelelo.

Nidl' ilifa labemkayo;  
Amadoda awafayo;  
Lize kuni lihlohliwe,  
Lihlungulwe, lipindiwe.

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### I-African National Congress

U Mr. R.V. Selope Thema usemkondweni omhle wokulanda imvelapi yalantlanganiso idume kunene iyi Kongresi. Kunjalonje ngati uzama ukuwulanda kakuhle, ngapandle kwekwele lokukweletela inkokeli ezipambi kwake, – isifo esibi esikoyo ke eso ezinkokelini. Umnqweno wam ke Mhleli, nani bafundi ababekekileyo belipepa lo “Mteteli,” kukanga ndingayixasa lenkokeli intsha: kodwa ndiyalalise amanye amanyatelo engaba yona ayiwaqondisisanga, kuba iti inqwenela ukuke ilandelelanise inteto ngayo le Kongresi.

Uti ke umnumzana lo, isekwe le ngqungqutela ngu Dr. Seme, ngonyaka we 1912. Atsho esiti beziko pofu intlanganiso zama pondo, ezibe zingade zibe nabo ubuganga boku shwankatela i Afrika ese Zantsi yonke kukwezondawo ke kanye endinga ndingake ndiyikanyisele indodana le ukuze ihambe ibona, kuba lomcimbi iwutatileyo ulibali elihle kunene.

As an old man, I would like to take him back to the year 1887, the year of *Thung' umlomo*, "Stitch the mouth." In that year there was an effort here in the Cape to establish a major association with Mr Goda Sishuba in the chair and Mr J.T. Jabavu as secretary – but after a while Mr Thomas Mqanda became chairman and Mr Jonathan Thunyiswa secretary. That association was named The South African Native Congress (*INGqungquthela*).<sup>3</sup> Its founders assembled from all over Southern Africa; but in those days government was separated, the Transvaal and Free State under the Boers, and Natal under self-rule – we didn't really understand each other although we occasionally came in contact, as Mr Thema said.

In 1904 the S.A. Native Congress convened at Macubeni in Thembuland. The Free State was represented by Rev Xaba and Mr Twayi, and the Transvaal had a delegate though I forget his name, a talkative man with a thick moustache. These provinces came with applications to join Congress, though in previous years they had attended as observers. The chairman of the day was the late Rev William Phillip in the absence of Mr Mqanda.

In 1909 Congress met in Queenstown and Dr Abdurahman was present together with his followers from all over; Chief Silas Molema was also present (as he had been at previous meetings) accompanied by some of his councillors; and Chief Mehlokhulu was also there<sup>4</sup> – I can't list all the names, but I can say that the purpose of this meeting was to oppose the Union of the provinces, in the belief that the Boers would squeeze us out with malicious intent and work to our disadvantage, so we were in favour of a Federation; our petition was not heard, yet we were right – you can see the Union has worked to our disadvantage!

In 1910 my energetic father Mr A.K. Soga went up to the Transvaal and held many meetings there, in an attempt to unite the movement, which comprised various divisions: the Sotho had their convention, the Zulu, the Xhosa, and so on. Mr Soga had considerable success as he was assisted by a bright Sotho youngster who had worked in the Cape, Mr Jesse Makhothe, whose home is now in Rustenburg. Clearly the movement was uniting although some who heard him did not want the amalgamation of nations. During the year Rev (Dr) W.B. Rubusana<sup>5</sup> went to the Free State and engaged in an uphill struggle to secure the Free State parliament building for a meeting, as that struck the Boers as an evil omen, but through Mr Ramsbottom's sympathy, he succeeded in booking the building. On that day, a new assembly was established because

Mna ke ngobuxego ndinga ndingake ndimbuyisele emva kumnyaka we 1887 esiti, ngoka Tung'umlomo. Ngawo lomnyaka apa e Koloni kwayilwa kwamiselwa intlanganiso enkulu eyayino Mr. Goda Sishuba esihlalweni no Mr. J.T. Jabavu elusibeni, – ekwati kodwa kwakamsinya yaba no Mr. Thomas Mganda esihlalweni yaba ngu Mr. Jonathan Tunyiswa elusibeni. Lontlanganiso ke yanikwa igama lokuba yi South African Native Congress, (I Ngqungqutela). Abaseki bayo bebedibanisa yonke i Afrika ese Zantsi; koko ngezomini imibuso yayisahluhlukenene, i Transvaal ipetwe ngama B'ulu kunye ne Freyistati; ibe i Natala yayizipete yodwa, – asaze siqondane ke okunene, pofu sifumana ngamehlo njengoko atshoyo u Mr. Thema.

Ngomnyaka we 1904 i S.A. Native Congress yayihlangene e Macubeni eba-Tenjini, – i Free State apo yayinabameli abangaba Rev. Mr. Xaba no Mr. Twayi, i Transvaal yayinomtunywa nayo, koko igama lisandikohlile, urolorolo apa lendoda emabovu made. Lamasebe ke eza epete incwadi zawo i zokungena e Ngqungquteleni, ekubeni kwiminyaka angapambili ayemana ukuza njeng-ababoneli. Isihlalo ngezontsuku saba nomfi u Rev Wm. Phillip kuba wayengeko u Mr. Mganda.

Ngomnyaka we 1909 idibene le Ngqungqutela edolopini e Komani, eko u Dr. Abdurahman kunye nabalandeli bake kulo lonke; eko u Chief Silas Molema (obehlala ebako kwintlanguaniso zomzi) kunye namapakati atile; u Chief Mehlomakulu ako, – hai mandingabali magama, manditi injongo yalomhla yayi kukucasa u Manyano (Union) lwezizizwana, sisiti ama Bulu ayakusiwela kakubi asenzakalise, ngoko ke makwenziwe i Federation; asipulapulwanga isicelo setu, sati kanti nati sasinyanisile, – uyabona ke u Manyano lusenzakalisile!

Ngomnyaka 1910 kunyuke ebutsheni bawo u Mr. A.K. Soga waya e Transvaal wenza intlanganiso ezininzi apo ezama ukumanya umzi, kuba wawuzingcando ngengcando, – abe Sutu beneyabo intlanganiso, ama-Zulu, ama Xosa njalonjalo. Waba nayo impumelelo etile u Mr. Soga kuba wayence-diswa yindodana eqabukileyo yom Sutu, eyayike yasebenza e Koloni; igama ngu Mr. Jesse Makhothe, okaya lise Rustenburg ngoku. Yabonakala ibanye intlanganiso, zako noko impapela ezazingafuni kudibana nezinye izizwe. Kwangomnyaka we 1910, pakati kuwo kunyuke u Rev. (Dr.) W.B. Rubusana waya e Free State, ufike e Bloemfontein wazama nzima ecela intlanganiso ukuba ingenele kweziya zindlu ze Palamente yase Freyistati, yayi ke lonto isengumhlola kuma Bulu; kodwa ngenxa yobuntu buka Mr. Ramsbottom, waba nako ukuzizuzwa izindlu ezo. Ngawo lomhla kwaqalwa intlanganiso entsha kuba

a union of all the provinces was held to be eminently desirable – because there were those who considered the South African Native Congress a Cape movement. And so the South African Native Convention was established in Bloemfontein in 1910, opened by Rev Dewdney W. Drew with the words: “I am amazed that you have formed your Union whereas we whites are still struggling to do so! Here among you are a Sotho, a Zulu, a Xhosa, one person after another – with all four provinces represented.”

At that meeting the following were elected to office: President Dr W.B. Rubusana, Secretary Mr A.K. Soga, Treasurer Rev Mr Gabashane. At that point Mr Thema and Dr P. Seme were out of the country; such men as Mr Mangena were away, though Mr George Montsioa had just returned.<sup>6</sup>

In the years 1911–12 these men began to take up the reins in the work, because the country believed that men of intellect and knowledge had arrived, fit to serve the community; Mr Seme was much involved and demonstrated vigilance and love of the country. Mr Seme laid out the organisation of the government of the United States of America, printed a detailed Constitution of many pages and convened a meeting addressed by Mr Thema in Bloemfontein, where it was agreed to dissolve Dr Rubusana’s Convention and adopt the Congress because it was based on the broad American principles. In the event Dr Rubusana (because he was present) said he would report to the members of the Convention, and so a new chairman could not be elected for Congress, and so the presidency was passed to Rev. J.L. Dube.

I think I have helped you enough now, Mr Thema. Yet I do not claim there aren’t errors in some places, because the events happened a long time ago and I recall them from memory. I did not mention Natal before the Union, but their meetings are well recorded in Mr Mark S. Rhadebe’s newspaper *Iphepha lohlanga* and Rev J.L. Dube’s *Ilanga*.<sup>7</sup>

In 1914, the SANN Congress met in Bloemfontein in September. Its principal task was: (a) to raise funds for our representatives who were in England at that time to oppose the Land Act (b) to try to amend the far-reaching laws, which Mr Thema has correctly stated we have long been engaged in.

The meeting was chaired by Mr P. son of I. Seme and the four provinces were well represented; but news arrived at that time that Europe was at war and our representatives hurried back from England.

Let me close with this: “I am amazed that people of the Cape are ignorant of this Congress, yet it is the very thing they strove for long ago. At the present

kwakuzanywa ukuhlangatyezwa onke amapondo, – kuba kwati kupi kwako abati le South African Native Congress yintlanganiso yase Koloni. Kukuze ke ngo 1910 lowo kusekwe i South African Native Convention e Bloemfontein, eyavulwa ngu Rev. Dewdney W. Drew; wenza amazwi ati; “Ndiyamangaliswa kukuti kanti nina senilwenzile olwenu u Manyano sibe tina bamhlope sisaluzama! Kuni selelapa um-Sutu, um-Zulu, um-Xosa nomni nomni, – selelapa omane amapondo.”

Kuyo lontlanganiso kwanyulwa ngolu hlobo: President Dr. W.B. Rubusana, Secretary Mr. A.K. Soga, Treasurer Rev. Mr. Gabashane. Ngezomini ka Mr. Thema u Dr P. ka Seme akakabiko kweli lizwe; indoda eyayingati seyiko ngu Mr. Mangena, u Mr. Geo. Montsioa naye waye ngekabiko.

Ngomnyaka we 1911–12, aqalile ke lamadodana atabata intambo zomsebenzi kuba isizwe sasicinga ukuti kufike izazi zemfundi, ezizezona ziza kuwunceda umzi; wade yena u Mr. Seme wasondezwa kakulu naye wazibonisa ukupapama nokutanda isizwe. Urole (u Mr. Seme) imigaqo yokumiswa kombuso wase United States of America, washicilela amapepa amade kunene e Constitution, wamema yona ke lentlanganiso itetwa nguwe Mr. Thema, e Bloemfontein kwabonakala ukuba mayicitwe i Convention ka Dr. Rubusana, kwamkelwe le Congress kuba isekwe ngezisoko ezibanzi zase America. Okunene u Dr. Rubusana (kuba wayeko), wati usaya kushumayeza abantu be Konvenshoni ngoko abanakwamkela sihlalo okwangaku kwi Congress, kukuze ubu president buposwe ku Rev. J.L. Dube.

Ngati ndikupelakezelele ngokwaneleyo ke ngoku Mr Thema. Pofu ke anditsho ukuti ezindawo ndize nazo azina ziposo zazo, kuba zindawo zamzuzu, ndaye ndizib’ala nge ntloko.

I Natala anditetanga ngayo pambi ko Manyano, kodwa bezivakala kakuhle indibano zakona ngepepa lika Mr. Mark S Radebe, “Ipepa Lohlanga,” nelika Rev J.L. Dube “Ilanga.”

Ngomnyaka we 1914, i S.A.N.N. Congress yayihlangene kwase Bloemfontein, ngo September. Umsebenzi wayo omkulu yayi kuku (a) qokelela imali zabatunywa betu ababese Ngilane ngelo xesha beyekulwa “Umteto Wemihlaba.” (b) kukuzama ukulungisa umteto omde kunene, anyanisileyo u Mr. Thema ukuti usazanywa nanamhl’ oku ukulungiswa.

Intlanganiso yayipetwe ngu Mr P. ka I. Seme lowo, ako kakuhle omane amapondo; kodwa kwafika udaba ngelo xesha lokuba lifile e Yurophu, babuya bupututu abatunywa betu e Ngilane.

time they have passed it on to other nations who have adopted it, but for their own part they are ignorant of it." Keep up the good work, son of Selope Thema.

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**Mdushaneland**

The Mdushane occupy more than half of King Williams Town; the saying that the King Williams Town Council is from Tamarha refers to the Mdushane, because they are the only people who live down there at Tamarha, which includes Ntsikizi and Masele, and Qugqwala and Litye and Ngqoko. This area stretches from the Keiskamma at Ndobokazi to the outskirts of King Williams Town. The majority of the Mdushane constitute all the chiefs of the Ciskei, hence the Council is named after them, because they contribute the bulk of taxes; but what puzzles the Council at this time is that, since the Mdushane cannot see eye to eye with each other, they are represented by only the magistrate, and do not have a member from their own people.

The current ruling chief of the Mdushane is His Majesty Gushiphela.<sup>1</sup> He is a very handsome young man, who travels between Port Elizabeth, East London, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and so on, as well as among his people. The chief has a rectangular house, as well as rondavels. This has increased the number of rectangular houses at Tamarha, as well as in all the Mdushane districts, and most of them are made of stone.

Gushiphela's father is Menziwa, son of Siwani; Siwani is the son of Mdushane, the son of Ndlambe. The graves of Menziwa and his father Siwani are in Tamarha. They were very loyal to the government, always supporting the government in the continual wars between the Xhosa and the whites. Even within the community they enjoyed a good relationship with people;<sup>2</sup> the same applies to the current ruling chief – he is a kind-hearted chief, although from his looks one might exclaim "O! This is a monster!" It's the same with all the Mdushane chiefs.

The son of Mdushane with an unruly character is Matebese;<sup>3</sup> because of his belligerence he received no grant of land, but I'm not saying he would have been unsuccessful if he had approached the government in a humble manner

Mandigqibe ngeli: "Into endixakayo mna kukuti ama-Koloni angayazi i Congress le, kanti ikwayilanto yayizanywa ngawo kwanini. Ate namhla yakwa mkelwa zeziya zizwe ayeyisa kuzo, ajika akayazi." Kawuqube mfo ka Selope Thema.

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## Kwa Mdushane

Imi Dushane leyo ikwi siqingata se Qonce; xa i B'unga lase Qonce kutiwa lelase Tamara libizwa kanye ngemi Dushane kuba ngawo odwa ase Tamara apo, kudibanisa ne Ntsikizi no Masele, ne Qugqwala ne Litye ne Ngqoko; lonto iqalele e Xesi ku Ndobokazi, yesa emideni ye dolopu yase Qonce, – ubuninzi bemi Dushane bugubungele zonke inkosi ezinganeno kwe Nciba, akufumanange i Bunga libizwe ngayo, kungenxa yerafu yayo ubuninzi; pofu isimanga e Bungeni ngelixesha imi Dushane ngenxa yokunga tsali kunye nangemvisiswano, imelwe lilungu le mantyi qa, ayinalungu layo ngokwayo.

Inkosi yemi Dushane epeteyo ngoku ngu Mhlekezazi u Gush' ipela, yindodana enobom kakulu, ngumfo ohamba ema B'ayi, Monti, Kapa, Rauti, njalonzalo napakati kwamawabo; inkosi le inendlu yoxande, kwanezinye izindlu ezingama nqugwala. Lonto yenze ukuba zibe ninzi ingxande e Tamara, nakwilali zonke zemi Dushane, zinjalonje zikolisile ukuba zezamatye.

Uyise ka Gush' ipela lowo ngu Menziwa, into ka Siwani, u Siwani uzalwa ngu Mdushane, into ka Ndlambe. U Menziwa lowo no Siwani uyise, amancwaba abo ase Tamara. Ngamadoda abe mtobele kunene u Rulumente, asoloko enceda u Rulumente kwezimfazwe zilurorosi zama Xosa nabelungu, ukanti nasekaya ibengebafo relemnqa banto abantwini; injalo ke nenkosi le epeteyo ngoku, – yinkosi-emntu, nangani unguhle ubone noko ngezarwadi zamehlo ukuba O! Noko sisilwe esi! Zinjalo inkosi zakwa Mdushane.

Into ka Mdushane ibingeva yona yile bekutiwa ngu Matebese; yona ke ngenxa yokulwa oko ayibanga namhlaba wayo, noko ndingatshoyo ukuti ayingewuzuzi ku Rulumente xa iye ngokuzi toba yafika yazixela ukuba ayihlali ndawo, yona nabantu bakowayo. Ingawuzuzi ngentengo kwifama angati u Rulumente azizuze. Lo Matebese kaloku ngulo owati ngo Ncayicibi waya

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\* emelwe



and explained that he had no shelter, neither he nor his people. Land was available to purchase from the farms the government acquired. By the way, during Ngcayechibi's War this Matebese one day entered the Hoho forest, where Sandile was positioned. An observer reported that it was a terrible day indeed, a day we swallowed gunpowder – and Mdushane's son rode a grey horse, a cloak over his shoulders, urging on the warriors as he moved to and fro; that day his cloak was riddled with bullet holes – and the forest was filled with danger.

Siwani has three houses: (1) the Great House of Menziwa; (2) the Right Hand House of Gebashe; (3) and the Xhiba House of Qwetha, who is the child of Mgudlwa's daughter at Nkonjini. Menziwa is the child of the daughter of Dyafutwa of the Majola; Gebashe is the child of the daughter of Mthikrakra of the Thembu.<sup>4</sup> Ngcwelashe is a minor in the house of Qwetha; Gama is in the Great House. Siwani is the child of Nonibe the daughter of Mjikwa.<sup>5</sup> Seyisi, the son of Siwani in the supporting house to the Great House, ruled the Mdushane well while Menziwa was still a boy; even today Vizinto the son of Seyisi is a prominent figure among the Mdushane; his keen intellect outshines the many true scholars of Mdushaneland.

Did I say that Mdushane is actually Ndlambe's son? Yes, that's true; but he himself is not a Ndlambe. Why? Mdushane was handed by his father Ndlambe to Cebo; Cebo is the girl conceived on behalf of Mlawu by Ndlambe, but she had no brother; so Mdushane was sent to become the eldest son of that house. Mlawu is Ndlambe's older brother, both of them having as mother Nojoli, the wife of Rharhabe. Mlawu died without a child to succeed him as king. The Mdushane are therefore distinct, they are neither Ngqika nor Ndlambe. Nxele incited the army of these Mdushane into battle at Grahamstown; in fact Mdushane himself was in overall command of the allied army at the battle of Amalinde – when the Ngqika army was led by Maqoma son of Ngqika.

There are a great number of schools and churches in this Mdushane country, of a wide variety of denominations. There are Lutherans, who have a really solid building at Shushu, where the son of Maqina used to be minister; today the minister is the son of Yibe of the Cirha. There is a Presbyterian church in Mdushaneland under the son of Rubusana. The Anglican Church is also there, as well as the Ethiopian Orthodox. But the most popular are the Wesleyans. Mr Editor, I believe I have just told you about the arrival of the Wesleyan Church here at Tamarha – I said Siwani approached the missionaries at Mt. Coke

kungena emini ehlatini kwa Hoho, apo wayekona u Sandile. Uti owayekona yaba yimini embi kunene leyo, mhla iruluwa yakukutya kwetu, – waye umfo ka Mdushane ekwele kwinkabi engwevu, exakate ingubo, ewutetela umkosi ati epambili abe esemva; mhla yadutyulwa ingubo yalijacu, – kwangenwa ehlatini ngamabonandenzile.

Izindlu zika Ziwani zintatu (1) indlu Enkulu yeyakulo Menziwa; (2) eyase kunene ngu Gebashe. (3) I Xhiba ngu Qweta ozalwa yintombi ka Mgudlwa e Nkojini; u Menziwa uzalwa yintokazi ka Dyafutwa kwa Majola, u Gebashe uzalwa yintokazi ka Mtirara kwakuba Tembu. U Ngcweleshe yinkabi yakulo Qweta; u Gama yeyendlu Enkulu. U Siwani uzalwa ngu Nonibe intokazi ka Mjikwa. U Seyisi into ka Siwani eliqadi lendlu Enkulu, ngumfo oke wawupata kakuhle lomzi wemi Dushane ebambele u Menziwa eseyinkwenkwe; kanti nakusasanje umfo ka Seyisi u Vizinto useyinto ayiyo kwimi-Dushane ingqondo yake idubula itsho ngapaya kwezezimfundi zininzi kunene zakwa Mdushane.

U Mdushane kanene ndite yinto ka Ndlambe? Ewe kunjalo; kodwa akan-guye um-Dlambe yena. Ngani? U Mdushane wanikelwa ngu Ndlambe lowo uyise ukuba aye kuba kulo Cebo; u Cebo ke yinkazana eyayizalelwe u Mlau ngu Ndlambe, suke ayaze ibe nannakwayo; kukuze kuk'utshwe u Mdushane lo ke ayokuba yinkulu kulondlu. U Mlau ke ngumk'uluwa ka Ndlambe kunina omnye u Nojoli, umka Rarabe, wab'ub'a u Mlau lowo engekabi namtana umisel-weyo ebukosini. Imi Dushane ke ngoko izimele ngokwayo, ayima Ngqika, ayima Ndlambe. U Nxele wafunza e Rini ngomkosi wemi Dushane le; kunjalo u Mdushane ngenqu nguyeyepete umk'osi yabancedani mhla ngeduli lasema Linde, – owama Ngqika umk'osi upetwe ngu Maqoma ka Ngqika.

Izikolo netyalike zininzi kakulu kwelilizwe lemi Dushane, zaye zezamahl-elo\* ngamahlelo; kuko nama Luta, anomzi ongqindilili kunene kwa Shushu apo into ka Maqina ibisakuba ngumfundisi kona; ngoku yinto ka Yibe yasema Cireni. I Rabe iko kwa Mdushane ipetwe yinto ka Rubusana; i Tshetshi ikwako ne Tiyopiya yo Mzi; kanti ke ubuninzi bubu Wesile. Ndiba mhleli bendis-andul' ukukuvisa ngokufika kwe Wesile apa e Tamara, – ndati u Siwani waya kubafundisi e Nkangiso (Mt. Coke), wafika wabacela ukuba baye kumqalela esake isikolo e Tamara, njengoko uyisemkulu u Ndlambe sebemqalele e Mkangiso. Abafundisi basusa u Mvangeli Dyan Mfazi, no Mdolomba uyise womfundisi lo ukuba baye kuqandula. Ikomkulu lakupa u Nkutyulana Mali

\* zasezamahlelo

and asked them to help him establish his own school at Tamarha, as they had helped his grandfather Ndlambe at Mt Coke. The missionaries sent Evangelist Dyan Mfazi and Mdolomba, the father of this minister, to break the ground.<sup>6</sup> The Great Place released Nkutyulana Mali to take care of the converts, and he himself converted. The current minister is Rev Mr More, who works under Rev Mr Carr of Mt Coke.

The first minister to be sent to Tamarha was Chief William Shaw Khama.<sup>7</sup> Before long the Gqunukhwebe came to fetch him: they were not much interested in his being a minister, they had it fixed in their heads that he was their chief. In those days Tamarha was divided in two – on the far side was the school, an extensive and really attractive area. The community was opposed to traditional custom. It was committed to education, and loved it: the family would gather to pray for the member going to school at Healdtown. Above the river was the substantial Great Place, a community of red people who resisted conversion; the chief ruled that anyone going to the school area should wear trousers. Dyan Mfazi's descendants are still devoted to promoting the word in that district, as are Mdolomba's. Today that vast community of red people is filled with rectangular houses, and the school has extended its buildings. The minister's house is under construction in stone; there are four teachers.

The Mdushane are especially fond of livestock more so than agriculture – the wealthy have made their money on livestock. But there is not much grazing ground, particularly now that most people opt for sheep farming, and use a lot of grass. Large livestock like cattle don't do well in such conditions, but horses are not troubled – a Mdushane and his horse! Watch out! The sons of Macanda of the Mpinga at Tyeni have been trying to start a shop here, and take their business seriously. In recent years people are going in for agriculture – the importance of education is sinking in, teachers in Mdushaneland are nearly all Mdushane. The cultivation of trees is not yet understood, but how beautiful some of the Mdushane houses are!

Siwani's Mjikwa's daughter's son who gets people working!<sup>8</sup>

News about him they preach to each other –

saying Oh dear! Siwani's still sleeping.

Judge of foreigners he kept on killing.

Prince with an old man's heart:

he shows us rest we'd grown unfamiliar with,

ukuba agcine amagqoboka, wasel' egqoboka naye. Umfundisi o koyo ngoku ngu Rev Mr. More, opantsi ko Rev. Mr. Carr wase Mkangiso.

U-Mfundisi wokuqala owatunyelwayo e Tamara ngu Chief Wm. Shaw Kama ekwati kungabanga pi amputuma ama Gqunukwebe, akakatala bubu-fundisi bake, aqonda wona into enye, le yokuba eyinkosi yawo. Ngezomini i Tamara lalahlulwe kabini, – ngapesheya isisikolo, – inqili enkulu entle kunene; umzi ubucase amasiko: umzi obufundisa, uyitanda imfundo: bahlanganiswe kwenziwe imitandazo pezu kosapo xa luya emfundweni e Healdtown. Ngapesheya kwentlambo ibiyi ngqindilili yakomkulu, impi ebomvu yamaqaba; inkosi yayenze umteto wokuba makunxitywe ib'ulukwe ngumntu xa awelela ngasesikolweni. Inzala ka Dyan Mfazi isaquba ilizwi ngamandla kwelozwe, ngokunjalo eka Mdolomba. Lonqindilili yesiqaba seyizele zizindlu zengxande ngoku, nesikolo eso siqubele pambili ngokunye ngezakiwo: indlu yomfundisi iyakiwa ngamatye; itishala zine.

Imi-Dushane iyayitanda kakulu imfuyo ngapezulu nakuno limo, – izityebi zayo zikolise ngokuba ngabafo abatyebe ngemfuyo. Kodwa idlelo lona aliko kangako; kude kwangakumbi kuyo leminyaka ikufupi nje ekute kwasuke-lwa kunene imfuyo yegusha, igqiba kakulu incha. Impahla enkulu ezinkomo ayibanga nakumila yona kulonto, noko amahashe akacukunyiswanga wona yilonto, – umfo wakwa Mdushane nehashe! kwak! Abafo abakade bezama ivenkile apa zinto zasema Mpingeni zika Macanda e Tyeni, lawo ke akadlali ngeshishini. Ulimo noko nalo luyalandelwa kuleminyaka, – imfundo iyaqala nayo iyaqondwa, ititshala zakwa Mdushane zipantse zafundisa kwa Mdushane, – utyalo lwemiti alukaqondwa, kodwa hayi ubuhle benxalenye yemizi yemi-Dushane!

U Siwani sisangqwaka sentombi ka Mjikwa!

U Ndabangaye bayashumayezana, –

Bat' u Siwan' uyawalele yinina

U Mgwebi wamof' ibuy' ibulale

Mntan' enkos' intliziyo lixego, –

Kub' usibonis' ukulala singasakwazi,

even today we fall asleep easily;  
he says he looks after Ngwityi's family.

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## People of the Nation

I.B. MBELLE

The Honourable Government of the Union has seen fit to relieve the son of Mbelle called Soziwe, Isaiah, from his extremely difficult job of interpreting and explaining the opinions of the government to the people, and of explaining the opinions of the people to the government: he was an interpreter of words, thoughts and opinions.<sup>1</sup> You will find the great man at Marabastad, in Pretoria.

Why do we say this was a difficult job when it looks easy? Not too long ago a court interpreter said to me: "My dear Nzulu, don't forget to include us in your prayers. We have a difficult job to do because day after day we confront the stupidity of our people, getting themselves into trouble, poisoning themselves, killing themselves, and we must just be mouthpieces, we can't help or say anything!" I understood this fellow clearly, because he spoke with conviction and concluded by saying, "And so, my man, it is difficult for us!"

AT BURGERSDORP

This son of Mbelle is from Burgersdorp, together with other Mbelles who were also of great help to the nation, and served as interpreters for the government in many different ways. This Burgersdorp is a centre of nations: a child from this place needs to know all four major languages of this country, English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and Sotho. However, the Boers dominated this town even before the war between the Boers and the English; and although everyone enjoys a good standard of living, it's said that no one enjoys a better standard of living than the Boer. To this day they still control that town; but people like the son of Motsieloa the poet and musician<sup>2</sup> come from this town. All the best, Burgersdorp, we'll keep watching!!

CHARLOTTE MAXEKE

Father Manyano has seen fit to give Mrs C. Maxeke a rest, a lady who walked an extra mile explaining the views of the human race to the government and

Nanamhla sisev' ubutongo;  
Uti ke yen' ugcin' usapo luka Ngwityi.

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### Abantu Besizwe

I.B. MBELLE

Kufumaneke kulungile ku Mhlekezzi u Rulumente wo Manyano ukuba ayipumze into ka Mbelle u Soziwe yena, u Isaiah, kumsebenzi wayo onzima kunene wokutolika acacise izimvo zika Rulumente ebantwini, aze acacise izimvo zabantu ku Rulumente ubeyitoliki yamazwi, nengcinga, nezimvo. Nantso into enkulu e Marabastad, e Pretori.

Sitsho ngani ukuba lomsebenzi ubunzima, ngati ulula nje? Ndake ndeva itoliki yemantyi mzuzu isiti kum: "Mfondini Nzulu sanukuyeka nati ukusitan-dazela, lomsebenzi wetu unzima kuba izolo namhla sibona ubudenge babantu bakowetu, bezeyelisela, bezidlisa, bezibulala, kufuneka tina sibe ngamaXilongo nje singacebisi singatini!" Watsho lomfo ndamva, kuba utete kakulu wagqiba ngeliti, – "Ke mfondini kunzima kuti!"

E BEKESDOLOPU

Lomfo ke ka Mbelle ngumfo wase Bekesdolopu, kanye nabanye oMbelle abakwa yinto esizweni ngoncedo, nabakwa zitoliki pantsi ko Rulumente ngen-dlela ngendlela. Lendawo iyi Bekesdolopu sisazulu sezizwe umntana wakona ufanelwe ukuzazi zone ilwimi ezinkulu zalomhlaba, isi Ngesi, isi B'ulu, isi Xosa, nesi Sutu. Pofu lomzi ubu B'ulu bawo bubukulu kwapambi kwemfazwe le yama B'ulu nama Ngesi; kanti noko intlalo yawo ibintle, kube pofu kusitiwa akuko ntlalo intle ebu B'ulwini. Nanamhlanje ase namandla kolozwe; kodwa into zo Motsieloa imbongi nemvumi zipuma apo, Pambili Bisdolopu sisajongile!!

CHARLOTTE MAXEKE

Kufumaneke kulungile kanjalo ku Bawo u Manyano ukuba amnike ukupumla u Mrs. C. Maxeke intokazi ebikade isiwa ivuka icacisa izimvo zoluntu ku Rulumente, nezika Rulumente eluntwini. Yintokazi ebikade ikulula la apo

the views of the government to the human race.<sup>3</sup> She is a lady who resolves problems and removes barriers, assisting both sides. To this day no man can get the better of this woman in a fight, and in explaining to a white person what a black person is saying. This lady received advanced education in American Colleges. People say that American education cannot be returned to Africa, to offer assistance; but Nzulu says the education of this woman returned.

Mrs Maxeke is a Sotho, the daughter of Manye: she used to live in Uitenhage in the Cape, she went to America to study, and in that country met a Nywabe fellow, the Mr who later became Rev Marshall Maxeke, a Gqunukhwebe.<sup>4</sup> They produced one boy; but they have a very large family. I'm not inclined to go into detail on church affairs, I'll just touch on it lightly and say she is the founder of the AME Ethiopian Church here in this African country, because Rev M.M. Mokone used his contact with the AME Church in America to plough the soil.<sup>5</sup>

#### R.V. SELOPE THEMA

As I write this gentleman<sup>6</sup> is in the Cape, travelling with Mrs Maxeke through East London, Alice, Peelton and the Transkei, holding meetings on building communities and nations. This fellow is a Sotho of Pedi origin, as are Mr S.M. Makgatho and Rev M.M. Mokone.<sup>7</sup> This nation has produced for us national figures who stand alone.

This Pedi nation in Zoutpansberg was found in darkness by a Xhosa minister named Gwayi Tyamzashe of Peelton.<sup>8</sup> He preached the Word in Kimberley, people were converted, they studied and studied; even today the country is guided by the sons of his students – as are the paths of the One Above! Today that country still has a long line of priests who are harvesting the fruit of this Ngwevu fellow. Mr Selope Thema says that when he first saw a white person, he thought he had been skinned alive; only a few days later did he realise that "Oh no! This person was made like that." He also mentions that on a visit to England he heard a white child saying "Oh dear! He hasn't washed his hands." He said this after seeing the back of his hands; when he turned them over and he saw the palms he said, "Goodness! the palms are still dirty: he hasn't washed them yet!" With these two stories the son of Thema mocks ignorance, labelling it evil; in other words, knowledge is needed for people to understand each other, and other nations and other lands, in order to foster Christian unity; Christ should be known on earth as in Heaven.

kuxakeki leyo, ivule apo kute shinyi incede ku macala amabini.\* Nanamhlanje akuko ndoda ingahlula lomfazi ngokulwa ukuvisa umntu omhlope into etetwa ngumntu ontsundu. Lentokazi yafunda imfundo enzulu kwi Koleji zase Melika. Bati abantu imfundo yase Melika ayigoduki ize apa e Afrika, izo kunceda; kodwa uti u Nzulu yena igodukile le yalomfazi.

U-Mrs. Maxeke lo ngum-Sutukazi, intombi ka Manye: obesa kuba se Tinara e Koloni, waya kufundiswa e Melika, wabonana kwelozwe nomfo wasema Nywabeni, u Mr. owati kamva wangu Rev. Marshall Maxeke, um-Gqunukwebe, bazele umfo wamnye; noko lukoyo ulwangwili lona losapo. Ndingena ukungena nzulu kwinto ze tyalike, sendiyakutata pezulu nditi, i Tiyopiya le ye AME ngumsekikazi wayo lo kwelilizwe lase Afrika; kuba u Rev. M.M. Mokone walima ngayo ukuze abonane ne A.M.E. Church e Melika.

#### R.V. SELOPE THEMA

Ndib'ala nje nankuya e Koloni lomnumzana, ekunye no Mrs. Maxeke lowo, kozi Monti, Dike, Ncemera nase Transkei, bahamba besenza intlanganiso, zokwaka umzi nezizwe. Lomfo ngum Sutu wabaya siti ngaba Pedi kunye no Mr. S.M Makgatho, no Rev M.M. Mokone. Esisizwe sisizalele abantu bohlanga abangabancedi.

Elozwe laba Pedi, e Zoutspansberg lafikelwa lisesebumnyameni ngumfundisi wom Xosa ongu Gwayi Tyamzashe wase Ncemera, washumayela i Lizwi esuka e Kimbili, baguquka abantu, bafunda, bafunda; nanku ke namhla, ilizwe lijikezwa ngunyana wabafundi bake, – zinjalo indlela za Lo Upezulu! Elozwe namhla selineqela labafundisi abavuna isiqamo salomfo wasema Ngwevini. Uti u Mr. Selope Thema wati mhla wabona umntu omhlope, wacinga ukuba lomntu wahlinzwa ehleli; seleqonda sekuzintsuku ukuba O! hayi lomntu udalwe njalo. Uti kanjalo wati mhla waya e Ngilane, weva umtwana womlungu esiti yini akazihlambanga izandla zake; watsho esabone izandla ngasemva, ute akujikela ngapambili akumbona ubuso wati "tyini nobuso busemdaka akakabuhlambi!" Ngalomabali omabini ke oka Thema ugxeke ubudenge, uti yinto embi enjalo; ngako oko luyafuneka ulwazi lokwazana kwabantu, ne zizwe, nentlanga, kona ukuze kusetyenzwe ubunye bobu Krestu; aziwe u Krestu emhlabeni njengase Zulwini.

\* amabi



Keiskammahoek

Mr Editor, – Allow me to offer your readers a few remarks on my visit to the Keiskammahoek area, and in particular St Matthews school. To get there I travelled from Ndlambe territory up to King Williams Town, where I parted from the fire wagon;<sup>1</sup> then I took the wagon whose nature we don't yet understand, the one called a Bus. My, oh my! This thing went hard at it, raising dust like an iguana in sight of a pool, we rattled through potholes to get up to Mngqesha, to reach Ngqeqe, and then to cross the Rhabula. When I came out on top of Mngqesha I saw the back of Ntaba kaNdoda and I said to myself this is the first time I'm seeing this man's rump<sup>2</sup> and it's thrust out, –

like a rhino's hump  
with the shaggy mane  
of a lion;  
squatting like a hippo  
of Crocodile Creek.

When we made it over the Rhabula river, I said it would be a good thing if the inhabitants did not take after this river, because, as I saw it:

This Rhabula river's tricky;  
it twists along on its way;  
it rages, writhes, beckons;  
it dives in, pops up, flows on;  
clouds over, drops down, runs straight.

In short, we twisted this way and that until we crossed the upper Keiskamma, and so we came to Keiskammahoek, or Qoboqobo. Oh! You arrived on a bad day today, because this isn't the day the St Matthews truck runs – so we had to walk, and oh dear, we did just that until we were poured out at the boarding school, where we found Kuze's son<sup>3</sup> as minister, and we conversed and chatted, and shared ideas and opinions; we heard of the local rivers, –

**Kwa Qoboqobo**

Nkosi Mhleli, – Kawuvume ndike ndenzele abafundi bako amanqakwana omhla endandiye kubona izwe lakwa Qoboqobo, ngakumbi isikolo eso sase Mtwaku. Apo ndisuke kona ndisuke kwizwe lakwa Ndlambe, yekoko ukunyuka ukuya e Qonce, kulapo ke seshiyene kona nenqwelo yomlilo; ndatata ngoku inqwelo esingekayazi ukuba yeyantonina, le kutiwa yi Bus. Yeka wena! Ihlabe kalukuni into leyo, into elutuli ngati loluka xam ejonge esizibeni, ibe ngamagingxikingxiki ukuya kuqabela e Mnqhesha, ukuya kuvelela i Ngqeqe, yekoko ukuya kuwela i Rabula. Ndite xa nditi tya e Mnqhesha pezulu ndawubona umva we “Ntaba ka Ndoda” ndavakala ndisitsho ndisitshi kumhla ndiwubonayo ke umva walendoda; yaye lento ite puhle, –

Sabukombera ngesixanti,  
Yakayaka ngesinchi,  
Sabu ngonyam' induna;  
Nzinzilili ngokwemvubu.  
Yase Mlambongwenya.

Site kaloku xa sinqumnqumla i Rabula ndati kungaba kuhle ukuba abemi balomlambo abawufuzanga; kuba kum usuke wanje:

Lomlamb' i Rabul' unamaqinga;  
Uyabijabijel' ukuhamba kwawo;  
Uti latyu, uti bije, uti tya;  
Uti gontshi uti gqi, uti ngqo;  
Uti gubu, uti tshoni, uti tse.

Ngelifutshane sijikajike sade sayakuliwela i-Xesi pezulu; kanti njalo seyikufika kwetu e Keiskama Hoek; apo ke kukwa Qoboqobo. O! nifike ngomhla ombi namhlanje; kuba i lorry yase Mtwaku asiyiyo imini yayo le, – ngako oko masihlabe ngesika Tshiwo; hayi ke okunene senjenjalo sade saya kugaleleka e Sinaleni, safikwela kwinto ka Kuze umfundisi, saxoxa, sancokola, sadl' imbadu, namavo; sayiv' imilambo yalapa, –

the Qoboqobo and Nqolonqolo,  
 the Nqolonqolo and Gwiligwili,  
 the Gwiligwili and Nyhithinyhithi,  
 the Nyhithinyhithi and Qoboqobo.

CLANS

At this point I wanted to know about the local clans; not just to hear about them, but to see where they were and what they were doing. The reader will understand that the man I was visiting has a motor car, I mean Kuze's son. And yet at the start the man I was visiting was the Warden, the man in charge, the son of Cardross Grant with whom I privately planned this trip in Alice, at a Christian Conference, where we met and got on well and came up with the idea of visiting each other. But today this servant of God and I missed each other because I arrived to find a note saying unfortunately we'd miss each other; but everything and every place I wanted to see was open to me, his assistants would show me around. Here let me leave the Institution and

TAKE TO THE COUNTRYSIDE.

I saw the extensive village of my chief, Wulana of the Zizi, known as Gwiligwili, where the meeting of discontented chiefs is usually held. I saw the Kuzes of Socishe, who upped and left, taking with them the Thwaku, who were known for keeping boiled maize to themselves; on to the Dontsas; and Ncokoca, the source of the Khubusi, which cannot be crossed by cowards; the Ndlovu fall under the Kuzes in Socishe. At this point Zala Solilo's poem<sup>4</sup> about Canon Binyon came strongly to mind:

A strong<sup>5</sup> man this Jingqi fellow,  
 who came in through Mjodi and left through Mbali  
 in seizing piles of Socishe's produce,  
 who glares at Nyhithinyhithi, the mountain of character.

I heard all about the Tolo of Ntontela's Gxulu, a place clearly on the go as there is already a large house for the one minister who lives there, Limekhaya's son. It was lovely to meet him, and we reminded each other of Port Elizabeth. I was shown the Nqolonqolo of Mdledle, who is in Alexandria; I used to know the daughters of Mashologu from there, who struck us Ndlambe as beautiful,

O Qoboqobo ne Nqolonqolo,  
I-Nqolonqolo ne Gwiligwili;  
I Gwiligwili no Nyhitinyhiti,  
U-Nyhitinyhiti no Qoboqobo.

IZIZWE

Kwesi situba nditande ukuke ndizive izizwe ezilapa; ndingaziva kodwa, ndide ndibone nokuma kwazo ukuba kunokwenzeka. Umfundi uyakuqonda ke ukuba indoda endilundwendwe lwayo ine motokari, nditeta oka Kuze. Pofu ekuqaleni indoda endilundwendwe lwayo yi Warden, oko kukuti ngumnini mzi into ka Cardross Grant, esilucweye kunye oluhambelo e Dikeni, kulo Ngqungqutela ibikona yama Kristu, apo sibonene sabukana, sagqibela ngolutyelelo. Kute kanti isicaka se Nkosi nanamhla siyakuposana, kuba ndifike sekuko incwadi eti, hayi siposene kanjalo; kodwa yonke into nendawo ofuna ukuyibona uvulelekile, zokubonisa izandla zam. Make ndiyishiye apa ke isinala ndike ndifike,

NDITABATE UMPANDLE.

Ndisibonile isixangxati selali yenkosi yam, u Wulana ema Zizini; kwatiwa li Gwiligwile ke elo; eli intlanganiso yamakosi ihlala incurunela ukuhlanganela kona. Ndiwabonile ama Kuze ka Socishe, ezona nto zimke zemka, zatabata imi Twaku leya kanye bekusakutiwa inantsa inkobe; lonto ke kude kuse ko Dontsa; wati no Ncokoca lowo ke ngulowa lipuma kuye i Kubusi, eli lingawelwayo ngamagwala; i Ndlovu ibekwa kwesi sama Kuze ku Socishe. Kwesi situba ndicinge kakulu nge Zala lento ka Solilo xa ibonga inkanunu into ka Binyon isiti:

Mbanyaru yendoda lomfo wakulo Jingqi,  
Int' eyangena ngo Mjodi yapuma ngo Mbali;  
Mhla yawutat' oka Socish' omifuno mininzi,  
Ujamel' u Nyhitinyhiti intab' enezikwa.

Ama Tolo ndiwalazele e Gxulu lika Ntontela; umzi ekubonakele ukuba uyaquba, kuba sekuko indlukazi yomnye umfundisi, oselehlala kona, into ka Limekaya, ekube mnandi naye sakubonana, sakukumbuzana nge Bayi-Ndlovu. Lalatiwe i Nqolonqolo lika Mdledle ose Mnyameni; apo bendisakuzazela kona into zika Mashologu ezintombi bezisakubantle kuti ma-Ndlambe, – ama Belekazi akwa Dlambulo. Ndiyibuzile inkosi yam into ka Pakade u Dlamini,

Bhele women of Dlambulo. I asked after my chief, Dlamini the son of Phakade, and someone said he was at the Nqhumeya river. I crossed the Nxalawe often. The Nyhithinyhithi mountain faces the boarding school. What's this? Even when the sun is overhead it is still in shadow. The Kuzes have withdrawn from here, although initially converts supported this boarding school, most of them Xhosa; the sons of Philip were stationed there, the sons of Gola and others. Let me skip Debe, which is also Keiskammahoek; I am talking of people like Njikelana, Madubela, Mgodana; and I caught sight of Peteni's son going to work.

#### BOMA PASS ROAD

The next day Kuze's son stoked up his motorcar, and took me off to see the Keiskamma river pass known as Boma Pass; there the Ngqika tried to bring back Africa; it is a place I had a passionate desire to see.<sup>6</sup> We turned two or three tight corners in that new car, – and when I asked him the name of the car he said it had no name. So I said Oh! I'll give it a name, because down where I come from we're familiar with A.M. Jabavu's *Raise the Nation* and T.B. Soga's *Celebrated*, which I'm sad to say burnt in the shed with many of this gentleman's possessions. So I said

This wagon is "Roarer,"  
 roaring for Keiskammahoek,  
 and the Keiskamma springs;  
 we're lumping together  
 Debe and Xukwane;  
 we climbed Dacre's Hill,  
 went up the Keiskamma;  
 the lovely lady's wagon, –  
 lovely lady of Burgersdorp.<sup>7</sup>

It wasn't long before I heard the minister say, "Here's the stone!" and he brought Roarer to a stop; I glanced to the right and no lie! I jumped out and climbed on top of the stone, and gazed at the contour of the landscape and realised in a flash that these men were as much oppressed as those in the biblical story.<sup>8</sup> They are right to proclaim us Pokitalisi.<sup>9</sup>

wat' umntu nanko e Nqhumeya. I Nxalawe ndiyiwele futi. U Nyhitinyhiti yintaba ejongene nesinala le, – yinile! Lide lipume libe pezulu ilanga lento ise netunzi! Apa kute dedelele kwa ama Kuze; nakuba kuqala yayingama kolwa, axasa isinala le, inkoliso ingama Xosa, apo into zo Philip bezisa kuma kona, nezo Gola nezinye. Mandilishiye i Debe noko likwa ngu Qoboqobo; nditsho o-Njikelana, Madubela, Mdodana; oka Peteni ndimbone ngeliso esinga emsebenzini wake.

#### BOOMAH PASS ROAD

Ivutele imotokari yayo ngenye imini into ka Kuze, yekoko ukumka nam ukuya kundibonisa ingxingwa ye Xesi eyaziwa ngokuba yi Boomah Pass; apo ama Ngqika ayingela ukuyibuyisa kona i Afrika; yaye indawo leyo ndiyinqwenela ngamandla. Site jikejike kabini katatu sikwele kumcagogo lowo wekari, – endite ndakubuzwa ukuba ngubanina igama lawo, wati umniniwo hayi ayina gama! ndite ke o! ndiyakuyitiya ke mna igama, kuba ngasezantsi ngapa siqele o Pakamis' isizwe eyoka Jabavu A.M. no Dumalisile eyoka Soga T.B. endilusizi ukuti leyo tshele eshedini kunye nempahla eninzi yomnumzana lowo. Ndite ke

Lenqwelo ngu "Gqumayo,"  
O Gqumel' u Qoboqobo,  
Nemitombo ye Xesi;  
U Debe ne Xukwane  
Siyazishwankatela;  
U Donsa simqabele  
I Xesi silikweze;  
Inqwelo yo Be'lukazi, –  
U Be'lukazi lwase Bekesdolopu.

Kute kungepi ndeva umfundisi selesiti, "Nali ke ilitye!" watsho emmisa u Gqumayo; ndite jezu ngasekunene O! okunene; ndatsho nditsiba pantsi, ndiqabela pezu kwalo ndilongalanga ubume bomhlaba, ndaqonda ukuba kwak! Lamadoda ayecinezalwe kanye ngokwama bhali ebabile! Afanele ukusimema i "Pokitalisi."

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE STONE,

which I did not translate into our language, reads as follows: "Boomah Pass Road. Constructed Dec. 1853 by order of His Excellency Lt. Gen. The Hon. Sir George Cathcart KCB. Governor. By the Royal Engineer-Department. The working Party consisted of Detachments of the 6th Royal Regiments and 60th Royal Rifles Under the direction of Lieutenant HR Siborne Royal Engineer."

I saw no other writing on the stone, and the stone was out in the open, with no attempt made to conceal it. The battle fought here was the start of a very long war, more expensive to the whites in cost and lives than all the wars we fought against the whites. The army that was here was Sandile's very own,

Tinkling Ornament,  
 he flutters over Vece,  
 the rocky Keiskamma.  
 Honeysucker that declines running water,  
 he drinks muddy water, scared to stoop his mouth.

At that time Col McKinnon (Makanana) commanded the white army. We are reluctant to refer to the host of soldiers who died in that gorge.

We returned with the minister after taking a stone from that place to build a memorial at home. We reached Zingcuka, turned and went home.

Let me stop at this point, Editor. On another day I will tell you about the boarding school, its origin and history. But for now, greetings, sir!!

AT ST MATTHEWS COLLEGE

Reader, I gave you news of the Keiskammahoek surroundings, and I said I'd return with news of the College. By the way, let me say the countryside here is very sloping; when you plant you have to plant on these hillsides. The water is lovely and sweet because the rivers are tributaries of the Keiskamma, which is renowned for its pleasant water. The lands are bountiful on these slopes, although there was not much of a bounty this year because of drought; it occasionally rains heavily in these mountains, and they get food first, while others are still hungry. The extensive school grounds are located in the territories of

UMB'ALO ELITYENI

andiwuguqulanga ngenteto yetu, wenjenje: "Boomah Pass Road. Constructed Dec. 1853 by order of His Excellency Lt. Gen. The Hon. Sir George Cathcart KCB. Govenor. By the Royal Engineer-Department. The working Party consisted of Detachments of the 6th Royal Regiments and 60th Royal Rifles Under the direction of Lieuftebant HR Siborne Royal Engineer."

Andibonanga mbalo ungapezu koku apo elityeni, laye nelitye likwa ngulomkotyulwa wasendle, lingenziwanga nento yakuqulungwa. Lemfazwe yayiliwa apa ke sisiqalo semfazwe ende kunene, enendleko emlungwini, zemali nezemi-pefumlo, ngapezu kwazo zonke imfazwe esizilwileyo namagwangqa. Lomkosi ke wawulapa yayingoka Sandile ngenqu,

U Mgolombane,  
I Ndand' akovece,  
U Xesi magqagala  
U Nchunch' ayiseli kwabalekayo,  
Isel' ezadungeni ngokoyik' umlom' ukugoba.

Umpati wemikosi yabelungu oko yayingu Col McKinnon (uMakanana). Impi eyafela kulongxingwa ngawo lomhla yabaninzi asitandi kuyixela.

Sijike sabuya nomfundisi, ndakuba nditabate ilitye lalendawo, lokwenza isikumbuzo ekaya. Sifikile e Zinchuka, sajika sagoduka.

Ngati mandipeze kulendawo Mhleli ngemini ezayo ndiya kukwenzela ezase Sinaleni nokuvela kwayo, nonyaka wayo. Okwa kaloku kawu Bhote Lau-ndini!!

E ST. MATTHEWS COLLEGE

Sendikwenzele kambe mfundi indaba zompandle wakwa Qoboqobo ndade ndatsho nokutsho ukuti ndiyakubuye ngokwenza ezase Kolejini. Gxebe mandike nditsho kanjalo ukuti kwelilizwe kumiwe kakulu emaxandekeni; nokulinywa ku linywa kwakuwo lomageduka; amanzi ako, mahle amnandi, kuba zizibaxa ze Xesi, umlambo odume ngamanzi ayolileyo. Lamasimi ke asikuko nokuba anencumo kulamageduka, nakuba nonya ka nje kungabangako lucumo lungaka nani ngenxa yelanga; imvula kwezi ntaba ibako kakulu ngamanye amaxesha,\* kutyiwe kuqala abanye besalambile. Lomzikazi ke wesikolo nanko pakati kwelali ka

\* amaxeshe



SOCISHE AND WULANA,

the Kuze and the Zizi people; it faces the little Nyhithinyhithi mountain that I've already mentioned, so that during the day there is no sunshine on the western section and the houses there probably feel it. The grounds back onto a large mountain, but when I asked its name no one could tell me. Many indigenous trees stand in the grounds, but I don't know about the sun in summer; I think it could be harmful, because there are dense acacias between the houses. Yet there are fruit trees, but many more need to be planted. The dam that supplies fields and people was well constructed in the Kuze area, near the pretty village of Middledrift; it holds water that flows strongly down the furrow to the College and is especially sweet. The road from Stutterheim to Alice past Middledrift cuts through the College; so this place is not a wilderness, as some people might think.

THE TOWN

The town of Qoboqobo, known as Keiskammahoek, is no more than two miles from the College. The post runs between them on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The town is still small, and I have no idea when it will ever grow big. It has a hotel and post office, a recruiting office for the mines, and fewer than five stores. A bridge for wagons and cars is being built here at the town over the upper Keiskamma to get to the College; this is highly valued by the school and rapid progress is being made with the bridge. In the past, this little settlement was a military camp to prevent the Xhosa from scaling the mountains from the Khubusi side to wreak destruction from the west. Those soldiers who were killed in the Boma Pass were en route from Middledrift to this camp.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE

As Rev Kuze and I were moving about the College, we met other individuals, heads of educational departments like the Sub-Warden, because the Warden was away that day. We saw the boarding master, whom we had met at a Christian conference at Fort Hare College, where we were both in Mr Luthuli's group. We met the woodwork master and we chatted as if we had known each other for a long time. He and another were impressed by the beautiful work the boys had achieved at home, using nothing but their hands, without tools. This shows that a boy can start something at home and work on it, and not depend on tools he does not have, which has led many carpenters to abandon

## SOCISHE NEKA WULANA

Ama Kuze nama Zizi; ujongene nentatyana esendiyikankanyile ka Nyitinyiti, ndati ide ibete imini lingekavelilanga ngasentshonalanga kuyo, nemizi elapa ifanele ukuba ibe iya yiva lonto. Ngasemva umzi lo wayame kwa ngonqhu-zula olukulu lwentaba, endibe ku buza igama layo andabi nabani undiwezayo. Imiti yemvelo iko kakulu pakati komzi apa, kangangokuba ehlotyeni andazi ukuba ilanga libatinina; kodwa ndicinge ukuba linokuba yingozi, kuba lem-inga ite shinyi pakati kwekaya. Imiti etyelweyo iko pofu nayo, kodwa ifuna kakulu ngongezwa. Idama eliseza ama simi nabantu lenziwe kulolali yama Kuze kufupi nomzi lo e Xesi lihle, lomelele; namanzi ampompoza kakuhle ukuhla nomjelo lowo ukuza emzini, aye emnandi kanye. Indlela epuma e Cumakala isiya e Dikeni nase Middle Drift, icanda kanye e Kolejini apa; ngako oko asiyiyo indawo ekuse ntlango, njengoko omnye angacinga njalo.

## IDOLOPU

Idolopu yakwa Qoboqobo le kutiwa yi Keiskama Hoek, nesitutyana apa e Kolijini esingengapezulu kwemayile ezimbini. Kubaleka iposi pakati kwazo ngom-Vulo nolwesi- Tatu nolwesi-Hlanu katatu ngeveki, mzana lo uyidolopu usemncinane noko ndingaziyo ukuba woze ubuye ube mkulu kangakananina. Unehotele neposi, nomzi wabagayi, nevenkile ezingeze zadlula esandleni. Kuko ibuloro eyakuhamba inqwelo nemoto, eyakiwayo pezu kwe Xesi apa e dolopini ipumela e Kolejini; le nto ke iligugu kakulu emzini yaye ikauleziswa nebuloro leyo. Lomzana ke ngemini zamzuzu wawuyi kampi yamajoni agcine ukuba a Ma Xosa angaqabeli ezintabeni evela ngasema Kubusi, aze aye ku tshabalalisa ngasentshonalanga. Lawa majoni abulawelwa e Boomah Pass aye sendleleni\* esuka e Middle Drift esiza kuyo le kampi.†

## IBALI LE KOLEJI

Site ekuhamba hambeni pakati kwe Koleji le no Mfundisi into ka Kuze, sabonana nezinye izinqonqo kaloku, abapati bamasebe atile emfundo abanje nge Sub-Warden kuba i Warden yayingeko ngezo ntsuku. Umgcini wamakwenkwe simbonile naye, saye sasibonene kwase Kolejini yase Fort Hare kwi Komfa yama Krestu, nakwi Group sasikwi Group enye ka Mr. Lutuli. Irolorolo

\* *sendlelani*

† *le ampi*

their workshop and take up another trade, because they lack tools at home. We could not but admire this man for the work he was doing. We heard that the boys' dining hall was going to be renovated, – and it is indeed out of date.

I was ever keen to hear from the men I met about the establishment of the College community, when and why it came into existence. And these men knew all these details, and others told me the story, and they explained it very well, but there were gaps in their account as is always the case with stories handed down from long ago. But I came across a large book called *The Digest of S.P.G. Records*, where the work of the Anglican Church in this country is recorded.<sup>10</sup> As I examined it I found that in the year

1847,

at the end of the War of the Axe, Sir Harry Smith, newly appointed Governor of this territory, invited all the Xhosa chiefs, as well as Sarhili and the petty chiefs of other nations, to sign a treaty. Also attending that meeting was Bishop Gray, who had travelled from Cape Town wanting to discuss with the Xhosa chiefs arrangements for introducing the Word to their territory.<sup>11</sup> In fact, Sarhili, Sandile, Mhala and other chiefs had little to say to the Bishop, they agreed that they loved the Word, and that it must be preached in all Xhosa kingdoms. And so the Anglican Church commenced work among the Xhosa. In those days an Anglican mission society was already in existence; but most of the ministers came to pray for the military: they did not come directly to us Xhosa. Indeed the Diocese of Grahamstown was established in

1853.

At the end of Mlanjeni's War, the Bishop announced that work should begin at St Matthews; the name of that Bishop is Bp Armstrong.<sup>12</sup> There were men at Keiskammahoek preaching to the military, among them Mr D'acre, the man who initiated the work;<sup>13</sup> there were also Rev H.B. Smith and Rev W.H.L. Johnson, and this was the start of St Matthews in 1854, the year before the lungsickness.

elikulu elingumongameli wababazi bemiti sibonene sancokola sanga kudala sisazana yaye inkulu kuye nakomnye umntu ongenguye into yokuba ku lemisebenzi mihle kangakaya yenziwa ngamakwenkwe, ayenza ngezandla qa, akuko mashini; lonto ke ifundisa ukuba inkwenkwe ikwazi ukuziqalela into nasekaya, iyenze; ingatembeli komashini abangekoyo, into leyo eyenze abacweli abaninzi balilahla ishishini labo, batata nto zimbi, kuba bengenabo omashini emakaya. Asikuk' o nokuba lendoda siyincomile ngawo lomsebenzi wayo. Indlu yokutyela amakwenkwe, livakel' ilizwi eliti izakuhlaziywa kuba seyindala, – okunene seyisemva kwamaxesha.

Kulamanene ke ndidibana nawo andi yekanga ukufuna ukuva ngexesha owasekwa ngalo umzi lo we Koleji, kwa nezibakala nezitatu ezakokelela ekubeni ubeko. Ate kanti amadoda la ayazazi ezindawo, ezinye ezibalile, okunene andivisa, koko ingxelo yawo iqauke ihlangana, njengento zonke zamzuzu ezilibali\* ndike ndabonana nayo nencwadi enkulu ekutiwa yi Digest of S.P.G. Records apo ub'alwe kona umsebenzi wase Tshetshi kweli lizwe. Ekufundafundeni kwam ndifumene ukuba, kwati ngomnyaka

## WE 1847.

Uku xola kwe Mfazwe ye Zembe, u Sir Harry Smith ezekutabata ubu Ruluneli belilizwe† wazibizela e Qonce zonke inkosi zama Xosa no Rili wako, kwa nezinye inkosana zezizwe nazo i Treaty. Kute kulontlanganisela kwafika no Bishop Gray, oweza evela e Kapa, efuna ukuba atetane nenkosi zama Xosa ngokumalunga nokungeniswa kwe Lizwi, kwizwe lawo. Okunene u Rili, no Sandile, no Mhala nezinye inkosi abatetanga nto zininzi no Mfundisi lo mkulu, basuke bavuma ukuba i Lizwi bayalitanda, malishunyayelwe ebuzweni bonke buka Xosa. Yaba ke oko kukungena kwe Tshetshi ema Xoseni. Ngayo lemihla invaba yase Tshetshi yayise yiko; kodwa inkoliso yabafundisi yayingabo babeze ngokutandazela imikosi: bengaze bete ngqo kuti ma Xosa. Okunene ke iqaliwe i Dayosisi yase Rini ngomnyaka

## WE 1853.

Ukuxola kwe Mfazwe ka Mlanjeni i Bishopu yokuqala yakona yahlakomisa ukuba umsebenzi mawuqalwe e Mtwaku; igama lo Bishopu lowo ngu

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\* ez libali

† belilizwa

## THE HEADS

of the Institution chose not to stay long at first, because work among black people offered little hope in those days; it was driven by faith rather than results. On top of that, the cattle-killing took place, and all hope died. Rev H.B. Smith left in 1858, and Rev J.R. Rose arrived. In 1859 another man arrived, Rev W. Greenstock, but he did not stay long.<sup>14</sup> The foremost man succeeded him to the church; renowned throughout the district, he established schools, built houses, planted trees. The school began to earn a reputation, it was recognised and grew famous. This man was Rev C. Taberer 1870–1914; he was the foremost because you would hear people saying, that homestead is the homestead of the son of Teba, the father of the Director of the Johannesburg mines, through the Chamber of Mines: all South African chiefs and princes submitted to him.<sup>15</sup> He was said to have been born and raised in this region.

I greatly admired the St. Matthews church building; I compared it favourably to the one at Peelson (Ncemerha) in every respect, in beauty, size and aesthetics. It is said its foundation stone was laid by Mrs Charles Taberer on 1 June 1876, shortly before Ngcayechibi's War, when the Bishop of Grahamstown was Bp Merriman, who was the father of the Prime Minister of the country, John X. Merriman.<sup>16</sup> The medical centre there is a fully equipped hospital established as an appropriate memorial to the Rev Mr Taberer. I found few patients on hand, but on the verandah two boys were crying, who had evidently just rung the bell as the mealtime was approaching. The matron of this place showed us all around, a very kind-hearted person, MaCisana, the daughter of Dwanya, a lawyer, who had trained as a nurse.

After Taberer left in 1914, at the start of the German war, Binyon's son Rev F.D. Binyon took over from 1914–1922. This man is also known for his good works, but unfortunately he did not stay long. In the following year, 1923, the present Warden Rev A. Cardross Grant took over, the man who invited me to see St Matthews although I did not find him at home for reasons I've already mentioned. He was celebrated for the development of the place, greatly improving the structures left by his predecessors.

I very much wanted to hear about the students, and I was told there were about 200, both boys and girls. There were 81 girls and 119 boys. I did not forget that Xhosa authors came from this place: the late son of Guma, author of the celebrated *Nomalizo*; my good fellow the son of Sinxo, author of the ever-fresh *Nomsa*; the son of Jolobe, author of the provocative *Zagula*.<sup>17</sup> I did not

B.P. Armstrong, aye amadoda awayeko kwa Qoboqobo apo eshumayeza imikosi leyo yayiko ingo Mr. D'acre; indoda ekubonakala ukuba isisebenzile isiqalo; kwaye kuko no Rev. H.B. Smith, no Rev. W.H.L. Johnson yaba sisiqalo eso so Mtwaku ngomnyaka we 1854, ngonyaka opambi kwemofu.

#### ABONGAMELI

be Sinala le bakolisa ngokungahlali kakulu ekuqaleni, ngenxa yokuba umsebenzi wabantsundu wawungekatembisi nto ngezomini; uqutywa ngenkolo kunge ngakubona. Kwaza kwati pezu koko wafika u Nongqause, apela ke amatemba. U Rev. H.B. Smith umke ngowe 1858, kwangena u Rev. J.R. Rose. Kanti ngowe 1859 kuzakungena enye indoda engu Rev. W Greenstock, yaza nayo ayahlala; indoda ekumhlope ukuba ityalike yalandela leyo; into yona eku-tiwa ezilaleni, yamisa imizi yesikolo, yaka izindlu, yatyala imiti. Saqala isikolo savakala, saziwa, saduma. Indoda leyo ke kuti we ngu Rev. C. Taberer 1870–1914, kwamhlope ke ukuba abafumane besitsho abanye bati lamzi ngumzi wento ka Teba, uyise wengqonyela leya yongamele imigodi e Rautini, kwi Chamber of Mines, umfo ezigoba pantsi pambi kwake zonke inkosi nenkosana ze Afrika ese Zantsi. Nayo ke kutiwa izalelwe yakulela kulo elilizwe.

Indlu yetyalike yase St. Matthews ndiyibuke kakulu; ndayifanisa neyase Peelton (Ncemerha) ngento yonke nobunzwana, nobukulu, nesitozela. Lendlu ilitye lesiseko sayo kutiwa labekwa ngu Mrs Chas. Taberer nge 1st June 1876, ko ke kupambi kwe Mfazwe ka Nchayecibi kancinane, i Bishopu yase Rini ngezomini yayingu B.P. Merriman, uyise wengqonyela yelilizwe embusweni engu Jno X. Merriman. Umzi wamayeza okoyo apa uyi hospitale ete nqi, nawo ubalwe ukuba isisi Kumbuzo sa mfo u Rev. Mr. Taberer ngemfanelo. Ndifike unemilwelwe engadlulanga esandleni ngentwana zimbini zisevarandeni zilila, kwabe kuqondakala ukuba sezibeta nje intsimbi kuba ixesha lokumunda selifikile. U Mongamelikazi walendawo usijikelezise kuyo yonke, kwaye ngobubele kusitiwa akazenzisi, yayilapo intokazi ka Dwanya, u Ma Cisana, owaye ligqweta lelozwe, yona ke ifunda ubu Nasi.

Ekupumeni kwento ka Teb'a apa ngowe 1914, ukuqala kwe mfazwe yama Jamani kungene into ka Binyoni u Rev. F.D. Binyon ngo 1914–1922. Lomfo naye uyatetwa ngezenzo ezihle, koko akatanga abe nayo inyweba yokuhlala ituba elide. Ngomnyaka olandelayo we 1923 kungene le Warden ikoyo ke ngoku u Rev. A. Cardross Grant; le ide yenza ukuba nam ndide ndiwubone u Mtwaku, noko ndingayibonanga emzini wayo ngezi zatu esendizixelile. Lomfo

forget that Tokazi in *Don Jadu* also studied here as a boy,<sup>18</sup> and I realised that there was a spirit of love in the place, which is why students here always write about love. Editor, I must make an end because I have taken up too much of your space, I've finally got the last bit down about my

FAREWELL AND DEPARTURE.

I took my leave from the lovely lady of Burgersdorp, Mrs Jane Kuze, the minister's wife, and she gave me directions, like a woman giving directions to a chicken's egg. Her husband, the minister, loaded "Roarer" to take me to my bus at the Hoek. Let me say that almost all my books are prescribed here, and the boys learnt poems from them. What especially pleased me was the study of the book *Ulimo* in Standard VI.<sup>19</sup>

I saw that as an opportunity for children to learn about agriculture at a young age, and to grow up enjoying it. This lady's home was absolutely beautiful. Roarer roared into life, and came round the house, and we brought Tshawe, Kuse's son, out of his study. This Tshawe was studying for the ministry, and was the only catechist here; we found his wife, MaNyelenzi, a Nzotwa woman, in her house and she thanked me on behalf of the minister for the tea. We drove off, giving a lift to everyone we met on the way, and reached my bus as it was ready to leave. It descended the upper reaches of the Mngqesha on its way to Pirie, went past Pirie and on home.

So greetings, St Matthews!  
 We finally met,  
 Mpaku council chamber,<sup>20</sup>  
 and we loved each other.

uyanconywa ke kutiwa uyawaka nqi lomzi, uhambisela pambili ezondawo zash-  
iywa zimi ngaba ngapambili kwake.

Inani labafundi nditandile ukuliva, kwatiwa ke likuma 200, intombi nama  
kwenkwe. Intombi zodwa zingama shumi osib ozo ananye (81), amakwenkwe  
likulu lina cinye linesitoba (119). Andilibalanga ukuba kanene zipuma apa  
imbali zesi Xosa into zo Guma (onga sekoyo) umb'ali ka Nomalizo odumileyo;  
into zo Sinxo (umfo wam) umb'ali ka Nomsa ongadikiyo, into zo Jolobe umb'ali  
ka Zagula ocingisayo. Andilibalanga ukuba kanene u Tokazi ka "Don Jadu"  
yinzwakazi eyafunda kwa lapa, ndaluqonda ukuba utando lunokuzuzwa indawo  
apa; yiyo lento imfundi zalapa zib'ala ngalo roqo. Mandipeze kuba isituba sako  
Mhleli ndisitabate kanobom, ndakuginyela

#### UMBULISO NOKUNDULUKA.

Ndibonakele kaloku ndiyicela indlela kubhelukazi lwase B'ekesdolopu,  
u Mrs Jane Kuze, umfundisikazi, obesiti ndihleli abe enditelekelele ngati  
ngumfazi otelekelele iqanda lenkuku. Ibonakele ibopa u "Gqumayo" indoda,  
umfundisi, iza kundisa kwi Bus yam e Hukwini. Incwadi zam manditsho ukuti  
zipants' ukufundiswa zonke apa; aye amakwenkwe ezitya izibongo ezikuzo. Into  
endiyitande ndancamisa kukufundiswa kwe ncwadi yo "Limo" ku Standard VI.

Ndafumana ukuba lonto iyakwenza ukuba abantwana balufunde ulimo bese  
bancinci, benyuke nalo, balutande. Umzi wentombi mhle kwayekwa. Uggume  
u "Gqumayo" wangena pakati komzi, saya kulivumbulula i Tshawe into ka  
Kuse, kwindlu yokufundela. I-Tshawe eli lifunda ubu-Fundisi liyi Katikisti  
lodwa apa; inkosikazi yalo u Ma-Nyelenzi, um-Nzotwakazi sifike isendlwini  
yona, wandibulelela umfundisi nge tea. Sadlula yekoko ukuhamba sikwelisa  
nabanina esidibene naye ngendlela, saya kufika kwi Bus yam seyilungiselela  
ukuhamba. Yekoko ukuya kuhla emantloko o-Mnqhesha ukusinga e-Pirie, uku-  
gqita apo ukuya kutsho ekaya.

Bota ke umzi wase Mtwaku!

Side sabonana;

Botwe labafu bo Mpaku,

Saze satandana

\* *Andilabanga*



I'll tell Mxaku,  
 yes, my brother!  
 So greetings, ministers  
     of the world to come!  
 We still turn to Him and to herbs –  
     in the present world.  
 I'll tell the chiefs,  
     those in tears.

So greetings, men,  
     and women too!  
 Stand strong and firm –  
     and ladies too,  
 I'll speak at the court  
     of their Royal Highnesses.

Greetings, she-doves!  
     It was good to be with you,  
 well done, young ladies,  
     daughters of ours.  
 I refer to the girls  
     of our country.

### 38      **The Battle of the Waterkloof (Fordyce 1852)**

*I'm not saying go and kill, I'm saying keep us from harm – Maqoma*

The Battle of the Waterkloof was fought during Mlanjeni's War, 1850–53, between Maqoma, firstborn son of Ngqika, and the English army (although it was largely made up of Scotsmen). Maqoma did not fight in the War of the Axe, which preceded this one in 1846–47: for reasons of his own he pretended to be sick. Although he was sick, the whites seized him and conveyed him to Port Elizabeth, to separate him from his regiments, worried that when he heard the sounds of gunfire he would quickly begin to feel better. But that also created

Ndobalisa nako Mxaku,  
Ewe ke mtaka Ma!  
Botani ke ba Fundisi!  
Belizw' elizayo  
Sisamcela no mifisi, –  
Welizw' elikoyo.  
Ndobalis' ezinkosini,  
Ezo zililayo.

Botani ke bafondini!  
Namakosikazi;  
Qinani nime nimi,\* –  
Namanenekazi.  
Ndoke† nditsh' ezinkundleni, –  
Kwezaba Hlekazi.

Botani ma-Hotyazana!  
Ke kwamnandi betu;  
Ntwanazana, mlisazana,†  
M'ase bantakwetu.  
Nditsho ke makosazana, –  
Ezwe lakowetu.

### 38 Idabi lase Mtontsi (Fordyce 1852)

*Anditsho ukuba hambani niye kubulala, nditi hambani niye kunqanda elohlahlala,*  
– Maqoma

Idabi lase Mtontsi laliwa ngemfazwe ka Mlanjeni, 1850–1853, pakati ko Maqoma into ka Ngqika evele tanci, nomkosi wama Ngesi, (noko ikakulu

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\* *Qinani m nime nimi*

† *Nd ke*

‡ *mlisaz na*

problems, because in 1847, when Sir Harry Smith<sup>1</sup> had just assumed the reins of government, he passed through Port Elizabeth, where Maqoma was, and wanted to place his foot on Maqoma's neck; but Maqoma said, "You insist on behaving like a dog because you are a dog; Queen Victoria did not send you to do this." Smith took affront at that speech, but he said, "Let's go home," and he proceeded to King Williams Town, where a meeting could be held for Smith to talk to all the Xhosa chiefs.

#### AT KING WILLIAMS TOWN

All the chiefs arrived in King Williams Town, and we were told that on that day their treaties with the whites had gone up in smoke, they were repudiated, and a particular wagon placed there for that purpose, filled with a load of paper and worthless rubbish, was blown up with dynamite. This high-ranking officer strutted up and down, declaring he brought peace to the land, and he summoned Bishop Armstrong to be there that day so that he could address the Xhosa chiefs on matters of the Word.<sup>2</sup> In reality, it was the chiefs who cleared the way for the bishop to work among the Gcaleka, the Ngqika and the Ndlambe. So that's what happened.

#### SANDILE

Something created a major problem for His Majesty King Sandile during this War of the Axe: as his regiments were standing ready, he was summoned by a certain White chief, saying, "Come, let us negotiate terms for peace." The name of that chief was Colonel Bisset.<sup>3</sup> This proved to be a trap to make Sandile come without suspecting anything, so that Bisset could capture him and make him, his elder brother Anta and a few councillors prisoners of war. Sandile never forgot that, that this chief could lie, under the guise of secret discussion. They were taken to Grahamstown, and were later called to the King Williams Town meeting by Sir Harry Smith. That's why only three years separated the War of the Axe and Mlanjeni's War.

Another problem for His Majesty King Sandile (Mgolombane) was the fact that, when peace was concluded after the War of the Axe, Sir Harry Smith said he was deposing him as king, and the reins of power would be held by his

lawo yayizizi Kotshi.) U Maqoma waye ngayilwanga imfazwe ye Zembe eyayi pambi kwale ngo 1846–47, ngezizatu ezitile ezazikuye, waza ke wazigulisa. Ute noko agulayo watatyatwa ngama gwangqa, yekoko ukusiwa e B'ayi ukuze ash-enxe pakati kwemikosi; kusoyikelwa ukuti hleze ati akuziva izitonga aqale apile ngqe. Kodwa naleyo into yaba neyayo inkatazo, kuba ngo 1847 ute u Sir Harry Smith xa wayeza kutabata intambo zombuso wegqita ngaku Maqoma e B'ayi, wafuna ukubeka unyawo lwake entanyeni ka Maqoma: koko u Maqoma wati “Ufuna ukwenza umsebenzi wobunja wena kuba uyinja; akakutumanga lonto u Vitoliya.” Yamdanisa kakulu u Smiti lonteto, kodwa ke noko wati makagoduke aye e Qonce apo azakuya kuteta kona yena Smiti kunye nazo zonke inkosi.

#### E-QONCE

Zifikile zonke inkosi e Qonce, sixelelwe ukuba namhla imvumelwano zazo nabamhlope zitshile, zib'angisiwe, kwatsho kwavutelwa nge danamete inqwelo etile eyamiselwa lonto apo, yaye yayizele ngumtwalo wenkunkuma yamapepa nobunye ubuvuvu.\* Kudwanguzwe kwenjiwanjalo yilo ndedebe, isiti ixolisa ilizwe, yabiza no Bishop Armstrong ukuba abeko naye ngalomhla, aze atete nenkosi zama Xosa ngezinto ze Lizwi. Okunene inkosi zamvulela u Bishopu lowo ukuba makasebenze pakati kwama Gcaleka nama Ngqika, nama Ndlambe. Kwaba njalo okunene.

#### U SANDILE

U Mhlekazi u Sandile waye nento emkatazileyo kakulu naye ngayo lemfazwe ye Zembe, kuba wabizwa yinkosi etile yase mlungwini xa imikosi yake imi kakuhle; yati yiza sike sitetatetane ngendawo zoxolo, – igama lenkosi leyo ngu Colonel Bisset. Ite kanti yenza iqinga lokuba eze engalumkele nto, ize imbambe imenze ibanjwa lemfazwe kunye nomkuluwa wake u Anta, namapakati ambalwa. Ayizange ipele lonto ku Sandile, ukuti kanti inkosi le ikwa yinto exokayo elixa ibifanele ukuteta ngokungoyiki. Batatyatwa basiwa e Rini, nabo babizwa ngu Sir Harry Smith bayakuba kwase Qonce. Yiyo ke ngoko lento iminyaka yaba mitatu qa pakati kwe mfazwe ye Zembe neka Mlanjeni.

Enye into eyamkatazayo u Mhlekazi u Sandile (Mgolombane), kukuti ukuxoliswa kwelizwe ngeye Zembe, ati u Sir Harry Smith uyamkupa u Sandile ebukosini, intambo zombuso ziza kubanjwa ngunina u Sutu, encediswa ngu

\* *ubuvuvu*

mother Suthu, assisted by the Hon Charles Brownlee. Not even by the flaring of a nostril did Mgolombane consent to that,

who flutters over Vece,  
 the rocky Keiskamma,  
 a free-handed host who drinks no running water,  
 who drinks from a pool,  
 scared to stoop his mouth.  
 His people form multitudes,  
 filling the earth:  
 but how will he ever assemble them?<sup>4</sup>

Mgolombane went on to shoot Brownlee's two sons; the one lay in hospital for some time, and he cut off the other's head during Mlanjeni's War,<sup>5</sup> on top of the massacre he inflicted at the Keiskamma, at this place called Boma Pass, as well as other occasions on which he tore shreds off the enemy.<sup>6</sup>

#### MAQOMA

In this War of Mlanjeni, Maqoma fought vigorously; he fought in anger, because his withdrawal from the War of the Axe was of no benefit to him, he was treated as badly as if he had fought. And at that time he said, "I want the country to see I'm not mad because during the War of the Axe they said I was mad." He was from Fort Beaufort, and on the day he and Sir Harry Smith clashed at Sevenkloofs, he was abused and called a drunkard; he returned home, and tore shreds off the enemy between Fort Beaufort and Adelaide and Seymour. And because the Settlers were very much afraid of Maqoma, they left their homes and hid their families in distant places, and they too put their tails between their legs; and Fort Beaufort stood empty; so he was the sole ruler,

Sharp Horns,  
 Going Bald,  
 who lounges on the mountain  
 of Cowhide Hat,  
 Watch the Dawn Break,  
 Nothonto's tearabout.<sup>7</sup>

Tshalisi (Hon. Charles Brownlee). Asinto wake wayivuma nange mpumlo leyo u Mgolombane,

U Ndand' ako vece  
U Xesi magqagala  
U Nchunch' ayiseli kwabalekayo  
Isel' ezadungeni  
Ngokoyik' umlom' ukugoba  
Ubantu bantlaninge  
Bazalis' umhlaba  
Kazi woz' atinina min' abahlanganisayo.

Wasuke u Mgolombane wabahlahla nge mbumbulu bobabni onyana baka Brownlee, omnye walala ehospitile ituba elide, omnye wamnqamla intloko ngayo le mfazwe ka Mlanjeni; pezu kwe nyhatya awayenza e Xesi, kule ndawo kutiwa yi Boemah Pass; nezinye ke iziqwenga.

#### U MAQOMA

Kule mfazwe ka Mlanjeni ke u Maqoma ulwile kakulu; walwa ngomsindo, kuba ukulala kwake ngeye Zembe akumncedanga nto, upetwe kakubi njengokungati ubesilwa. Waye namhlanje eteta esiti: "ndifuna ilizwe libone ukuba andigezi, kuba ngeye Zembe kwaku sitiwa ndiyageza." Yena ke ngumfo wase B'ofolo, ute bakungevani no Sir Harry Smith e Ngxondoreni, ngalamhla watukwa kwatiwa ulinxila; waselejika egoduka, wenza iziqwenga pakati kwe B'ofolo no Kobonqaba no Mpofu. Ate ama Satlani kuba ayemoyika kakubi u Maqoma, awashiya amakaya nango eyakufihla intsapo kwi ndawo ezikude, aye nawo eyikwenyele imisila; lafuna ukusala i B'ofolo lize lingenamntu; kude kwati kuse njalo esalawula yedwa

U Nompondwana,  
U Nonqayi-ngqongana,  
U Sayama nge Ntaba  
Ka mnqwaz' onenkomo,  
U Jong' ums' obomvu,  
Isijora so Notonto.

Then a great Scottish hero appeared on the scene, spoiling for a fight; as he arrived he cried out to the community that Maqoma should be taken alive, and put in a cage to be displayed to the Queen overseas. At that time Maqoma was in the Waterkloof, tearing shreds off everything in his path. The name of that Scottish hero was Colonel Fordyce, a man who despised the feared Maqoma, and looked right through him.<sup>8</sup> The Settlers said they should wait for reinforcements from overseas to arrive and should not attack Maqoma with the army as it was, but Fordyce rejected the suggestion out of hand, saying he chose not to sit and wait for another army when he had a perfectly good army assembled against the rogue baboon Maqoma. So saying, he prepared his army. Well, the Settlers had nothing to do with it, and locked themselves up in their forts. One day Maqoma was told by a Sotho called "Cover the penis with an oxhide sheath" that an army was leaving town, headed straight for them; the Sotho said he had come from the town as a personal service to the chief. When Maqoma heard of the approach of the army, he brought out three regiments and assigned them to his three sons:

- I. to Namba, his firstborn, the son of a Thembu lady, the senior chief of the Jingqi, the father of Jamangile;<sup>9</sup>
- II. to Khona, a very handsome man of the Right Hand House, the Ngcweleshe, Puff Adder with a hartebeest's flanks, Hornless Bull of the house of Tase, the father of King Ndamase;<sup>10</sup>
- III. to Ngqabe the father of Fokoxo, a man who was always teased for cowardice by his father; we do not know if there was any truth in that or if it was just a joke. This man died a believer in Christ.<sup>11</sup>

#### BATTLE ORDERS

As these men were leaving, Maqoma gave them the following instructions: "You, Namba, will take up your position at the head of the army; so that you can restrain it. You, Ngqabe, must watch the rear, so that it holds its position. You, Khona, will stay close to both these armies, so close that you feel each others' steam. I will stand here and wait for Fordyce to come at me. I'm not saying go and kill, I'm saying keep us from harm, tribes of Lwaganda, of Mlawu, of Rharhabe, of Phalo, of Butsolobentonga!"

Lagaleleka ikalipa elikulu lasezi Kotshini, lafika livela kulwa pipipi; lafika lawumemeza umzi ukuba ayekubanjwa ehleli lo Maqoma, afakwe endlwaneni kuyokuboniswa ngaye ku Nkosazana pesheya. Ngelo xesha yena u Maqoma wayese Mtontsi, esenza iziqwenga kwinto yonke eza kuye. Igama lekalipa elo lasezi Kotshini yayingu Colonel Fordyce, into eyati ukumdela oku lo Maqoma woyikwayo, ayambona nokumbon' oku. Ate ama Satlani makulindwe imikosi evela pesheya, kangayiwa ku Maqoma ngalo mkosi ukoyo, usuke u Fordyce wapika nqo esiti akangefumane ahlale, ati enomkosi owaneleyo alinde omye; ngenxa yomqabaqaba wemfene engu Maqoma. Utsho wawulungisa umkosi wake. Hayi ke ama Satlani azicweta wona, ayakuzivalela kwe zawo inqaba. U Maqomo uxelelwe ngamhla utile ngum Sutu ogama lingu "Gqishelangeqongqolokoshe" okokuba nango umkosi upuma edolopini ub'ekise amabombo nganeno, ute' um-Sutu lowo yena uvela edolopini, uze kubusa apa enkosini. Ute u Maqoma akuba ukuba nango umkosi usiza, wakupa imikosi emitatu, wayinikela konyana bake abatatu abango:

- I. Ku Namba, incam yake, unyana wom Tembukazi; inkosi enkulu yama Jingqi; uyise ka Jamangile.
- II. Ku Kona inzwan' enkulu yase Kunene, kulo Ngcweleshe, u Bululu macal' ex'ama. Inkunz' enqukuva yayakulo Tase, lo nguyise ka Ndamase (Kumkani).
- III. Ku Nqabe lo nguyise ka Fokoxo, ngumfo obehlala equlwa ngobu gwala nguyise; asazi nokuba bekuko inyaniso kulonto, nokuba sisiqulo nje-kodwa. Lendoda yafa ilikolwa lika Krestu.

#### UMYOLELO

Ate xa apumayo lamadodana u Maqoma wawayolela esenjenje: – "Wena ke Namba uyokuyimela impi leyo ngapambili; ingabi satata lunyawo apo ikona. Wena Nqabe uze ujonge umva wayo, ingabi satata lunyawo kuyo londawo ufike ikuyo. Wena Kona uyakuvana ngemi punga nale mikosi yomibini, ujonge esiqwini. Mna ke ndiza kuhlal' apa ndilind' u Foludayile aze kunditabata. Anditsho ke ukuti hambani niye kubulala, nditi hambani niye kusingandel' elohlahla mabandla ka Lwaganda, ka Mlau, ka Rarabe ka Palo, ka Butsolo bentonga."

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\* *uta*



Maqoma sat on his haunches having said this, he wrapped himself in a blanket and neither spoke, nor ate, nor drank.

#### THE BATTLE COMMENCES

Still cutting meat for themselves, the sons of Maqoma went out yelling, together with their councillors, and they saw a close-packed army covering the ground near Vulangengqele's homestead. Because of the size of this army of Scots in Skirts,<sup>12</sup> and because they were unfamiliar with the terrain, which was awkward with rugged cliffs, they were easy meat for the Jingqi force – and the cliffs swallowed up many more of them than the spear ate. The great hero Colonel Fordyce was fiery in command of his army, and he was clearly a skilled marksman, but the terrain counted against him and his own people, the Settlers, had left him to fend for himself. The Xhosa destroyed his army, and he himself was finished – exhausted, thirsty and weak. The Jingqi found him and bound him – and led him to Chief Maqoma on foot. But because they always behaved like madmen, one man went behind Fordyce and stabbed him with a spear and that was the end of that hero. This man was asked why he did that. He said he knew that the chief would set Fordyce free, and yet his younger brother, the last of his father's children, lay as a corpse over there. And this man too did not see that day's sunset.<sup>13</sup>

#### NOPHANYAZA (RUBUSANA)

In the Xhuxhuwa gaps, not far from the Waterkloof, lived a man of the Cirha clan called Rubusana, the son of Mbonjana. This man was the shepherd of a Settler called Gilbert, known by the Xhosa as Nophanyaza because he blinked rapidly when he was angry. One day this man drove off all his employer's sheep, together with some cattle and all the horses, and turned them over to Maqoma's army in the Waterkloof, and they slaughtered and ate to their great delight; and this man was made a hero, "the hero of Nophanyaza's house." From that day on, this man was called Nophanyaza, named after his white man. Dr W.B. Rubusana of East London is that man's eldest son.

And that was the battle of the Waterkloof, in which Maqoma killed more than five hundred. Sir Harry Smith was swiftly withdrawn by Britain. The war he had lightly dismissed proved too much for him, it affected the whole country and there was no place to flee. Smith went off in tears when he saw what had become of the country in his time. So Britain appointed as his successor

Ute akukova ukutsho u Njabatya waziti luqe ngengubo akabuya apinde atete, akatya, akasela akatini.

#### UKUNQOZA KWAZO

Zipume sezigixa zilila into zika Maqoma, kunye namapakati azo, ziyibona inqumbululu yomkosi ite tande ngaku lomzi ka Vulangengqele. Ute kuba umkosi ngowo Nozikakana ubukulu bawo, baye bengalazi ilizwe, laye lilibi linengxodora zamawa, bafunyanwa yimpi yakulo Jingqi bezizisulu – ati amawa eyelisela into eninzi kunene ngapezu kwabadliwe ngumkonto. Liwutetele shushu umkosi wakowalo ikalipa elikulu u Colonel Fordyce; waye naye kubonakala ukuba umfo lowo uyakwazi ukuyalatisa intonga enkone. Koko ilizwe lalicasene naye, eyekelwe ngama Satlani akowabo. Awunyhanya ama Xosa umkosi wake, – wapelelwa kaloku naye, – wadinwa, wanxanwa, watyafa. Amfumana ama-Jingqi ambamba, – yekoko ukumsa enkosini u Maqoma ehamba ngenyawo zake. Kute kuba amageza la zinto ezavela zako, – lavela elinye lamjikela ngasemva lamtsho gobo ngomkonto kwaba kupela kwelo kalipa njalo. Kubuziwe kulomfo ukuba unyanga nina ngokwenjenje oku? Ute uyazi ukuba lomntu uzakusindiswa paya yi nkosi; kanti ke umninawa wake yena nguye lowa usisidumbu paya, ekupela komntaka-yise. Ayibanga salibona ukutshona kwalo elalomhla indoda leyo nayo.

#### U-NOPANYAZA (RUBUSANA)

Kwezo zituba ze Xuxuwa, kude kufupi apo e Mtontsi, kwakuko ndoda itile yasema Cireni, igama layo kwakutiwa ngu Rubusana into ka Mbonjana. Lendoda yayi ngu malusi wegusha ze Satlani elitile ebekutiwa ngu Gilbert, ama Xosa ebesiti ngu Nopanyaza ngenxa yokuqwanyaqwanyaza ngokukauleza xa inomsindo. Isuke lendoda ngamhla utile yazindila zonke ezogusha zenkosi yayo, kunye nenkomana ezaziko namahashe yonke lonto, – yekoko ukuya kuzigalela emkosini ka Maqoma e Mtontsi, yaxhela yatya impi kwayinto emanandi; yenziwa igora indoda leyo “yinjombora yakwa Nopanyaza.” Ukususela oko igama lalondoda kwase kusitiwa ngu Nopanyaza ibizwa ngalo mlungu wayo. U Dr. W.B. Rubusana wase Monti, ngunyana wamazibulo wendoda leyo.

Yabanjalo imfazwe yase Mtontsi, apa u Maqoma wabulala amakulu angapeza kwesi hlanu. Waroxiswa ngokukauleza u Sir Harry Smith li Pesheya, yamxaka kakubi imfazwe awayeyidelile, layi mfazwe lonke ilizwe, akwabiko ndawo yokubalekela. Wemka elila u Smiti akubona into eliyiyo ilizwe

Sir George Carthcart (Katikati), who arrived with a massive army, and pacified the country without any treaties.<sup>14</sup> Then, shortly after him, they sent a gentleman by the name of Sir George Grey, renowned for the Titles of Sir George Grey, rehabilitation of land, hospitals, the creation of jobs, schools for artisans, etc, etc.<sup>15</sup>

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### Tyala Nteyi

This name I nudge today is a name I am reluctant to touch, because it is very big amongst the Xhosa in Ngqika territory; it is also just as big among the whites.<sup>1</sup> We are not often in agreement on the evidence like this with the whites. Usually when a person is acceptable to us, he is an abomination to them; and when a person is acceptable to them, he is not loved by us. This is how things are with us and the whites; but I say with regard to this son of Nteyi, we marched in step, we spoke the same language.

#### HE IS A GCALEKA

This man's character came to the fore here in Nqgqikaland, but in origin he is a Gcaleka. There, he is from Dala territory, or a member of the Dala people; we do not have many from this nation here among the Ngqika, because there are very few of them; the reader will appreciate that this son of Nteyi worked hard to climb onto the wagon in the absence of any of his own people, in the absence of his father. His father Nteyi, together with Jotelo, the father of Soga, Ntlukwana, the father of Neku, and Qukwana, the father of Nxokwana, were war victims.

#### THE BATTLE OF AMALINDE (1818-19)

This means that Tyala lived with his father among the Ngqika for a long time, so that he bore arms against his own people, the Gcaleka. I have already said that those heroes fell on the Debe Flats, and they went there knowing they would die, because apparently they said to Ngqika, "You see, fellow, you really are mad, and we will lay down our lives because of your madness." That's what they said, although they advanced into battle, because they did not support

ngexesha lake. Kukuze i Pesheya litumele endaweni yake u Sir George Cathcart (u Katikati), owafika yena nomkosi ongenganganto, walixolisa ilizwe nangani kunga bangako minqopiso ipi. Ekute kwaka msinya emva kwake kwatunyelwa iqawe elingu Sir George Grey wodumo lwe Tayitile zika Sir George Grey, no Cando ne Hospitile nokuvulwa kwemisebenzi nezikolo zemisebenzi yezandla njalo njalo.

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## U Tyala Nteyi

Eligama ndilicukumisayo ke namhlanje ndicukumisa igama endibe ndingatandi kulipata, kuba likulu kakulu ema Xoseni kwa Ngqika; lati kanti lizakuba likulu kwa kangako emlungwini. Asizange ke sifumane sinqinelane ngolohlobo nomlungu. Usakuti umfo angalunga kuti, ati kanti ke kubo selenezote; aze ati umfo elungile nje kubo, kanti selelityanti kuti, – injalo ke intlalo yetu nomlungu; kanti ke nditi ngaye lomfo ka Nteyi, sivene, siteta nteto nye.

## NGUM-GCALEKA

Lendoda ize kudubula apa kwa Ngqika nje ubunto bayo, imvelapi yayo noko ngum-Gcaleka. Apo ngumfo wakwa Dala, okanye wasema Daleni; esisizwe ke asisiva kuyapi apa kwa Ngqika, bambalwa kakulu abobantu; woqonda ke umfundi ukuba lomfo ka Nteyi utsale nzima ukuya kuqabela nenqwelo, engena bani wakowabo, abe kanjalo engenayise. Uyise u Nteyi kunye no Jotelo uyise ka Soga; no Ntlukwana uyise ka Neku; no Qukwana uyise ka Nxokwana, basala emfazweni.

## MHLA NGE DABI LAMA LINDE (1818-9)

Lonto ixela ukuba sekumzuzu kakulu u Tyala waba kweli lakwa Ngqika kunye noyise zati nezikali zake waziguqukisela ngakubantu bakowabo ama Gcaleka. Senditshilo ke ukuti awa lomagora kwelo Tafa le Debe, enjalonje aya esazi ukuba ayakufa, kuba kutiwa ayeteta no Ngqika esiti “uyabona ke mfondini ugeza kunene ngokunje siyakubeka pantsi ubom betu ngenxa yokugeza kwako.” Bati besitsho noko babe besiya, kuba noko bona imfazwe le babengayivumi, uninzi lwamapakati lwaluse lute makufunzwe. Ngaleyomihla ke (1818) u Tyala wayese yinkwenkwana, wafa uyise eyilontanga, wabanjalo ke yena

the war, whereas many councillors had already offered Ngqika their encouragement. At that time (1818), Tyala was still a small boy, and his father died when he was that age: that's how it is for him,

HE WILL GROW UP AN ORPHAN,

resembling his father in devising plans that fail; and nobody knows whether they came to be here in Ngqikaland because those plans they devised were not accepted, so that they grew frustrated and fled, because such a thing is common in kingdoms. So, he first bore arms at the same time as Soga, and they were men in Hintsas's War, fighting for their chief and nation. In those days, their chief Sandile was still a small boy, having not yet attained power; Maqoma, Tyhali, and Suthu, Sandile's mother, managed affairs; because His Majesty King Ngqika had been gone for four years, having succumbed to illness at Burnshell on 3 November 1829 – and Hintsas's War began in 1834.

DURING THE WAR OF THE AXE (1846–47)

According to Xhosa tradition, the chief's son is supposed to make his debut in war after leaving the initiation school, so this War of the Axe is the debut of Sandile, who was circumcised in the year of the comet (1841). The reader already knows that this affair of the axe occurred after resentment had been building for a long time, after soldiers were seen to erect a camp at Fort Hare, east of the Tyhume, whereas they had been allocated land to the west.<sup>2</sup> The white man demanded that Tsili be handed over, whereas Sandile's man said, "What's the problem now, since both sides have suffered a loss? Because one of my men died (when Tsili was rescued, I left behind a Xhosa man who was shot by the police and died), and you lost that Hottentot."<sup>3</sup> Sandile was a young man of 25 at the time. During this war,

TYALA AND SOGA

faced problems, recognising that they were both orphans, as their fathers had fallen at the Battle of Amalinde; young men with their fathers in support continued to speak out boldly, useless things with no public service, and attention would be paid to them, but these two would not be heard. I say they faced problems because (1) Maqoma declined to enter the debate, as he was the chief, with the power to send people into battle; and (2) the two of them argued that Tsili must be handed over to avoid involving the nation in a war over an act of

## UZA KUKULELA EBUNKEDAMENI,

etwele imfuza kayise yokucebisa icebo eliwa pantsi; kwaye kungeko bani waziyo ukuba ukuza kuba lapa kwabo kweli lakwa Ngqika, babengaze kwangokucebisa lama cebo angaviwayo na, baze bacunubeka, basaba; kuba iko kakulu into enjalo ezikumkanini. Ngoko ke yena uqale kunye no Soga ukupata umkonto, bengamadoda, ngemfazwe ka Hintsa, belwela inkosi nesizwe. Ngezomini u Sandile inkosi yabo yayise yinkwenkwana, ingekapati nto, izinto zipetwe ngu Maqoma no Tyali no Sutu unina ka Sandile; kuba u Mhlelazi u Ngqika waye minyaka mine engaseko, ebubele e Mkubiso, sisifo nge 3rd Nov. 1829 – yaza imfazwe ka Hintsa yaqala ngowe 1834.

## NGEMFAZWE YE ZEMBE (1846–7)

Ngesi Xosa inkwenkwe yenkosi imelwe kukuke izibule ekupumeni kwayo ebukweteni; ngoko ke lemfazwe ye Zembe ngamazibulo ka Sandile, owaluka ngo Mgca (1841). Umfundi sel' esazi ukuba ihla lento yelizembe bekuko ingxakangxaka yenteto kakade, ngokusuke kubonwe ngo joni selemisa' umzi e Fort Hare ngenx' engase mpumalanga kwi Tyume, kanti babenikwe ngase ntshonalanga. Unyanzelisile umfo wasemlungwini kwelokuba u Tsili makarolwe; elika Sandile lalisiti, – iseyintonina ngoku silahlekelwe nje sobabini, – kuba nam ndifelwe ngumntu (ndamlahla<sup>†</sup> wahlutwa u Tsili, kumapolisa kuko um-Xosa owadutyulwayo wafa), nawe ke ufelwe li Lawo elo? Ngezomini ke u Sandile ungumfanana ominyaka ima 25. Ngayo ke lemfazwe,

## U TYALA NO SOGA

batwala nzima, baye qonda, bezinkedama bobabini kuba oyise basala kwimfazwe yama Linde; amadodana anoyise babo ke ngoko amana ukuqavata eteta amatywadi ento ezingenankonzo, kuviwe wona, angapulapulwa la. Ndi batwala nzima ke ngoko kuba (1) u Maqoma akavumanga ukuyingena, yaye inguye inkosi eyayikwazi ukufunza, neyayi nabantu (2) Babe siti bona u Tsili makakutshwe kungade kufe ilizwe ngegama lobusela; abapulapulwanga ke, – baqubula izirweqe zabo nabo bayakwela emahlatini. Lide lazoliswa ke, wabe wona umzi ucitakele wazidlakadla; yati naleya b'alakisi yase Fort Hare kwaku-

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\* *sebemisa*

+ *ngamlahla*

theft. Nobody paid them any attention, but they took up arms and rode into the forests.<sup>4</sup> Peace returned after a time, but the community was in ruins and tatters; stakes were after all driven into the ground for those barracks at Fort Hare that were the point of friction; they lost a vast amount of their land because of the war, yet, before the wounds could heal, while the nation was still recuperating, the warcry rang out again for

MLANJENI'S WAR (1850-53).

Almost all the Xhosa people were involved in this war, the Hottentots also joined in, as well as a section of the Thembu; but Khama's Gqunukhwebe fought for the whites with conspicuous courage not in evidence when fighting for their own chief. Maqoma was heavily committed. But it struck Tyala as an act of stupidity to engage in this war; nonetheless, once again, he took up his quiver of assegais and rode into the forests. They say the man was very skilled with an assegai – he was incisive in court, because in that sphere he was an eloquent and forceful speaker. He was a hero who was ready to take up his spear for a cause, yet reluctant to fight over trivial and pointless issues. Let me say that this War of Mlanjeni also came to an end. And when it did the Xhosa had nothing to show for it, but they sustained a loss because they were driven out of the Hoho forests, onto the Khubusi flats, away from Tyhume's lovely rock and bush to the Keiskamma, where there is plenty of sweet water, where cattle could graze the pasture till the good milk cows went home with udders oozing ready for milking. But strange things happen because, when the Ngqika had ploughed two or three seasons in the peace following Mlanjeni's War, there occurred

THE NONGQAWUSE DISASTER (1856-57).

From the very first, Tyala said, "Before they slaughter their cattle, which sustain them, the nation must first learn to eat grass." Fortunately, a great many Ngqika councillors were saying the same thing, but the edict was handed down forcefully from the Gcaleka Great Place, and the chiefs were intoxicated by it, quelling any idea of disputing the word from the Great Place. Nonetheless, very many stood in opposition, together with Tyala. Soga stood by him in all the problems they faced to the point that they were nearly stabbed – and Sandile, their chief, made life difficult for them, because he would blow with the wind and adopt no position. When they had parted from each other in a place, the

satetwa ngayo yasel'igxunyekwa; kwalahleka umhlaba omkulu ngayo lomfazwe, kanti kuzakuti kungekabi pi, umzi ungekapili, kuti pihli esinye isambantlanya

ESIYI MFAZWE KA MLANJENI (1850-3).

Kulemfazwe umzi wama Xosa wapantsa ukudibana wonke, ekwade kwan-genelela nama Lawo, nepiko elitile laba Tembu; kodwa ama Gqunukwebe ka Kama, amlwela umlungu ngok'alipokazi angekalubonakalisi nakwezize-zawo ngendalo inkosi. U Maqoma wayeyingene ngamandla. Kodwa isizatu salemfazwe naso sasingadenge singene ku Tyala; kodwa upindile waqubula umpongolo wake, waya kwela kwase mahlatini. Kutiwa indoda leyo ibikwazi kakuhle ukuwupata umkonto, - ibiq'uba enkundleni, kuba nangelocala ibiliciko nesiteti. Iroti elitanda ukuwup'atela isizatu umkonto, lingafumane lixobe lilwe, kanti lilwela ucuku, nenkohlakalo. Manditi ke ide yadlula lomfazwe ka Mlanjeni nayo, yegqita kungabangako luto luzuziweyo ngama Xosa, into ekoyo ibe yilahleko kwakuwo, kuba agqogqwa kuloma Hlati akwa Hoho azakubekwa ematafeni ama Kubusi esuswa ema Tyume kwizigxa ezihle kunene ezirwanqa, nasema Xesi, kumanzi amnandi kunene amaninzi, apo inkomo ibisaku rabuz' utyani, zide intsengwanekazi zigoduke sezitsaza ubisi zizisenga ngokwazo. Suke kanti izimanga azikapeli, kuba ate ama Ngqika esalime ngakabini ngakatatu emva kokuxoliswa kweka Mlanjeni, kwehla

ISIIYIKILI SO NONGQAWUSE (1856-7).

Elika Tyala kwasentloko lati "umzi mawufunde ukutya incha kuqala pambi kokuba ubulale inkomo izinto opila zizo." Ngetamsanqa aba maninzi kakulu amapakati akwa Ngqika ateta kwa elo koko lomteto weza sewushushu kade ukavela kwa Gcaleka komkulu, zayotywa ke inkosi nguwo, ngokungena ukupikisa ilizwi lakomkulu. Noko ke kunjalo baba baninzi kakulu abac'asi balento abakunye no Tyala. U Soga waye kunye naye kubo bonke ubunzima ababebutwele ekude kube kufupi ukuba bagwazwe, - yaye inkosi yabo u Sandile ebatwalise obona bunzima bugqitileyo, kuba wasuke walityeketyeke elingencala; bati bebeshiyene endaweni, lifike icala lama Tamba, abuye abe nesigqibo nalo ati ayafika ama-Gogotya afike selesusele; ibe yinto yafuti ke leyo, ekuvakala ukuba ngomnye umhla wade wavakala ebaramla u Tyala, esingisa ku Soga, eko u Sandile, wati, - "U Sandile akamtana Soga! Hayi mdala, unengqondo



believers would arrive, and he would incline to their position, and when the non-believers arrived, he would abandon that position; this happened often, and one day Tyala heard him and, looking at Soga in Sandile's presence, said angrily, "Sandile's no child of Soga! No, he's old, and has his own mind!" That day, Soga had addressed certain believers, saying, "Why are you always leading the child astray?"

#### NGCAYECHIBI'S WAR (1877-79)

It's no pleasure to say the Nongqawuse disaster left the Xhosa nation totally distraught, reduced in size<sup>5</sup> and dispersed, as if war had tossed it out. Other nations came and did as they wished to the Xhosa, who were like cattle flayed and hung up; and more people died than die in a war. The Ngqika tried to rise again, raise cattle and plough, run and jump, marry and give their daughters in marriage, although the situation was bleak, because laws would be passed in the magistrates' courts. And while Tyala was still offering advice, reasoning in the royal courts, still a distinguished, stubborn man, another problem cropped up, Ngcayechibi's War. This war, like those before it, was painfully forced on all the Xhosa; Sarhili spoke as much as a chief can speak, saying the government must arrest those people who fought at the beerdrink<sup>6</sup> in order to avoid war; but when armies are already mobilised, they are reluctant to stand down without booty – and war forced itself on Sarhili and Sandile. Tyala's advice was to avoid military conflict, let them do as they please with us and have nothing to do with them. But the Ngqika could not fold their arms with the weapons of the enemy glittering in front of them. After that war of Ngcayechibi, the Xhosa were expelled from their territory; the Gcaleka were driven across the Qhorha river<sup>7</sup> until they reached the Mbashe, and the Ngqika were driven across the Kei, and collapsed in the Centane district to settle at the Qhorha.

#### HIS DESCENDANTS AND HIS DEATH

Tyala had many wives, who bore him many children. His eldest is Ntsangani. When the Ngqika were scattered and their chief confined to the forests, the government proclaimed that the Ngqika were going to be conveyed across the river; at that time, Tyala was lying ill. He called his son Ntsangani and gave him his dying instructions, saying he wished to be buried on this side of the Kei, where he fell ill, at Ngqika's Mgwali, and Ntsangani should look after his family. Tyala did indeed die there, and he was buried at Mgwali.<sup>8</sup> He and his

zake!" Ngalomhla ke u Soga wayesuke wabekisa ilizwi kuma Tamba atile esiti: "Nenzanina ukuti izwe nemihla nibe nilahlekisana nomntwana?"

#### IMFAZWE KA NCHAYECIBI (1877-9)

Akuncedinto ukuti esisiyikili sika Nongqawuse sawushiya umzi wama Xosa uxakaxeke isimanga, sawucuta sawupanzisa, wade wanga upalazwe yimfazwe. Zafika izizwe zase zimana ukutabata kwinto engenamntu, zizihlinzela zizixomela; bati nabantu abafayo babaninzi ngapezu kwabantu ababulewe yimfazwe. Ange ayema ke ama Ngqika; afuya inkomo, alimalima; aleqa, azeka endisa, noko sekukubi, kuba imiteto imana ukuya kuqina e ofisini, ezimantyini. Koko ute esacebisa, ezatuza esenjenjalo u Tyala ezinkundleni zakomkulu, seleyinq'ukuva yendoda enkulu; yehla kwakona enye inkinge, le ke yalemfazwe ka Nchayecibi. Lemfazwe, kwanje ngezingapambi kwayo yanyanzelwa ngohlobo olubi kuma Xosa onke; u Sarili wateta kangangoko inkosi inokuteta; esiti u Rulumente makabambe ababantu balwileyo etywaleni, lingafi ilizwe; koko imikosi xa seyihlanganisiwe ayibi satanda ukubuya ngapandle kwexoba, - yatshikitshiswa imfazwe ku Sarili naku Sandile. Elika Tyala lali lelokuba mayiyekwe imikosi igxishe ngokutanda kwayo pezu kwetu ingenziwa nto. Koko ama Ngqika akabanga nako ukusonga izandla kumenyezela izik'ali zotshaba pambi kwawo. Emva kwemfazwe leyo ka Nchayecibi acitwa ama-Xosa ezindaweni zawo; ama Gcaleka awezwa i Qora ade aya kuma ngo Mbashe, - ama Ngqika awezwa i Nciba asiwa kwa Centane, ade ayakuma nge Qora.

#### INZALA NOKUFA

U Tyala ngumfo owaye nabafazi abaninzi, bamzalela into eninzi yabantwana. Inkulu yake ngu Ntsangani. Ate akucitwa ama-Ngqika yakusala inkosi yawo emahlatini, lavakala ilizwi lika Rulumente lokuba ayawezwa ama Ngqika, ngeloxesha u Tyala ulele pantsi uyagula. Ubize ke unyana wake u Ntsangani wamnika imiyolelo, esiti yena eyakunc'atywa nganeno kwe Nciba, apo wayegulela kona e Mgwali ka Ngqika, ngoko maze u Ntsangani alugcine usapo lwake. Okunene wafela apo umfo ka Tyala, wancwatyelwa e Mgwali. Iqabane lake u Soga ka Jotelo, bahlukana namhla kwase kufeni kwelizwe; u Tyala esiti yena namhla akayi kubuye aye emahlatini, mdala, enjalonje uyagula. U Soga noko ayindoda engako ubuye waqubela isirweqe wayakulwa. Nguye owanika umteto

\* Sago

bosom friend Soga son of Jotelo separated when war broke out, when Tyala said he would not take to the forests, he was old, and also ill. Though he was a man of the same age, Soga took a bundle of spears into battle. He is the one who ordered the Ngqika armies to cross at the mouth of the Thomas river and make for Cofimvaba in Thembu territory, saying, "Because the army came towards us from the Thembu side, and the Thembu granted it passage, even though they secretly informed us, we cannot respect Thembu territory." Soga died in that war;<sup>10</sup> and when peace was declared, his countrymen collected his bones, identifying them from his old bracelet, and buried him at Mgwali; and so, these two heroes together wait for the resurrection of their chief Sandile, who was buried near them at Stutterheim.<sup>11</sup>

AT CENTANE

The son of Tyala, Ntsangani, built his house on the upper Nxaxho, and looked after Tyala's family in accordance with his father's dying wishes. He built a large house next to the kraal; he was made headman in that area and, when his time came, he died an important man, a tall, imposing, decent man. He left his son, Menta (?), as headman, and as guardian of the family; his son followed in his father's footsteps although he was short in stature. The village school remained lovely and firm, the teachers there were well cared for, and they stayed for a long time. Close to the houses of the Nxaxho Christians stood a large church. And that's how it was after the death of Tyala son of Nteyi, a man who loved his country, his countrymen and his king.

LINES

Before I lay my pen down, Mr. Editor, let me see if I can't compose some lines about this hero of the Mbombo royal house, because

Awu!  
 Peace, tribes of cattle,  
 peace, tribes of Mbombo,  
 tribes of the milksack mouth!  
 There's nothing for me to say –  
 Who am I, after all?

kumkosi wama Ngqika ukuba uwele ekungeneni kwe Tunxe uye\* kwizwe laba Tembu ku Cofimvaba, esiti, – “Ekubeni umkosi uze kuti uvela ngakuba Tembu baze aba Tembu bawunika indlela, basihlebelela nokusihlebelela, ngoko nati asisenako ukulihlonela ilizwe laba Tembu.” Wafela emfazweni apo u Soga lowo; lite lakuxola amawabo awac’ola amatambo ake, ewabona ngesacolo sake esidala, – awancwaba kwase Mgwali; ngako oko lomagora omabini alulindele kwa ndaweninye uvuko lwenkosi yawo u Sandile; okwase Cumakala naye, kunye nawo.

## KWA CENTANE

Into ka Tyala u Ntsangani yafika yemisa umzi wayo e Nxaxo pezulu, yalugcina usapo luka Tyala njengoko yayiyolelwe nguyise; yatsho ngenqili yomzikazi omkulu; yenziwa isibonda apo, ekute lakufika elake ixesha naye wafa eyindoda enkulu, ugxiba olude olufanelekileyo; washiya unyana wake u Menta (?) ebubondeni, nasekugcineni usapo; unyana lo naye utabate kwa ikondo loyise, nakuba ngesitomo ate wamfupi. Kubeko isikolo esahlala sisihle silungelelene kulolali; netitshala zakona zigcinakala zihlale ixesha elide, ekute kupi kakulu nemizi yama Kolwa e Nxaxo, yayinqili ityalike. Kube njalo emveni kokufa kuka Tyala umfo ka Nteyi umfo otanda isizwe sake, nabantu bakowabo, nenkosi yake.

## AMACAPAZA

Pambi kokuba ndilibele pantsi olusiba, Mhleli, make ndikangele ukuba akuko macapazana lungake luwenze na, ngeligora lakomkulu lakulo Mbombo, kuba,

Au!

Taruni mabandl’ akulo nkomo!

Taruni mabandl’ akulo Mbombo!

Mabandl’ omlomo wemvaba.

Akuko luto lungatetwa ndim, –

Ndingubanina mna kakade?

\* *udle*

On the other hand I'm a nephew because  
 in December a Dala girl bore me,  
 Tyala, orphan child,  
 the envy of people! Oh, dear!  
 Eagle that slaps its wing!  
 Mbede<sup>12</sup> cow with abundant milk,  
 vulture that chased an armed man;  
 the Mbombo house has bulls and heifers.  
 Child of a chief, stay safe;  
 we old men will ask after you;  
 all was well when we strove at Sevenkloofs;  
 we were pleased when we strove at the rocky Keiskamma.  
 When you grasp your kierie, Tikoloshe's son –  
 look how the villagers hate you.  
 Orphan child, servant of chiefs,  
 thump your quiver and bundle of spears;  
 reason with law in the courts.  
 Peace, old men, don't dismiss me:  
 a house is built with the spear and the law.  
 Peace, latecomers, we have nothing to say!  
 Just this: study the tracks of men  
 and judge between leopards and wolves.  
 Break off! Break off! Break off!!  
 That's it!!!

Pofu ndingumtshana kuba, –  
Ndizelwe ngelom-Nga yintomb' yakwa Dala  
Mtan' oyinkedama mtaka Tyala.  
Mona wabantu! Hayi ke betu!  
K'ozi labeta ngepiko!  
Ngxazangxazakazi yakulo Mbede;  
Xalanga lagxot'umf'' epet' izik'ali;  
Mzi wakulo Mbomb' unamaduna nama tokazi,  
Mtan' enkosi hlal' ukolose;  
Tina zingwevu siyakukubuzela;  
Sike saling' eNgxondoreni kwalunga;  
Sapind' e Xesi magqagala kwavokoteka.  
Wakupat' induku mtaka Tikoloshe, –  
Ubonanj' uyazondw' ezilalini†  
Mtan' oyinkedama uyazikonzela,  
Gonqoz' umpongolo nesirweqe;  
Zatuz' umteto kwakuba senkundleni,  
Taruni zingevu ningajongani ngocuku,  
Umzi wakiwa ngomkonto nomteto.  
Taruni zizamv' asiteti nto!  
Siti bonani imizila yamadoda, –  
Nikwaz' ukwahlul' izingwe pakati kwe nc'uka  
Qa-a-a-u! Qa-a-a-u! Qa-a-a-u!!  
Ncincilili!!!

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\* lagxota 'umf

† exilalini

*Get used to eating mimosa / Your chief is a man much reviled – Sarhili*

The chief whose name I nudge today is my chief, and it's like nudging the entire land of the Xhosa; because this is the Paramount Chief of all the Xhosa peoples. Sarhili's father is His Majesty King Hintsá, son of Khawuta, son of Gcaleka, son of Phalo, son of Tshiwo. His mother is Nomsa, daughter of Gambushe, a Bomvana chief. The name Sarhili is not Xhosa; the story goes that he was named after a certain Boer who was seen there in those days, who said his name was Sarel. This chief was born somewhere around 1815; readers will recall the contemporary incident known as the Slagter's Nek Rebellion, involving the English and the Boers.<sup>1</sup>

He was born in Butterworth, where he entered the initiation lodge, although he had two notable retreats, one of them at Hohita in the district now called Cofimvaba – hence his praises include the lines

He's the darkbrown son of Nomsa,  
as many cattle as his father's,  
as many cattle as Hintsá's,  
python wrapped round Hohita.<sup>2</sup>

The second retreat is at the Qhorha near Holela; nowadays it's referred to as Nongqoloza, or at Maki's place in Centane. At the first retreat he was disturbed by the Nongqawuse episode; at the second he was disturbed by Ngcayechibi's War.

This chief lost his father while he was still a youth. Readers will remember the assassination of Hintsá at the Nqabarha in 1835: we believe that Sarhili had just turned twenty at the time. This marked his accession to power – because the country was at peace after Hintsá's War – and at that time he was made chief, and the peace treaty was concluded, and so on. Even among the Xhosa people, Sarhili succeeded unopposed, with no one else in contention – he was his father's firstborn, there was no need for an alternative. After Hintsá's son came to power there was absolute peace among the Gcaleka, because they did not engage in the chronic succession of wars with the whites as we Ngqika did – and Sarhili (as the Gcaleka testify) was a civilised chief, humble, tractable;

*Yidlan' um Nga Niqelisele Ningabantu Benkos' Ezondekayo. Sarili*

Lenkosi ndicukumisa igama layo namhlanje ke nkosi yam, kuyafana nokuba ndicukumisa ilizwe lonke lase maXoseni; kuba lo ngukumkani omkulu wama Xosa onke epelele. Uyise ka Sarili ngu Mhlekezazi u Hintsza, into ka Kauta, ka Gcaleka, ka Palo, ka Tshiwo. Unina ngu Nomsa intokazi ka Gambushe, inkosi yakwa Bomvana. Igama eli liti 'Sarili' alisiso isi-Xosa; kutiwa watiywa nge Bhulu elitile elali bonwe apo ngaleyo mihla, laza lati igama lalo lingu "Sarel". Ituba lokuvela kwayo lenkosi likumnyaka we 1815; abafundi bayakulikumbula ixwabaxu lalomihla ekutiwa yi Slachter's Nek Rebellion, elalipakati kwama Ngesi nama Bhulu.

Ukuvela uvelele e Gcuwa, apo alukele kwakona; nakuba amaxowa ake amabini abalulekileyo elinye lise Hohita kwisi qingata ekutiwa ngoku kukwa Cofimvaba, – kukuze izibongo zake kutiwe, –

Yi Ntsundu yo Nomsa,  
 Ngu Nkomo zimalunga nezika yise,  
 U Nkomo zimalunga nezika Hintsza,  
 I-Namb' ejikel' i Hohita.

Elesibini inxowa lise Qora ku Holela; abangoku bakolisa ukuti kuku Nongqoloza, okanye kwesika Maki ku Centane. Kwelokuqala inxowa ucutwe ngu Nongqawuse; kweli lesibini ucutwe ngu Ncayecibi.

Lenkosi ibhujelwe nguyise xa ilirwala, bokumbula abafundi ukubhadwa kuka Hintsza e Nqabara ngomnyaka we 1835, esicinga ukuba ngeloxesha ke u Rili wayegqiba umnyaka wamashumi amabini ezelwe. Kwati kanti kukungena kwendoda njalo kwintambo zombuso, – kuba ilizwe ngemfazwe leyo ka Hintsza laxoliswa naye, – yaba kukubekwa kwake nasebukosini, nokwenziwa kwezigqibo zoxolo njalonjalo. Nangecala lamakowabo ama-Xhosa, u Sarili wayemi yedwa, kungeko bani ubangisana nganto naye, – nokuvela kuyise wayevele tanci, akwabiko nabani ekufuneka ukuba abambeke. Akuba ezitatile ke intambo zombuso umfo ka Hintsza, ilizwe kuma Gcaleka laxola u Ndoxola; kuba wona akabanga nalurorazi lwemfazwe nomlungu njengati ma Ngqika, – waye u Sarili (ngabula ma Gcaleka) wayeyinkosi etambe kunene, etobileyo, evayo



yet when tidings of war reached the country, he remained distant in order to devise a way to wriggle out – as if Nomsa's son was behaving as a diviner in this situation.

The Gcaleka were not involved in the War of the Axe (1846) (and the Gcaleka themselves would readily agree that they were drawn into Hints'a War only through us Ngqika); nor did they participate in Mlanjeni's War (1850–53). The fact that they remained at peace for so many years contributed to population growth among the Gcaleka. None of the black chiefs in the Eastern Cape ever dreamt of fighting Sarhili, and he was on friendly terms with nearly all of them; far from fearing him, they treated him with respect. To this day, the Gcaleka outnumber other nations, they are densely populated, with restricted residential space.

The cattle-killing (1856–57) disrupted the Gcaleka in Sarhili's time. The Gcaleka had settled the area from St Marks in northern Thembuland to the sea at the mouths of the Mbashe and Kei rivers – Fingoland as a whole did not yet exist, the Gcaleka alone occupied that region. But as a result of the ruination of Nongqawuse the entire nation dispersed into little clusters in one obscure place after another; and the chief looped back to his mother in Bomvanaland. His country was given to the Mfengu, and Idutywa was given to the head of the Ndlambe Right Hand House, Smiti Mhala of Gqwarhu. The Gcaleka died of famine; but they did not die to the extent one might expect, because the Gcaleka were always very numerous.

The widespread report of Gcaleka dead during Nongqawuse was exaggerated; as a result certain chiefs thought they could nibble at testing Sarhili! But he roasted the first to come up to test him, so they all took to their heels and ran home as fast as they could!

Let me stop talking about Nongqawuse – the whites say this was Sarhili's plan to get the Xhosa to abandon their cattle and their food and, when they were raving from starvation, he would drive them to the whites, so they would be assimilated and not look back. But we say this was a white scheme, to break the back of the Xhosa because of their resistance in all the wars and various plots. But one day we will sit down to talk, and the truth will emerge.

Before the Gcaleka could recover from the Nongqawuse devastations – let me say in 1870 – Sarhili was disturbed by his son-in-law, Ngangelizwe, the Thembu chief – first he beat Sarhili's daughter Nomkafulo, who was called Novili by her in-laws – he beat her as if to say "I'm waiting for your father."

yakucetyiswa; kanti xa ilizwe selimaxongo, nguye ichule lokuyibona ingxingwa yokupumela, – ange utwasile umfo ka Nomsa kuleyo indawo.

Imfazwe ye Zembe (1846) ayibangako kuma Gcaleka, (yaye naleyo kutiwa yeka Hintsá, angatsho lula ama Gcaleka ukuti yaba lisulelebe elize kuwo kwangati ma Ngqika); eka Mlanjeni (1850–3) ayiwafikanga kanjalo wona. Ite ke lonto yokuhlala eluxolweni iminyaka imininzi kangako, yawenza ukuba ama Gcaleka ande abe ngabantu abaninzi kunene. Kwinkosi ezintsundu kweliya langase Mpumalanga akuko nanye inkosi ebike ip'up'e isilwa no Sarili; waze naye wapantsa ukwenza ubuhlobo nazo zonke; zaza pezu kokumoyika zangena zamhlonela. Nanamhlanj' oku amaGcaleka azongamele izizwe ngobuninzi, axinene, akanandawo yokuhlala.<sup>7</sup>

Into ete yafike yawakataza amaGcaleka yi Ngqaule (1856–7), ngexesha lika S'rili. Oko ama-Gcaleka ayemi nge St. Marks (e Sidutyini) kwelaba Tembu ngasentla, ade ayakuma ngolwandle, ekungeneni ko Mbashe ne Nciba, – yayingekabiko i Fingoland yonke, ise ngama Gcaleka odwa kwezondawo. Kodwa incitakalo ka Nongqause yavula lonke elozwe, atsho ama Gcaleka ahamba eba zizigcunyana kwindawana ngendawana; yati inkosi le yake yajuba kulonina kwa Bomvana. Ilizwe layo lanikwa ama-Mfengu, lati elase Dutywa lanikwa u Kunene kwamaNdlambe, – u Smiti Mhala, kulo Gqwaru. Afa ama Gcaleka yilondlala; kanti noko aka fanga njengokuba umntu ecinga, – kuba ama Gcaleka asoloko engabantu abaninzi kunene.

I-Ndumasi yokufa kwama Gcaleka ngo Nongqause yenziwe nkulu gqita; kwade kwako inkosi ezitile ezicinge ukuba zingake zicubunge ngoku zimlinge u-Sarili! Kodwa ite kwa eyokuqala evelileyo yalinga wayoja emsini, ngohlobo lokuba zibaleke zonke, zibe zibekede ukuya kwangendawo zazo!

Mandishiye lento ka Nongqause kweliti, – umzi omhlope uti lento yayilicebo lika Sarili lokuba umzi wama Xosa ulahle inkomo nokutya uze uti xa uzazijora yindlala, awufunze kubelungu, uye kungena ungasenanto uyijongileyo ngasemva. Tina siti elilicebo labelungu, lokwapula umqolo wama Xosa kuba wawungavumi ukwapuka zizo zonke imfazwe namanye amayelenqe. Kodwa ke ngenye imini soze sihlale pantsi sitete, ivele inyaniso.<sup>8</sup>

Ate engekazinzi ukuhlala ama-Gcaleka ezincitakalweni zika Nongqawuse, – manditi ngonyaka we 1870 u Sarili ukatazwe ngumyeni wentombi yake, inkosi

\* SXR VI omits the last three words of this paragraph.

† This paragraph is omitted in SXR VI.

Although Sarhili was deeply disturbed by this, he took no action when the magistrates assured him they would attend to the matter: as good as their word, they punished Ngangelizwe. Immediately after that, Nomkafulo's bridesmaid Nongxokozelo, another daughter of Sarhili, sister to Dumalisile, disappeared. The Thembu could find no trace of her, but did establish that she was killed by their chief – again the Thembu and Gcaleka magistrates tried to deal with the matter, and they punished Ngangelizwe in 1875. But oh no! The Gcaleka could not accept this – they swarmed out like maggots! They were under the command of Sigcawu, Sarhili's eldest son, the father of Gwebinkumbi. The Thembu were greatly alarmed on seeing the Gcaleka forces – because they were excited, believing that the Gcaleka had been wiped out during the cattle-killing, at least they hoped so. Let me conclude this episode by saying that the Thembu were driven off like wild animals – and the Darkbrown son of Nomsa<sup>3</sup> turned the Gcaleka back by saying "We are not here to kill, but to punish – we have land and cattle, turn and head for home." That was the end of the battle with the Thembu.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly thereafter, before the Gcaleka had settled down, Ngcayechibi's War (1877–79) broke out unexpectedly, which led to the complete loss of their land; even the Ngqika were banished elsewhere, because after Ngcayechibi the Ngqika were resettled in Centane. In this War of Ngcayechibi too, one might be deceived in thinking that the Gcaleka suffered huge losses, but that's not so, Sarhili is a chief with a sheltering wing who knows how to save his people from death. In this war as well he saved the Gcaleka from large-scale losses.

Sarhili produced many sons and daughters; as we said, he used the girls to cement friendly relations with other chiefs in the Eastern Cape. His sons were Sigcawu (Nonqane), his eldest child with a Thembu woman, Nohute, the daughter of Ngubengcuka. He was a quiet man, a bashful fellow, not given to idle chatter, who was reluctant to make eye contact with someone else, but a man of his word; one word spoken was a mouthful, and then he fell silent again. This Sigcawu staunchly supported his father, and he himself produced Gwebinkumbi, the father of Ngangomhlaba. In the Right Hand House Sarhili produced Mcothama the father of Rhazukile. Sarhili abolished the Xhiba for trying to attract the chief's people. Other sons of His Majesty are Lutshaba, Sonwabo, Mthotho, as well as other chiefs.

While still young, Sarhili received the Word from Above from the early missionaries; from the time he became a man until old age, he was under

yaba-Tembu u Ngangelizwe, – kuqala ubete intombi leyo ka Rili, u Nomkafulo ogama limbi lomzi wayo kwakutiwa ngu Novili, – wayibeta ngokomntu lo ngati uti, – Ndifuna uyihlo ngapaya kwako. Ute noko wayekatazekile u Rilly ilento; wayekelela noko xa imantyi ziti ziyakuyiteta ngokwazo lento: okunene zayiteta, zamohlwaya u Ngangelizwe. Suke ngoku shwaka impelesi ka Nomkafulo kwa yintombi ka Rili, engu Nongxokozelo, udade bo Dumalisile. Suke aba Tembu bangabi namkondo wayo, kanti eneneni ibulewe kwa yinkosi le yabo – nayo le imantyi yaba-Tembu yeyama Gcaleka zilingile ukuyiteta, zade zenza isohlwayo ku Ngangelizwe ngonyaka we 1875. Kodwa hayi! Akabanga nakuyi twala lento ama-Gcaleka, – apuma angazimpetu! Aye epetwe ngu Sigcawu, into enkulu ka Rili, uyise ka Gwebinkumbi. Botuke kakulu aba-Tembu bakuyibona imikosi yama-Gcaleka, – kuba babetabatabalazabeba apelile ngo Nongqawuse, benelotemba. Mandiyi peze lendawo ngeliti baswantsuliswa aba Tembu ngokwenyamakazi – yawanqanda i-Ntsundu yo Nomsa ama Gcaleka ngeliti, – “Besingaze kubulala, besize kohlwaya – umhlaba sinawo, nenkomo sinazo jikani kubuywe.” Yaba iyapela leyo yaba Tembu.

Kute kungekabi ntsuku zipi, – tapu eka Ncayecibi (1877–9) engekazoli amaGcaleka into eyatsho umhlaba wamaGcaleka wankwanyulwa wonke; bona ukude ama-Nggika atyunyelwe kwakuwo; kuba emva ko Ncayecibi lowo amaNgqika atyunyelwa kwa Centani. Nakuyo lemfazwe ka Ncayecibi, umntu angakohliseka acinge ukuba makube afe kakulu ama-Gcaleka, kanti hayi, – asikuko nokuba u Rili yinkosi enepiko ekwaziyo ukuwusindisa umzi ekufeni. Nakuyo lemfazwe wawasindisa kakulu amaGcaleka akaze afe ngokoyikekayo.

U-Sarili uzele kakulu onyana nentombi; intombi ezo zezo sesite wenze kunene ngazo ubuhlobo nezinye inkosi ezise Mpumalanga. Onyana ibe ngu Sigcawu (Nonqane)\* inkulu yake itole lom-Tembukazi u Nohute intokazi ka Ngub'encuka. Lomfo ibisisizolane sendoda, umfo onohloni, ongatshafuziyo, ongatandiyo nokujongana nabantu, kodwa into agqibe ekubeni ayenze ubeyenza; nelizwi elinye alitetileyo ubelizalisa lizale cwaka. Ubeyintonga esekosi u Sigcawu lo uzele u Gwebinkumbi, ozele u Ngangomhlaba. Ekunene u Rili uzele u Mcotama uyise ka Razukile. I Xhiba walibulala u Rili ngokuti libanga abantu benkosi. Abanye ke onyana bo Mhlekezi lo ngo Lutshaba, Sonwabo, Mtoto, nezinye ke inkosi.†

\* *Nonqane*

† SXR VI omits the last three sentences of this paragraph.

instruction. We have not heard if he was pretending to commit himself to the Word; but he always welcomed the missionaries. We hear a lot about him in connection with the beliefs of the black nations, beliefs that are referred to as superstitions. During Ngcayechibi's War he was wanted by the government, which offered a reward of £1000 for his capture. No one received this reward; although Sarhili mixed with whites and blacks nobody was interested in the money. Apparently, the same thing happened during the cattle-killing – but no, no one took any notice out of regard for Sarhili.

Sarhili died in 1892 at Mgazana above the Mbashe, when he was an old man of 77. He died discontented in a landscape of mountain peaks and baboons.<sup>5</sup> He left his son Sigcawu to govern this considerable population – the Gcaleka.

In Gcalekaland there are men who continue to be mentioned: there is Burhu, the eldest son of Khawuta, who acted as regent for Hintsu, the father of Maphasa, who is the father of Xhoxho, a Tshonyana. And there is Lindinxowa, the younger brother of Sarhili, the father of Dwebu, who is the father of Bishop.<sup>6</sup> There is Dumalisile, the son of Ncaphayi, the son of Hintsu in the Right Hand House. Let me pass over the other great names, I'm nearly finished; because I was talking only of Sarhili,

Father of Passes! Ntaba!<sup>7</sup>  
 The darkbrown son of Nomsa,  
 great python wrapped round Hohita.  
 As many cattle as his father's;  
 kept as a lump in the belly.  
 He marries a whole family of females;  
 he peeps through the eyes of a hyena cub,  
 the enchanting snake's Mamlambo.  
 Chase the magistrates to be met at Mgwali,  
 am I the only old person left?  
 How do you think I know all these things  
 when so much weighs me down?

Ilizwi lo Pezu konke u Rili ulive kwa sentloko kubafundisi, esemncinane naye; ude wayindoda, wada walupala eshunayezwa. Asiva nokuba wake wankwambisa\* ngokuzi nikela e-Lizwini; kodwa aba Fundisi bona akapezanga ukubamkela. Umfo lo uyavakala kakulu ngakwinkolo zezizwe ezintsundu ezintsundu inkolo ekutiwa zizitixo. Ngo Ncayecibi wayefunwa ngu Rulumente ukuba ambambe kwabekwa newaka le (£ 000) eliyakunikwa kubani omfume eyo. Elowaka alizange libe nabani ulifumeneyo; pofu u Rili epakati kwabamhlope nabantsundu akwabakho uyifunayo longenelo. Nango Nongqawuse kutiwa kwakwenziwe kwalonto, – hayi, ayabi nabani uyananzayo ngenxa ka Rili.

U-Sarili ubhubhele kwa Pasha ko Mbashe e Mgazana, xa ayindoda enkulu ngonyaka we 1892, eminyaka ima 77. Wafa ese nesiroro kukuba abelapo kwelozwe lengxondora nemfene. Washiya unyana wake u Sigcawu ukuba alaule abo bantu baninzi kunene – amaGcaleka.

Kwa Gcaleka kuko lamadoda amana ukuvakala: u Bhuru; lowo ngunyana ka Kawuta omkulu owaye bambele u Hintsa, – yena ke uzele u Mapasa ozele u Xoxo, – li Tsonyana. Kuko u Lindinxowa; lo ngumninawa ka Sarili emhlana; yena ke uzele u Dweba, ozele u Bishop. Kuko u Dumalisile; lo ke ngunyana ka Ncapayi into yase kunene ku Hintsa. Mandiwa shiye amanye amagama amakulu kunene, – ndisondele ekuyekeni; kuba benditeta ngo S'Rili yedwa,

U Sopasi u Ntaba!

Intsundu yo Nomsa, –

Inamb' enkul' ebijel' i Hohita.

Int' enkomo zimalunga nezika yise;

Usaliwa ngaqubu lisesiswini.

Umagan' indlazana;†

Umavel' elunguza ngenchi yenchuka,

U Nyoka yobugqi ngu Mamlambo.

Gxotan' imantyi ziy e Mgwali apo zibuliswayo,‡

Ndim ndedwa n'omdal' ebantwini?

Nit' ezizinto ndizazi nganina?

Ndonganyelwe zinto zonke nje ?

\* *wakwambisa*

† SXR VI omits these two lines, from *Usaliwa* to *indlazana*.

‡ SXR VI omits this line.

I'm weighed down by ploughing and hunger;  
 I'm weighed down by beauty and eloquence;  
 I'm weighed down by greatness and fame;  
 I'm weighed down as a human and chief;  
 I'm weighed down by leading and ruling.

Hints'a's black-crested cuckoo!

That's it!!

41

### Mhala. Hail, Mbodla!

*Next year you'll mourn for me. Mhala*

Of the many sons of Ndlambe, Mhala is the son who succeeded him.<sup>1</sup> If truth be told, Mhala was lucky to obtain the position of chief, the Ndlambe paramount, because

1. His mother, a Ngwevu woman, was a commoner.
2. He had elder brothers, Dyani amongst others.

The principal reason he was proclaimed heir is that the great wife of Ndlambe, Noyena, had no children and Mhala's mother had been established as supporting wife to the Great House in the house of Yena. And among the other close supporting houses there were no male children; so Mhalana (Mhalakins, as he was teasingly called) possessed sovereign power.

It would be a mistake to assume that this fellow acquired his father's position simply because he was from the supporting house – no, his distinguished conduct appealed to the nation; the fellow possessed leadership qualities that were absent in the other sons of his father. As a youngster he formed close ties with the boys of his age group, without any thought that he might become chief. It's whispered that his mother did not die of natural causes, that for some reason she was eliminated; and so Mhalana grew up as an orphan on his mother's side. In the confusion of war in those days, Ndlambe could not just then appoint any one of his sons as his heir until such time as they were all men. Mqhayi, one of Ndlambe's older sons, no longer qualified because his mother

Ndonganyelwe kukulima nokulamba;  
Ndonganyelwe bubuciko nobuhle;  
Ndonganyelwe bukulu nokuduma;  
Ndonganyelwe bubuntu nobukosi;  
Ndonganyelwe kupata nokulaula;  
Ilunga legwaba lika Hintsas!  
Ncincilili!!

41

### U Mhala A, Mbodla!

*Niyakuzilela mna kunyak' ozayo. Mhala*

UMhala ngunyana ka Ndlambe owaba sesikundleni sika yise, pezu kokuba uyise wayenonyana abaninzi. Enyanisweni u Mhala wayifumana ngetamsanqa londawo yokuba yinkosi eyona inkulu yama Ndlambe, kuba:

1. Uzalwa yintombi yomntu omnyama, um-Ngwevukazi.
2. Unabakuluwa bake o Dyan nabanye.

Eyonanto yamenza ukuba adalwe abe yindlalifa kukuba inkosikazi enkulu ka Ndlambe, u Noyena akazalanga, wati ke unina ka Mhala lo wabe wayedalwe waliqadi lakoYena lendlu enkulu. Ate namaqadi awona asondeleyo, asuke akabi nabantwana bangamakwenkwe; waba ke ngoko uyasamela u Mhalana (kuba kwakutshiwo oko ukubizwa kwake ngokudeleka).

Umntu makangacingi nakanye ukuba lomfo ufumane wasizuzwa esi sihlalo sika yise ngenxa yalonto yobuqadi yodwa, – hayi, kubeko imisebenzi ebalulekileyo ayisebenzileyo yakolisa isizwe; waye umfo enezipiwo zobukosi ezingapiwanga namnye konyana bakayise. Ute esak'ula wavana kakulu nalomakwenkwe alibuto lake, kungeko nento yokuba woze abe yinkosi. Kuko inteto epantsi yokuba unina akazifelanga, wati ngesizatu esitile washenxiswa; waba ke ngoko u Mhalana uk'ula eyinkedama ngecala lika nina. Kute ngenxa yengxakangxaka zemfazwe zalomhla, u Ndlambe akandule adale nkulu pakati konyana bake, bade bonke bak'ula bangamadoda. U Mqayi omnye wonyana abapambili baka Ndlambe, wayengasenabango yena kuba unina wayenziwe u



had been placed in the Right Hand House from the time of her marriage to Ndlambe. This meant that the only man who could claim to compete with Mhala for the chieftancy was Dyani.

When his father Ndlambe was quite old, Mhalana was drawn to the attention of the councillors; in fact, they already had their eye on him for his qualities of giving and sharing. At this stage he fell ill and was evidently struck with infirmity. The Ndlambe rushed for a diviner; the diviner accused his brother Dyani of bewitching him. This created longlasting strife between the chiefs, because Mhala's followers sought a diviner to kill Dyani – beyond the Xinirha there is a slope with two copses known as Simangaleni, "Where we accused." At that time the Great Place was located at the Xinirha, where it meets the Gqunube near Gqebeni's mountain – where nowadays the town limits of East London, Qumrha and King Williams Town meet.

In the course of this "accusation" it was plain that Mhalana's diviner was filled by Dyani's, and His Majesty's condition deteriorated. In time Mhalana's Ndlambe came on Dyani's diviner, captured him and brought him to Mhalana; they asked him if he was the one killing the chief. He confessed. He was told: "Mfengu, if you value your life, treat this chief until he recovers, and see that the other chief dies!" The diviner agreed, and did as he was told.

Mhalana did indeed recover; when Dyani learnt that his diviner had been caught and was working against him, he was terrified because he was well aware of his powers – he fled immediately, leaving all his belongings, his cattle and everything, he strode off to save his life and disappeared to a place now unknown. No one knows if Dyani has any descendants. Some say he was blown away by his herbalist.

In the meantime, Mhalana's condition improved, he perked up and spoke a few words; he was installed as chief of all the Ndlambe – and he was worthy of the chieftainship. A tall fellow! More than six feet in height. An eloquent fellow! He is compared to Maqoma, the renowned Ngqika speaker. A fellow given to governing! He was deeply involved in all the affairs of Sarhili's Great Place; during the cattle-killing he was the principal instigator throughout the Ciskei. A prudent fellow! A far-sighted man, especially in times of war. Out of loyalty to the authority of King Sarhili, he arranged for his eldest son Makinana to be brought up at the Great Place, to study royal conduct.

Mhala was born in the same period as Maqoma because they were contemporaries: Maqoma was born in 1799 while the other was a little older – let's say

Kunene, kwase kuzekweni kwake ngu Ndlambe. Ngoko ke eyona ndoda yayizimisele ukuxomana no Mhala ngebango lobukosi yaba ngu Dyani.

Kute kupi selekulile uyise u Ndlambe, waqala amapakati ukuwajongisa ku Mhalana; aye nawo ayesel' emjongile ngenxa yezipiwo zake zokuvana nabantu, nokupa. Kute kusenjalo wagula, kwabonakala ukuba ungenwe bubulwelwe. Akawuleze afuna igqira ama Ndlambe; lite igqira ubulawa ngumfo kayise u Dyani. Ibe lituba elitile lempambano iko pakati kwezinkosi, kuba nelika Mhalana icala lifune igqira lokubulala u Dyani, – pezu kwe Xinira kude kwako ummango onamahlatana amabini ekutiwa igama lawo kuse “Simangaleni.” Imizi yakomkulu ngeloxesha yayise Xinira, ekuhlanganeni kwalo ne Gqunube ngakwintaba ka Gqebeni, – apo zidibana kona nangoku iziqingata ezitatu, – i Monti, i Qumra ne Qonce.

Kute kwesi “Simangalo” kwaqondakala ukuba igqira lika Mhalana liyakulelwa leluka Dyani, waya epela ngokupela u Mhlekezazi. Kude kwati kupi amaNdlambe ka Mhalana aqubisana negqira lika Dyani, alibamba aya nalo ku Mhalana; afike alibuza ukuba kanene lilo na eli libulala inkosi le? Livumile. Kutiwe ke kulo: “Ukuba uyabutanda ubomi Mfengundini, nyanga lenkosi ipile, unyange ukuba ife leya!” Livumile igqira, okunene lawenza ngoku lowo umsebenzi.

Suke okunene waya ecaca u Mhalana; ute u Dyani akuva ukuba igqira lake libanjiwe laye selisebenza ngokucasene naye, woyika, kuba uyayazi intsebenzo yalo, – wakauleza wabaleka, washiya konke anako, nenkomo yonk' into, wagxagxamisela okobomi bake, waya kutsho apo angaziwayo nanamhla ukuba kwakupi na. Akuko nenzala ka Dyani ekoyo, eyaziwayo. Abanye bati wapetshetwa lixwele lake.

Kwesi situba uye epila, esomelela u Mhalana, wade wangumqabaqaba; wabekwa nase bukosini bama Ndlambe onke, – wabufanela umfo ubukosi. Azi umfo upakamile! Ngobude ungapezulu kwenyawo ezintandatu (6ft.) Azi umfo lo liciko! Abamlinganiselayo bamlinganisela no Maqoma iciko elivunyiweyo lakwa Ngqika. Azi umfo uwutobele umbuso! Akuko nto yenziwayo Komkulu kwa Rili angayisukeli pezulu; nango Nongqawuse waba ngumpembeleli omkulu walonto ku Mneno-Nciba wonke. Azi umfo unobulumko! Indoda ebona kude nasezimfazweni. Ngenxa yokuwutobela kwake umbuso wo Kumkani u Rili, wade wenza ukuba unyana wake omkulu u Makinana akulele apo Komkulu, afunde umbuso nobukosi.

he was born in 1795. At least it's said they both died in old age, at roughly the same time, the one in 1874 and our present subject in 1875.

As I've already said, Mhala was loyal to Sarhili's Great Place, his chiefs loved to visit his home because he was held in respect at the Xhosa Great Place and showed no disrespect for the minor houses: at the Great Place of Mgolombane (Sandile), he paid him the respect due to his house, and he always paid respect to such minor houses as the Mbalu (Nqeno), Hleke, Gwali (Nozingwe) and Dange (Bhotomane) – and in so doing he established a firm foundation for his Ndlambe chieftainship.

At this point, Editor, let me leave His Majesty Mbodla (his salutation name) for a while; I'll return to him next week.

Mhala fought in the Battle of Amalinde between Ndlambe and Ngqika in 1818, although he was just an ordinary man. The Ngqika army was commanded by his contemporary Maqoma, who had just returned from initiation. The allied Ndlambe army was commanded by Ndlambe's brave son Mdushane. On that day the Ngqika were crushed in truly terrible destruction.

Hints'a's War took place in 1834. This war was fought about five to six years after the deaths of Ndlambe and Ngqika. So it is a war in which only minor chiefs were involved; Mhala fought, even if not all the Ndlambe enlisted. The war for which Mhala was fully prepared is the War of the Axe (1846), which he did out of respect for his chief Sandile. While at the Xinirha Great Place, Mhala sent word to all the Ndlambe saying: "Every Ndlambe should know that I am fighting this war! Therefore all those to the east of the Nxarhuni should come to me at the Xinirha! All those to the west of the Nxarhuni should report to Mxamli at the Nyube! The two armies will then meet at Gxinixerha, across the Keiskamma at the Ziphunzana, and engage the army at Peddie!"

In this war Mhala earned no glory whatsoever; indeed, this is the one war in which the Ndlambe suffered severe casualties and the fault lies not with Mhala but with his younger brother Mxamli, who disobeyed the chief's command that they should cross the river by night. He said he would cross by day because "we're already committed to battle and cannot travel in shadow." Mhala replied, "I'm Wildcat<sup>2</sup> that walks by night!" and crossed the river. But Mxamli was butchering the chief's people at Gwangqa, where he also fell.<sup>3</sup> In that place piles of Ndlambe corpses lay covering their chief Mxamli from Mnzwi.

Ituba lokuvela kuka Mhala likunye nelokuvela kuka Maqoma, kuba baba ngontanga, nakuba u Maqoma wavela ngomnyaka we 1799 abe omnye lo engapambilana kuhle, – masiti uvele ngomnyaka we 1795. Bati kanti nokufa bayakufa sebengamadoda amak'ulu, belandelelana; omnye ngowe 1874 nomnye lo siteta ngaye ngowe 1875.

U Mhala waba yintobela-mbuso Komkulu kwa Sarili njengoko senditshilo, umzi wake watandwa ukuhanjelwa ngaba Hlekazi abo kanti noko apakanyiswe kangako kwelona Komkulu lakwaXosa, akayidelanga eminye imizana enganeno, enje ngowa komkulu kwa Mgolombane (Sandile), wahlala ewunike yonke imbeko ewufaneleyo lomzi; kanti nemincinane kanye enje ngama Mbalu (Nqeno), Hleke, Gwali (Nozingwe), Dange (Botoman), ubesoloko eyinikile imbeko yayo, – wati ngokwenjenjalo oko uyazizinzisa ukuba buqiniseke ubukosi bake bakwa Ndlambe.

Make ndimshiye kancinane apa u Mhlekezi u Mbodla (kuba litsho igama lake lokubuliswa) Mhleli, ndiyakubuyela kuye kwelandelayo iveki.

Nge Mfazwe yama Linde 1818 eyayipakati ko Ndlambe no Ngqika, u Mhala wayepakati ekulweni, noko wayengekabi bani. Umkosi wama Ngqika wawupetwe ngu Maqoma intanga yake, kuxa ilirwala. Umkosi wama Ndlambe (we Allies) wawupetwe likalipa into ka Ndlambe, u Mdushane. Lomhla ama Ngqika acitwa ngembubokazi embi kunene.

Nge Mfazwe ka Hintsa 1834. Lemfazwe iliwe u Ndlambe no Ngqika beminyaka mihlanu namitandatu beb'ubile. Ngoko yimfazwe etyikityeliswa kwinkosana ezincinane zodwa; u Mhala ngoko wayilwa, nakuba ama Ndlambe yawafika nge Sebe. Eyona mfazwe wayilwa u Mhala ezilungiselele, yeye Zembe (1846), nayo ke esenza ukubusa kwinkosi yake u Sandile. Ute ese Xinira komkulu watumela ilizwi kuwo onke ama Ndlambe esiti: "Wonke um-Ndlambe makazi ukuba kulemfazwe ndiyalwa! Ngoko ke wonke ongasempumalanga kwi Njaruni makeze kum e Xinira! Ati wonke ongase ntshonalanga kwi Njaruni aye ku Mxamli kwa Nyuba! Ize lomikosi yomibini iye kudibana e Gxinixera, – iwele i Xesi e Zipunzana, uye kuingcela umkosi ose Nqhushwa!"

Kulemfazwe u Mhala akabanga nampumelelo mpela; eneneni yaba yeyona mfazwe afe kuyo ama Ndlambe ngesizatu esingekuye u Mhala, koko siku Mxamli umninawa wake, owasuka akawutobela umteto wenkosi le wokuba kuwelwe umlambo ngobusuku, wati yena uyakuwela emini kuba selese dulini akasena kuba sahamba ngamatunzi. U Mhala wati yena "Ndiyi Mbodla mna into ehamba ngobusuku!" Watsho wawela. Kanti u Mxamli

In this War of the Axe Mhala received the praises that run:

He's the dark one who fought in the Gqorha valley;  
 he's the startled Rhurha forest –  
 it's the only storied forest,  
 for Sigqeku's Mbodla fought furiously there.  
 The bull that speaks for two homesteads –  
 he speaks for Mnzwi and the house of Gaxa.<sup>4</sup>

Mbodla wanted to fight in Mlanjeni's War, but the Ndlambe still remembered the bodyguard<sup>5</sup> who had fallen at Gwangqa within the past four years – they stopped him from fighting; they were led by Ndayi the son of Tsorha of the Giqwa (Jikijwa), the great councillor who once saved Mhala's life in one of the wars. But many Ndlambe went out to fight in this war; the chief contrived to help Sandile in different ways.

We have mentioned that in the cattle-killing this chief supported the Gcaleka Great Place in instigating this Disaster, but he bore a heavy burden because their councillors were quite unyielding. Mjuza Nxele and his sons did not slaughter, Ndayi Tsorha and his sons did not slaughter, Mvalo Nkoku Ncinda and his sons were divided – hence the one called Duna became a migrant labourer on Theopolis farm.<sup>6</sup> And Smiti in Mhala's Right Hand House was an Unbeliever; that is how he obtained land at Idutywa. Other councillors declined to go to Idutywa; they said they could not sneer at Sarhili on his own land after his downfall.

During this Disaster Mhala was captured and sent to Cape Town with Maqoma, another instigator; when he was released he did not have long to live.<sup>7</sup> His eldest son Makinana, a favourite at the Gcaleka Great Place, fled to Sarhili at Mgazana and escaped capture. But Kondile (N.C. Mhala), who had not yet been circumcised, was taken with Gonya and others and sent to study at Zonnebloem College in Cape Town, and later sent to St Augustine's, Canterbury, where he studied theology, and they returned in 1864 as properly trained students.

uyakubulalisa abantu benkosi e Mgwangqa; afele apo naye. Yaba yinduli yezi-dumbu kulondawo ama Ndlambe efela pezu kwenkosi yawo u Mxamli wase Muzwini.

Kukuyo lemfazwe ye Zembe apo wazifumana kona u Mhala ezizibongo ziti:

Ngumdak' olw' esigingqini se Gqora;  
 Nguhlathi le Rura lamulekile, –  
 Lilo lodw' ihlat' eline mbali;  
 Kub' itshate kon' i Mbodla ka Sigqeku.  
 Inkunz' etetela mizi mibini, –  
 Itetel' u Mnzwi' nowakulo Gaxa.

Imfazwe ka Mlanjeni, u Mbodla wayefuna ukuyilwa nayo; koko ama Ndlambe ayesacinga ngamafanankosi afele e Mgwangqa, kwiminyakana emine edlulileyo, – amnqanda ukuba angalwi; ayepetwe ngu Ndayi into ka Tsora yasema Giqweni (Jikijwa), umpakati omkulu into eyake yamsindisa kwenye imfazwe u Mhala nge-waye bulewe. Kodwa aba maninzi ama Ndlambe awapumayo aya kulemfazwe; yaye nenkosi le ilwenzile uncedo ku Sandile ngezinye indlela.

Ngo Nongqawuse 1857 sesitshilo ukuti lenkosi yaba luncedo kwi Komkulu kwa Gcaleka ukuyipembelela' lento yesi Siyikili; kodwa yatwala nzima kuba amapakati ayo abalukuni kakulu. U Mjuza Nxele nonyana bake abaxelanga; u Ndayi Tsora nonyana bake abaxelanga u Mvalo Nkovu Ncinda nonyana bake bahlulelana pakati, – kukuze lo ungu Duna ayekuwa ebu Ranugeni e Tapolisi. U Kunene kuka Mhala u Smiti naye wabali Gogotya; kukuze afumane umhlaba e Dutywa. Amanye amapakati akavumanga ukusiwa e Dutywa; ate akanakuya kumvuyelela u Sarili emhlabeni wake akuba ecitakele.

Ngesi Siyikili u Mhala wabanjwa wasiwa e-Kapa kunye no Maqoma omnye umpembeleli; ute ekululwa babe ubom bake bungasena xesha lide. Unyana wake omkulu u Makinana, isitandwa sa Komkulu kwa Gcaleka yena wabalekela ku Rili e Mgazana, wasinda ekubanjweni. Kukuze u Kondile (N.C. Umhalla), eseyinkwenkwe enkulu, abanjwe yena kunye no Gonya nabanye basiwe emfundweni e Zonnebloem e Kapa, yena wade wagqitiswa wasiwa e

\* Muzwi. The emendation is based on Rubusana's version of this line, *Itét' e-Mnzwini nakulo-Gaxa* (269).

+ ukuyipembelela

Mhala had 12 wives; they had 20 sons and 20 daughters, 40 children in all. The wife with seniority over all was Nohute the daughter of Ndaba King of the Thembu. This wife had no children; but a Kwayi girl in one of the supporting houses gave birth to a child for her, namely Makinana, Mtshatsheni's twin. Other children of the Ndilatashe Great House are Mngxokwane, Feni, Sixakwe, Kameni, Mxasa, Sithethizonke and Dalingozi. In the Xhiba House of Gaxa, Mtshekazi, the daughter of Matiwane and sister of Mhlontlo, gave birth to the eldest son Kondile (N.C. Mhala), Sonzobo, Makeleni and Totoyi. In the Right Hand House of Gqwarhu the children are Smiti, Ndesi, Nomhla, Ndimba, Tukushe, Jongole. Most of Mhala's daughters were married to Thembu.

At one time the Ndlambe royal house was divided – the chief had supporters. The conflict centred on Makinana. The chief wanted to grant another of his sons seniority because his mother was a Thembu princess, whereas Makinana's mother was a Xhosa. His wife said, "What about Makinana, who was fed at my breast?" This dispute was referred to Sandile at Burnshill in 1849. Chief Sandile weighed the merits of this case and sided with Nohute, saying, "You were giving Makinana the chieftancy when you put him to the breast of Ndaba's daughter!" In fact, the princess in question was Ndaba's lowly servant among the Thembu!<sup>8</sup>

Mhala accepted Sandile's verdict, saying only "What bothered me was that my mother is a Xhosa woman, so there should be royal blood on the mother's side." Then Makinana's poet came forward to say

There's the horn pointing to Whittlesea!  
 Hollowed manger at Sihota;  
 There's the tough Ndlambe thong,  
 toughened by Ngetu and Tshunungwa,  
 till Nkovu was brought down by the legs.  
 Black eyepit struck by an arrow.<sup>9</sup>

St. Augustine, Canterbury, apo waye fundiselwa izi-Bhalo, babuya ngowe 1864, sebezimfundi ezifanelekileyo.

Abafazi baka Mhala babelishumi elinambini; bamzalela onyana abama 20, nentombi ezikwa ma 20; lonto idibene ngama 40. Oyena mfazi mkulu kubo bonke yayingu Nohute intokazi ka Ndaba u Kumkani waba Tembu. Lenkosikazi ayizalanga; koko yazalelwa le linye lamaqadi ayo intokazi\* yasemaKwayini, u Makinana lo, owayeliwele no Mtshatsheni. Abanye onyana balendlu inkulu, yakulo Ndilat Ashe, ngo Mngxokwane, Feni, Sixakwe, Kameni, Mxasa, Siteti zonke no Dalingozi. E-Xibeni: kulo Gaxa, kwintokazi ka Matiwane, udade bo Mhlontlo, – u Mtshekazi: kuzelwe u Kondile (N.C. Umhalla) inkulu yakona, Sonzobo, Makeleni no Totoyi. Kwicala lase kunene, – kulo Gqwaru: Ngu Smiti, Ndesi, Nomha, Ndimba, Tukushe, Jongole. Intombi zika Mhala zisiwe kakulu ebaTenjini.

Kuko ixesha obake bahluka pakati ubukosi bama Ndlambe. – inkosi yanelayo iqela. Kubanjwene ngo Makinana. Inkosi ifuna ukudala omnye konyana, abe yinkulu, kuba ezalwa yinkosazana yaseba Tenjini, – waye u Makinana ezalwa ngum-Xosakazi. Iti inkosikazi “Atinina u Makinana lo inguye nje umntwana owanye ibele lam?” Ide lempambano yasiwa e Mkubiso ku Sandile ngowe 1849. Uve weva u Sandile wagalela ngakwi nkosikazi u Nohute esiti “Nanimnik’ obukosi u Makinana ngokumanyis’ ibele lentombi ka Ndaba!” Yaye lenkosazana uteta ngayo isisicaka sika Ndaba emva eba-Tenjini!

U Mhala wanele sisigwebo sika Sandile, wanela nje ukuti, – “Into endibe ndingayitandi kukuti mna ndizalwe ngum-Xosakazi, lingabiko ke igazi lobukosi ngelinye icala. Kukuze i-mbongi ka Makinana ivele seyisiti: –

Nank’ umpondo bekis’ e-Hewu!  
 Umkumb’ ongqutu wakwa Sihota;  
 Nang’ umty’ongqongqo wakwa Ndlambe  
 Osukwe ngu Ngetu no Tshunungwa,  
 Wada woyisw’ umzantsi ka Nkovu;  
 U-So linzongonzongo kutolwa ngamanye.

\* *ntokazi*



In 1874 the whole of Xhosaland mourned the sad news from Robben Island of the death of

The Warrior, Nothonto's tearabout,  
 Ngxiya's daughter of the Ngqosini;  
 Sharp Horns watching the dawning horizon,  
 Very Tall with an eland's flapping dewlap;  
 he leans on the mount of Mnqwazi with Cattle.

Fordyce's Leopard of the Waterkloof –  
 who died on the white man's island.  
 Maqoma son of Ngqika.<sup>10</sup>

When Mhala received this sad news of his contemporary, he felt concern that he would be the next to die, because he was also suffering ill health, afflicted with trembling. He continually told his nation: "Take extra care this year; next year you'll mourn for me." He did indeed pass away the following year in 1875. He was buried at his home in Mthumana at the source of the Tanqa in the Qumrha district at the age of 80.

## 42

### The late Rev Edward Tsewu

Edward Tsewu<sup>1</sup> is the son of Tsewu Mbilini, the great Jingqi councillor (Jingqi is the ox of Maqoma son of Ngqika); he is related to Kamase of the Kwemta clan, who looked after Maqoma when he was in the initiation lodge. The Jingqi used to occupy the Alice district, from Gaga right up to the districts of Fort Beaufort, Seymour, Adelaide and Bedford, up to the point where they share a boundary with the Dange at Somerset East in the Nojoli mountains at Mpinto and Mnandi. Most of the Jingqi are located at Fort Beaufort.

When peace had been concluded at the end of Mlanjeni's War (1850–53), Maqoma's army, which had torn its opponents to shreds in the war, killing a considerable number of soldiers, including Fordyce, one of the white heroes, this army of Maqoma was taken and placed in school at Gqumahashe, because they were already Christian believers. Others were dispersed and sought refuge from the Gqunukhwebe, among them people like Marhela of the Cwerha clan;

Kute ngomnyaka we 1874, lazila lonke elasema Xoseni; kuba kwafika umpanga ovela e-Siqitini' wokububa

Kuka Njalatya isijora so Notonto;  
 Sentokazi ka Nxiya yasema Nqosinini;  
 U Nompondwan' ujong' ums' obomvu,  
 U Desh' onequbu upunguza nampofu;  
 U Sayama nga Ntaba ka Mnqwaz' onenkomo.  
     Ingwe ka Fuludayil' e Mtontsi, –  
 U mafel' esiqitini kwesomlungu.  
 U-Maqom' into ka Ngqika.

Ute u Mhala akuwuva lompanga wentanga yake, wangenwa lixala lokuba seyinguye ngoku ozakufa, kuba naye wayehamba engenampilo, enesifo sokungcangcazela; wamana ukutsho esizweni ukuti: "Yalusani kakulu nonyaka nje; kuba niya kuzilela mna kunyak' ozayo." Okunene ngozayo unyaka we 1875 wasweleleka. Wancwatyelwa emzini wake obuse Mtumana, emantloko e-Tanqa, kwisiqingata se Qumra, xa aminyaka ima 80 evelile.

## 42                      Umfi U-Mfundisi Edward Tsewu

U-Edward Tsewu ngu nyana ka Tsewu Mbilini, umpakati omkulu wakulo Jingqi, leyo ke yinkabi ka Maqoma into ka Ngqika, uzalana no Kamase, into yasema Kwemteni, eyayili kankata lika Maqoma. Ama Jingqi la ngawo la ebesakuma kwi siqingata sase Dikeni, eqalele ku Gaga ade esa kwi siqingata se Bofolo, se Mpofu, se Kobonqaba nase Nyara, ade aya kwa hlulelana nemi-Dange ngomda, e Somaseti kwezo Ntaba zo Nojoli e-Mpintho, nase Mnandi. Ikakulu ke ama-Jingqi ayezimisele e-Bofolo

Kute ukulungiswa kwe zinto emva kwe Mfazwe ka Mlanjeni (1850–53), impi ka Maqoma, eyayite yadala iziqwenga emfazweni apo, yabulala amajoni amaninzi kunene, kunye no Fuludayile elinye lamakalipa ase mlungwini, yatatyatwa lompi ka Maqoma, yabekwa kwa Gqumahashe esikolweni, kuba yayise

\* e-Siqitini

still others went home to attend the schools at Knapps Hope near Middledrift. Tsewu went to Gqumahashe.

Edward was born at Gqumahashe, in the year we Xhosa call the year of the lungsickness (1855) because in that year a bull arrived from overseas with lungsickness. Many of the Xhosa children born in that year are called Stofile because the term "Sitofu" (innoculation) was heard for the first time. The eldest child of his father and mother, a Dala girl, he completed his primary schooling there, and it was obvious he should go on to study at Lovedale.

At this point let me defer to the book *Lovedale past and present*, which has this to say about him:

"Edward Tsewu was born in Grahamstown, his father was a deacon in the Lovedale Church; he studied at Gqumahashe under Nkohla Falati, Gwayi Tyamzashe and Bolompana Majombozi. He was at Lovedale from 1871 to 1875, and left to become a teacher in Adelaide after completing his studies with flying colours.

"Early in 1878 he returned to higher education, and studied for the ministry from 1880 to 1883. In 1884 he was ordained, and acted for Rev R. Ross at Cunningham;<sup>2</sup> after that he was sent to the Duff Mission in Idutywa in 1886." And the book on Lovedale ends there.<sup>3</sup>

When the Free Church decided to start work in Johannesburg, which was just a small settlement at the time, Tsewu was sent to initiate the work there. In the beginning it was very difficult, the village offered few facilities, to the Boers who were in control of the region as well as to black people. The Boers had high respect for him when they came to appreciate that he was a man truly worthy of respect. The Presbyterian Church in Albert Street, Johannesburg, was founded by him as well as the ministers' home. The late Rev C.B. Hamilton extended the house, which is now a large building. Rev James Jolobe and others are affiliated to this church.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of time conflict developed between the minister and the Free Church congregation occasioned by jealousy when this place grew wealthy with a black person at the head – this situation was so much in the news that Revs P.J. Mzimba and E. Makiwane snorted at the widespread discussion. In fact, from that time no black minister was assigned to this church unless he was just an assistant.

After this conflict with his congregation, he established his own denomination, independent of the Presbyterian Church; he drove his flock as far as Port

ikolisile ngobu Krestu. Asasazwa amanye ade aya kucela indawo ema-Gqunukwebeni, lawo ke nganje ngo Marela um-Cwera; amanye agodukela kwi zikolo zo Gqadushe e Xesi. U-Tsewu yena waba kwa Gqumahashe.

U Edward uvelele apo kwa Gqumahashe, ngomnyaka esiti tina ma-Xosa ngowe Mofu (1855), kuba kunyakana yafika lankunzi ya Pesheya kolwandle, yeza ne mofu. Uninzi lwabantwana abazalwa ngalowo mnyaka ema-Xoseni kwa tiwa ngo Stofile kuba kwavela igama elitsha le "Sitofu". Ufunde kwalapo kowabo, eyinkulu ku yise na ku nina, intombi yakwa-Dala, wade wa zipumelela izifundwana ezi zisezantsi, kwa bonakala ukuba ngoku makaye kwi mfundo ete tyi e-Lovedale.

Kwesi situba ke ngati make ndikwelele incwadi yakona, eyi "Lovedale Past and Present", eti yona ngaye:

"U-Edward Teswu uzalelwe e-Rini, uyise eli Dyakana kwi Bandla lase Lovedale; ufunde kwa Gqumahashe, pantsi ko Nkohla Falati, no Gwayi Tyamazshe no Bolompana Majombozi. Uze e-Lovedale ngomnyaka we 1871 kwade kwa ngowe 1875, wake wapuma waya kuba yi titshala e-Kobonqaba (Adelaide) emva koku pumelela uviwo ngokupambili kanye.

"Kwalile ebutsheni bo mnyaka we 1878, wafika kwakona, wangenela epakamileyo ngoku imfundo, ede yaya kutyekozela ekubeni afundele ubufundisi ngowe 1880, kuye kowe 1883. Kute ngowe 1884 wazaliswa ebufundisini, wa bambela u Rev. R. Ross e-Toleni; emveni koko usiwe e Dutywa (Duff) ngowe 1886." Itsho ipeze apo ke incwadi leyo yase Lovedale.

Kute nge xesha eyayibona i-Fritshatshi ukuba mayiqale umsebenzi e-Johannesburg, ise ngumzana omncinane oko, yatuma lo ka Tsewu ukuba makaye kuyiqalele umsebenzi apo. Okunene kutiwa wawuqala umfo umsebenzi ebunzimeni, umzi use rwada kakulu, nanga kuma-Bhulu awaye nga bapati belozwe oko, nanga kwa bantsundu. Ahle ama-Bhulu amnika imbeko enkulu, akumqonda ukuba uyindoda yembeko ngenene. Lendlu ise Albert Street, Johannesburg, yama Rabe nguye owa yiqalayo, kunye nendlu yokahlala abafundisi. Umfi. u-Mfu. C.B. Hamilton wawandisa umzi lowo, ngoku wandile, u Mfu. Jas. Jolobe nabanye bapantsi kwawo.

Kute kwakubon' ukuba kupambili kwa vela ukungevani ko-Mfundisi lo ne bandla lase Free Church, sekundawonye no mona wokuba lendawo ityebe kangaka ibe nomntu omnyama, - yateteka lento bade batimla na Bafu. P.J. Mzimba no E. Makiwane kukuba kukubeko inteto ezitshoyo. Enyanisweni akupindanga kuye mfundisi untsundu apo, ngapandle koncedisayo.

Elizabeth. He was with this denomination until his death. He once published a booklet in English to defend himself from the false accusations of his church. It was a powerful book containing certain lessons, but we will not enter into church affairs.<sup>5</sup>

Edward Tsewu is a strikingly large Xhosa, with a severe forehead visible from afar. A person hard to win over. A very tall man with teeth firmly set; in his old age he resembled his father in his manner of walking. On the day he visited East London while I was still young, I was shocked to see him preaching to the white people in town. How proper he looked in his outfit.

His case against the Transvaal Government gave black people the right to buy land, something that had never existed in the Transvaal.<sup>6</sup> To everybody who knows Edward the main question is, "But why did he not study law?" The reason given is that "he mastered legal stitchwork," to use a modern expression. His wife, the daughter of Nxawe from the Thathu in Middledrift, was his right hand in all his ups and downs in this world, she never tired but kept on calling him "Dear," as they used to do when they were young. Some of their children who died were grown-up girls. Their son Smith was named after Tsewu's esteemed teacher, Andrew Smith, famous for the bursary.<sup>7</sup> His son is now in Port Elizabeth. He married the only daughter of Rev John Mafongqo of the Methodist Church, an honoured member of the Jadu clan of the Gqunukhwebe – a Nzotwa.

Rev E. Tsewu conducted the funeral service of Chief Gumna Sandile on his plot at Kliptown, because this eldest son from the Right House died in Johannesburg.<sup>8</sup>

On one occasion when I was in the habit of travelling to Johannesburg for the Ntsikana commemoration, he became emotional and rose to his feet and died while standing.

In the recent case of title deeds the son of Tsewu was involved in fighting, he moved between home at Gqumahashe to Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. It is said that even at the time this man died on his first day in December, –

he's not dead, he's been called,  
 the Jingqi's been called!  
 He was called with a stabbing spear,  
 with a shield and a quiver.  
 The calf of heroes has joined other heroes.

Ute akungevani nebandla lakowabo, waqala Hlelo limbi elikwa yi Rabe ezimeleyo; wadudumisa ke waya kuma ngama B'ayi. Ude wafa ekulo elohlelo; wake washicelela incwadana ngesi-Ngesi yokuzik'usela kwake kwi zityolo zama wabo; yaba yincwadana enamandla ne zifundo ezitile; kodwa asizi kungena kwizinto zama Bandla.

U Edward Tsewu yinkankatela yom Xosa kanye, into ebunzi lilukuni kwa usalibona ngapandle. Into engazange ivume nto ngakuvunyiswa. Ugxiba olumazinyo omeleleyo; ngoku amdala ubeselede wagqibelela ukufana noyise nangoku hamba. Mhla wa hambela e Monti ndiselula, nda mangaliswa kuku mbona esiya kushumayela ku belungu e-dolopini. Waye umfo efaneleke kwa kanye.

Ityala lake no Rulumente wase Transvaal, lenza ukuba umntu omnyama abe nelungelo lokutenga umhlaba, into engazange ibeko leyo e-Transvaal. Wonke umntu omaziyo u Edward lo ungafika ebuza esiti, – “Kodwa wayenani angafundeli ubugqweta?” Batsho kuba umteto “ubewubona no mtungo”: ngabula ntet' entsha. Inkosikazi yake intombi ka Nxawe yasesi Tatwini e Debe, yaba yingalo yake yase kunene kuwo onke amasilantsi elilizwe, ayaza iti “shu!” yapikela ukuti “Dear,” kwanjengoko babesitshono ukubizana ebutsheni. Abantwana babo basweleke abanye sebe zintombi, umfana u Smith, watiywa nge titshala yake ayixabise isimanga, u Andrew Smith wodumo lwe Bursary. Unyana lowo ke ngoku use B'ayi, watshata ne ntombi ekukupela kwayo ka Rev. Jno. Mafongqo wase Wesile, isikulu semi-Jadu ema Gqunukwebeni – um-Nzotwa.

U-Mfu. E. Tsewu wancwaba inkosi u-Gomna Sandile, ku mhlaba wake e Kliptown kuba lonkulu yase kunene yaswelekela apo e-Rautini.

Ngexesha endibe ndimana ukuya e Rautini ngesi Kumbuzo sika Ntsikana, wavuseleleka wema ngazo zombini inyawo, nde wafa enjalo.

Kweli tyala likoyo le tayitile uzigibisele wonke umfo ka Tsewu, ukulilwa, wati ekowabo kwa Gqumahashe, wabe ese B'ayi nase Jobeke. Kutiwa ke namhla ifile londoda nge nyanga ye Nkanga ngosuku lwayo lokuqala, –

Ayifanga' ibiziwe,  
 Ubiziwe' um-Jingqi!  
 Wabizwa ne rele,  
 Ne k'aka no mpongolo.  
 Itol' lama gora liye kwa manye.

Wipe your tears, Kwemta people,  
 and you Chisana, Ndebe, Nkomibomvu!  
 Let's rejoice, he's been raised, –  
 he's gone to fight battles in heaven!

### 43 Hail, Ndluzodaka! Makinana Mhala

Makinana is the principal heir to the entire Ndlambe kingdom. His father is Mhala (Mbodla), the eldest son of Ndlambe, who is the younger brother of Mlawu son of Rharhabe; they share the same mother, Nojoli. Makinana's mother is Nohute the daughter of Ndaba, paramount chief of the Thembu. Mhala had 12 wives, and 40 children. There were 20 sons and an equal number of daughters.

Makinana was born at Xinirha near Macleantown, on the farm known as Somatsatsa between King Williams Town, Qumrha and East London, at the point where the three boundaries meet. He was born in about 1830, because he was circumcised in 1849 while still a youngster, in the same year as Ngonyama Oba Tyhali, together with his brothers Smiti, Mtshatsheni, Ndimba, and Mngxokwane. In the same year, the Ndlambe people suffered a major internal dispute – King Mhala and Queen Nohute took up opposing positions, and this led to a court case.<sup>1</sup> In passing, we haven't seen the end of it yet.

As it happened, Queen Nohute produced no children – but one of the chief's wives gave birth to twins, Makinana and Mtshatsheni. The queen was asked to take one of the twins to raise as her own child. The mother of the twins was a Xhosa woman of the Kwayi clan. Nohute raised this child until he was weaned of *amasi* and grown up. While he was a small boy he was assaulted by other boys: he lost one of his eyes to an arrow while they were hunting birds with bows.

Faction fights escalated within the nation while the boys I've mentioned were undergoing initiation. King Mbodla was quite unaware of this, he was just sending Smiti, his beloved son in the Right Hand House of Gqwarhu, for initiation. He assumed the other boys would enter into the same house. But he made no inquiries; his wife invited all the other women to cut grass for the construction of her son's house, because she felt her son should not enter into the minor

Sulan' inyembezi ma Kwemta;  
 Nawe ma-Cisana, Ndebe, Nkomibomvu!  
 Makube luvuyo, ipakanyisiwe, –  
 Iye kulw' amadabi isenyangwaneni!

### 43 “A, Ndluzodaka!” U Makinana Mhala

U Makinana yeyona ndlamafa kubo bonke ubukumkani bama Ndlambe. Uyise ngu Mhala (Mbodla), into ka Ndlambe enkulu, wabe u Ndlambe lowo engumninawa ka Mlawu into ka Rarabe, ngonina omnye u Nojoli. Unina ka Makinana lowo ngu Nohute intokazi ka Ndaba inkosi enkulu yaba Tembu. Abafazi baka Mhala ke babelishumi linabafazi ababini; abantwana baba ngamashumi omane (40). Amakwenkwe ema 20 nentombi zikwa ngako.

U Makinana uvelele e Xinira ngase Mpongo (Macleantown), kulofama kutiwa ngoku yeka Somats'ats'a, kwisiqingata se Qonce ne Qumra ne Monti, apo kanye zidibana kona zozitatu. Umnyaka avele ngawo umalunga nowe 1830, kuba waluke ngowe 1849 engekabi nongqovu, waluka ngomnyaka ka Ngonyama Oba Tyali, kunye nento zakowabo oSmiti, Mtshatsheni, Ndimba, Mngxokwane. Ngawo lowo mnyaka ama Ndlambe ake ane ngxokozelo engencinci pakati kwawo odwa, – u kumkani u Mhala ahlulelene nokumkanikazi u Nohute, kuhanjwa ezinkundleni. Noko ke asikafiki apo.

U-Nkosikazi u Nohute ke ngenyaniso akazange abe namtwana yena, – koko kute kwapakati kwamakosikazi la kwako enye eyati yazala amawele, u Makinana no Mtshatsheni. Kutiwe inkosikazi mayizitabatele elinye izanyisele libe ngunyana wayo. Unina wamawele lawo ke wayengum-Xosakazi intombi yasema Kwayini. Uyanyisile u Nohute lentwana, wade wapuma amasi yalunyulwa, yak'ula. Ite xa iyinkwenkwana yenzakaliswa ngamanye amakwenkwe ngengozi, yak'utshwa iliso ngotolo, bekulolwa intaka.

Udiwu pakati kwesizwe luzu kuhla ngelishesha lokwaluka kwalamakwenkwe sendiwaxelile. U Mhlekezazi u Mbodla yena akalumkele nto, walusa inkwenkwe yake yase Kunene, abeyitanda kakulu, u Smiti, kulo Gqwaru. Wacinga ke ukuba onke amanye la ayakuya kungena kulondlu. Kanti hayi akabuzanga; inkosikazi imeme abafazi ukuba baze kusika incha yendlu yonyana wayo, kuba engeze unyana wayo ahambe engena kwindlwana zezicaka zake, watsho wak'up'a ilizwi



servants' houses, and she sent word to her son that he should not enter into Smiti's house.<sup>2</sup> The rain poured down.

Only later was Mhala startled to learn this; he asked what was going on. He was told plainly that the queen's son wanted a house of his own, and he was immediately shocked by his mistake in trusting Makinana and Nohute. The situation did not look good, but Mhala was implacable and said, "How can we rightfully make Makinana chief when he is the son of a Xhosa woman?" A councillor replied, "You too are a chief with a Xhosa woman for your mother." Mhala asked, "Is it right that I am of Xhosa blood and my senior son has the blood of a Xhosa woman?" The councillor replied, "Yes, you fed at the breast of your Xhosa mother, Makinana fed at the breast of a princess, the daughter of Ndaba, so there is no comparison."

No, Mhala and his supporters like Nkovu had not heard of this; as they saw it, there was no real reason why Mngxokwane could not be chief, because his mother is a Thembu woman, though of a minor Thembu house. The queen's side was totally opposed to Mngxokwane's suit, claiming that there was no comparison between Mngxokwane's mother and Nohute the daughter of Ndaba, the paramount of all the Thembu.

At this time King Sandile was in the Middledrift district, at Burnshill; plainly, this uproar should be referred to him to resolve. The Ndlambe arrived at Mgolombane's Great Place. King Sandile and his Mbombo council heard them out, then representatives of the queen joined in, saying, "You were giving Makinana the chieftanship when you put him to the breast of a daughter of Ndaba, a Thembu woman."

And the discussion ended there; King Mbodla yielded, saying he had nothing against Makinana, he was only taking into consideration the fact that his mother was a commoner. Then the poet came forward to sing Makinana's praises:

Thong toughened by his bothers,  
 toughened by Ngetu and Tshunungwa,  
 till we took Nkovu down at the legs.  
 Horn pointing to Whittlesea;  
 hollowed manger at Sihota.

eliya kunyana wake lowo esiti maze angangeni kulondlu ka Smiti. Zaye imvula zazisina ngxi.

Wotuke mva u Mhala, wabuza ukuba oku kukutinina? Uxelelwe shusha ukuba unyana wenkosazana ufuna indlu yake, uqale oko ukuyotuka into awayayenzayo yokunikela u Makinana ku Nohute. Koko kwakungasekuhle, ube kusuka ejwejweza u Mhala esiti, "Kolunga na ukuba nimenze inkosi u Makinana lo azalwa ngum Xosakazi, nje?" Lite ipakati "nawe uyinkosi uzalwa ngum-Xosakazi." Ubuze ukuba kolunga na ke ukuti mna ndibe negazi lom-Xosa, aze abuye unyana wam oyincam abe kwangowegazi lom-Xosakazi? Lite ipakati "Ewe, wena wanye ibele likanyoko um-Xosakazi, u Makinana wanye ibele lenkosazana intombi ka Ndaba, ngoko ke anifani."

Hayi, u Mhala kunye nabalandeli bake o Nkovu, abayivanga lento; baye bejonge ekutini kanye-kanye ingaba ngu Mngxokwane ongaba yinkosi, kuba unina ngum Tembukazi, noko angowendlwana encinane eba Tenjini. Icala lenkosikazi lime nqi nakuleyo ka Mngxokwane into lisiti, akanako unina ka Mngxokwane ukubangisana no Nohute intombi ka Ndaba, incam yabo bonke aba Tembu.

Ngeloxesha ukumkani u Sandile wayese Xesi, e Mkubiso, (Burnshill); kwabonakala ukuba lempitimpiti mayisiwe kuye ayina mulule. Afike ema ngazo ama Ndlambe komkulu kwa Mgolombane. Uve weva u Sandili namabandla akowabo akulo Mbombo, batsho ukugalela kwele nkosikazi icala, – besiti, – "Nanimnika ubuk'osi u Makinana ngokumanyisa ibele lentombi ka Ndaba, u Tembukazi."

Yaba iyapela apo ingxoxo; wazinikela naye u Mhlekezazi u Mbodla, esiti, eben-gamtiyi nganto u Makinana, kupela nje, ucinge ngokuzalwa kwabo ngabantu abamnyama. Kukuze ivele i Mbongi imbonge u Makinana isiti: –

Mty' onggongq' osukwe ngamadun' akowawo;  
 Kub' usukwe ngu Ngetu no Tshunungwa.  
 Sade sawoyis' umzantsi ka Nkovu.  
 Mpondo b'ekis' e Hewu;  
 Mkumb' ongqutu wakwa Sihota.

From that day he became the acknowledged paramount in the Ndlambe Great House of Ndilat Ashe; Gqwarhu became the Right Hand House; Gaxa the Xhiba House of Kondile (N.C. Mhala).

Makinana did not have an easy time as a chief of his people because of the disruption caused by wars and Nongqawuse.

Soon after Makinana's initiation, Mlanjeni's War (1850-53) broke out, his military debut, although the Ndlambe did not take part because they had had enough after the engagement at Gwangqa and the War of the Axe (1846-47).

During the disaster of Nongqawuse (1857), King Mhala, in obedience to Sarhili, participated in the slaughter, together with Makinana. Emaciated, Mhala was arrested and sent to Robben Island with Maqoma, while Makinana fled to Sarhili's protection; Sarhili himself sought help from his mother in Bomvanaland. They stayed there at Mgazana. After some time Mhala was released from the island and sent home; but he had nowhere to stay because his land had been divided into such farms as Tanqa, Xinirha, Gqunube, Kwelerha, Eludakaneni, Nxarhuni, indeed the whole Xinirha river basin. This was the position at his death in 1875.

While at Kobonqaba in Centane, Makinana was summoned by the government to reclaim his father's place with the Ndlambe, but on his way back Ngcayechibi's War broke out; now the government considered him an instigator of this war, he was hotly pursued and he returned to Sarhili.

To be brief, let me say that Makinana remained there with Sarhili as if he were one of them until the day of his death after the Boer War.

This Makinana was named after Col. McKinnon, the commander of the English army throughout the Colony. He was a tall giant<sup>3</sup> of a fellow, very handsome, with a gruff, booming voice, a man not easily approachable even by his own child, because he was a man of few words, his thoughts and conversation devoted entirely to war. His closest companions were his dogs alone.

He had three wives, including Nopasi, the daughter of Moni, the light-skinned son of Ntshunqe, the Bomvana chief.<sup>4</sup> Children were produced for Nopasi in the supporting house because she had none of her own. Most of Makinana's children are girls. The eldest daughter is Nomro; women used to call Makinana Somro.<sup>5</sup> The daughters in most cases took Thembu husbands. His son Sihula in the Right Hand House left for greener pastures<sup>6</sup> after initiation and never returned until he died somewhere near Mafeking. The surviving sons are Msintsi (Mpondombini), who was for a time the Ndlambe chief at Gaxa. At his

Ukususela kulomini waba yincam evunyiweyo yama Ndlambe kulo Ndilatashi indlu Enkulu; ingu Gqwaru uku Nene; ingu Gaxa ixhiba, kulo Kondile (N.C. Umhalla).

U Makinana akakufumananga kamnandi ukuba yinkosi kowabo, ngenxa yempiti-mpiti ze mfazwe no Nongqause.

Ute eselirwala u Makinana, lafa ilizwe ngeka Mlanjeni (1850-53), waba ke njalo uyazibula, nangani ama Ndlambe engayingenanga leyo, kuba ayesakolwe yeyokosa yase Mgwangqa, ngeye Zembe (1846-7.)

Kute ngesiyikili sika Nongqause (1857) u Mhlekezi uMhala, ngokutobela u Sarili, waba litamba waxela, kwa no Makinana. Kute ngoku sekufacwa, wabanjwa u Mhala wasiwa esiqitini kunye no Maqoma, u Makinana wabaleka waya kuzifaka pantsi kwekwapa lika Sarili; waye u Sarili lowo ngokwake ebacele kulonina kwa Bomvana. Bahlala apo ke e Mgazana. Kute kupi u Mhala wakutshwa esiqitini wagoduswa; kodwa akabanga nandawo kuba umhlaba wake wawabiwe wazifama, e Tanqa, Xinira, Gqunube, Kwelera, Eludakaneni, Nxaruni, ewe yonke ingingqi ye Xinira. Ude wafa u Mhala lowo ngowe 1875.

Ubiziwe u Makinana, selese Kobonqaba ku Centane ngu Rulumente, ukuba aze kutabata indawo kayise kuma Ndlambe; koko ute uyawela labe ilizwe selifile ngo Ncayecibi; suke ngoku u Rulumente wamtata njengomntu oza nerola lemfazwe, wanqandwa shushu, waya kutsho kwa ku Rili emva.

Ukuyenza mfutshane lembali manditi u Makinana lowo wasel' ehlala apo ku Rili eba ngumfo wakona, kwade kwayimini yokuba afe, emva kwalemfazwe yama Bhulu.

Lo Makinana ke yihlo, igama eli lake walitiywa ngo Col. McKinnon umpati wemikosi yama Ngesi e Koloni ipela. Wayengumq'amb'asholo womfo omde, omhle kunene; olizwi lik'ulu lirabaxa, umfo ongaq'elwa nangumtana amzalayo; kuba ubengena buncoko, ubuncoko bake nengqondo yake yonke isemfazweni qa, amaqabane avana nawo ibizininja zake kupela.

Abafazi bake babe batatu ngenkosazana u Nopasi, intokazi ka Moni, umhlope ka Ntshunge, inkosi yakwa Bomvana, u Nopasi lowo naye uzalelwe liqadi engazalanga yena ngokwake. Inkoliso yabantwana baka Makinana zintombi. Eyona inkulu ngu Nomro; bekusakutiwa ke ngabafazi ngu 'Somro. Intombi zikolise ukwendela eba Tenjini. Unyana wake wase Kunene u Sihula wemka ese lirwala waya kwa Ntliziyondise; ude wafela kulomazwe ngase Mafeking. Onyana abate bapila ngu Msintsi (Mpondombini) owake wapata kuma Ndlambe kulo Gaxa. Ute akub'ub'a kwabizwa umninawa wake ongu Solani

death he was succeeded by his younger brother Solani Silimela, because Msintsi had no children. This Silimela brought with him all the power and authority of a Ndlambe, because he arrived with intelligence<sup>7</sup> and he ruled over the whole Qumrha area, East London and five districts of King Williams Town.

As I've said, Makinana's entire life and thought were concentrated on war; he fought in the War of the Axe, was a Believer during the cattle-killing, and fought over Nongxokozelo (1875);<sup>8</sup> he fought fiercely in Ngcayechibi's War, and he expected every chief emerging from the initiation lodge to abstain. When Salakupathwa emerged in 1896, Makinana as a great man was asked to offer words of exhortation. Good heavens! Ndluzodaka!<sup>9</sup> He made a great effort and said in his gruff voice, "The abstinence will tell us that a great chief has been initiated, so that old men like us can be warm!"

Even when Somro was out walking with his councillors, he would just stop and look down, delighting in the ants, observing the line moving to one side, returning, carrying something, and entering the hole – he would exclaim in his harsh voice: "Do you see now! Do you see now! These men can't get themselves out of trouble! Look at this one turning back with a better idea! Look at those carrying food they've bought disappearing into the hole, thinking about their families locked underground!" It is said that Somro could spend the whole day studying ants to observe their battle tactics.

His favourite ox was Nkanti, but it was not well known: he spent far more time grazing with his cattle and white horses than he did at home, so his people would use the expression "at Ntaka Mhlope's place" (White Bird's place), and others took that to be the name of his ox.<sup>10</sup>

Makinana's son Silimela<sup>11</sup> was struck by the Word while dancing in the place of assembly; the Xhosa said this boy should train as a diviner, his mother's unease had passed into him. Ndluzodaka disputed this and said, "No, this boy is not preparing to be a diviner, leave him, he should not dance again! He is sensing something brought by his grandmother from Burnshill, and by my father from Nxarhuni!" And the King proved to be correct because not long after his son spoke in tongues preaching the Word, which he continues to do to this day.

Makinana was buried with Sarhili, Sigcawu, and Dalasile across the Mbashe at Mgazana; on the day the new Ndlambe<sup>12</sup> were to receive a tiny scrap of land near Xinirha, but they did not forget the bones of Ndluzodaka, and those of his father Mbodla at Mthumana, at the source of the Tanqa.<sup>13</sup>

Silimela, kuba u Msintsi akazalanga. U Silimela lo ke uze nawo onke amandla namagunya obu Ndlambe, kuba uze ngobudilatashe, wongamela sonke isitili se Qumra, nese Monti kwa nelali ezintlanu zase Qonce.

Bendisitsho ke, ndisiti, bonke ubom nengqondo ka Makinana buse mfazweni walwa ngeye Zembe watamba nge Ngqaule, walwa ngo Nongxokozelo (1875); walwa shushu ngo Ncayecibi, ubesayilindele ukuba yonke inkosi epuma esutwini izibule. Ukupuma kuka Salakupathwa ngowe 1896, kutiwe kuye makake enze izwi lokuyala njengendoda enkulu. Intoni! u-Ndluzodaka! Ugwaqaze ngelozwi lirabaxa, – esiti “Sobona kaloku ngokuzibula ukuba kwaluke i nkosi enkulu, ukuze nati maxego sike sifudumale!”

Ubesakuti nokuba uyahamba u Somro namapakati ake, kubonwe esima ondele pantsi; kanti utabata umdla ezimbovaneni, ujonge lemirozo ib'eka ngapa, nebuyayo, netwele izinto, ne ngena eminxhuneni, – uve esiti, ngelozwi libi: “Niyabona ke! Niyabona ke! Lamadoda ke akazenzi kunzima kuwo! Niyayibona le ijika nje icingile! Niyawabona la atwele inkinqa etshona kulomxhuma, acinge amawawo ase mgolombeni ngapantsi paya! Kutiwa ingahamba imini u Somro xa selejonge imbovane ebona izinto zemfazwe kuzo.

Inkabi yake ngu “Nkanti”; koko ayidumanga kuba akabanga kowabo yena ngokwake ubedla ngokuba nenkomo namahashe amhlope obungeva abanye besiti, kulo “Ntaka Mhlope,” ude ucinge ukuba ligama lenkabi yakona.

Unyana ka Makinana ongu Silimela wangqulwa li Lizwi ese nkundleni etshila; ati amaXosa makube lenkwekwe iyatwasa, ingenwa inkatazo kanina. Wapika u Ndluzodaka wati; “Hayi, ayitwasi lenkwekwe, yiyeken' ingab' ipind' itshile! Ihliwa yinto eyeza no mawokulu kwase Mkangiso, enobawo e Nxaruni!” Wati kanti u Mhlekezi lo unyanisile; kuba unyana lowo kwangalo eloxesha waba yingqereza yomshumayeli we Lizwi, kude kube ngoku nje nje.

U-Makinana uncwatywe kunye no Rili, no Sigcawu, no Dalasile pesheya ko Mbashe e Mgazana; mhla amaNdlamb' amatsha oze afumane isiqwengana somhlaba ngase Xinira, akayi kuwalibala amatambo ka Ndluzodaka, nakayise u Mbodla, e Mtumana, eman Tlok' e Tanqa.

Many people often ask me, time and again, to write something about Suthu; even though they would love me to write a detailed biography of this queen, I did not feel up to the task. To this day, as it is, I hoped to get help from the article written by my friend, the late Dilizintaba (W.D. Soga), for the newspaper *Isigidimi* on 1 December 1885.<sup>1</sup> I was fortunate again to meet the grandchild of this queen at Qombolo in Centane – His Majesty Gawushigqili (Mnyango Benjamin Sandile), who offered full answers to my questions.

Suthu is the daughter of Mvanxeni, a Thembu also known as Tshatshu, the father of Bawana whose son Maphasa is the father of Gungubele, the father of Gcuwa.<sup>2</sup> This house of Tshatshu always enjoyed extremely close relations with the Rharhabe; it is a house that was quick to help in times of distress and hardship. And their daughter Suthu achieved something very rare among the Thembu and Xhosa princesses, to live with them and be buried among them. Most princesses return home when they are close to death and are buried there.

Here among the Rharhabe this lady was married to His Majesty Lwaganda – Ngqika, at Tyhume, or rather at the farm now known as Sikhutshwana's (Atwell). We can place the time close to the Battle of Amalinde (1819) because Suthu was still a newly-wed then. Her husband Ngqika already had other wives, although according to Xhosa custom they could not give birth to chiefs because they were the daughters of commoners, their fathers were not chiefs. After Suthu's marriage, she was established as queen because she was the daughter of another royal family. The nation already accepted that her child would inherit the throne.

Indeed, Tshatshu's daughter produced a son in 1821, shortly after the arrival of the British Settlers, at her home in Thembuland – he was named Sandile, apparently taken from a European king, renowned at the time – Alexander the Great. He was not Suthu's only son, because after him there came Dondashe, whom they chose to name after Admiral Dundas.<sup>3</sup> The daughters were Notobi, Mhakazi and Mili.

This lady stayed in the home of the Rharhabe – because her husband Ngqika is the eldest son of Mlawu, and his mother Yese is the daughter of Xigxa; Mlawu was the eldest son of Rharhabe and his mother is Nojoli the daughter of Nomagwayi from the east; Rharhabe belongs to the Right Hand House of Phalo – Phalo's senior son is Gcaleka. She shared the ups and downs

Ndinabantu abaliqela abamana ukundicela, amaxesha ngamaxesha, ukuba mandib'ale into ngo Sutu, nakuba bona babengatanda ukuba mandib'ale ubomi belenkosikazi kangangoko ndinako Mna bendingazifumani ndinako ukukwenza oko. Nanamhlanje ndisenjenje nje ndinetemba lokuncediswa yincwadi yo mhlobo wam, umfi u Diliz' intaba (W.D. Soga), awayeyib'alele kwipepa lesi "Gidimi" somhla wokuqala kwinyanga yom Nga, nyakana ngom-Punzisa, – (1st December 1885). Ndibuye ndanenyweba yokuhlangana nomzukulwana wayo lenkosikazi, e Qombolo kwa Centane, – u Mhlekezi uGawush' i-Gqili (Mnyango Benjamin Sandile); endite indawo endizibuzileyo wandipa kakuhle.

U Sutu yintokazi ka Mvanxeni, umTembu ogama limbi lingu Tshatshu, uyise ka Bawana, ozele u Mapasa uyise ka Gungubele, onguyise ku Gcuwa. Lendlu ke yakwa Tshatshu yindlu eyasaloko inobuhlobo obusondele kakulu kuma Rarabe; ngumzi apanga uncedise ngamaxesha embandezelo nengxakeko. Nalentombi yawo ingu Sutu yenze into enqabe kunene kumakosazana aseba Tenjini nakwa wakwa Palo, ukuhlala emzin' ayo, ide isuke incwatyelwe kuwo. Inkoliso yama kosazana kukuti agoduke aye kufela emakayeni awo, ancwatyelwe kona.

Lentokazi ke apa kwa Rarabe yazekwa ngum Hlekazi u Lwaganda, – ngu Ngqika ke lowo, ese Tyume, masiti kulofama kutiwa ngoku yeka Sik'utshwana (Atwell). Ituba silicingela kufupi ne Mfazwe yama Linde (1819), kuba ngayo way' esel' eko u Sutu engumtshakazi. Indoda yake, u Ngqika wayesel' enabo abanye abafazi, nakuba ngesiko lakwa Xosa babengekabi nakuzala inkosi, kuba babezintombi zabantu abamnyama, oko kukuti, oyise bazo babe ngezizo inkosi. Ute ke u Sutu akuzekwa, wabekwa endaweni yobuk'osikazi kuba eyintombi yobuk'osi belinye icala. Laye ke ilizwe selisazi ukuba nguye oyakuzala indlalifa ebukosini.

Okunene lentokazi ka Tshatshu yamzala' unyana, ngomnyaka we 1821, kufupi nokufika kwama Satlani, yamzalela kowayo eba Tenjini, – watiywa igama lokuba Sandile; pofu kwakujoliswe kwinkosi etile ya Pesheya, eyayidumile ngezomini, – u Alexander Omkulu. Ayibanga kupela komtaka Sutu lowo kuba emva kwake kuzelwe u Dondashe, naye angaba wayefunwa ukutiywa ngo Admiral Dundas. Intombi yaba ngu Notobi, no Mhakazi, no Mili.

\* *yamzla*



of the House of Rharhabe, she bore with them all the ruinations of persistent wars, patient in her marriage. And during the Nongqawuse scatterings she was among them, giving advice, stooping just like a wife of the home. There was an occasion when (in modern parlance) she was in a tight spot, when she came close to losing her high rank – though she was not at fault; we can say it was because of the wavering of her husband, because at the time the daughter of the most senior Thembu chief was brought to Ngqika, the daughter of Ndaba, son of Zondwa, son of Dlomo, Ngubengcuka's sister. According to Xhosa custom then, it was time for "the mongoose to make way for the genet."<sup>4</sup> In other words, Suthu should yield her place to the Thembu princess.

This queen Suthu was loved by all the Mbombo – Ngqika's people – Mbombo is Ngqika's favourite ox. Her supplanting as queen was not a light matter, it required considerable effort. Lwaganda referred this matter to the Gcaleka Great Place, requesting that Suthu be dismissed and this princess be made queen. At that time, the Great Place was in the hands of Zanzolo

whose eyebrows reveal his anger,  
bull praised for goring before it gores<sup>5</sup>

– that is, Hintsu. The Great Place is not quick to untie a knot it has tied.

While they were busy examining this matter and all its complexities, His Majesty King Ngqika took strangely ill at Burnshill, and this led to his death. Ndaba's daughter quietly went home, leaving with no children – and the Great Place proceeded to confirm Suthu the daughter of Mvanxeni; it confirmed her son Sandile as Mbombo heir. Ngqika died in 1829, in December.<sup>6</sup> The house of Rharhabe was entrusted to Nothonto's Tearabout, Maqoma, as well as Tyhali and Anta, as regents on behalf of their superior, Sandile, in his minority. Suthu did not yield the reins of control in watching over her son, because he clearly did not enjoy robust health and was not as fiery as his older brothers.

In the year of the comet, 1841, it was evident the boy should enter initiation school. On his return, Ngqika's sons handed him his kingship, but they did so saying, "We would have loved to be king." They continued, "Today the great hunting expeditions are yours, the forests are yours, the wild beasts are yours, the people are yours, the cattle are yours, the snakes are yours; all is yours." It seemed in order for the queen to live with her son. But before long Tyhali took ill and died; he was buried alongside the stream that flows between the

Yahlala ke lentokazi kulomzi wayo wakwa Rarabe, – kuba u Ngqika lowo, umyeni wayo yint' enkulu ka Mlawu, ngo Yese intokazi ka Xigxa, abe u Mlawu eyint' enkulu ka Rarabe ngo Nojoli, intokazi ka Nomagwayi wase Mbo; abe u Rarabe lowo eku Kunene ku Palo, – inkulu ka Palo ingu Gcaleka. Usihla unyuka nje ke lomzi wakwa Rarabe, uhla unyuka naye, uko kuzo zonke incitakalo zezimfazwe zilurorazi utwele, unyamezele ukwenda. Nakwezi ziyikili zo Nongqawuse upakati kwazo, uyacebisa, uyabenisa ngokomfazi emzin' ake. Kuko ixesha awake (ngokwalentet' intsha) wema kakubi kakulu, wade wapantsa ukupulukana nesihlalo sake esipakamileyo, – pofu engenatyala yena; singati yayikwa bubunxoshanxosha bendoda, kuba ngeloxesha u Ngqika uziselwe intombi yeyona nkosi inkulu eba Tenjini, intombi ka Ndaba ka Zondwa, ka Dlomo, engudade bo Ngub' enchuka. Ngesiko ke ngoku esi Xoseni, umelwe kukuba “udede umhlangala endaweni yenywhagi.” Oko kukuti makashenxe u Sutu endaweni yeyona nkosazana yaba Tembu.

Lenkosazana ingu Sutu ke asikuko nokuba ibitandwa ngawo onke ama Mbombo, – abantu baka Ngqika, – u Mbombo yeyona Nkabi ka Ngqika iyincam. Lento yokushenxiswa kwake ebuk'osikazini ayibanga yintoshe, ike yanemigudu yayo nemizamo. Ude u Lwaganda wayisa lento Komkulu kwa Gcaleka, ukuba makuk'ululwe u Sutu kudalwe lenkosazana ebukosikazini. Ngeloxesha ikomkulu lalonganyelwe ngu Zanzolo,

umB'eka ntshiyini bat' uqumbile,  
Inkunz' abayik'uz' ukuhlaba ingekahlabi,

– ngu Hintska ke lowo. I Komkulu ke asimzi usukela pezulu ukutukulula iq'ina owawuliqinile.

Ite isamana ik'angelwa lento nenkontsentse zayo, suke um Hlekazi u Ngqika wagula e Mkubiso akaq'elisela; wati kanti uyakububa nguwo lowo mkuhlane. Isuke intokazi ka Ndaba yaziti sululu yagoduka, imka ingabanga namtwana, – lisuke i Komkulu lase lisuka limqinisela okunye u Sutu intokazi ka Mvanxeni; limqinisela nonyana wake u Sandile ekubeni yindlalifa yakulo Mbombo. Lomnyaka ke wokub'ub'a kuka Ngqika ngowe 1829, ngenyanga ye Nkanga. Usele kaloku umzi wakwa Rarabe wapatwa sisijora so Notonto u Maqoma, no Tyali, no Anta, bepatele inkulu yabo u Sandile, owayese mncinane kanye. Waye u Sutu engashenxanga ezintanjeni zombuso nokumkangelela unyana

Gwali and the Tyhume known as Cweya, in Alice. Oh, quite obviously this prince was murdered by his mother Suthu who, it was rumoured, wanted to get rid of them all so that her son would be the only one left, so she had to be driven off home. But Sandile credited none of the malicious rumours about his mother. They relented. The Thembu daughter of Mvanxeni became even more firmly established, and the Ngqika nation cherished<sup>7</sup> her even more.

Queen Suthu opposed the War of the Axe, which was Sandile's debut war, but she was overruled, because the issues were complex and involved, like the English wanting to cross the Tyhume, it wasn't just about the theft of an axe by Tsili.<sup>8</sup> The son of this queen was now deeply influenced by his councillors, who had swept off his mind, which his mother had firmly grounded. And later, again, he participated in Mlanjeni's War. At that time, the government of the day recognised that Suthu had an open mind, and it gave the power to rule the nation to her and Naphakade (Charles Brownlee), the Ngqika chief magistrate, while at the same time it was trying to reduce Sandile's power; but that could not be engineered.

During the Nongqawuse disaster of 1857, this queen sided entirely with the Unbelievers, such as Tyhala and Soga, but her son wanted to satisfy both sides, Believers and Unbelievers; that led to the scattering of the nation.

The reader will infer that, during this War of Ngcayechibi, the queen was in advanced age, and could no longer involve herself in hostilities.<sup>9</sup> Her son sent her to one of his councillors, who was teaching at Mgwali, Festile Soga, the elder brother of Rev Tiyo; Soga, Festile's father, had himself been the chief councillor of the Mbombo. The people at Mgwali School were happy at the arrival of the queen among them, and so were the ministers there, Revs J.F. Cumming (the elder Cumming) and J.W. Stirling, and they presented her with appropriate gifts of food and clothing.<sup>10</sup> Eventually, the war and everything associated with it passed on; the queen's son remained where he was, and that upset his mother as well as the whole nation. When things had settled, the ministers requested a benefit from the government for the queen, the government agreed and the grant was made. At the same time, the councillors never ceased to bring gifts to the queen; the school communities formed long queues to do the same; nor did white friends hold back in bringing their affectionate gifts to Suthu. At this stage, Mvanxeni's daughter altered her way of life, she attended church services, and went out to Jehovah's house in the cold and in the sun. Ultimately, she committed herself as one of the servants

wake, kuba wayebonakala ukuba noko akate ngqe ngempilo, nangengqabuko njengabakuluwa aba bake.

Kwalile ngalamnyaka wom-Gca 1841 kwabonakala ukuba inkwenkwe mayibe sendle. Ite ip'uma zabe into zika Ngqika ziyinikela ubukosi bayo, noko zayinikela zisiti, "Nati besibutanda." Zatsho zihambisa zisiti, namhla ke amap'ulo ngawako, amahlali ngawako, inyamakazi zezako, abantu ngabako, inkomo zezako, inyoka zezako; into yonke yeyako. Kwanga kulungile kwinkosikazi ukuhlala nonyana wayo. Kodwa kute kungepi wagula u Tyali, wab'ub'a; enchwatyelwa kulontlanjana ipakati kwe Gwali ne Tyume, kutiwa ngu Cweya, e Dikeni. O! Kwabonakala ukuba lomtan' enkosi ubulawa ngulonina ungu Sutu, yati inteto ufuna ukubakwelelisa bonke asale yedwa lonyana wake, ngak' oko makagxotwe agoduke. Intoni ke u Sandile, akayip'ulap'ul' oku lonteto imbi ngonina. Kwaba kuyancanywa. Waya ezinza ngokuzinza um-Tembukazi intokazi ka Mvanxeni, saya simkota ngokumkota isizwe sama Ngqika.

Nge Mfazwe ye Zembe eyimfazwe yokuqala neyokuzibula kuka Sandile, asikuko nokuba inkosikazi u Sutu wayeyicasile, koko woyisakala, kuba ya yinempakata nempelekelela ezizezinye, ezinje ngokufunwa kokuwelwa kwe Tyume ngama Ngesi, ingeyiyo into yokuhlaselwa kwe zembe ngu Tsili yodwa. Ute nonyana lo wale nkosikazi ngoku wangati umke kakulu namapakati akowabo amwexula kwingqondo ezinzileyo kanina. Ude ke ngoko wapinda emveni koku wazitsho ba'kada kwi Mfazwe ka Mlanjeni. Ngelixesha u Rulumente wezomini wayesel'eyibonile naye ingqondo ka Sutu ukuba ibanzi, wamnika intambo zokupata isizwe kunye no Napakade (Chas. Brownlee) imantyi enkulu yama Ngqika, ezama ukuke amti gexe bucala u Sandile; koko londawo ayibanga nakupateka kub'eke pi.

Ngesiyikili so Nongqawuse 1857 inkosikazi le yayingecala lama gogotya konke, o Tyala no Soga, koko unyana wasuke wafuna ukukolisa yombini, eyama Tamba neyama Gogotya; waba njalo umzi uyeyela encitakalweni.

Ngale "Mfazwe ka Ncayecibi," umfundi uyakunakana ukuba inkosikazi mayibe seyingumntu ok'ulileyo, ongase nako ukucwacwaza emahlatini. Ute ke unyana wayo wayitumela kumpakati wake osesikolweni e Mgwali, u Festile Soga, umkuluwa womfundisi u Tiyo; abe u Soga, uyise wo Festile abo wayengumpakati oyintloko kulo Mbombo. Yaba luvuyo kwisikolo sase Mgwali ukufika kwenkosikazi le pakati kwaso, bavuyo nabafundisi ababelapo, o Revs. J.F. Cumming (Komen'omdala), no J.W. Stirling, abayeka ukuyip'a izinto ezifanelekileyo, ezityiwayo nezambatwayo. Ide yadlula imfazwe leyo nento

of the Almighty. In 1880, at an advanced age, the lady was confirmed as a full member of the church.<sup>11</sup> After some time, her health was seen to deteriorate, and it became difficult for the lady to attend church services. The ministers and preachers zealously visited her to pray for her and to read the Holy Scriptures to her. For her part, the lady increasingly grew in the love and regard of her people, the Word and her ministers, she constantly expressed gratitude to them, reminding them to visit again. This queen's daughters deserve praise for the way they nursed their mother. Eventually, the 10th day of August in the Year of the Cattle-sickness (1885) arrived, after the queen had expressed her desire to join her Saviour, and He did indeed come for her on that day.

The school community and its ministers were busy with preparations for keeping the queen company on her journey. Cattle were slaughtered for those who travelled long distances. The son of Stirling led the church service, and evangelist Tobe Mndayi said a prayer; the son of Cumming spoke at the graveside. The grave is next to that of councillor Soga, the son of Jotelo. People came eagerly to send their queen on her way.

And that is the life and conduct of this Rharhabe queen, who came to this country when it was known as Rharhabeland – and left when it was called Ngqikaland, because of certain developments. We estimate her age to be 86. In her days, Suthu was of great assistance to the ministers and their families in times of war; she protected them well in the War of the Axe (1846) and Mlanjeni's War (1850). She cried with the families that had lost their fathers in those wars – and in particular on the day at Middledrift (Boma Pass), a difficult day for the whites, whose families assembled with her to weep.

zayo; kuba unyana wenkosikazi le wasala apo yalusizi olo kunina, nasesizweni sonke sipela. Lite lakuxola, abafundisi bamcelela u nkosikazi isondlo ku Rulumente, wavuma u Rulumente wakwenza oko. Ngeloxesha zazingap'ezanga izandla zamapakati ukuzisa izipo kwinkosikazi; yaye imizi yezikolo nayo yenze ungccelele olunye; izihlobo ezimhlope azibanga semva nakanye ukuza nezazo izipo zobubele ku Sutu. Ngelixesha nayo intombi ka Mvanxeni yayise izibekele kwezinye isimo, yazihamba inkonzo ze Cawa, ayapuma kwindlu ka Yehova mhla ngengqele, namhla ngelanga. Ide yazinikela kwizicaka zo Somandla. Okunene ngomnyaka we 1880, ebudaleni bayo, yazaliswa intokazi ebulungwini obuzeleyo betyalike. Kute kupi impilo yabonisa ukungabi ntle, kwanzima kaloku kwintokazi ukuya ezinkonzweni ze Cawa. Bayikutalela abafundisi bayo nabashumayeli ngokumana ukuza kuyitandazela nokuyifundela izi B'alo ezi Ngcwele. Yaye intokazi yomfo ngelayo icala iya ik'ula ngokuk'ula ukubabuka nokubatanda abantu bakowayo, nabe Lizwi, kunye nabafundisi bayo, isoloko ibabulela, ibayaleza nokuba maze babuye bapinde beze. Intombi zalenkosikazi zikufanele ukunconywa ngohlobo ezimonge ngalo unina. Ude wafika umhla we shumi kwinyanga ye Tupa kulomnyaka wesi Twayi (1885) emveni kokuba inkosikazi ivakalise umnqweno wokunga ingade iye kuba kunye no Msindisi wayo, wayitabata okunene ngolosuku.

Wasala waqukeza kaloku umzi we sikolo kunye naba fundisi bawo, kulungiselelwa ukup'elekezelelwa kwenkosikazi. Kwaxelwa 'zinkomo kwanje, ukwenzela abavela kude. Into ka Stirling yenza intshumayelo etyalikeni, kwatandaza umvangeli u Tobe Mndayi; emancwabeni kutete into ka Cumming. Laya incwaba lisecaleni lelompakati u Soga ka Jotelo. Baye abantu benganqenanga ukuza kuyik apa inkosikazi yabo.

Ibe njalo impilo nentlalo yalokosikazi yakwa Rarabe, eyafika kwelilizwe kusatiwa kukwa Rarabe – yemka sekutiwa lizwe lakwa Ngqika ngenxa yenguqunguqu ezibekoyo. Iminyaka yokupila kwayo siyitelekelela kumashumi osibozo\* anesitandatu. U Sutu ngemini zake wayeluncedo olukulu kubafundisi nentsapo zabo ngamaxesha emfazwe; kuba ubak'usele kakulu nge Mfazwe ye Zembe (1846), nangeka Mlanjeni (1850). Walila kunye nosapo olufelwe ngoyise ezimfazweni apo, – ngakumbi ngomhla wase Xesi (Boomah Pass) owaba nzima kunene kumagwangqa, lwak'ungela kuye usapo lwawo lulila.

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\* *osibazo*

**Hail, Lwaganda!**

Sixam's son A.M.G. has earnestly requested me to reveal to him and others where exactly at Burnshill Lwaganda (Ngqika) was buried. I was at the grave a few days ago with Mr Kota. It is in an isolated place among wild olive trees in the mealie fields; but it is not cultivated, it is a spot known to everyone at the Burnshill school. Somebody once told me that the land belongs to Mr Dingiswayo. There is much that is "unknown" about the grave, so what you have said, Mr Sixam, should not be ignored, and I raise my arm with yours.

I have a few points I often make about His Majesty. For the moment, I want to make only two or three comments and not take up space in the newspaper. Ngqika is the son of Mlawu, the son of Rharhabe in the Great House, and his mother is Queen Yese, the daughter of Xigxa of the Thembu. He is dark black, about six feet tall; a sprightly man, enterprising from an early age; and for this very reason he was unpopular with the councillors (councillors of all nations prefer a chief they can manipulate or cheat).

In accordance with custom, he was handed the kingship by Ndlambe, his father's younger brother, and by His Majesty King Khawuta, who cast the royal necklace (gold) over him while he was still a boy.<sup>1</sup> He underwent initiation at Knox Station, Middledrift, and was sponsored for circumcision by his uncle. But supporters of Yese, major thugs, forcibly removed him from the initiation lodge in order to influence him, so that he no longer associated with Ndlambe; they referred to Ndlambe as "Big Shot," often saying things like "This Big Shot's making off with the king's people because they're used to him – he should be shown his place!"

It was not long before Ndlambe was driven off, chased away with weapons, and forced to leave Xhuxhuwa near Fort Beaufort, and he made for his mother's home among the Qwathi in Thembuland; Ndlambe stayed there for some time – until the Qwathi grew nervous that Lwaganda might come and crush them too. And so the Qwathi seized Ndlambe and sent him to his people in Gcalekaland, at a time when Burhu ruled on behalf of Hintsu. The Gcaleka took Ndlambe home fully armed, as they are said to have first slaughtered a large number of cattle to make shields. As the Gcaleka reached the Tyusha near Pirie, Lwaganda appeared with his fresh army, and they gave the Gcaleka a thorough thrashing! Ndlambe was captured and moved to Rhabula. He was locked in jail to stop him walking about among people. By jail I mean not walking

Unyana ka Sixam ongu A.M.G. unomnqweno wokuba ndimtyilele yena kunye nabanye abatile ukuba angaba u Lwaganda (ligama lika Ngqika ke elo) wancwatyelwa ndawonina e Mkubiso (Burnshill) apa? Bendikulo eloncw'aba kuzo ezinyanga zikufupi nje, ndino Mr Kota. Likwindawo ete qabavu epakati kwemiti yemi Nquma emasimini; koko alilinywa lona, liyindawo eyaziwa na ngubani nobani apo e Burnshill, esikolweni. Kuko oke wati kum lowo mhlaba likuwo ngumhlaba ka Mr Dingiswayo. Into "engenziwayo" kulo eloncwaba ininzi, ngako oko elolizwi ulitetileyo Mr Sixam malingawi pantsi, nam ndinyuka kwa neyako ingalo.

Ndinamaqabaza endike ndawenza futi ngaye u Mhlekezzi lo. Nangoku ndinga ndingake nditi gqaba abe mabini matatu ndiyeke ndingadli isituba sepepa. U Ngqika ngumfo ka Mlawu, into ka Rarabe enkulu, unina ngu Yese inkosazana intokazi ka Xigxa eba Tenjini. Ngumdaka omnyama omde, okwinyawo zontandatu; lirhadu rhadu lendoda umfo owahlakanipa eselula; akatandwa kuyapi ke ngamapakati ngesosizatu (amapakati kaloku kuzo zonke intlanga afuna inkosi ayakuyiqata ayifoqe).

Ubuk'osi wabunikwa ngesiko ngu Ndlambe, umninawa kayise, kunye no Mhlekezzi u Kawuta, owamposa ngesi danga sobuhlalu (gold) eseyinkwenkwana. Ukwaluswa waluselwa e Xukwane, (Knox Station) Middle Drift, esaluswa nguyisekazi lowo. Koko amabandla ako Yese, izijor'ezikulu, zimhlute kwase sutwini apo, zamtabatela emandleni kuzo, ukuze angabuye azane no Ndlambe lowo; zitsho zamtiya igama u Ndlambe zati ngu "Mduna" yayinteto efuti ke leyo iti: "Lo Mduna umka nabantu benkosi kuba bamqelile, – mak-abonelwe indawo yake!"

Okunene kute kungabanga pi wandululwa u Ndlambe, wasukeliswa ngezikali, esuswa e Xuxuwa ngase Bofolo, yekoko ukusingiswa kulonina ema Qwadini, kwelaba Tembu; ubelapo u Ndlambe ituba elinobom, – aye ama Qwadi esoyika, esiti hleze u Lwaganda aze kuwacumza nawo. Ade ke ngoko ama Qwadi amtabata u Ndlambe amsa kwa Gcaleka kowabo, ngexesha ekwaku-pete u Bhuru, epatele u Hintsa. Amtabatile amaGcaleka u Ndlambe amgodusa exobile, kuba kutiwa aqala ngokux'ela kakulu inkomo zokwenza amakaka. Ate xa ama Gcaleka ase Ty'usha ngase Pirie, wavela u Lwaganda nomk'osi wake ongqakamba wawabeta ama Gcaleka azindlazi! Wabamba u Ndlambe wambeka e Rabula, wamvalela etolongweni ukuba angahambahambi pakati kwesizwe.



about freely, not leaving the fixed point; and Ndlambe was not a man who stays in one place.

After a time, Lwaganda and his supporters groomed their shields and crossed the Kei as a powerful army. Where are they heading today? On their way to "make a thorough investigation," in other words, to crush the Gcaleka completely; and ask them where they were going fully armed with Ndlambe. And what happened? The Gcaleka realised that Mlawu's son was snatching them off like an eagle snatches chicks – they fled helter skelter; their cattle were seized on the slopes! Hintsa was seized while still a young boy, but he was later released.

In 1817 Lwaganda met Lord Charles Somerset at the Kat river near Fort Beaufort to discuss various matters affecting the Xhosa and the whites. Ndlambe was there, as well as Kobe, Nqeno, Tshatshu and other chiefs as great as Lwaganda's father, but they were completely ignored – they were asked nothing – instead, the governor treated Ngqika as the paramount chief, senior to Khawuta. That seriously endangered Ngqika. The governor concluded with words that placed Ngqika on a knife edge: "Be my friend, and I will be your friend."

This behaviour led to the disastrous Battle of Amalinde (1818–19). Lwaganda was blamed for this because he knew his position (1) as a child among his fathers, and (2) as a chief with a paramount chief senior to him, Gcaleka. All the Xhosa nations joined together against him because no nation could oppose him on its own – he even defeated the Gcaleka. In the Battle of Amalinde, many of Ngqika's councillors died, foremost among them Jotelo, the father of Soga, of the Jwarha; Nteyi, the father of Tyala, of the Dala; Ntlukwana, the father of Neku, of the Cirha; and Qukwana, the father of Nxokwana, of the Ntakwenda. And so Lwaganda ran to the whites secretly to denounce his opponents, in accordance with their discussion the previous year (1817) at the Kat river. This was set up by the slave Maqamashane, the father of Hlanganise, the father of Soman, a slave who escaped from the Boers to seek refuge in Rharhabeland; on his arrival here he married a Jwarha girl, and that is how the Somanas over there in Centane joined the Jwarha.

In the time of Ntsikana, Lwaganda became a convert; but he was forced to abandon Christianity by his councillors. Although he had abandoned Christianity, he remained an observer, and one could hear him at wedding dances saying: "If only I had someone to report on me in Heaven!"

Itolongo kambe nditeta ukungahambahambi oko, nokungayi ezisuseni; waye u Ndlambe ebengemfo uhlala ndawonye.

Emva kwetuba u Lwaganda namabandla akowabo, basike amakaka bawela i Nciba bengumkosi ontshongontshongo, – kuyiwapi namhla? Kuya ku “nyhenyhetwa iminyani” oko kukuti kuya kucunyuzwa ama Gcaleka; ayakubuzwa ukuba ayesiya pina okuya ayexhobile esiza no Ndlambe? Uti kwatini? Abone ama-Gcaleka umfo ka Mlawu selewariwula ngokokhozi liriwula amants-hontsho, – abaleka azib’ekede; zatinjwa inkomo zawo emimangweni! Watinjwa no Hintsa eseyinkwenkwe. Koko wabuye wayekwa.

Ngomnyaka we 1817 u Lwaganda wayekunye no Lord Chas. Somerset e Ncwhenxa ngase Bofolo, beteta izinto ngezinto zentlalo ka Xosa nomlungu. Wayelapo u Ndlambe, no Kobe, no Nqeno, no Tshatshu, nezinye inkosi ezinkulu, ezingoyise ku Lwaganda, – koko azizange zihoywe nokuhojwa oku, – akwabuzwanto kuzo, – yati neruluneli yamenza ingqayingqayi yenkosi u Ngqika, into engapezulu naku Kawuta. Apo ke ingozi yake u Ngqika yaba kona. Yagqiba iruluneli ngamazwi angumngcipeko ati: “Vana nam, nam ndivane nawe.”

Seso senzo kanye esaba yimb’angeli ye “Mfazwe yama Linde” (1818–19). Wayengxoliswa u Lwaganda lowo ukuba ayazi indawo yake nje (1) ngomtwana pakati koyise (2) njengenkosi enenkosi enkulu engapezu kwayo, u Gcaleka. Zamhlanganyela zonke izizwe zika Xosa, kuba kwakungeko sizwe sinye sasinako ukulwa naye, – nama Gcaleka ngokwawo ebewoyisa. Kulomfazwe yama Linde afa kakulu amapakati ake apetwe ngu Jotelo, uyise ka Soga um Jwara; no Nteyi, uyise ka Tyala um Dala no Ntlukwana uyise ka Neku, um Cira; no Qukwana uyise ka Nxokwana um-Ntakwenda. Kukuze u Lwaganda abaleke ayekuhlabela abelungu, ngokwe nteto yabo yomnyaka odluleyo (1817) e Ncwhenxa. Lonto yayipetelwe likoboka u Maqamashane, uyise ka Hlanganise, uyise ka Somana, owaye likoboka elabalekela apa kwa Rarabe, limka ngokuzimela ema Bulwini, lafika apa lazekelwa intombi yasema Jwareni, ukuze o Somana aba babe ngama Jwara nje, kwa Centane paya.

Ngexesha lika Ntsikana, u Lwaganda wabalikolwa; kodwa wabuye walahliswa ngamapakati akowabo. Ute naxa selelahlile wasoloko enesingqala, abesiti nasemdudweni aviwe esiti: “Ndinomntu ngelendibik’ ezulwini!”

Bate bakufika abafundisi wazikela kanjalo kakulu kubo, kuba wayesiti zizitunywa eziya kumbika ezulwini wafunda, wade wafundisa, – izik’ulu ezingo

When the missionaries arrived, he committed himself to them, because he said they were messengers who would report on him in heaven; he studied, then taught important people like "Gqupu and Qabaqaba," both Mpondo, fathers to people like Mboni, elders from Kulile's Mnqaba, who were taught the alphabet by Lwaganda on large trees.

Well then, let me conclude at this point, I have said much, my brother – just let me say that Lwaganda's grave is near Middledrift, at his school at Burnshill:

There I leave him,  
 Scandalmonger, laughing behind others' backs;  
 bar that barred Phalo's cattle;  
 imp familiar with strangers –  
 black snake that split the pool.  
 foul-winged vulture;  
 wild beast that devours his own home but denies it,  
 saying Makabalekile did it.  
 Aren't you watching us?  
 We mean something to you!!!<sup>2</sup>      That's it.

46

### Rev J.D. Antoni

The abovementioned minister, James Daniel Antoni, is the current Provincial of the entire Order of Ethiopia – he is the fourth Provincial of this Church, his three predecessors having died and passed on to their father. The first was Rev J.M. Dwane, founder of this Order and Church. He was succeeded by Rev James Gcule, who was succeeded by Rev E. Dakada. Because, Mr Editor, I have for a while known this leader who now holds the reins, I want to record a few things about his life and his progress until he is what he is today – I believe he has become what he is not by virtue of education or wisdom – but resilience, patience, and a capacity to hope have elevated him. In appearance the man has nothing to distinguish him. Nothing proclaims him to be the leader of a lively church. He has no commanding stature; he is a short fellow, though not a dwarf. There is no ostentation in clothing or adornment, no individuality. And in speaking, he does not separate words but runs them together, in a soft voice,

“Gqupu no Qabaqaba” ama Mpondo, oyise boMboni, ingwevu zase Mnqaba ka Kulile zazifundiswa ngu Lwaganda o “A,” kumaqekebe emiti.

Hayi, – mandipete kulendawo, ndenze kakulu, mninawa wam, – nditsho nditi, lihleli inchwaba lika Lwaganda, e Xesi, e Mkubiso kwisikolo sake:

Ndiyamshiya apo, –  
 U So-Tshulubembe u mahlek’ abane ligqo;  
 Umval’ obuvalel’ inkomo zika Palo;  
 U Ntsimangwana yakwa Nkwebu, –  
 U Nyok’ emnyam’ ecand’ iziziba.  
 U Xalanga limapik’ amdaka;  
 U ramncwa ladi’ umzi liwunyela,  
 Lisith’ udliwa ngu Makabalekile.  
 Anisikangeli na?  
 Siluluto lwenu!!!                      Ncincilili.

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**U Rev. J.D. Antoni**

Lom-Fundisi ugama lingasentla apa, u James Daniel Antoni nguye ongu Mongameli wawo onke ama Bandla ase Tiyopiya (Order of Ethiopia) ngezimini, – ungu Mongameli (Provincial) wesine walawo Mzi; kuba abatatu abapambi kwake abaseko badlulela koyise. Abo ke ngu Rev. J.M. Dwane, umseki walo eli Bandla no Mzi; emva kwake ibe-ngu Rev. James Gcule; emva kwalowo ibe ngu Rev. E. Dakada. Ngenxa yokuba mzuzu ndimazi lo mongameli ubambe intambo ngokunje, Mhleli, ndinge ndingake ndenze amacapaza ngobomi bake, nokunyuka kwake, ukuze nje ade aye kuba yilento ayiyo, – endicinga mna ukuba asiyiyo imfundo, asibubo nobulumko obumenze ukuba ade abe yilento ayiyo, – koko lunyamezelo, ngumonde, yinkolo netemba izinto ezimpakamisileyo. Indoda le asimfo ungapawula nto kuye wakuba umbonile. Akuko nto ixela ukuba yindoda eyongamele umzi ongakanana, isitomo asiko, umfo mfutshane, noko angesiso isitwenya, ubucokocoko bezinxibo

resonating his utterances in his upper nostrils – O! you just can't hear! Speak louder! Nonetheless, the gift of God in him outweighs all those shortcomings.

James Antoni is the son of Daniel Antoni, who was a Methodist evangelist a short while ago. In royal allegiance he is a Gqunukhwebe, a Jadu of Khama's place. If asked, he is a Sukwini, and his name proclaims him a Coloured. This Provincial was born at home at the Mdiza river in the territory of Mayiphase the son of Nyikana. His mother is a Nkabana girl who gave birth to boys, carried James on her back as a baby, then left him as an infant in October 1869. Rev James A.M. Rune of King Williams Town and I recently interviewed him at his home in Grahamstown for information on his background, but he is not exactly forthcoming in conversation. He says he was born at the Mdiza (the Green river, Middledrift), as I've said, in October 1869; three months later his mother took ill and died, but her spirit returned to say that she had been reprimanded by the ancestors for being too attached to the baby she left behind, so she had come to detach herself. She was at pains to make a clean break for herself, and left the land in peace with instructions that the baby should be conveyed to her maiden home, the Busakwe family at Mt. Coke, and sent to school. His elder brother Peter did so, driving a cow and a calf for his sustenance. So, he joined the Mt Coke community and took the name James Busakwe. The Provincial speaks well of the man who raised him: no one could pass his home without him asking a host of questions and insisting he be given food, over and again, until the pot was empty, and on many occasions his wife berated him. The old man commenced work here in King Williams Town, and then went to East London, as an ordinary worker, a staunch Methodist like his father and elder brothers; but he joined the Ethiopian church, known then as the A.M.E., in the same year it arrived, because it was a national church holding great promise.<sup>1</sup>

As a youth, the great man reverted to the name James Antoni and at that time, because of his poor health in East London, he crossed the Kei and settled at Centane in search of better health. In so doing he embarked on his career because the sons of Nxokwana (one of whom was the headman) invited him to become the minister of their Nyuthura community. He was reluctant, still fixed on an excellent little school for himself. If you visited Nyuthura in those days, you would see a little traditional man not dressed in a blanket but wearing a little pair of trousers dyed red with ochre, the customary attire, heavily patched; yet he was the local teacher – but in need, assailed by deep hunger

nezi hombo abuko; isiqu naso asingako; kanti naxa atatayo umfo lo akuzi kupawula magama abucule kwatini, nelizwi aliko, aze lomfo abuye ankankaze atete ngamakala, – O! ungaqondi ngokunye! Kanti sona isipo sika Tixo asikona kwezonto zembonakalo yangapandle.

U-James Antoni, ngunyana ka Daniel Antoni, umvangeli wase Wesile ngemihla yamzuzu; yinto yasema Gqunukwebeni ngokweziko lobukosi, kwa Kama kwimi-Jadu. Ngokobuzwe ngum Sukwini, kwa igama liyamxela ukuba li-Lawo. Apo avele kona ke u-Mongameli lo kulapo kwelakowabo e-Mdizeni ka Mayipase into ka Nyikana. Unina yintokazi yasema Nkabaneni, eyanela ukumbeleka emva kwamanye amadodana, ngenyanga ye Dwara kumnyaka we 1869, yamshiya ese lusana u James. U Rev. James A.M. Rune wase Qonce, kunye nam sike sam cukumisa ngenteto emzini wake e-Rini, kutsha nje, ukuze asenzele icapazana ngokucela-kwake, kuba ngumfo ongena burhangarhanga babuncoko. Uti wavelela e Mdizeni (Green River, Middledrift) njengoko senditshilo ngo October 1869; koko kute enyanga ntatu ezelwe wagula unina wasweleka; kute kungepi wavuka esiti ungxolisiwe pambili ngokuzi bopelela kangaka kolusana alushiyayo, kutshiwo kwatiwa makeze kuzikulula. Okunene uzamile ukuzitukulula kulo, walishiya ilizwe eluxolweni, emva kokuyolela ukuba usana olu maze lusiwe kowabo kwa Busakwe, e Mkangiso (Mt. Coke) esikolweni. Uti ke wenjenjeya umkuluwa wake omkulu u Peter, equba imazi enetole ayakondliwa yiyo; waba ngumfo wase Mkangiso ke njalo, – engu James Busakwe negama. Uyayincoma umongameli lo londoda yamondlayo, uti ibi yinto ekungadluli mntu kulowomzi wayo, ebiza qho, iti makapiwe ukutya lowo, nomnye, kwa nomnye ide isuke imbiza ipelele eziko, ibe nenkosikazi ngezinye imini seyide nayo yantshingilimantsho. Uqale ke omdala wasebesebenza e Qonce apa, ude waya nase Monti, engumsebenzi njekodwa, engum-Wesile ongqongqo njengoyise nabakuluwa bake; ite kodwa kwanyakana yafika i Tiyopiya wangena kuyo ise yi A.M.E. kuba ibiyityalike yohlanga, neyayitembisa izinto ezinkulu ebuzweni.

Kwalile akuba yindodana umfo omkulu waligodusa igama lake wangu James Antoni, ekute kwakuso eso situba, ngenxa yokungapili e-Monti, wawela waya ngapesheya kwe Nciba, kwa Centane, ngokufuna impilo. Ute kanti ngokwenjenjalo oko kukuya kungena kwake emsebenzini, – kuba ucelwe zinto zika Nxokwana, isibonda ukuba abe ngumfundisi wentsapo zazo apo e Nyhutura. Wangena unkabi engangeni noko, kuba wayesanyeke izikolwana ezite putu kunalento akuyo. Ubungati uyile apo e Nyhutura ngezomini, umane ubona

because there was no one of like mind there, since no one had attended school. The school he was teaching in was a Xhosa house thatched with grass from the roof right down to the ground, and the teacher lived in it. One day, while he was teaching, he heard the children scream because a snake was swinging down from the roof above his head. He whacked it senseless with the stick he used as a pointer. One day, a high wind in a heavy downpour swept away the whole side of the hut, thatch and all. He covered that side with his blanket and the old man slept in his trousers till dawn; the next day he went to cut long grass to thatch the hut, while the local people were off drinking, so that he was helped only by someone who happened to see him and took pity on him. On many days this teacher would leave the school to enter the forest to dig up edible roots for dinner; while in the forest with his digging tool he would also gather wild fruit for eating; once when there was a great harvest of Kaffir plums he had to compete with baboons and monkeys. The chalk he used for teaching was white clay dug from dongas; with it he wrote on splinters broken off liquor barrels.

To be brief, Mr Editor and readers, let me say that in both the areas where Mr Antoni taught children there are government schools, at Kantolo a Methodist school, at Nxokwana an Ethiopian school – and there are many Christian homes there. An old teacher from the Ethiopian school, Mr. Bisset Nikani, Sisusenkomo, a Tshawe, educated his daughter until she earned a B.A. from Fort Hare, and now she teaches at Lovedale. The son of Antoni set to work there, in the wilderness, nowhere; his affiliation to the Ethiopian Church was a threat, because the magistrates kept threatening the stewards who looked after the members of the Ethiopian Church. Later the son of Antoni was sent to school by Rev J.M. Dwane, and the clever fellow proved a diligent student; then he was sent to St Bedes in Mthatha, where he qualified as a priest. By that time he was a giant eagle of a scribe of Ethiopian affairs under Rev Dwane; after that he was made Theological Tutor, a position he has held till the present. The East London congregation recently had the pleasure of seeing a succession of Ethiopian teachers from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage who had been taught by him, a string of preachers. For the community, it was a new development that trained teachers who had committed themselves to such work, and it was announced that nine of them had passed with distinction after being examined by white men. In addition, Rev Antoni fostered good relations between the Ethiopian and Anglican churches and strong relations with all the bishops. And today the son of Antoni has shown the lie to the slander that Ethiopian

qatyana lingambete bulankete pofu, koko linxibe ezobulukwana zibomvu yimbola, zibe zihlonyelwe kanobom nangeziziba; kanti ke yititshala yalapo leyo, – koko intswelo, indlala zazi pezu kwayo kungeko nabani wokuyivela, kuba kwakungeko nomnye umntu wasezi kolweni apo. Isikolo abefundisela kuso yayingu ngqupantsi, eziya zindlu zama Xosa bezifulelwa ngencha, iqalele pezulu ide iye kuti ngqu emhlabeni, ebelala kwakuyo u titshala. Ngenye imini esafundisa, weva abantwana sebekala, kanti yinyoka seyijinga pezu kwentloko yake ivela entungo, uti wayiti qwi ngentonga eyayikwa yi pointer. Ngenye imini umoya omkulu onesipango wayitabata indlu icala lonke, yemka incha, wayingquma ngengubo yake londawo, walala ke omdala ngebulukwe zake kwada kwasa; kute kusasa waya kusika incha elidobo loku fulela indlu, abantu abako kuyiwe ezindywaleni, waselencedwa ngotile owati wayibonela lonto wano-sizi. Imihla emininzi lotitshala ubepuma esikolweni, asinge ehlatini aye kumba imiti etyiwayo ukuze afumane idinala; bekuse kuhleli kuko ulugxa lwake olusehlatini apo, abesimba ngalo ingcambu zemiti ezityiwayo; kuti kona ngexesha lengwenye ibe yindyebo, – adywidane nemfene, nenkawu ngazo. I-tshoko yaletitshala ibilifuta elimba ezindongeni; abhale ngalo kumaceba okwapuka kwemipanda yendywala.

Ukufutshanisa Mhleli, nani bafundi manditi, kwezolali zombini abefundisa abantwana bazo u Mr. Antoni lo, kwabako izikolo zika Rulumente; kweka Kantolo sesama Wesile, kweka Nxokwana sesama Tiyopiya, – imizi yama kolwa ka Kristu apo yaba mininzi. Ititshala endala yeso sama-Tiyopiya isikolo, u Mr. Bisset Nikani, i-Tshawe u Sisusenkomo, ngulo ofundise intombi eyi B.A. yase Fort Hare, efundisa e Lovedale ngoku. Kulapo kwafukama into ka Antoni apo, enyanyeni, kwanti; baye nobu Tiyopiya bake sebusoyikeka, kuba imantyi' zazi-mana ukuzityimbisela umnwe izibonda ezigcine abantu abangama Tiyopiya. Emva koku oka Antoni wasiwa ezikolweni ngu Rev. J.M. Dwane, wafunda ngenyameko ureme; wada wasiwa e St. Bedes, e Mtata, apo apumelele kona ubu-Priste. Ngeloxesha wayesele yingqangangqanga yom-Bhali wemicimbi yase Tiyopiya pantsi ko Dwane; ekute kupi wenziwa umfundisi wezityudini ezifuna ukungenela izi-Bhalo (Theological Tutor); aseyiyo nanamhlanje. Impi yase Monti kutshanje ike yanovuyo ukubona uhlohlo lwetitshala zase Tiyopiya, zivela ema-Bhai, Tinara njalo ezifundiswa nguye, kuwo longca we Lizwi; ibe yinto entsha leyo emzini, ukuti ititshala ezizeleyo zizinikele emsebenzini

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\* imantsi



ministers are uneducated – and because he hates sin and strings up those who commit it, he has earned a new name – Butcherbird.<sup>2</sup>

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## Heroes of the gospel

*Go therefore and make disciples of all nations. Matt. 28:19*

Mr Editor: –

The day seemed to promise great things, to be something worth encouraging, when the Xhosa son, Reverend Gwayi, son of Tyamzashe, of Mejana, of Oya, a Ngwevu, a Rhudulu from Tshangisa's place, Sikhomo's place, and Zulu's, inspanned a wagon in Kimberley, with his eyes on the African interior, in the year 1886, in pursuit of his mission to spread the news of peace to different nations.<sup>1</sup> He had been summoned to clear a Spring of the Water of Life in the Zoutpansberg, amongst the Sotho in northern Transvaal. This happened some 46 years ago.

Let me go back a little, Mr Editor, with your permission, to mention two small matters before we continue:

1. Educated people from the Cape Colony have had pride and conceit drummed into them because of their qualifications; as a result, most of them hardly talk, one would never know they are educated, even those who have made a contribution to the country. Messrs W. Koyi, Mapasa Ntintili, Shadrack Mngunana and Isaac Wauchope traveled to Nyasaland, and other young men in this country have brought light to the land.<sup>2</sup> Rev Mashaba and others have been to the islands as prisoners of the Word among the Portuguese.<sup>3</sup> Let me leave the story there, it's long. Rev Edward Tsewu, the Jingqi hero from Gqumahashe, made it possible for the black man to buy land throughout the Transvaal, which had been prohibited.<sup>4</sup>

onjalo; kwaye kusitiwa ezisitoba sezinemviwo ezizipumelele kakuhle, ziviwa ngamadoda amhlope. Enye indawo u-Mfundisi Antoni, uyenze i Tiyopiya yavana ne Tshetshi, naye wavana ngamandla ne Bishopu zonke. Isigxeko sokuba abafundisi base Tiyopiya abafundanga uyasicita namhla oka Antoni, – ote kanjalo ngenxa yoku tiya izono, nabenzi bazo ebaxoma wazizuzela igama elitsha lokuba, – li-Nxanxadi.

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### Amagora E-Vangeli

*Hambani ngoko niye kuzenz' abafundi zonke intlanga. Mat. 28:19*

Nkosi yam Mhleli: –

Kwakungati kumayana, kuyeyeka, mhla itole lom-Xosa, um-Fundisi u-Gwayi, into ka Tyamzashe, ka Mejana ka Oya, um-Ngwewu, i-Rudulu, lakwa Tshangisa, kwa Sikomo, kwa Zulu, labopa inqwelo yalo e-Kimbili, lajonga pezulu e Afrika, ngomnyaka 1886, lihambisa indaba zo xolo ezintlangeni, njengokutunywa kwalo. Lati kanti libizelwa ukuya kuvula um-Tombo wa-Manzi apilileyo e-Zoutpansberg, kwizwe labe-Sutu emantla e-Transvali. Iminyaka ngoku kwenzekile oko, ikuma shumi omane anesitandatu (46).

Make ndibuye umva kancinane Mhleli, ngemvume yako, ndikankanye indawana zibe mbini pambi kokuba sihambele pambili:

1. Abantu abafundisiweyo base Koloni yase Kapa bakufundiswa kakulu ukuba bangazingci bazigase ngemfundo yabo; ngoko ke inkoliso yabo ngabantu abate cwaka, ongeze uqonde ukuba ngabantu abafundileyo, nabanomsebenzi abawenzileyo elizweni. Kwelase Nyassa kuhambe o Messrs W. Koyi, Mapasa Ntintili, Shadrack Ngunana, Isaac Wauchope, namanye amadodana alapa awenze elozwe lakanya. O-Rev. Mashaba sebevela aziqitini bengababanjwa be Lizwi kuba Putukezi. Mandiyishiye leyo, inde. U-Rev. Edward Tsewu, igora lakulo Jingqi kwa-Gqumahashe, nguyeyeyo owavula indlela yokuba umntu ontsundu abe nako ukuwutenga umhlaba kwelase Transvali lonke, – into leyo eyayivaliwe.
2. U-Rev. Gwayi Tyamzashe lowo wayefunda e-Lovedale, wade wafundisa kona, noka Gqumahashe, wade wabekwa izandla, wangum-Fundisi

2. Rev Gwayi Tyamzashe studied at Lovedale and later taught there together with the son of Gqumahashe until he was ordained as a minister of the Congregational Church assigned to Kimberley, and he served there as a minister.<sup>5</sup> While he was in Kimberley, there was an influx of people from many different nations seeking the wealth of diamonds; but he persisted in offering them the wealth of Christ; some of them left to preach Christ in their own homes. Mr Tyamzashe inspanned his wagon in Kimberley and made for Pedi territory, following the Christians from that land whom he had converted.<sup>6</sup>

When the Free Church entered the territory they sent their big guns first, the son of Sitywati, Rev John Stuart, of Burnshill, and Rev E. Makiwane of Tyhume. These men opened the door and kept it open, because after their arrival ministers were sent regularly in groups of five and even that was not enough. Year after year the women of this congregation sent to this country support for the Word as contributions of the heart. Among the ministers who came out we can select the following who were sent by one denomination now known by three names – (a) the Free Church, (b) the United Free Church and (c) the Bantu Presbyterian Church.<sup>7</sup> We can highlight the following names – Revs William Mpamba, Yekelo Mbali, Holford Mama, C. Koti, Ntsikana Kobe Gabha, James Ntuli, Joseph Dambuza, Mbulawa and Letsoala. I might be mistaken about others.

The Assembly of the Bantu Church was held in East London in September 1932 to show that the Session took this matter seriously. It subsequently sent further representatives who had recently graduated from Fort Hare as follows: Joash Y. Hliso to go to Stuartville, Zoutpansberg; S.P. Finca to go to Donhill, Zoutpansberg; K.M. Nkabinde to go to Gooldville, Zoutpansberg.

Perhaps these points are sufficient, Mr Editor, to show that they have added to the light in this place of the Mamabolo, so that it was loved all the more by ministers, as their mothers loved it.

wehlelo lase Rabe (Congregational Church) watunyelwa e-Kimbili (e-Dayimani) ukuba aye kuba ngum Fundisi kona. Ute elapo zafika intlanga ngentlanga zisiza kufuna ubutyebi be dayimani; koko yena wapikela ukuzizuzisa ubutyebi obungu Krestu; zemka ezinye zaya kufundisa u-Krestu lowo emakayeni azo. Lenqwelo ka u-Mr. Tyamzashe wayibopa e-Kimbili, esinga kwelaba Pedi elandela amakolwa, awakolwa kuye kwelozwe.

Ate ke ama Fritshatshi ukungena kwawo atumela inkanunu zawo kuqala, into ka' Sitywati (Rev. Jao. Stuart) wase Mkubiso, no Rev. E. Makiwane wase Tyume. Into ezo ezavula kwavuleka, kuba akuzange kube sayekwa emva kwazo ukutunyelwa aba Fundisi abahlanu banganeli. Zaye intokazi zelobandla, iminyaka ngeminyaka, zingayekanga ukutumela kwelozwe inxaso ye Lizwi ngeminikelo yazo epuma entliziyweni. Kubafundisi aba sebevela kona singabalula aba balan-delayo abatunywa libandla elinye kodwa ngoku selimagama matatu, - (a)<sup>†</sup> i-Free Church (b) United Free Church (c) Bantu Presbyterian Church.

O-Revs. Wm. Mpamba, Yekelo Mbali, Holford Mama, C. Koti, Ntsikana Kobe Gaba, James Ntuli, Joseph Dambuza, Mbulawa, no Letsoala. Ndingaba ndiyapazama ngabanye mhlaumbi.

I-Ngqungqutela<sup>‡</sup> (Assembly) yase Bantu Church, ebihlangene e-Monti (East London) ngo September 1932, ukubonisa ukuba le i-Kishini iyinonele kakulu, itumele namhla, kwa uluhle lwayo olusapuma emfutweni e-Fort Hare, ngoluhlobo: Joash Y. Hliso, ukuba aye e Stuartville, Zoutpansberg; S.P. Finca ukuba aye e Donhill, Zoutpansburg; K.M. Nkabinde ukuba aye e-Gooldville Zoutpansberg.

Ngati anele lomacapazana Mhleli, ukuba ayikanyise ngokungakumbi lendawo yakwa Mamabolo, ukuba itandwe ngokungakumbi ngabafundisi, njen-gokuba onina sebeyitandile.

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\* ku

† (e)

‡ I-Ngqungqutela

Don't look back! Don't look back, yesterday's calves,  
 with your *keme*,<sup>8</sup> axe and assegai!  
 Rharhabe who sneer at death,  
 calves of the *rwalaxu*,<sup>9</sup> calves of Broad Hip.  
 Tsi-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-a-a!<sup>10</sup>  
 The sons of Mokone Mangena have fallen already,  
 and those of Makgatho and Thema!<sup>11</sup>  
 They're on our side, for the Gospel!  
 Who's still trembling and weak-kneed?  
 Ho-ya-a-a-a! Ho-ya-a-a-a!  
 Lend us a young man, we'll give you *pezola*.<sup>12</sup>  
 That's it!!!

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Dr Rubusana's Jubilee

At the meeting of Congregational ministers (Union Church) held in October this year at Mgungundlovu, Natal, it was announced that Rev W.B. Rubusana PhD, a Congregational minister in East London, had completed fifty years in the ministry. Obviously a Jubilee should be held for him, to celebrate with him, to commemorate his days of labour for the Word and to thank his God for protecting him in the gathering places, the steep slopes and vicissitudes of this world.

This congregation of ministers recalled that it had never come between Dr Rubusana and the nation, he was always free to serve the nation without restriction on what he said about domestic conditions, education, government and even matters of religion – not confining himself to the Congregational Church alone. Accordingly this congregation decided to hold the Jubilee celebrations the following year, in the last week of March (March 1933). This date was set to enable each and every person to hear about this function, to prepare his gift and his offering, if he was so inclined. The minister who was the secretary of the Congregational Church, Rev Mr Johnson of Johannesburg, offered to distribute invitations for this function to all the Congregational congregations so that no one relied on hearsay. Among all the ministers of this denomination, Dr Rubusana was alone in achieving this distinction up to that

Kuf' ayayo! Kuf' ayayo matol' ezolo!  
 Nge keme nge ntshuntshe nezembe!  
 Madela Kuf' akwa Rarabe, –  
 Matol' ezirwalaxu, matol' o-Nyongande  
 Tsi-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-a-a!  
 Sezipants' into zo Mokone Mangena,  
 Nezo Makghato nezo Thema!  
 Sezingecala letu le Vangeli!  
 Ngubanin' ose nengebhe nededengu?  
 Ho-ya-a-a-a! Ho-ya-a-a-a!  
 Sibolek' indodana sokunika pezola,  
 Ncincilili!!!

## 48

**I Jubulu ka Dr. Rubusana**

Kwintlanguano yaba Fundisi base Rabe (Union Church) ebihlangene ngo October lo e Mgungundhlovu, e Natala, kubeko nenteto yokokuba u Rev. W.B. Rubusana Ph.D. ongumfundisi wama Rabe, e Monti, uwagqibile amashumi amahlanu eminyaka engumfundisi. Ekute ke ngoko kwamhlope ukuba makenzelwe i Jubulu; oko kukuti kuvuyiswane naye, kuk'unjulwe imihla yake kuwo lowo msebenzi we Lizwi kubongwe u Tixo wake ote wamgcina kumakandilili, namasilantsi, namabonandenzile elipakade.

I Ramente yomfundisi lowo iyak'umbula ukuba kanene u Dr. Rubusana lo ayizange imbandeze esizweni, yasoloko imkulule ukuba asikonze isizwe engabotshwe mlomo, kwizinto zentlalo yasemakaya, kwezemfundo, kwezombuso, kude kuye kweze Lizwi, – engajongene nahlelo lase Rabe kupela. Ngako oko i Ramente leyo igqibe ekubeni ezo nkonzole ze Jubulu maziqutywe kumnyaka ozayo, ngo March, kwiveki yokugqibela (March 1933). Yenzela ke ukuze nopi nopi awuve lomsebenzi, enze isipo sake, nomnikelo wake, ukuba intliziyo yake ite yamqubela kwelocala. Um-Fundisi ongumBhali walama Bandla ase Rabe, – u Rev. Mr. Johnson, wase Johannesburg selelungele ukuzisasaza izaziso zoku kuwo onke ama Bandla ase Rabe, ukuze kungabiko uva ngomnye. KubaFundisi beli Bandla lo ngowokuqala ukuxhoma ade aye kuba kwesesi tuba; nakwabamhlope bate banqaba kakulu ababe netuba elingako ebufundisini; kute

point; even among the whites very few had served as long in the ministry; at the meeting in Mgungundlovu none had served as long.

Reverend Walter Benson Rubusana, also known as Mpilo,<sup>1</sup> first saw the light of day in 1858 at Mnandi (the White Fish river) in the Somerset East district. His grandfather Mbonjana is one the first Christian converts among the Xhosa; he was a church leader at Nyakanyaka in the Fort Beaufort district. His father Rubusana travelled with him to Peelson in the migration of the Dange of Nqabaza after the Nongqawuse episode.

Mpilo started school as a boy of 16 at Peelson in the time of Rev R. Birt (uBaliti); he made exceptional progress with his studies because he began Sub A in 1874 but in no time he was sent to Lovedale, where he acquitted himself so well in learning and conduct that his education was funded from overseas. The Lovedale publication *Lovedale past and present* speaks very well indeed about this young man.<sup>2</sup>

After eight years, in 1882, he was awarded a licence to preach the Word by the ministers of this denomination, and he worked as a teacher at Peelson for ten years – where have you ever heard of such mounds of educated youngsters? At that time the number of pupils at Peelson increased dramatically compared to all other boarding schools; and there were many children at Peelson from other places who improved their education under this wonderful teacher. Some of the successful candidates who entered for the government examination never left Peelson – those were the days of proper education under Sir Langham Dale.<sup>3</sup> In March 1884 he was ordained to the full ministry. He assisted his “father” Birt until the day of Birt’s death in 1892; on his death Birt left his position at Peelson to him. At that time, the idea of a black minister entering the building of a white congregation was unheard of, and his congregation rejected him. And so, in 1895, he moved to East London, where he had already established a congregation. In those days the East London community was still small, and the township still stood on the far side; on his arrival, Mpilo first requested the township now known as the East Bank Location, which was still wild bush – but he raised a little building for services and opened a school in it, and he built his house, which he still lives in. In the same period he established several outstations at West Bank, Kwelerha, Mooi Plaats, Macleantown, apart from Gladstone and Donnington, which he had already founded by the time of his arrival in East London, securing these places after they had been

e Mgungundhlovu apo entlanganisweni akwafumaneka nomnye osele kwelotuba.

Umfundisi Walter Benson Rubusana, ogama limbi kutiwa ngu Mpilo, waqala ukulibona ilanga e Mnandi (White Fish River) kwisiqingata sase Somaseti (Somerset East), ngomnyaka we 1858. Uyisemkulu, u Mbonjana lel-inye lama kolwa ka Kristu okuqala ema Xoseni; ebengumkokeli we Bandla kwa Nyakanya kwisiqingata sase Bofolo. Uyise u Rubusana weza naye e Ncemerha (Peelton) ngexesha lokufuduka kwemi Dange ye Nqabaza emva ko Nongqause.

U Mpilo uqale ukungena esikolweni seleyinkwenkwe eminyaka ili 16, wangena apo e Ncemerha ngexesha lomfundisi\* u R. Birt (u Baliti); ibe yimfundo ekauleze isimanga kuba ungene ko "a" ngonyaka we 1874; kute kungatangani watunyelwa e Lovedale, apo enze umsebenzi omhle wemfundo nokuzipata, yaye imfundo yake ixhaswa li Pesheya. Incwadi yase Lovedale eyi "Lovedale Past and Present" iteta kakuhle kakulu ngalondodana.

Kwisituba seminyako esib'ozo, oko kukuti ngowe 1882, wanikwa ngabafundisi belo Hlelo i Layisenisi yobushumayeli be Lizwi, waza waba yititshala kwase Peelton apo iminyaka elishumi, – ubuziva pi izigede zemfundo ebantwaneni? Oko intsapo yase Ncemerha yabaninzi isimanga kuzo zonke isinala; kwaye nase Peelton apo bebaninzi abantwana bezinye indawo, abasasilele imfundo kuletitshala isimanga. Bebeko aba bebesakungenela imviwo zika Rulumente bazipumelele bengemkanga e Ncemerha, – leyo ke iseyimihla yemfundo ebhadlileyo ka Sir Langham Dale. Ngomnyaka we 1884 ngo March, wabekwa izandla ukuba abengumfundisi ozeleyo. Wancedisana noyise lowo u Birt kwade kwayimini yokufa kuka Baliti lowo ngomnyaka we 1892; wafa emshiya esik'undleni sake e Peelton apo. Ngalomihla umoya wokuba umfundisi ontsundu angene endlwini, nakwi ramente yomhlope wawungekavatwa, yaza ke impi yakowabo yanityalela ngapandle. Kukuze ngowe 1895 umnyaka afudukele e Monti, apo wayesel' enebandla alisekileyo apo. Umzi wase Monti oko wawuse mncinane, ilokishi nayo isengapesheya; ufike u Mpilo wacela, waqala le lokishi kutiwa ngoku yi East Bank Location ise sisinga eso oko, – wamisa indlwana yenkonzo wavula isikolo kwakuyo, waka owake umzi, lo asekuwo nangoku. Kwangaso esosituba uvule amapandle (outstations) aliqela, e West Bank, Kwelerha, Mooi Plaats, Macleantown, singateti nge Gladstone ne Donnington, kuba zona weza selenazo kwase kuzeni e Monti, ezifumana

\* *lomfundi*



confiscated. That is how he started the enduring work in East London he still pursues to this day.

Dr Rubusana's mother is the daughter of Zuzani of the Ngwenya, a Mgqwashe woman; the Doctor himself married a Zima woman, the daughter of Nzanzana, a lady renowned throughout the land for her education, and for her outstanding work; he is now married to the daughter of Kashe.<sup>4</sup>

So we confirm that Dr Rubusana has completed 50 years in the ministry; his people are now preparing for the Jubilee he merits. With the Editor's permission, we will from time to time make an announcement to his many friends so they can hear about it wherever they are; we have in mind no specific denomination, colour or race, because Dr. Rubusana has never practised discrimination from his early years up to the present.

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**The late Rev J.M. Auld**

The minister named above arrived among the Ngqika in 1875, in Gumna's time.<sup>1</sup> He has left the world now in advanced age in December 1932. On his arrival he stayed at Lujilo across the Kei river, a slip of a young man; he kept within spitting distance<sup>2</sup> of the ministers at Ngqika's Mgwali. When hostilities ceased after Ngcayechibi's War (1879), some Ngqika were ferried to a tiny jail between the Kei and the Qhorha rivers, at a place known as Centane; the son of Auld also crossed the river, and settled in the meanderings of the Koonap at Luqongo; he named the place Columba. He stayed there with Rev Landi from Nqandu, who was still looking for a location; after a time, they parted. The son of Auld worked alone, urging his sturdy horse on from morning till night in the area south of Centane, as the northern part was taken care of by Gadudu (Rev W. Girdwood) in Thuthura.<sup>3</sup>

The reader will understand that the Ngqika were coming to new, sustaining territory where a person could lay down his blanket and never wish to leave; where the crowds could indulge in festivities and enjoyments, dances and cattle-racing, while this servant of God found himself like a voice crying in the wilderness with no one taking time to hear him.

The fellow was unruly, true to his heritage as a Scotsman, as a Scot in Skirts, and he met his match in the Ngqika, true to their own heritage. The result was

zihlutwa nezo indawo. Wawuqala njalo umsebenzi oqinileyo e Monti (East London) osa-q'ubayo nanamhla.

Unina ka Dr. Rubusana yintombi ka Zuzani wakwa Ngwenya, umGqwashhekazi; yena u Gqira lowo watshata nentokazi ka Nzanzana um-Zimakazi, intokazi ebidume yacanda ilizwe ngemfundo yayo, nemisebenzi yayo emihle; ngoku ke utshate nentokazi ka Kashe.

Sitsho ke siti uyigqibile iminyaka ema 50 ebufundisini u Rev. W.B. Rubusana; ngoku ke impi yakowabo ilungiselela i Jubulu yake emfaneleyo. Ukuba u Mhleli lo uyavuma siyakumana ukuwuvakalisela umzi omninzi oziz-ihlobo zake, ukuze umane ukuva apo kukona; asijonge Hlelo, nabala, nabuzwe; kuba ebengasebenzi lucalulo u Dr. Rubusana kwa ngemini zobutsha bake kude kube kusanje.

## 49

**Umfi u Rev J.M. Auld**

Lomfundisi ugama lingentla apa wafika pakati kwama Ngqika kuse miwe ngo-mnyaka we 1875, ngo Gumna. Ulishiya namhla ilizwe sele yindoda enkulu ngo Dec. 1932. Apo wafikela kona kuse Lujilo, pezu kwe Nciba, wafika eliracarcana lomfana; wahlala esemfutweni kubafundisi base Mgwali ka Ngqika. Kute ukuxola kwelizwe ngo Nchayecibi (1879) awezwa ama Ngqika asiwa kwitolongwana epakati kwe Nciba ne Qora, igama lalondawo kutiwa kukwa Centane; wawela naye umfo ka Holide, wafika wemisa kulomajikolo e Kobonqaba kutiwa kukwa Luqongo, wayitiya igama londawo lokuba yi Columba. Bema apo kunye nomfundisi u Landi wase Nqandu enge kayi fumani yena londawo; kute kupi ke kwahlukana. Wasebenza eyedwa ke lomfo ka Olidi, lasisiqodolo ihashe lake umhla nezolo, efunzela eso siqingata singumzantsi ka Centane, kuba umntla wawuno Gadudu (Rev W. Girdwood) e Tutturha.

Umlesi uyakuqonda ukuba ama Ngqika ayefika kwelizwe elitsha elichuma amazimba, apo umntu walahla ingubo wafika kwelokupela; apo izisusa neziy-olo, imidudo namaleqe kwafumane kwaliqodi, safumane esosicaka sika Tixo safana nezwi lomemeza entlango, kungeko bani anetuba lokusipulapula.

Ute kuba umfo litole lamatole angevayo asezi Kotshini, lo Nozikhakana, kwadibana into zifana namatole ama Ngqika! Yinto ke leyo ebekuhlala kuba ngama halihali, nama nkantinkanti, kufakwana iminqayi ne zabokwe,

constant strife and conflict in which they laid into each other with sticks and sjamboks, locked in that kind of head-to-head struggle. The son of the Scots, the brave man, would say just one thing: "How can you speak like this to your minister! You deserve to be thrashed!!!" On uttering the last word he brought a sjambok down on the man's body. The fellow hated sin and those who committed it, and entertained no traffic with "obstinate" people. Because of this he was not respected among the Ngqika; of customs, traditions, religion, marriage cattle, charms, circumcision and such like, he used to say: "I will fight these things until the day I die!"

In 1888, or '89, God saw to it that a major conflict developed between the minister and his congregation, which allowed the Wesleyans to establish themselves in Centane. They took control of Sizi, Cebe and Kantolo in Nyuthura, and paved the way for other denominations; but through this the Word entered the Ngqika; education flourished, and churches and schools increased in number.

The son of Auld continued with his work, teaching large numbers of sons and daughters; some became ministers, doctors and engineers. And now, having reached old age, he grew less disdainful, he no longer went around spilling barrels of homebrew; his health became less secure and he needed assistance, something he had never considered. His wife, the daughter of Meikle, had always been a worthy assistant to the minister; and so it was with his daughters, who still assume responsibility in the Bantu Presbyterian Church. In his old age, the son of Auld reluctantly left Centane to retire to East London. He spent about five years in retirement; at the end of last year (5 December 1932) he laid his tired body down at the age of 85:

Awu!!!

We sit silent, Ngqika people,  
tribes of Rharhabe,  
tribes of Tetha, Mbombo and Mbede;  
we sit silent –  
a man has gone, a Ngqika's gone,  
God's home called and he responded;  
he left Luqongo for Ngcabanga;  
at Ngcabanga his heart was in Luqongo.  
Mercy, tribes of Phalo!

kubhutywana nangemizamo kube yilonto. Atsho kube kanye umfo wasezi Kotshini, ikalip' elikulu, ukuti: "Nganina wateta njalo kuye umfundisi wako! Ufanelwe kukubhetwa!!! Loti eli lokugqibela ilizwi lisitsho libe selisihla kunye ne sabhokwe endodeni. Umfo esitiyile isono kunye nomenzi waso, engena budlelana nendoda "ekohlekileyo." Ngenxa yalonto akabanga mbunguzulu kuma Ngqika; amasiko, izitete, inkolo, amakazi, ubuti, ulwaluko njalonjalo ubesakutsho futi ukuti: "Iyakude ibe yimini yokufa kwam ndizilwa ezizinto!"

Kute ngokwenza kuka Tixo ezi ntweni zake ngomnyaka we 1888, okanye '89, kwavuka ingxabano enkulu pakati ko Maneli ne Bandla lake, yinto leyo eyenza ukuba ku ngene ama Wesile kwa Centane, alutata u Sizi, i Cebe, no Kantolo e Nyuturha, zangenelela ngoku nezinye imvaba; kanti oko kukungena kwe Lizwi kuma Ngqika; yachuma imfundo, zanda ityalike nezikolo.

Waquba naye umfo ka Holide, wafundisa abake onyana nentombi ezininzi kunene; kwapuma abafundisi, o gqira, ne njiniya. Kute ngoku ekukuleni kwayo indoda, beta ubu nt shokovane, kwapela ukuhamba i palaza "ifatshi zaman-goboka;" yati nempilo yangxengengxenge wafuna ngoku nabancedisi, into abengazange ayikatalele. Umfazi wake intokazi ka Meikle ayizange ipeze ukuba ngum ncedisikazi ofanelekileyo womfundisi; nentombi zake zizo ezi zizathuzayo na namhla nje kweli Bandla la Bantu. Ebudaleni bake umfo ka Olidi umke engemki kwe Centane, ukuya ku pumla e Monti. Iminyaka esekupumleni ingaba isesihlanwini; ate eku feni kopelileyo (5th Dec. 1932 wawubeka pantsi umzimba odiniweyo xa aminyaka ima 85 ubudala: -

Awu!!!

Kwasala kwenzwanga ma Ngqika, -

Mabandla ka Butsholo-bentonga!

Mabandl' akulo Teta, kulo Mbombo nama Mbede;

Kwasala kwenzwanga, -

Imkil' indoda, umkil' um Ngqika,

Ibizwe kwa Tixo yasabela;

Induluke ku Luqongo yasing' e Ngcabanga;

Yalapo ngesiqu intliziy' iku Luqongo.

Taruni mabandla ka Palo!

He's still with us today,  
 fighting sin, and filth, and evil:  
 Phalo's people never die.  
 Mercy, daughters of Rharhabe's home!  
 Why are you silent?  
 Where have you seen such a thing among us?  
 Aren't you supposed to be speaking well,  
 creating gateways of song  
 about the Scottish son of Auld,  
 who enlightened the benighted Ngqika,  
 who crossed Qhorha and Qwaninga into Gcalekaland  
 and returned through Manyube and Qolorha?  
 Mercy, men, I'm not crying –  
 I'm not a person to cry at the moment,  
 I'm happy I closed my father's eyes;  
 I'm happy I buried my father;  
 I'm happy I sat in wait for my father!  
 That's it!!!

50

**The War of the Axe**

In your paper *Umteteli* of 4 February, there is a little note in English that reads: "Colonel Hare of the Imperial Army met Sandile and other chiefs at Block Drift. There were 5,000 armed natives present. Soon afterwards the War of the Axe broke out. Block Drift is now known as Fort Hare."<sup>1</sup>

Your article, Mr Editor, offered information on something I often talk about, and offered information to other Xhosa sons interested in history. We keep on saying that this war of 1846–47 came to be named after an axe, but it is clearly evident that war had been unavoidable for some time, and would have broken out even if Tsili did not steal the axe.

This war was a continuation of Hintsas's War, because everything was a consequence of it. The reader will recall that after the death of Hintsas in May 1835, the British government invited certain men to testify about the main events of this war; among these witnesses were Rev Dr Philip, Leflour (a Hottentot)

Nanamhl' iselapo pakati kwenu,  
 Ilwa isono, nokunchola, nenkohlakalo  
 Zange kufiwe kowetu kwa Palo.  
 Taruni zintombi zakwa Rarabe!  
 Nite nzwanga nganina?  
 Kwake kwanje pina kulomzi?  
 Andibi na ngenibongisela,  
 Nisenz' izango zengoma,  
 Ngomfo ka Holide wasezi Kotshini;  
 Owakanyisel' ama Ngqik' emnyameni,  
 Awel' i Qora ne Qwaninga kuma Gcaleka.  
 Abuye ngo Manyube ne Qolora;  
 Taruni madod' andilili, –  
 Andisemntu wakulila kaloku,  
 Ndinovuyo kub' ubawo ndimcim' amehlo;  
 Ndinovuyo kub' ubawo ndimnchwabile;  
 Ndinovuyo kub' ubawo ndimlindele!  
 Ncincilili!!!

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## Imfazwe ye Zembe

Kwipepa lako lo "Mteteli" lomhla we 4 February, kuko inqakwana lesi Ngesi elenjenje: "U Colonel Hare u Mongameii wemi Khosi wahlangana no Sandile nezinye i-Nkosi e-Block drift. Kwakuko ama 5,000 ama-Xosa axobileyo. Kwakamsinya emva koko lafa ilizwe nge "Mfazwe ye Zembe." I Block Drift leyo ngoku yaziwa ngokuba yi Fort Hare."

Elinqaku lako ke mhleli lincede kwinto endiyiteta\* futi mna kunye nabanye onyana bama-Xosa abazilandelayo imbali. Tina simi kwinto yokuba lemfazwe ye 1846–7 yafumane yabizwa ngelogama lokuba yeye zembe, zibe inyaniso zayo zonke zibonisa mhlope ukuba imfazwe le yona yayifuneka kakade, injalonje yayiza kubako nokuba u-Tsili† wayengebanga zembe.

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\* endiyetea

† i-Tsili

and Jan Tshatshu, chief of the Ntinde, and Andries Stockenstroom.<sup>2</sup> These men spoke at length about the evil actions of white people against black people, which provoked them to take up arms and fight. The British government recalled Stockenstroom although he was already on his way home to Sweden, trailing Cape affairs on the ground; the government wanted to make him the Governor-General's right hand man – his job was to move around the important chiefs and sign treaties with them, treaties affirming peace between white and black people. But Stockenstroom's office as well as he personally became unpopular in the Cape: he was seen as a spy spying on his own country. Eventually the colonists resolved that this office of his should achieve no success. They even tried to incite these Xhosa chiefs to war.

At this time, a request came to build a fort at Alice to the east of Tyhume, with a fort at Ngqakayi<sup>3</sup> already in existence; the Ngqika turned down the request for this soldiers' fort; the whites devised a secret plan to make overtures to King Sandile alone, who agreed because of his youth, being only 25 years old and 5 years past circumcision. The king succumbed to this cajolery, and barracks were built at Fort Hare, still known as Block Drift.<sup>4</sup> The Ngqika were incensed at the sight of the construction, wanting to know who had granted permission for the building. At the same time Xhosa cattle were prohibited from drinking in the Tyhume and were not allowed to cross it at all.

On the day mentioned above by *Umteteli*, the day 5000 armed Ngqika assembled, the building of this fort was discussed at a meeting on Qelekequshu Hill, known today as Sandile's Kop, above Fort Hare.

The outcome of the meeting and its resolution was that no fort should be built east of the Tyhume, the whites left disappointed, as well as the agents, the governors and the military commanders.<sup>5</sup> As the Editor said, "Soon afterwards the War of the Axe broke out."

At that point Tsili, a Ngwevu fellow, stole an axe in Fort Beaufort from Holliday's shop. The army had been billeted in Fort Beaufort after they returned disappointed from the meeting, and Tsili stole an axe.

Lemfazwe ise kwayileya ka Hintsu, kuba zonke izinto zale zisapatelele kuleyo. Umlesi uyaku kumbula ukuba ute akufa u Hintsu ngo May 1835, u Rulumente wa-Pesheya wabiza amadoda atile ukuba ayekunika ubunqhina ngeziganeko zayo lomfazwe; pakati kwawo lomanqhina kwakuko u Rev. Dr. Philip, no Leflour (i-Lawo) no Jan Tshatshu, inkosi yama Ntinde, no Andries Stockenstroom. Lamadoda ateta kakulu ngezenzo ezibi ezenziwa ngabantu abamhlope kubantu abamnyama, ekuseso sizatu lento bade baqubule izirweqe balwe. I-Pesheya limtabatile u Stockenstroom lo noko waye goduka yena esiya kowabo e Sweden, eruqukile zizinto zale Koloni; lamtata lati lifuna ukumenza ingalo yokunene kwi Ruluneli, – umsebenzi wake yena iyakuba kukujikeleza pakati kwenkosi ezi zinkulu ebhala iminqopiso nazo, iminqopiso eyimvumelwano zoxolo pakati komzi omhlope nontsundu. Asikuko nokuba le ofisi ka Stokwe, kunye naye ngokwake watiywa kule Koloni, wakangelwa njengontaminani, ontama isizwe sakowabo. Ade ama-Koloni agqiba kwelokuba ayenze le ofisi yake ingabi nam-pumelelo. Azama ke ukux'ox'a inkosi ezi zama-Xosa ukuba zilwe.

Ngelixesha ke kwakuko umnqweno wokuba kubeko ib'alakisi ese Dikeni ngasempumalanga kwi Tyume, leya ise Ngqakayi ibhalakisi yayiko pofu nayo; ama-Ngqika akasivumanga isicelo salobhalakisi yamajoni ifunwayo; ade amagwanqa enza iyelenqe lokumtwetwela eyedwa u Mhlelazi u Sandile, owati wavuma ngobuntwana, kuba oko wayeminyaka ima 25 ezelwe, imi 5 eyindoda. Ute ukuyekelela u Mhlelazi kolo lunywhelezelo, kwakiwa ibhalakisi' e Fort Hare, ise yi Block Drift oko. Avuke pantsi ama-Ngqika akubona kusakiwa afuna ukwazi ukuba kwakiwa ngegunya likabanina? Kwaye ngeloxesha kwakuse kuko nento yokuba inkomo zama-Xosa mazingawaseli amanzi e-Tyume' zingaliweli nokuliwela.

Ngalomhla uxelwayo ngu "Mteteli" ngasentla apa, lomhla wawunama 5,000 ama-Ngqika axobileyo ngumhla ekwakuxoxwa ngokwakiwa kwayo lobhalakisi, kudityenwe kulonduli ka Relekequshu, le ngoku niti ngoku yi Sandili's Kop, pezu kwe Fort Hare.

Isipumo sentlanganiso, nesigqibo sayo saba sesukaba makungabiko bhalakisi ngasempumalanga kwi Tyume, emnka amagwanqa edanile, kunye namagosa, nabapati, nabongameli bama joni. Njengoko utshoyo naye Mhleli ukuba "kwa kamsinya emva koko lafa ilizwe ngeye Zembe."

\* n Sandile

† ibhhalakisi

‡ e-Tyumei



## THE WAR OF 1846-47

While Tsili was being taken to court in Grahamstown, his people abducted him in the dense bush of the Kat river, not far from the place known today as Minoli; because they could not open the handcuffs, they cut through the wrist of a Hottentot and he later died; but as they fled the government dogs, the police, left a Xhosa warrior dead on the spot. The white army was in a state of alert, so it was an easy matter to rouse them to go and demand Tsili from Sandile. Sandile said he knew nothing of this; but "you can see that this matter has come out completely even: the white shopkeeper has his axe, on your side a Hottentot is dead and he is balanced by the man I have lost."

At the time, Sandile was staying at Burnshill. But while he was still talking, the white man had stopped talking. Suddenly there was the army from Alice making for Burnshill under Commandant Somerset, son of Lord Charles Somerset. As the army approached Sevenkloofs with 60 wagons loaded with all kinds of supplies for the soldiers, medicine and clothing, the Xhosa poured out, routed and scattered them, seized the cattle, and burnt the wagons and sacks of sugar – they chased the army Commandant panic-stricken all the way to Lovedale – at that time Lovedale was a little school only five years old. It is said the gardens of the ministers were trampled flat by the horses of the Commandant's army. This was the first Xhosa engagement in the War of the Axe.

The Governors who controlled this affair were: Sir George Napier, Sir Peregrine Maitland;<sup>6</sup> but it was Sir Harry Smith who brought peace to the country after the government suffered a major loss, because 50 more wagons carrying food were torched at Buwa near the Fish river by Phato the son of Chungwa. The Ndlambe army suffered heavy losses at Gwangqa near Peddie. After peace was declared, the fort was built by agreement and Colonel Hare was put in charge, so it is named after him. We Xhosa of old know this War of the Axe by the name of "The War of Water," because it was fought over the Tyhume water.

Kwakuzo ezontsuku u-Tsili, umfo wasema Ngwevini weba izembe e-Bofolo, kwi venkile ka Holita. Imikhosi oko yayihlala e-Bofolo; ite ke yakubuya embizweni idanile, suke u Tsili weba izembe.

## IMFAZWE 1846-7

Ute ke xa u Tsili asiwa e-Rini e ofisini, amhluta amawabo kwezondada ze Ncwenxa, kanye kufupi kulendawo ino Minoli ngoku; ate kuba engakwazi ukawakhulula amabhuya, anqumla isihlahla se Lawo elo ke lona lade lafa; kanti zite xa zibalekayo izinja zika Rulumente ezingamapolisa, zashiya omnye umkutuka wom-Xosa ufile nawo kulondawo. Ite kuba imikhosi yasemlungwini yayise ilungile kade, kwase kuba lula ukufunzwa kwayo ukuya kubiza u Tsili ku Sandile. Ute u Sandile lento akayazi; kodwa ke yena kokwake ukubona ibifanelwe kukuyekwa ipelele kulendawo ikuyo kuba umlungu wevenkile ulifumene izembe lake, i-Lawo elifileyo ngecala lenu, nilipindezelele kuba nam kuko umntu wam ofileyo.

Ngeloxesha ke u Sandile use Mkubiso (Burnshill). Ute kanti esateta nje yena, eyasemlungwini yona ayisateti. Uve sekusitiwa nangu umkhosi sewuse Dikeni, ujonge e Mkubiso, waye upetwe ngu Mongameli u Somaseti ngenqu, unyana ka Lord Charles Somerset. Kwalile ukuba umkhosi lowo ube se Ngxondoreni,\* unenqwelo ezima 60 ezitwele zonke intlobo zokutya kwama joni, kunye namayeza, nezambato, agaleleka ama-Xosa awucita wazimpanza, atimba inkomo ezo, azitshisa inqwelo ezo kunye nalomaxamba eswekila, - amsukela u Mongameli wemi Khosi, wapapateka waya kwela e Lovedale, - ngeloxesha i Lovedale yayise sisikolwana esiminyaka mihlanu simi. Kutiwa izitiya zabafundisi zaba yingqushu ngamahashe omkhosi ka Mongameli. Eli yaba ligalelo lokuqala lom-Xosa kulomfazwe ye Zembe.

I Ruluneli ezawupatayo lomcimbi yaba zezi: - Sir George Napier, Sir Peregrine Maitland; kodwa yaba ngu Sir Harry Smith oyena walixolisayo ilizwe, emva kwelahleko ezinkulu zika Rulumente, kuba ezinye inqwelo ezima 50 ezitwele ukutya zatshiswa ngase Nxuba, e Bhuwa ngu Pato ka Cungwa. Umkhosi wama Ndlambe wafa kakulu e Mgwangqa ngase Nqhushwa. Lakuba lixolisawe, yakiwa ngamagunya lo bhalakisi, kwemiswa u Colonel Hare ukuba ayongamele, kona ukuze ibizwe ngaye. Tina ma Xosa madala lo Mfazwe ye Zembe, siyazi ngegama lokuba "Yimfazwe ya Manzi", kuba kwakuliwa ngamanzi e Tyume.

\* *Ngxendoreni*

The newspaper *Umteteli* of 4 March contains a line reading: "Mpande was installed as Zulu king by Pretorius on 14 February 1840."

This is true, I won't deny it, I concur. There is an article I have not yet myself seen written by Mafukuzela (Rev J.L. Dube) that says, "a person's worst enemy is himself;" I believe this minister wrote this with reference to his chief, Mpande. This fellow was the son of Senzangakhona – Shaka and Dingana are his older brothers; as he comes from a minor house of less significance, it was inconceivable that he could rule the kingdom of Zulu and Malandela. During his reign, Shaka feared his father's sons would usurp the kingship he himself had won by the spear; but he was not concerned about Mpande, because he believed him to be extremely gentle, uninterested in the kingship, and not entirely healthy. To be brief, Shaka was later murdered by Dingana, the commander of his armies; but Dingana in his turn did not do well by the people and the children of chiefs; in truth, in certain respects he excelled Shaka in severity.<sup>1</sup>

At this time there was a succession of battles between Dingana and the Boers – Zulu<sup>2</sup> was growing by leaps and bounds, and the Boers left for the Free State over the Drakensberg. As the Boers who were left were vulnerable, they sent one secret messenger after another to the Cape in search of support.

After some time a Boer by the name of Andries Pretorius<sup>3</sup> came with his detachment from Graaff-Reinet; on his arrival in Natal he was given command of all the Boers who were there. This was a man indeed! It is said this fellow understood battle tactics, he was brave, a man of religion, attractive in appearance. After the arrival of Pretorius the number of Boers increased, while Zulu declined. It was like this until the celebrated battle known by the whites as "Dingana's Day." Many black people believe that on this day, 16 December 1828, the Zulu triumphed, they believe the Zulu won glory on that day, but it's not so.

On the eve of this battle, Pretorius requested prayers to the living God for victory; indeed, since his arrival a great revival in the Word had taken place. Another matter he initiated was to vow before God that if they defeated Dingana, they would build Him a church at Mgungundlovu – God heard these prayers of the Boers as well as their promise, and helped them to destroy Dingana and his army on this momentous day.

Ipepa lo "Mteteli" lomhla we 4 ku March linomgca oti: "u Mpande wabekwa ebukosini bakwa Zulu ngu Pretorius ngomhla we 14 ku February 1840."

Lenteto yako iyinyaniso kanye, nam andizi kuyipika ndiza kuyitelela, kuko incwadi endingazange ndiyibone nangeliso ibhalwe ngu Mafukuzela (Rev. J.L. Dube) iti, – "isita somuntu nguye uqobo;" ndiyakolwa ukuba umFundisi lowo wayibhala le ncwadi ejonge kulenkosi yake u Mpande. Lomfo ngunyana ka Senzangakona, – u Tshaka no Dingana ngabakuluwa kuye; yena wayengowezindlwana ezisemva kanye, engacingeki ukuba angaze ade ongamele ubukumkani bakwa Zulu bakwa Malandela. U Tshaka ngexesha lokulaula kwake wayeboyika onyana bakayise bengati kuye baza kumhluta ubukhosi obo naye wabufumana ngerere; kodwa wayengamxhalele nganto u Mpande, kuba wayembona ngati ululame kakulu, akacingi nto ngabukosi, yaye nempilo yomfo lo ingati ayitanga ngqe. Ngelifutshane ke ude u Tshaka wagetyengwa ngu Dingana umpati mikhosi yake; suke kanti u Dingana naye ngelilelake ituba akazi kwenza zinto zintle ebantwini nakwanye abantwana benkosi, enyanisweni ute kanti kwindawo ezitile nguyena uza kudlulisela nakuno Tshaka ngobugadalala.

Kwesi situba yayisisituba sohlohlo lwemfazwe pakati ko Dingana nama Bhulu, – waya ekhula ngokukhula u Zulu, emka ama Bhulu atanda kwase Freyistata ngapaya kwezo Ntaba zo Ndi. Ate aseleyo ama Bhulu apelelwa ngamandla, ade atumela izidyoli ngezidyoli emaziye kucela uncedo e Koloni.

Kude ke kwako Bhulu litile kutiwa ngu Andries Pretorius eleza nomkhosi lisuka e Graaf-Reinet (e Rafu); lite lakufika e Natala lanikelwa intambo zokulaula bonke ubukosana bama Bhulu obulapo. Indoda leyo ke yayiyindoda ngenyaniso; kutiwa umfo wayenamacebo emfazwe, ekalipile, eyindoda yonqulo, enembonakalo efanelekileyo. Kute kwase kufikeni kwake u Pritori akula ama Bhulu, waya esihla u Zulu. Kude kwako lemfazwe idume kunene kumagwangqa kutiwa yi "Dingaan's Day." Baninzi abantsundu abacinga ukuba ngalowo mhla we 16 December 1828, ama Zulu aba noloyiso, bacinga ukuba kuzukiswa wona ngolosuku, kanti hayi.

Kute ngosuku olungapambili kolo lwemfazwe u Pritori wati makwenziwe imitandazo ku Tix' opilileyo kutandazelwe uloyiso; enyanisweni ke oko yena wati wafika kwakuhamba imvuselelo ezinkulu ze Lizwi. Enye indawo awayingenisayo yaba yeyokuba makwenziwe isibambatiso ku Tixo sokuba ukuba

Only now, after this battle, did Mpande enter the picture. Because of his ill treatment at the hands of his elder brother Dingana, he had decided to leave and seek a place of refuge from his enemies for fear of being murdered one day. Because Mpande brought with him a massed army of soldiers dissatisfied with Dingana's rule, the Boers greatly rejoiced at this answer to their prayers. They tested Mpande in various ways to establish that he was not a spy; they found him a dependable young man sincere in his desire to place himself in Boer hands. Now they promised to make him King of KwaZulu if he helped them to destroy Dingana completely.

At that stage Zulu persisted in his attacks; but he could not succeed, and this time he was completely destroyed because of the power of Mpande, who attracted the whole Zulu nation to fight, sadly, against their own people. And so Dingana was completely destroyed, and he fled to Swaziland, where he died.<sup>4</sup>

And so Mpande was installed as King of KwaZulu on the designated day, he was installed by the Boers as a chieftain under their control, acting according to their wishes. Mpande was king for 32 years without any disagreement whatsoever with his masters the Boers, he respected the land boundaries and legal treaties. Mpande produced a boy called Cetshwayo, a hothead who from the start made it clear that he would not bow to Boer laws. Because of his character his father Mpande entertained a strong desire to be succeeded by another youngster, Mbulazi, because he was a meek and obedient youth. This created sharp hostility between these young men, there was one round of fighting day after day, until Mbulazi was killed in one of the truly great battles, equivalent to a war, near the Tugela, and the other chieftains who were close to Mbulazi and his father were also completely crushed. So Cetshwayo was left as a bull bellowing alone, feared by everyone including his father.

After some time the whites promised Cetshwayo and the Zulu that after his father's death he would succeed as King of KwaZulu; things began to calm down then because this fellow had been hunting the fellow who was to succeed his father. In 1872 Mpande died. He died with the Zulu nation united after the disruption of war after war – but he had achieved this dispensation by handing over his own nation.

On his succession to power, Cetshwayo immediately defied the statutes and treaties in terms of which the whites looked after his father. In his time one war followed another, and eventually he was captured and conducted to the island of St Helena: but he was later released and returned to die at home, constantly

bamoyisile u Dingana bayakumakela indlu ye nkonzo kanye e Mgungundlovu, - wayiva u Tixo lomitandazo yama Bhulu kwa nesositembiso sawo, wawanceda amcita u Dingana nempi yake ngawo lowo mhla ubalulekileyo.

Apo ke ngoku u Mpande aze kungena kona ke yena kusemveni kweloduli. Ute ngokupateka kakubi kumkuluwa wake u Dingana wade wacinga ukuba makamkwelele, aye kuzicelela indawo ezintshabeni paya, kuba hleze abulawe ngomhla otila omnye. Ute kuba u Mpande uza nomkhosi ongqindilili wempi engakolwayo sisipato sika Dingana, avuya kakulu ama Bhulu esitsho nokuti yimpendulo yemitandazo yawo. Amlinge ngendlela zonke u Mpande ukuba angaba unyanisile na akayiyo na intlola, amfumana umfana eqinisekile enyanisile ukuba uyazinikela kuma Bhulu. Amtembise ke ngoku ukuba ayakumenza ukumkani wakwa Zulu ukuba ute wawancedisa amcita mpela u Dingana.

Ngeloxesha u Zulu wayepinda efunza kanjalo; kuloko akabanga nampumelelo, ucitwe mpela namhlanje ngenxa yamandla ka Mpande owemka nomzi wonke wakwa Zulu, walwa nzima namakowabo. Kukuze ke u Dingana abe uyacitwa mpela abalekele kwelama Swazi, afele kona.

Kukuze ke u Mpande abekwe ebukosini bakwa Zulu ngolusuku luxeliweyo, ebekwa ngama Bhulu ukuba abe yinkosana epantsi kwawo, eyenza into efunwa ngawo. Waba minyaka ima 32 u Mpande engu kumkani engazange wapambana nganto nenkosi zake ama Bhulu, wayigcina imida yomhlaba, neminqopiso yomteto. U Mpande uzele indodana ekutiwa ngu Cetywayo umfo odlongodlongo owahle wabonakala ukuba akazi kuyitobela kuyapi lemiteto yama Bhulu. Ngenxa yesosimo ubonakele uyise u Mpande ukuba unomnqweno wokuba indawo yake itatyatwe yenye indodana, engu Mbulazi, kuba yayibonakala ingumfana otambileyo yona, ovayo. Ite lonto yenza obunye ubutshaba pakati kwamadodana la, alwa elwile izolo nomhla, wade u Mbulazi wabulawa kwelinye iduli elikulu kunene, elibumfazwera ngaselu Tukela, zacunyuzwa nezinye inkosana ezazingati zivana no Mbulazi noyise. Wasala kaloku u Cetywayo eyinkunzi egquma yodwa eyoyikwa ngabo bonke nanguyise ngokwake.

Kude kwati kupi u Cetywayo watenjiswa ngabamhlope nama Zulu ukuba ekufeni kuka yise yoba nguye inkosi yakwa Zulu; zaqala ke izinto zangati ziyazola, kuba lomfo wayesel' eyilonto ukuzingela umfo ozakutata lendawo kayise, ukuze ambulale. Ngomnyaka we 1872 wab'ub'a u Mpande. Wafa umfo

\* ngenza

harried by Zibebu and other bullocks.<sup>5</sup> Cetshwayo produced Dinizulu, who was continually imprisoned following accusations against him; Dinizulu produced Solomon, who died last March. In other words, the KwaZulu kingship originated with Mpande because Shaka and Dingana had no children, not wanting heirs for fear they might resemble them.

52

### Hail, Busobengwe!

The reports that William Thomson Brownlee (Busobengwe)<sup>1</sup> has passed away are true; he died in hospital in Durban, Natal on 27 April, and was buried in King Williams Town on 5 May by a host of people of different races. The reader might like to know who this person was and what he was. My answer will take time, because this fellow's roots go very deep among us Xhosa people. In the days of our king, Ngqika, a missionary named Brownlee came to preach the Word. The king gave him land to settle at Gwali, a little river with fresh water which rises in the Gulukuqawo mountains and flows into the Tyhume in the Alice district. The missionary lived there alone in 1815 and, after a time, in 1823, more helpers arrived, the Revs J. Ross, MA, W. Thomson, J. Bennie; they brought a printing press with them and began to teach the Xhosa alphabet.<sup>2</sup> They initiated great progress among the Xhosa, and in 1845 a Xhosa newspaper named *Ikwezi* was published.<sup>3</sup> Rev Brownlee was a government agent for some years, due to the prevailing arrangements of the time; but in 1825 he was recruited by Rev Dr John Philip, who was an agent of the LMS in this country; he recruited Brownlee and placed him under the Ntinde chief, Jan Tshatshu, in King Williams Town, where not a single white building stood, just mimosas and Xhosa dwellings. The Brownlee school as well as the town of King Williams Town are built on that Ngqika missionary's site.

The eldest son of Rev J. Brownlee was Charles Brownlee – an eminent man born among us, who worked with us from childhood. As a youngster

ewuhlanganisile umzi ka Zulu ekubeni zintsali zemfazwe ngemfazwe, – kodwa eyifumene londawo ngokusinikela isizwe sakowabo.

Akuba engene walawula u Cetywayo uyapule kwaoko imimiselo neminqopiso nabamhlope abebemgcinile uyise. Yaba zimfazwe ngemfazwe ngexesha lake, wade naye wabanjwa wasiwa esiqitini e St. Helena: nakuba wabuye waktshwa waya kufela ekaya, selesukeliswa ngo Zibebu ezinye inkunzana. U Cetywayo uzele u Dinuzulu, owabanjwa futi yena nangokutyolwa; u Dinuzulu, uzele u Solomon lo ub'ub'e ngo March lo. Ngako oko obona bukosi bakwa Zulu bupume ku Mpande kuba o Tshaka no Dingana abazalanga, baye bengayifuni nenzala yabo beyoyika bona ngokwabo kuba beyazi ukuba iyakufana nabo.

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**A, – Busobengwe!**

Kunyanisiwe ukuba u William Thomson Brownlee (Busobengwe) aka seko ezweni; ubhubhele kwi hospitable yase Tekwini (Durban, Natal), ngomhla wama 27 ku Tshaz'impuzi (27 April), wancwatyelwa e Qonce ngomhla we 5 ku Canzibe (5 May), pakati kwenyambalala yabantu, bamabala ngamabala. Umfundi uyakutanda ukwazi ukuba lomntu ke wayengubanina, eyintonina? Impendulo yam iyakumtabata ituba, kuba ingcambu zalomfo zendele zazika pakati kwetu ma-Xosa. Ngemihla ka Ngqika inkosi yetu, kwa fika umfundisi ekwakutiwa ngu Bhuluneli (Brownlee) eze kushumayela i Lizwi, – yamtabata inkosi yambeka e Gwali, intlanjana emanzi amnandi, apuma kwezo Ntaba ze Gulukuqawo, ingene e Tyume kwesosithili sase Dikeni. Wahhlala apo umfundisi lowo yedwa kwa ngomnyaka we 1815, ekute kupi, ngomnyaka we 1823 kwafika abanye abancedisi abango Revs. J. Ross, m.a., W. Thomson, J. Bennie; aba beza betwele nelitye lokushicilela, baza baqale nokufundisa o "a" besi Xosa; yaba yinqubela pambili enkulu leyo ema-Xoseni, ekwada kwati ngomnyaka we 1845 kwashicilelwa ipepa lendaba ngesi Xosa, elatiywa igama lokuba li "Kwezi." Umfundisi u Brownlee uke waneminyaka etile engu mntu ka Rulumente, ngokwemeko zezinto zeloxesha; kodwa kute ngomnyaka we 1825 wahlutwa apo ngu Rev. Dr. John Philip owaye li Gosa le L.M.S. kweli lizwe; wamhluta wambeka ngoku pantsi kwenkosi yama Ntinde u Jan Tshatshu, e Qonce, kungekabiko

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\* *W. Bennie*



he went with American missionaries to preach the Word in Zululand, acting as their interpreter, in the days of Dingana.<sup>4</sup> As an adult Charles worked with King Sandile on different matters and various problems. He earned the name Naphakade at the time of Nongqawuse (1857) when he went from court to court among the Xhosa denying the resurrection of cattle and people, saying "Naphakade (Never)! There will be no resurrection of cattle or people!" As the son of a missionary, this man performed outstanding deeds among us in social, government and religious spheres. He even built a house at Gqolonci among us, and we enjoyed good accord with him. At one point the Governor made him chief of the Rharhabe, ruling the nation with Suthu, Sandile's mother.

Busobengwe is the son of this expert in Xhosa custom. While still young he started working in offices in the Transkei, and became magistrate in various districts.<sup>5</sup> In those days the country was still rough, requiring law, the whip and the gun. Ultimately he became chief magistrate in Mthatha, following other white Xhosa like the sons of Stanford (Ndabeni) and Gwadiso.<sup>6</sup> All these fellows were fluent in Xhosa and proud of it; they were students of Xhosa custom and tradition and were popular magistrates among us because they understood their work well.

As the grandson of a missionary, Busobengwe was well disposed to the missions and missionaries he visited, and encouraged them. At the time of his death an article he wrote about Rev J.M. Auld's grave had just appeared in a newspaper.<sup>7</sup> He maintained contact with his Brownlee family. Whenever there was a problem between the municipality and his family he would intervene. It was exactly the same with the treatment of blacks and their legal battles with whites: he would offer advice and assistance. In this campaign over title deeds we stood together and he was quite prominent. In 1925, when the Prince of Wales was in this country, the Transkeian magistrates forgot to present Chief Ngangomhlaba so that he could be recognised and receive credit as a senior chief. Busobengwe arranged for the Chief to travel to De Aar where he received all credit and the stick the Prince handed to the other chiefs.<sup>8</sup> This action stifled heated verbal exchanges and recriminations.

Busobengwe had a truly lovely mansion in Butterworth which we Rharhabe and Gcaleka, Mpondo and Mpondomise, Bhaca and Xesibe as well as Thembu, used to visit free of the anxiety of visiting a white man's home. His wife was also a Xhosa, just like him. We could express our opinions without restraint and no one would suffer for it; we would always return home comforted.

nanye indlu yomlungu apo, ise sisinga nezindlwana zama Xosa. Eso sikolo sakwa Brownlee kunye nedolopu leyo yase Qonce zisekwe pezu kwalowo mfundisi ka Ngqika.

U-Rev. J. Brownlee lowo usizalele unyana wake omkulu u Charles Brownlee, – sisihandiba eso esivelele pakati kwetu sona, sasebenza nati kwase buncinaneni. Ese yinkwenkwana wake wemka nabafundisi base Merika abaya kushumayela i Lizwi kwa Zulu, eyitoliki yabo yona, ngemihla yo Dingana. Ekukuleni u Tshalisi lowo usebenzisene no Mhlekezazi u Sandile, kwizinto ngezinto, nenzima ngenzima. Igama lokuba “Napakade” walifumana ngo Nongqause (1857) xa waye jikeleza inkundla ngenkundla zama Xosa, epika uvuko lwenkomo nabantu esiti “Napakade! Akuko nkomo nabantu bayakuvuka!” Lendoda yaba nemisebenzi emikulu pakati kwetu, kwezentlalo nezombuso, nakweze Lizwi njengonyana womfundisi. Wade wamisa nomzi e Gqolonci pakati kwetu, sasebenza ngemvisiswano naye. Ngelinye ixesha wamiselwa zi Ruluneli ukuba abe yinkosi kwa Rarabe, apate isizwe kunye no Sutu, unina ka Sandile.

U Busobengwe lo ke uzalwa yilo ndedebe, ute yena kwasebuncinaneni wawuqala umsebenzi ezi ofisini kwela Pesheya kwe Nciba, waba yimantyi kwizithili ngezithili, ilizwe lise rabaxa ngezomini, lifuna umteto, noswazi, nompu. Ude wayakuba yi Mantyi eyo Ngamileyo e Mtata, emva kwama nye ama Xos'amhlope into zika Stanford, u Ndabeni no Gwadiso. Aba bafo bonke babe-sazi kakuhle isi Xosa ukusiteta, bezidla ngayo lonto; bewafundile namasiko nezitete zesi Xosa, bazimantyi ezitandekayo kuti, kuba beziwuqonda umsebenzi wazo.

Njengomzukulwana womfundisi u Busobengwe, uvene kakulu nezikolo nabafundisi (missions and missionaries) wazihambela, waquba kunye nabo. Nanamhlanje ebhubha nje bekuseko emapepeni indawo apo ebhale ngencwaba lika Rev. J.M. Auld. Umzi wakowabo wakwa Bhuluneli ubenga zange awulibale; bekusiti kwakuti xingi into malunga nempato yedolopu kuwo abe seleko eze kulamla; ube kwanjalo nakwimisebenzi eyenziwa ngabantsundu yokulwa amagwangqa ngokomteto, abe seloko ecebisa encedisa; nakweliduli le Tayitile besikunye naye engafihlekile. Ngomnyaka we 1925, oko i Prince of Wales ibikweli lizwe, imantyi zase Transkei zamlibala u Chief Ngomhlaba ukumvelisa ukuba aziwe, azuze imfanelo zake njenge nkosi enkulu. U Busobengwe wenza ukuba u Mhlekezazi lowo aye e De Aar apo wazifumana kona zonke imfanelo

This fellow was respected as the author of articles he wrote for newspapers. He enjoyed telling the stories of those black heroes who helped the government with certain problems in an effort to publicise their assistance, or to muster support for their dependents – just as his father Naphakade did to get land on the Tsitsa for people like Mabandla, Makiwane and Sejoseng for the help and assistance they had rendered the government.

His name “Busobengwe” might alarm those unfamiliar with him, on the assumption that it implied violence; but it was not so. Yet in times of conflict he is the kind of man whose face would look fierce as a leopard’s! The fellow was as brave as his father. He did well to tidy the Transkeian Territories (comprising 27 districts) and calm them down and to make them the happy place they presently are. At his funeral in King Williams Town a black man who spoke at the graveside about his heroism said,

When he was shown  
 an army rabble,  
 armed to the teeth,  
 he refused to see it;  
 he said he saw grasshoppers.  
 When he heard the crack of rifles,  
 he said it sounded like a drum.  
 Choking in gunpowder,  
 he said it smelt like perfume;  
 when bullets whispered  
 in both his ears,  
 when they went zip – zip,  
 he said that’s the finest song  
 for men to sing!

kwa nentonga eyayinikwa yi Prince kwezinye inkosi. Esisenzo sasindisa ingxwaba bangxwaba eninzi yenteto nokunyolana.

U Busobengwe ubenomzi omhle omkulu kunene e Gcuwa (Butterworth) apo tina ma Rarabe nama Gcaleka, tina ma Mpondo nama Mpondomise, tina ma Baca nama Xesibe, kwakunye naba Tembu, besikululekile ukuya ngapandle kwexhala lokuba siya kumzi womlungu; yaye ikwa njengaye inkosikazi yake, ingum-Xosakazi. Izimvo zetu besiya sizipalaze singashiyeleli, akuzange kubeko wenzakalayo yilonto; besiyе sibuyе situtuzelekile.

Umfo lo ubekwa ngumbhali we ncwadana, ebhala nase mapepeni endaba, etanda ukubalisa ngamaroti atile antsundu awaye anceda umbuso kwingxingwa ezitile, ezama ukuba abonwe ancedwe, okanye kuncedwe inkedama zawo, – njengoko wenjenjalo no Nopakade uyise, ukuze o Mabandla no Makiwane, no Sejoseng bazuze imihlaba e Tsitsa ngomsebenzi noncedo lwabo embusweni.

Igama lake eliti, “Busobengwe lingamotusa ongamaziyo, acinge ukuba liteta ubujorha; kanti hayi; kodwa yindoda ebisakuti mhla isezintongeni ibuti ja ubuso butsho bube bobengwe kanye! Umfo ubemfuzile uyise ngokukalipa. I Transkeian Territories eziya (izi zithili ezima 27) wenze lukulu ukuzigabula, nokuzizolisa ukuze zibe lolutyebelekende zilulo ngoku. Ngomhla womncwabo e Qonce indoda entsundu eyayiteta encwabeni ngobugora bake yati, –

Ubesit'akwalatiswa  
 Inyambalala yomkhosi,  
 Ixob'igqibelele,  
 Angavumi kuyibona;  
 At'ubon'imicikwane.  
 At'akuv'izitonga zemipu,  
 Ati ngati ligubu.  
 At'akuraxwa yiruluwa,  
 Ati kunuk'ubuqolo;  
 At'akusetyezelwa zimbumbulu,  
 Kwindlebe zombini;  
 Zakuti mpi-na-mpi – nampi – nampi,  
 Ati, Nantso k'eyona ngoma  
 Yokuvunywa ngamadoda!

\* *kunu'ubuqolo*

When he retired from government service he chose to be an interpreter, interpreting government intentions for us, and our black opinions for the government. He leaves behind his widow and truly fine sons who are ably following in his footsteps. We know that he is not dead, only now he is going to work even harder to fulfil his efforts among us. And so we are not crying, we are glad that he has gone to a position of power among those in the Highest. We say:

Go, Busobengwe!

Dark black man from the land of Rharhabe;

great chief of the house of Phalo;

controlled in broad daylight under the sun

by Sir Harry and other potentates;

Suthu was also involved.<sup>9</sup>

Thank heavens you came back from KwaZulu:

they also have a Somtsewu,<sup>10</sup>

they have Colenso after all.

Thank heavens you came home to Tshatshu's land,

Tshatshu's land is also Ngqika's,

Ngqika's land is also Rharhabe's;

that's your place of work,

and the work of your ancestors,

like Sandile and Naphakade.

Remember us always, Naphakade's son,

when you're in the Highest

among your ancestors!

That's it!!!

Ute ke ngoku akupumla emsebenzini ka Rulumente wazicishela ukuba abe yitoliki yokutolikela tina ingqondo zika Rulumente, aze atolikele u Rulumente izimvo zetu bantsundu. Ushiya umhlokazi nonyana abahle kunene, abeza kakuhle emkondweni wake. Siyazi ukuba akakafi, kokukona aza kusebenza ngamandla, awupumeze umsebenzi wake pakati kwetu; ngoko ke tina asilili, siyavuya ngokuya kwake emandleni kwabo base Nyangweni, – Siti:

Hamba Busobengwe!  
Mdak' omnyama wakwa Rarabe;  
Nkos' enkulu yomzi ka Palo;  
Epatelw'emini pantsi kwelanga,  
Ngo Sir Harry nezidwangube;  
Way' epakati no Sutu.  
Tshotsh' ubuye kwelakwa Zulu,  
Kuba nabo bano Somtsewu:  
Bano Kolenzo kanjalo.  
Tshotsh' ugoduk' uze kwaTshatshu,  
Kwa Tshatshu ke kukwa Ngqika,  
Kwa Ngqika ke kukwa Rarabe;  
Kulap' umsebenzi wak' ukona;  
Umsebenzi wamanyang' akowenu,  
O Sandile no Napakade.  
Ungasilibali mfo ka Napakade, –  
Xa sewuse nyangwaneni, –  
Sewuhleli nama Nyang' akowetu!  
Ncincilili!!!

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\* *Epatelw'emini*

**53 My father Walter Stanford is no longer with us**

We were sad to hear news of the death of this eminent man who served the black community well throughout his life, right up to his final day. Last June the country joined its father Sir Walter Stanford and his wife in celebrating their 50th wedding anniversary. Sir Walter's Xhosa name is Ndabeni, which he had before he went to Cape Town.<sup>1</sup> He earned this name from inviting the community to discuss "the news" and the law.

This fellow went to school at Lovedale<sup>2</sup> in Alice, when white and black boys still studied together, and progressed together in classes – the white boys became magistrates having mixed with black people from their school days, they exercised authority over people they already knew. It was the same with missionaries – that is why there has been deep friendship between an educated black person and an educated white person, because they knew one another from the classroom – a shared desk creates friendship.

After he left school, this gentleman spent his entire life among us, like Busobengwe,<sup>3</sup> he knew every corner of the Transkeian Territories, travelling as a magistrate in those rough days, ever in the saddle, sleeping in unfamiliar places, grateful to live to see the sunrise. Who did the government send to calm down the disturbances that occurred there? He was even promoted to the rank of Colonel Stanford because, like a Ngqika, he would not blink. You who enjoy the richness of the "Great Bhunga," do you know its origins? Something bitterly opposed by the chiefs and the black nations who still maintained their chiefdoms? He is the one who understands the Bhunga's ups and downs, its steep slopes and vicissitudes.

In the course of time this fellow attracted honours and authority, as the Bible puts it, "Do you see a man skilful in his work? He will stand before kings."<sup>4</sup> He was now promoted to Chief Magistrate of Transkei; afterwards he was sent to Parliament as representative of all these territories (which he fully deserved). Wasn't it Ndabeni who led the Commission that created the Native College in South Africa in the face of opposition? Where was he when the law of this country was fashioned? He was even fit for the Senate because he was a recognised representative of all black people.

## U Bawo u Ndabeni Akaseko

Sizive kabuhlungu indaba zoku bhubha kwale ndedebhe ekonze umzi o Ntsundu kanobomi ngexesha lokupila kwayo, kude kuye kumhla woku gqibela. Ngo June lo odluleyo ilizwe belivuyisana nobawo u Sir Walter Stanford nowakwake, ngokufikelela kwabo kwiminyaka ema 50 betshatile. U Sir Walter lowo ngu Ndabeni igama lake lesi Xhosa, owaya e Kapa enalo kade. Elogama walizuzwa ngokubizela izizwe "ezindabeni" zengxoxo, nomteto.

Lomfo imfundo yake wayifumana e Dikeni kwisikolo sase Lovedale, okuya bekusafunda amakwenkwe amhlope kunye nantsundu, enyukana eziklasini, – amakwenkwe amhlope ayakuba zimantyi ebesazana nomntu ontsundu kwa-sezikolweni, ati ayaya kongamela abe seleya kongamela abantu ababaziyo. Kubafundisi bekuba kwa yilonto, – yiyo lento imvisiswano yomntu omnyama ofundileyo nomhlope okwafundileyo, ibike yankulu, – ibikukwazana eziklasini, – into eyenza ubuhlobo idesika enye.

Epumile umnumzana lowo esikolweni, bonke ubom bake ubugqibele pakati kwetu, njengo Busobengwe, ulityatye lonke ela Pesheya kwe Nciba (Transkeian Territories), ehamba eba yimantyi ngemini ezirabaxa, indoda isakwela ihashe, ilale apo ingaziyo, – ibulele yakubona\* kupuma ilanga isengokoyo. Izipitipiti ezibe zisakuba kona apo bekutunyelwa banina ngu Rulumente ukuze zicime? Ude wanyuselwa nangokwase zintongeni wangu Colonel Stanford, kuba ngokom Ngqika kanye indoda leyo ibingapanyazi. Nina senisitya amanqata e "Bhunga Elikulu" nilazela pi? Into ebicaswe ngoluhlobo zinkosi nezizwe ezint-sundu zisenobukosi bazo? Nguyena owaqonda amahla-ndinyuka, namasilantsi, namabona-ndenzile e Bhunga.

Kute kupi umfo ngoku zamnxhamela imbeko, namawonga, njengoko isi Bhalo naso sitshoyo ukuti "Uyayibona na indoda itembekile emsebenzini wayo, isaya kuma pambi kwezikumkani." Ungene ngoku wangu Mongameli we Mantyi zela Pesheya kwe Nciba; utunyelwe kamva e Palamente waya kumela lonke elo (ngemfanelo); la Komishoni yadala i Koleji yabantsundu emayibeko e South Africa, yayingonyanyelwe ngu Ndabeni na kanene madoda? Kona ukuqingqwa kom-Teto lo weli lizwe wayepi? Ude waya kuba lilungu le Ndlu ye Ngwevu (Senator) ngenxa yokwaziwa kwake ukuba abantsundu bakuye bepela.

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\* *yakubana*



On his wedding anniversary Ndabeni responded to the speech in his honour: "The most important thing in my life is black people and I am still passionately involved in the issues that affect them. I am delighted to see their present generation pursuing their rights." Before I stop, Mr Editor, let me mention that a few years ago I went to see this Father, to meet him for the first time – in Rondebosch, Cape Town – I came to a beautiful mansion. I was introduced to the children and servants, and all this lot spoke Xhosa. I was told that he would also speak Xhosa because this was a Xhosa house. Indeed this tall, handsome fellow approached, and to my eyes he seemed young because, having heard about him for so long, I expected an old man bent with age. And he too encountered an old man he'd heard about for a long time. I started jokingly, asking him when he was going to go home and stop loitering in the splendid houses of white people: who had he left at home? I didn't stop there, but continued; he just pointed his grandchildren out to me, saying they would become magistrates for our sons, he himself was old now and had done all he could in his time, here in Cape Town as well as back home. Then we proceeded with polite conversation just like Xhosa people.

#### 54                      **The late William Congreve Mvalo**

It is a while since this fellow passed away because he died in April this year, as widely reported to the community in their newspaper *Imvo*. This fellow is the son of a noble Ndlambe, Mvalo, the son of Nkovu son of Ncinda. The stream in King Williams Town that passes near Brownlee's school is named after this Ncinda, because he was buried there. William was prominent among the educated Xhosa, speaking English like his home language; yet he was just a fellow from the Komazi clan, Qhinebe, Gqugqugqu, although many took him for a Tshawe.<sup>1</sup> They were wide of the mark, because the magistrates and missionaries just assumed his father Mvalo was royal on account of his superior intelligence. When the first Church of England missionaries came to Mhala at Xinirha he sent them to Nkovu here at Nxarhuni. Then Nkovu separated his sons, committing the eldest, Mfene the father of Veli, to attend the Great Place and Mvalo the father of Mbulelo to look after the missionaries. During the many Xhosa wars Mvalo's settlement remained untouched, and it refused to participate in

Ngalomhla wesi Kumbuzo somtshato u Ndabeni uvakele kot'eta naye esiti: "Into epambili ebomini bam ngumntu ontsundu, yaye imicimbi engabo ndisayilandela shushu, kuyandivuyisa ukubona isizukulwana sabo sangoku sikunanzile ukuwalandela amalungelo aso." Pambi kokuba ndipeze Mhleli, mandike nditi, kuyo leminyaka ikufupi nje ndake ndaya kumbona u Bawo lo, ndaye ndiqala ukumbona, – e Rondebosch, e Kapa, – ndifike kumzikazi omkulu, omhle, ndaqalwa ngabantwana nazizicaka, yonke lompi iteta isi-Xosa; kwatiwa kum naye uyakuteta kwa sona, kuba kulomzi kusema-Xhoseni. Okunene uvelile lomfo mde, mhle, wamtsha kwawam amehlo, kuba kudala ndisiva ngaye, ndiba seleyinkatavu. Naye ute tu kwelinye ixego akade esiva ngalo. Ndimqale ngokumqhula ndibuza ukuba uyakugoduka ninina esuke walibala kwezizindlu zintle zabelungu nje uti ikaya linabanina? Andapeza apo ndaqhuba; usuke wandalalisa abazukulwana ababekwalapo esiti seyoba ngabo imantyi zonyana betu, yena selemdala, waye ke ukwenzile okuhle abenokusenzela ngemini zake, nalapa e Kapa nasemva emakaya. Siqalile ke sacokisana njengama Xosa kanye.

## 54

**Umfi u William Congreve Mvalo**

Lomfo sekulithuba elishiyile ilizwe; kuba usweleke ngenyanga ka Tshaz' impuzi kuwo lomnyaka; waziswa nomzi ngokubanzi kwakulo eliphepha lakowabo le "Mvo." Lomfo ngunyana wesikhulu sakwa Ndlambe, u Mvalo, into ka Nkovu ka Ncinda; lomfulana use Qonce ngakweso sikolo sakwa Buluneli ubizwe ngo Ncinda lowo, kuba wangcatyelwa kuwo. Phakathi kwemfundi zasema Xhoseni u William lo ube yenye yeziphambili, esithetha isi Ngesi njengentetho yakokwabo; ukanti ke noko yena ubengumfo wasema Komazini, u Qinebe, u Gqugqugqu; kodwa baninzi ababemthatha okokuba uli Tshawe; kanti nabo abo babengaposisanga kuyaphi, kuba ngenxa yokuphakama kwengqondo kayise u Mvalo, imantyi nabafundisi bamthabathela ebukhosini. Abafundisi bokuqala base Tshetshi bathi bakufika ku Mhala e Xinirha wabathumela ku Nkovu apa e Nxaruni, – waza u Nkovu wabahlula phakathi onyana bake, wathi omkhulu, u Mfene uyise ka Veli wamphathisa ukujonga i Komkulu: wathi u Mvalo u So Mbulelo wamjongisa kuba Fundisi. Kwezi mfazwe ke zininzi zama Xhosa,

the Nongqawuse disaster – so Mvalo is famous not so much for any wealth as for his diplomacy and foresight.

His son William is sharp-witted though not that well educated. He was born here at Nxarhuni, at Newlands, which is generally known by its church name as St Lukes Mission. Education led him to St Matthews. He served as interpreter for the magistrate in King Williams Town and at that time married Miss Anna Busakwe of the Zima clan at Mngqesha, and they produced sons and daughters. After that he served as interpreter with a law firm and stayed there until his death. After the death of his wife he was moved to Nxarhuni by his relatives and friends led by Chief S.K. Kaka. Among the Thembu in Lady Frere and in Queenstown William Congreve was accepted as a lawyer.

#### IN THE CHIEFDOM

Educated people are not normally concerned with the conduct of Xhosa affairs, especially when they hold good jobs in the service of whites. We Ndlambe thank God that this student of ours did not forget the role of chief's councillor exercised by his ancestors, but maintained close contact with his chiefs – he and Chief N.C. Umhalla were very close. He held a really strong, amiable conversation with Chief Silimela even though the councillor was near his death. Living in King Williams Town for a long time, he served all the chiefs in that district, including the Gqunukhwebe chiefs, as a loyal court official.

#### HIS FINAL DAYS

I have already mentioned that when this fellow lost his strength in King Williams Town he was moved by his people to Nxarhuni and stayed with William Mfene Nkoku, his elder brother, who belonged to the section of the family serving the chiefs. The minister there, Archdeacon J.K. Mather,<sup>2</sup> made a major contribution to the invalid of food and blankets. His whole village made a major contribution by paying their respects to this fellow.

One day in March this year I was sent by Chief Silimela together with two other men to go and sort out a certain matter at Nkoku's village. While on our way there I told the two men that I wanted to spend the night at Veli Nkoku's home, so even if we finished our business early we would not return on the same day. In the event, Headman H. Ntsonkotha saved us time so we had no need to remove the saddles from our horses. We popped in to see the son of

lelali ka Mvalo ayizange ichitakale, nangesiyikili sika Nongqause yona ayizange ingene, – ngako oko u Mvalo lo akadumanga ngabo ubutyebi kwathini, udume ngenxa yesonti nentelekelelo.

Unyana lo u William, kuthambe intloko engafundanga ayephi; uzal-  
elwe e Nxaruni apha, e Newlands, edume ngegama lobutyalike St. Lukes  
Mission; ukhe wafika kuhle e Mtwaku, St. Matthews, ngokwemfundo; ukhe  
walikhumsha lemantyi e Qonce, – utshate ngeloxesha no Miss Anna Busakwe,  
umZimakazi wase Mngqesha, bazala onyana nentombi. Emveni koko waba  
likhumsha emagqwetheni, ade wafa ese kuleyo; nakuba ithe yakumshiya  
inkosikazi, watotyelwa kowabo e Nxaruni zizihlobo zakhe ngakumbi u Chief  
S.K. Kaka. Eba Tenjini, e Lady Frere, nakwa Komani wayekhangelwe njenge  
gqwetha ngokwakhe u Wm. Congreve.

#### EBUKHOSINI

Amadodana afundisiweyo asinto ayinanze kuyaphi umbuso wakowawo wesi  
Xhosa; ngakumbi xa athe alungelwa ezinkonzweni zawo zasemlungwini. Thina  
ma Ndlambe siyambulela u Thixo kuba lemfundi yakowethu ayizange ibulibale  
ubuphakathi bakowayo, yasoloko itene nca nenkosizayo, – yena no Matanyeli  
(Chief N.C. Umhalla) babengahlulwa nto. Le inkosi ingu Silimela batetelene  
amazwi amnandi, namahle kunene kuzo ezintsuku athe kanti umphakati lo  
seleza kunduluka. Kanti njengomfo obese Qonce ithuba elide, zonke inkosi  
ezilapho kweso sithili, kude kuye kwezasema Gqunukwebeni ubezikhonza  
ngokombusi kanye.

#### MALUNGA NESIPHELO

Senditshilo ukuthi uthe kaloku umfo lo akumphelela amandla e Qonce waya  
kuba ngakowabo e Nxaruni, ehlala kwa Wm. Mfene Nkovu umkhuluwa wakhe  
walandlu yayijongiswe ebukhosini. Umfundisi walapho, u Ntambula (Archd.  
J.K. Mather) wenze lukhulu ukonga ngezityo nezambatho. Ilali yonke yakow-  
abo yenze lukhulu nayo ngeembeko zayo kulomfo.

Ngenye imini ngo March lo walonyaka, ndisuswe ngu Mhlekezazi u Silimela  
namadodana amabini ukuba masiye kufeza umcimbi othile kulolali ka Nkovu.  
Sithe kwa sisa singa phaya namadodana lawo, ndawaxelela ukuba umphe-  
fumlo wam ufuna ukuya kulalisa kwa Veli Nkovu, nokuba umcimbi lo siwufeze  
kamsinya asiyikubuyelela. Okunene u Sibonda H. Ntsonkota wasikawulezela  
singazi thulanga nesali emahasheni, – sithe gxada koka Kaka, saya kutsho kwa

Kaka and finally came to the Nkovu home. We remained there for quite a time chatting about the country. After a while I wanted to see Earl Umvallo (as he was called) and was told he was in that little hut, dying. I tore myself away and went there. I arrived to find him at death's door, blaming his leg. At first the small shoes Ntambula had bought for him had chafed him, so he went to wash the sore in a pool they had feared as children, and the whole leg flared up. I asked him to show me this sore that affected him so badly – what's this! There's no sore on the foot, on the whole leg, anywhere – I was at a loss.

At this stage the affliction had completely gone, and he even stood on both legs and hobbled out just like anybody else and returned without using a walking stick. Before he sat down he repeated the words he had uttered when I entered and had kept on uttering the whole time I was there: these words, my good fellow, were

“YOU HAVE BEEN SENT BY GOD

to be here, because I want to bind you to write to my children, so that they know I am here and that here I am dying. I am actually very happy that God has sent you in particular, because I know you will do this.” This is what he said, and he gave me the addresses of his two daughters and the instructions for them. In the end I asked him why he was not giving me instructions for the third daughter. He said, “Ah! So-and-so is dying just like me; what instruction can I give her?” I said, “Tell her that you too are dying even if you say nothing more.” That ended there and he did not pursue the matter.

I did indeed write those letters to his children immediately; when I returned I reported on his condition to the Great Place; had I not reported I would have delayed matters. At the time that fellow had a long conversation with me – he also spoke about his late wife, praising her. I was surprised because I was unaware of these things – as well as the headaches he suffered in his life.

We sank to our knees – we directed two or three words to the Everlasting and we parted pleasantly! Hardly a month after that I read *Imvo* preaching that this son of Mvalo and his mother NoSomi had passed away. He died in his home, where he had been born and where he grew up, where his fathers and grandfathers lie buried. The funeral service was conducted by his minister, the son of Malgas, a Rhadebe.

Nkovu. Sihleli ithuba elide sincokola izinto zelizwe; kuthe kuphi ndafuna ukubona u Earl Umvallo (kuba bekuse kutshiwo ukubizwa kwakhe,) kuthiwe nankuya kulandlwana, uyafa. Ndithe xathu ndedwa ndaya; ndifike kumntu ofayo kanye, othe ufa ngumlenze; kuqala wayetyatyulwe zizihlangwana awayezithengelwe ngu Ntambula, waza wathi eneso silondana nanko esiya kuhlamba kwisiziba ababesoyika bese ngabantwana, – suke umlenze wonke wabusela. Ndide ndanqwenela, ukusibona esisilonda sigulisa umntu kangaka, – yinile! Akukho silonda, naselunyaweni, nasemlenzeni, wonke, naphi, – ndafumane ndakhohlwa.

Ngelixesha kwakuse kuphele tu ukubambeka, wade wakhe wema ngenyawo zombini, wangcambaza ngokomntu wonke waya kuphuma, wabuye wabuya engasimeleli; uthe engekahlali phantsi waphinda ilizwi abelithethe kwase kungeneni kwam, walizingisa ngalo lonke elixesha ndilapha; ilizwi elithi, mfondini,

#### “UTHUNYELWE NGU THIXO

ukuz' apha, kuba ndiza kukuthuma ubhalele abantwana bam, bandazi ukuba ndilapha, ndilapha nje ndiyafa; kunjalonje ndivuya kakhulu ukuba u Thixo athume wena kanye, wena ndaziyo ukuba uya kuyenza lento. Utsho wandinika i address zentombi zake zombhini, kunye nemiyalezo yezinto ayaleza zona. Ndide ndambuza ukuba kuthenina engandiniki myalezo nje kule yesithathu intombi? Uthe “Awu! U Nantsi ekwayinto efayo kwanje ngam nje ndingafumane ndenze myalezo wantoni kuye?” Ndite mna “Mxelele kaloku naye ukuba uyafa, nokuba akuthethanga zinto.” Iphelele apho leyo engayingenanga.

Okunene ndizikaulezele ezoncwadi ndabhalela abantwana bakhe; ndambika na Komkhulu ndakugoduka; noko ndingabikanga ndibandezele. Phofu umfo lo yena uncokole kakhulu nam, – ethetha nangomkake ongas ekoyo emncoma. Ndasuke ndemanga kuba bendingazange ndizazi ezizinto, – nentloko abesakuthi agule ngazo ebomini bakhe.

Singe singaguqa ngamadolo, – satsho mabini, mathathu ku Ndikhoyo, sashiyana kuyinto emnandi! Akudlulanga nyanga emva koko, ndive nge “Mvo” seyishumayela ukuba lomfo ka Mvalo no No Somi unina, akaseko ezweni, ubhubhele kowabo, kwizwe azalelwe kulo, wakhulela kulo, apho banchwatywe kona oyise nooyisemkhulu. Umnchwabo uphetwe ngumfundisi wakhe, into ka Malgas, u Rhadebe yena.

We were left bemused, dark NoSomi;  
 we mocked you in every respect,  
 as we licked we seared you:<sup>3</sup>  
 who were we in the first place,  
 calves who graze in a tree?  
 Who were we in the first place –  
 to judge the servant of another Lord?  
 Go, Qhinebe, you were a leader!  
 That's why you were like the last corn to ripen –  
 as you ripen the nation's cooking.  
 One swift doesn't make a summer.  
 Go, strikingly good-looking Gqugququ,  
 you have washed his blankets –  
 whitened them in the blood of the Lamb!  
 That's it!!!

## 55            **The late Rev Isaac William Wauchope**

*Rend your clothes, and gird you with sackcloth, and mourn before Abner.*

II Sam. 3: 31

Anyone who failed to see this deceased missed something.<sup>1</sup> Despite his name, this gentleman was a Xhosa through and through. The first missionaries very much enjoyed naming our children after them; in addition, people changed their names, preferring English names, until it was widely believed that a Xhosa name could not sanctify an individual before God. Some readily agreed that their names should be changed before they were admitted to the congregations; others were not given proper advice.

His paternal names are Citashe and Dyobha, and he is a member of the Cethe people of the Chizama clan.<sup>2</sup> In terms of royal allegiance, he is a Ngqika, for, though he is sometimes known as a Ndlambe and also called a Jingqi, all those sit at the Ngqika hearth. This Isaac is the eldest son in his family; he

Sasala sakhohlwa mdak' u No Somi;  
 Besikugxeka macalan' onke,  
 Besikukhotha sikuxathula:  
 Besingobanina kakade ke thina,  
 Thina Mathol' otya mthini?  
 Besingobanina kakade ke thina –  
 Ukuba sigweb' isicaka seny' i Nkosi?  
 Hamba Qinebe ubuyinkokeli!  
 Kulok' ufane nekhikhizela, –  
 Udubul' isizwe siseziko.\*  
 Nehlabankom' elinye alenzihlobo.  
 Hamba Gqugqugq' omhle kunene,  
 Uzihlambil' ingubo zakhe, –  
 Wazenza mhloph' egazini le Mvana!  
 Ncincilili!!!

## 55 Umfi u Mfundisi Isaac William Wauchope

*Razulani ingubo zenu, nibhinqe ezirhwexayo, nimbhambhazelele u Abnere.*

II Sam. 3: 31

Umntu oliso lingazange limbone umfi lo waphoswa lulutho. Noko igama lakhe lenjenje nje, umfo lo yena wayengum Xhosa wonke ephela. Kaloku abafundisi bokuqala babethanda kakhulu ukuba abantwana aba bethu babizwe ngamagama abo; nangaphandle kwaleyo into babesakuthi bawajike amagama abantu, bathande ukuba abe ngawesi Ngesi, – yada lonto yayinkolo ekhoyo ukuba sicinge ukuba negama eli lesi Xhosa, alinakumngcwalisa kakuhle umntu phambi kwa Thixo. Bavuma lula ke ngoko abanye ukuba amagama abo aguqulwe phambi kokuba angeniswe ebandleni; bathi bambhi bangacetyiswa nokucetyiswa.

Awona magama akowabo ngu Chithashe noDyobha, umfo wasema Ceteni kwa Chizama. Ngokwase bukhosini ngum Ngqika kanye; kuba noko amana

\* sisejiko



has brothers, who strongly resemble him in many respects including courage, hearty conviviality and familiarity with many languages. In his family there are more girls than boys and these women are just as brave and lively.

This man saw the light of day in 1852, in the midst of Mlanjeni's War (1850-53). He was born in the district of Uitenhage in white territory, which marked them as detribalised people.

There are refined men among the Xhosa in this cohort. Although we cannot elaborate here we can just flash a light on their names so that the reader can follow his own thoughts, for these are men distinguished in education: Rev P.J. Mzimba 1849, Rev Elijah Makiwane 1850, Rev John Knox Bokwe 1855, Rev I. William Wauchope 1852, Rev W.B. Rubusana 1858 and Mr J.T. Jabavu 1860.<sup>3</sup>

This hero of ours received his early education down there in Uitenhage. He went to Lovedale to further his education in 1874, the year of Maqoma's death. Soon after arriving at Lovedale, in 1876, there was a major campaign to find young men willing to go to central Africa, to Nyasaland, to bring light to that country. A party of young men agreed to go there: William Koyi distinguished himself in that country, Mapasa Ntintili went with him and Shadrack Mngunana, and amongst them was the son of Dyobha.<sup>4</sup> But he could not stay there for any length of time because of fever brought on by that country's sun, and he was repatriated urgently.

On his return home Isaac was appointed teacher at a school in Uitenhage from about 1879 to 1882. There he met and taught a young lady who was destined to excel in Africa and America, Miss Charlotte Manyhi, who later became Mrs Charlotte Maxeke of Johannesburg.<sup>5</sup> He left teaching to become an interpreter to the magistrate in Port Elizabeth. While there, he played an active role in the Order of True Templars<sup>6</sup> and was renowned throughout the land of the Xhosa. More than that, he held revivals to spread the gospel in Port Elizabeth. He was also a gifted writer, telling stories and singing praises in the newspapers. His knowledge of foreign languages in no way diminished his control of his home language, Xhosa; but his knowledge of foreign languages earned him a reputation both locally and abroad.

ukuvakala engum Ndlambhe, aze abuye avakale engum Jingqi, onke lawo maziko ngawakwa Ngqika. U Isaac lo ngunyana omkhulu kokwabo; bakho abaninawa bakhe, iziqololwane ezifana kwa naye ngento yonke, – ngokukhalipha, ngobuqharaqhara bobuncoko, nangokwazi iilwimi ezininzi. Eyona nto ininzi kokwabo zintombhi, ezo nzinilikazi zikwanjalo ukukhalipha nokuqabuka.

Indoda le ilibone ilanga ngomnyaka we 1852, kanye phakathi kwimfazwe ka Mlanjeni (1850-53); ivelele kwisithili\* sase Tinarha, kwelase mlungwini kanye, ukuze nje badumele ukuba ngama Rhanuga.

Kukho amadoda abalulekileyo kweli lase ma Xhoseni, avela kwezo zithuba, noko singayi kuchaza nto ngawo, singakhe siwathi chapha-chapha okwama gama wona odwa, aze ke umlesi azandisele, kuba yaba ngama doda odumo nemfundo; Umfundisi u P.J. Mzimba, 1849; Mfundisi Elijah Makhiwane, 1850; Mfundisi John Knox Bokwe 1855; Mfundisi I. Wm. Wauchope 1852; Mfundisi W.B. Rubusana 1858; no Mnumzana u J.T. Jabavu 1860.

Imfundo yokuqala igorha eli lethu liyifumene kwase Tinarha apho; liye e Lovedale ukuya kufuna ethe vetshe imfundo ngomnyaka we 1874 nyakana kwabhubha u Maqoma. Kwa kamsinya efikile e Dikeni, ngomnyaka we 1876 kubekho imvuselelo efuna amadodana avumayo ukuya embindini we Afrika, e Nyasa, ukuya kukhanyisa kwelozwe; abe liqela amadodana avumayo ukuya apho, into ka Koyi u William owaba yinjojeli kwelozwe; waye kunye no Mapasa Ntintili, no Shadrach Nyumana, yatsho phakathi nento ka Dyobha! kuloko ayibanga nathuba kanjalo apho, ngenxa yomkhuhlane obangelwa lilanga lel-ozwe, yagoduswa buphuthuphutu.

Efikile ekaya u Isaac, unikwe isikolo ukuba afundise apho kowabo e Tinarha kwiminyaka ye 1879 kude kube ngowe 1882, udibene apho nokufundisa intokazi eyathi kanti izakuba yimbhalasane yelizwe, e Africa nase Melika, u Miss Charlotte Manyi, owathi kamva wangu Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke e Rhautini. Ukushiya ubutitshala uye kuba likumsha lemantyi e Bhayi. Wathi elapho wangena kakhulu kwi Bandla lo Zilo, wayinto ayiyo kulo lonke eli lasema Xhoseni ngalondawo; akaphela apho, uhambhise kunene imvuselelo ze lizwi e Bhayi, waye umfo ekwanaso nesiphiwo sokubhala emaphepheni nokubalisa nokubonga. Ukwazi kwakhe iintetho zasemzini akumenzanga naka ncinane

\* *ivelele e kwisithili*

The son of Dyobha now furthered his education when he answered a call to the ministry and went to study at Lovedale. There he energetically assisted the missionaries in educating youngsters, in writing books in Xhosa and in establishing the Band of Hope group and others together with J.K. Bokwe.<sup>7</sup> He excelled in debate as well as sport, which he coached and supported, though in those days sport was not popularly supported.

While he was a teacher in Uitenhage, Isaac married a resourceful woman who matched his sisters in diligence, eloquence and neatness. She was Naniwe, the daughter of Lukalo, a Mpondomise by birth.<sup>8</sup> Here in Lovedale he lived with her and their children, and she eagerly studied with him, together with her sons and daughters. When he completed his studies for the ministry he was called according to the custom of the Free Presbyterian Church to take charge of the well-established congregation of Fort Beaufort, including Wezo and Blinkwater right up to the Keiskamma, at Knapps Hope (kwaGqadushe).<sup>9</sup> Many saw diligence in agriculture for the first time in an educated person, and that a minister. The reputation of the Free Church ministry was much enhanced through him, Dr Rubusana and Rev Simon Petrus Sihlali.<sup>10</sup>

This man made a significant contribution to the nation, at community meetings and in helping Dr Stewart (Somgxada) with the Xhosa readers at Lovedale, demand for which grew at this time, as well as with the *Kafir Phrase Book*.<sup>11</sup> This man also supported the Editor of *Imvo*, Mr J.T. Jabavu, and worked in close association with him. His activities ranged from education to politics, from local matters to national protests, because there was social segregation even in those days. There was also religious controversy when the Ethiopian Church emerged in its various forms, which consumed much of the community's time. He was a close ally of the son of Jabavu in all of this and became his yokemate and champion. They fought shoulder to shoulder for the establishment of the College of Fort Hare and prevailed, with their massed opponents overthrown.<sup>12</sup>

The great war which we call the war of the Germans of 1914-18 took our hero from us. When men were needed to go and support the Volunteers in France, the son of Dyobha hustled off to enlist as army chaplain.<sup>13</sup> By this time Lukalo's daughter had passed away and this gentleman was married to another woman, a Gqunukhwebe, the daughter of Koom.<sup>14</sup>

ukuba eyakowabo intetho yesi Xhosa ethe kuyo, lwathi ulwazi lwakhe lwezinye iilwimi eziya lwamenza wavela ezweni nasezizweni.

Igqithe ngoku into ka Dyobha ebukhumsheni, yafumana ubizo lobufundisi ethe ke ngoko yaya kubufundela kwase Dikeni. Yenze izigede apho into ka Dyobha ukuncedisisa abafundisi kwizi zifundo zentsapho, ekubhaleni iincwadi zesi Xhosa, nasekusekeni imi Butho yamaqela e Thembha, neminye, apha seyikunye nento ka Bokwe u J. K. Imfundo yokuthetha wabaphambili kuyo kanti nangemidlalo, wabayindoda efundisayo nethandekayo kuyo, kwaye ngezomini imidlalo le yayingekabi nto ijongelwe ntweni.

Ngexesha wayefundisa e Tinarha, u Isaac watshata nenyathikazi ekwafana nezi zakowabo, isikhuthalikazi, icikokazi, inonokazi, intokazi ka Lukhalo u Naniwe i Mpondomisekazi. Apha ke e Lovedale waye hlala kunye nayo nentsapho yabo, ifunda nayo shushu, oonyana neentombhi. Ebugqibile ukubufundela ubufundisi, ubizwe ngokwesiko lalo mvaba yakowabo yase Rhabe, yase Dipende, I Bandla elidala lase Bhofolo, noo Wezo nama Gquges, ude waphathelela nase Xesi, e Knapps Hope (kwa Gqadushe), inkuthalo engako yokulima bababaninzi ekukumhlana bayibonayo kumntu ofundileyo, nokwenza abe ngongu mfundisi. Ubufundisi base Dipende baba nozuko olukhulu kuye lo, no Dr. Rubusana, nomfundisi u Simon Petrus Sihlali.

Yaba luncedo olunge luncinane lendoda ngoku ebuzweni, ezintlanganisweni zomzi, yaba luncedo ku Dr. Stewart (Somgxada) kwasezi ncwadini zesi Xhosa e Lovedale, kuba ziqalile kweso sithuba zafuneka mandundu, incede ngokungakumbhi kwi "Kafir phrase Book." Ibe luncedo kanjalo lendoda ku Mhleli we "Mvo" u Mnu J.T. Jabavu, yanamathelana mbhende naye. Kuthe kukwezemfundo kwabe kukwezombuso; kuthe kukwezentlalo yamakhaya kwabe kukwi zixholoxholo zobuhlanga kuba nabobuke bayithabatha inxaxheba yabo yezomini. Kuthe kukwi mpikiswano zobutyalike ekufikeni kwee Tiyopiya zonke kuba naleyo ike yalidla ixesha lomzi, kwabe kuuphi, yanamathelana nomfo ka Jabavu lendoda yaba lixhatha negosa lakhe, kwada kwaya ekubeni balwe i Koleji le yase Fort Hare bayamene ngama cala, lineentshaba eziqinileyo kodwa baziqethula baphumelela nayo.

Imfazwekazi enkulu, esithi ukuyibiza yeyama Jamani, yeminyaka ye 1914-1918, yiyo eyasehlula ne gorha lakowethu; okuba kuthe xa kufunwa amadodana ukuya ku ncedisa aba Ncedani Pesheya e Fransi, yatsho qu phakhati into ka Dyobha, isiya yona njengomthandazeli womkhosi. Ngelixesha intom-

This fellow remained in Cape Town for some time after his arrival, as the officers scrapped amongst themselves over him: he had a high reputation and he could obviously help in training the newcomers by explaining white things to them. In the end he was allowed to cross with a contingent of about 800 men on the famous ship, the *Mendi*. I can't lie and say I know the origin of the name *Mendi* nor do I know what it means. But we Xhosa people use the verb *enda* when a woman is given in marriage, uniting two clans as blood relations. No disturbances of any kind are reported throughout the voyage from Cape Town to England, the land of the English: everyone was completely relaxed with ship-board amusements, guessing games and discussions, songs, the cryptic talk of riddles and proverbs, gift-giving, prayer meetings and such activities, in which the many peoples of Southern Africa were all involved.

On 20 February 1917 the ship *Mendi* left England to cross the straits known as the English Channel, between England and France. Everyone thought they were beyond enemy threat, but danger lurked close at hand. That night was pitch black in the sea fog and the lights were ineffective. At dawn on the 21st a thunderous crash was heard as the *Mendi* was rammed by another ship, truly massive. They could not see each other. The *Mendi* was pierced in the side, and a huge fissure was opened through which the water poured in, eliminating all hope of saving her. The other ship struggled to rescue those who were drowning, but the confusion of darkness and war hampered the effort.<sup>15</sup>

Reader, observe the frantic thrashing of people trying to save themselves! Danger of this kind was something new: they had no experience of it! Some woke befuddled by sleep and had no idea where to head for safety! We hear there were too few lifeboats for the crowds on board. Then in an instant the ship sank like a stone! Reader, please observe your boys sucked down into a watery expanse without beginning or end! See them clutch at each other, ignorant of their actions! See them filling that boat there, more weight than it can bear, so that now all the dozens in it are engulfed by the sea! Never forget, reader, the cold of that country, and in water too! Think of the groups in that cold, their manly arms failing, their bodies sinking from sight! Never forget, reader, that the young men of your country worked wonders in that crisis, wonders in rescuing large numbers of white men who were their superiors, and lost their own lives in saving others!

bhi ka Lukhalo yayingasekho, umnumzana lo selenenye inzwakazi, inkosazana yase Magqunukhwebeni, intokazi ka Koom.

Kube lithuba elikhulu lomfo elapha e Kapa, engade avele, kanti koku kuhlutwana ngaye ngama Gosa asemla Khosini, kuba umfo uvile kamnandi kwabonakala ukuba makakhe ancedise ekuqeqesheni abasafikayo kwizinto zase mlungwini nokuba kumshela. Kude kwathi kuphi ke wavunyelwa ukuba awele nomkhosi ekuthiwa wawu malunga nama 800, kulonqanawa idume kunene kuthiwa ngu "Mendi." Igama elithi "Mendi" andiyikuxoka andilazi ukuba ligama lesinina, laye lithetha ukuthinina. Kodwa ngokwethu ma Xhosa lithetha umntu "wokwenda" inkazana eyendiswayo, edibanisa amanantsi namanantsi ngobuhlobo. Akuvakali mangandi-ngandi anto kuyo yonke indlela esuka e Kapa, kude kuye kwelama Ngesi e Ngilane yaba kukonwaba kuphela, imidlalo enokwenziwa enqanaweni, oziceya noozi cimbi, iingoma, iintsonkotha, zokuthetha namaqhina namaqhalo, izibono imvuselelo ze Lizwi njalonzalo. Baye abalo bengabe ntlanga ngentlanga zale Afrika isezantsi.

Kwalile ngomhla wama 20 kwinyanga yom Dumbha, kumnyaka we 1917, inqanawa engu Mendi yanduluka e Ngilane ukuba mayiwele loo Ngxingwana kutiwa yi English Channel, iphakathi kwelama Ngesi nelama Frantsi, abantu sebesiti basindile ezingozini zeentshaba, yathi kanti ingozi izakuhla phakathi kwekhaya. Ubusuku obo babumnyama kakhulu yinkungu yolwandle, zingancedi nto izibane; kwathi ekuseni komhla wama 21 savakala isithonga, "ngqulukuzu" kanti u Mendi ugilwa yenye inqanawa, int'aph' enkulu kunene! Azibonani, watsho u Mendi kuba imvela ecaleni, wabhudhluka elo cala kakubi, akhawuleza ukungena amanzi, laba liyaphela ithembha lokusindiswa kwakhe. Leyo nqanawa ikhe yazama ukunceda abatshonayo, koko ubuxashixashi bobumnyama nemfazwe akunakuze uzigqibe iinto zabo.

Khangela ke mlesi ukubhudelana kwabantu ukuzisindisa! Ingozi eloluhlobo intsha kubo, bengayazi kakuhle ukupetshwa kwayo! Abanye bavuka ebuthongweni bebelele, abalazi nelona cala mabasabele ngakulo! Amaphenyane okusindisa kuthiwa ayembalwa kakhulu engento kuloomakhulu-khulu ayelapho. Suke kwesosituba zozololo inqanawa! Kawuwakangele mlesi amakwenkwe akowenu xa antywila ntywileka kulo ntyakantya yamanzi angenasiqalo angena siphelo! Jonga uwabone xa aphata kubambhana, engayazi kakuhle into ayenzayo! Jonga uwabone xa azalisa elophenyana belikho, lizale ligqite ebunzimeni balo lisuke ke ngoko liwaphalazele kwase lwandle onke loomashumi ebephakathi! Yikhumbule mlesi ingqeke yelozwe, kunjalo nje emanzini! Cinga

Was there ever such a sacrifice? Don't shut your ears, reader, to the cry of your country's children. Does a sacrificial beast not cry from pain? Without it that sacrifice would not be valid! The cry is a sign that the sacrifice has been accepted. Didn't our Lord utter a confused cry on Golgotha? Today that rock juts over the whole world.

But wait! Please do the right thing, my friend, my reader. Where exactly is the son of Citashe at this juncture?

Those who were there say the hero from Ngqika's land descended from heroes was standing to one side now as the ship was sinking! As a chaplain he had the opportunity to board a boat and save himself, but he didn't! He was appealing to the leaderless soldiers urging them to stay calm, to die like heroes on their way to war. We hear that he said:

Now then stay calm, my countrymen!

Calmly face your death!

This is what you came to do!

This is why you left your homes!

Peace, our own brave warriors!

Peace, you sons of heroes,

today is your final day,

prepare for the ultimate ford!<sup>16</sup>

As he spoke he burst into his people's anthem! This is the song composed by the son of Soga<sup>17</sup> and sung by all the peoples of Southern Africa, which goes like this:

Fulfil your promise,

God, Lord of truth.

Let all this world's nations

receive salvation.

Look at our country,

ukuba uninzi lome yilongqele kwa oko, zaphela iingalo zobudoda, yawa imi-zimba batshona! Khumbula mlesi ukuba abafana bakowenu benze izimanga kuyo kanye loongozi, izimanga zokusindisa iqela lama doda amhlope awaye zinkosana phezu kwawo, afa wona zasinda zona!

Idini elinjalo lakhe lakho na? Ungazivingci mlesi iindlebe kwisi khalo sabantwana bakowenu! Lakhe alakhala idini ngenxa yentlungu? Lingaba lidini elingamkelekileyo elo! Kuba isikhalo ngumqondiso wokuba idini lamkelekile. Andibina i Nkosi yethu yatsho ngesitshoboza sesikhalo e Golgota? Namhla elo litye lilo elivelele lonke ihlabathi!

Kha ume! Khawenze kuhle mhlobo wam, mfundi. Uphi ke ngoku unyana kaCithashe kwesi sithuba?

Uthi owayelapho kuxa ngoku igorha lakwa Ngqika elizalwa ngamanye, lithe qabavu phaya logama itshonayo inqanawa! Line thuba njengomthandazeli lokuba lingene ephenyaneni lisinde, kodwa aliyi! Liyawuthethela loomkosi ungenabani nokuwuthethela ukuba uzole, ufe ngokwamagora abephume umkosi! Kuthiwa uthi:

Zolani kaloku ma Laundini!  
 Kwamkeleni ngokuzol'ukufa kwenu!  
 Nantso lonto benize kuyo!  
 Nawashiyela lont' amakhay' enu,  
 Taruni makhaliph' akowethu!  
 Taruni mathol' amagora,  
 Namhla nikwimini yokuphela,  
 Lungisani izibuko lokugqibela!

Uthe esitsho wabe ewutsho riphe um Hobe wakowabo! Ingoma yento ka Soga, eseyivunywa zizo zonke izizwe ze Afrika ese Zantsi, ethi:

"Lizalis' idinga lakho  
 Thixo Nkosi yenyano;  
 Zonk' iintlanga zalo mhlaba  
 Mazizuze usindiso.

Bona izwe lakowethu,



forgive its sins:  
 restrain your anger,  
 death to your children.

Rev Isaac Wauchope was truly handsome in appearance, a broad-faced man, in height a little more than five feet, of light brown complexion, which is to say that he was neither black nor white.<sup>18</sup> He cultivated a luxuriant moustache on his upper lip like that of the slaves. He had an open forehead which signified bravery. He had beautiful teeth with a little gap between the front teeth. He was of average size and as he walked his legs kicked out indicating robust health. He was also bandy-legged. He had a thick mat of hair which suggested he was not about to grow bald.

When this ship sank, the Xhosa people lost their reliable sons; but when the name of this chaplain was mentioned among the dead, the nation was dealt a bitter blow. Clearly Xhosa himself suffered a grievous wound, a heavy loss, at the setting of this brilliant star of his.

Awu!!!  
 Nojoli's cry was heard,  
 the keening cry of Rharhabe's wife,  
 daughter of Nomagwayi of the East,  
 bewailing the beauty swept out to sea,<sup>19</sup>  
 saying death hadn't claimed them, they were growing in strength!  
 Peace, Phalo's people,  
 Ngconde's, Rharhabe's.<sup>20</sup>  
 At times like these a nation quails.  
 Chizama's star has set,  
 the Xhosa back is broken!  
 The best of stars we revelled in,  
 the cub died mid-speech,  
 died giving heart, securing his testament!  
 It was called an unseemly death,  
 sudden, in alien territory,  
 in a strait between two bulls.  
 A Ngqika said, "That's our daily bread!"

Uxolel' izono zalo;  
 Ungathob' ingqumbo yakho,  
 Luze luf' usapho lwalo."

Umfundisi u Isaac Wauchope waye ngumfo omhle kunene enkangelekweni; isiqhekevu sendoda; ngokwesithomo ekwinyawo ezintlanu ezinento, ibala lake lu lusi, oko kukuti engemnyama engemhlope; amabhovu la aphezu komlomo ezingqangula ezimilise okwa wama khoboka; ibunzi lityilekile libanzi libonisa ukukhalipha kanye; amazinyo emahle evule umhlantlana omncinane, isibili simlingene, xa ahambayo yinto emilenze ikhabalazayo ibonisa impilo kanye kumfo lowo, yaye ibubambile nobugoso. Inwele zingqangqasholo zilukuni kungekho nanto ebonisa ukuba angabuye abe nekqayi.

Ngakho ukutshona kwayo lenqanawa ama Xhosa alahlekelwe ngoonyana bawo abathembhekileyo; kodwa lathi lakuvakala igama lalo mfundisi, phakathi kwabangasekoyo, wenzakala ngakumbhi umzi, kwaqondakala ukuba u Xhosa ufumene isiva esibi, nelahleko enkulu, nokutshonelwa yinkwenkwezi yakhe eqaqambe kunene.

Awu!!!

Savakal' isililo sika Nojoli,  
 Isikhalo nesijwili somka Rarabe,  
 Intokazi kaNomagwayi waseMbo.  
 Ililel' uluhle olumke namangabangaba,  
 Ite'alufanga lusing' emandleni!  
 Tarhuni mabandla ka Palo,  
 Mabandla ka Ngconde ka Butsolo-bentonga.  
 Kungabanje k' umz' unyembelekile,  
 Yatshon' inkwenkwezi ka Cizama  
 Waphuk' umqol' umzi ka Xhosa!  
 Eyona nkwenkwezi yokugasa kwethu,  
 Thole lesilo lafa lithetha,  
 Lafa libongisela lafa liyolela!  
 Wath' umntu nants' inkongolo yokufa,  
 Iza ngebhaqo kwelase mzini.  
 Kwingxingw' ephakathi kwenkuz' ezimbini.  
 Wathi um Ngqika, "Kukutya kwethu lonto!

We're a nation of talkers,  
 of the Law of the Law."  
 A Xhosa through and through,  
 Chizama's ox, Ncenceza's and Ngcoko's.<sup>21</sup>  
 Swear by Mnyapha, you Xhukwana people,<sup>22</sup>  
 we criticise Mayi Ntlukwana,  
 we'll ask you for parcels of land.  
 Agree, you Uitenhage people,  
 consent to work among strangers;  
 we're guarding the nation of Phalo and Tshiwo,  
 the forests, the screes and the hills,  
 we're guarding the mountains of Vuba –  
 Vuba's a Right Hand House steward,  
 the Right Hand House of the Bhele.  
 We're guarding the language of Ngconde of the foes.  
 Who do you find fault with?  
 Dyobha wodaka! Dyobha wodaka!<sup>23</sup>  
 Road through the law-court going to church.<sup>24</sup>  
 That Singqengqe village falls under Maqoma,  
 familiar with Waterkloof crags;<sup>25</sup>  
 Hinsathi<sup>26</sup> village that vanished from sight.  
 If you ask at the Gamtoos and Philipston  
 a beast will consume you in flame.  
 He's whistling *tyotyotyovityo!!*  
 but he's drawing in his people.  
 He says beware, there's something coming,  
 it could be a fire, it could be a ghost.  
 Make your whistling sufficiently shrill  
 to pass Sandile's Kop and Gqumahashe  
 and face Mounts Lungcu and Bhukazana.  
 Citashe, only one charge concerns you:  
 why do you mix with Mfengu?<sup>27</sup>  
 Ncwerha valleys near Blinkwater,  
 Keiskamma valleys near Knapps Hope,

Thina simabandl' okuthetha,  
 Kuba singabakwa Mthetho ka Mthetho."  
 mXhosa nonyawo mXhosa nozwane,  
 Nkomo ka Cizama, ka Ncenceza ka Nchoko.  
 Nina base Xhukwane fungani ngo Mnyapha,  
 U Mayi Ntlukwana lo siyamkhalazela,  
 Siza kuwabuza kun' amanxow' omhlaba.  
 Nina base Qagqiwa vumani,  
 Buvumeni kamnand' ubu Ranuga;  
 Kuba siwugcinil' umzi ka Palo no Tshiwo;  
 Namahlathi, nemixauka, nenduli;  
 Sizigcinil' intaba zika Vuba;  
 U Vuba lo ligos' ekunene,  
 Ekunene kumzi wama Bhele.  
 Siyigcinil' intetho' ka Ngconde weentshaba,  
 Ityala nilibuza kubanina?  
 Dyobha Wodaka! Dyobha wo Daka!  
 Ndlel' ibet' egantol' ukuy' etyalikeni,  
 Lomzi we Sinqhenqhe ngoka Maqoma,  
 Uyavana nengxondora zo Mthontsi;  
 Mzi ka Hintsathi shwak' emini siwujongile.  
 Ungabuz' eXelexwa nase Ganqeni,  
 Ungab' utyiwa sisil' esimlilo.  
 Khwelo lityotyotyovityo!!  
 Kant' ubiz' abakowabo bohlanga.  
 Uthi Lumkani kuk' int' ezayo,  
 Ingabumlilo ingabushologu.  
 Lenzeni ikhwelo libe mbhoxo!  
 Liqabel' u Qelekequshe no Gqumahashe,  
 Lijonge i Ntab'o Lungcu ne Bhukazana.  
 Ityala lako linye ke Citashe!  
 Uyintonina kangak' ema Mfengwini?  
 Ntili ze Nchwera ngase Gqugesu;  
 Ntili ze Xesi ngaku Gqadushe;

\* *Siyiyigcinil' intetho*

Basi, Gilesi,<sup>28</sup> I'm telling you all:  
 get used to eating mimosa.  
 People often hate a priest.<sup>29</sup>  
 I've been to Nyasa lakes;  
 I took a peep at Mombasa;  
 I never made it to Fiji.  
 Go, Chizama prince!  
 You'll be eating the first milk with God.  
 We Xhosa never die,  
 we're judged when the dead arise,  
 death to us is profit and gain,  
 for there we get our strength,  
 for there we get our speed.<sup>30</sup>  
 Go, Chizama, we grant you leave.  
 Never forget us up there in the highest.  
     That's it!  
         That's it!!  
             That's it!!!

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**Mr Arthur Weir**

*Honour to the deserving.*

108 years ago three young men arrived in this land of ours in the territory of Ngqika, himself a young ox, who had been sent from Scotland at the request of the earlier missionaries. The missionaries found much work in this land, and they worked long and hard; but the work continued to increase, demanding more workers. Presbyterian missionaries who were there at that time were: Revs J. Brownlee, Thomson, Bennie, Ross, Laing (I deliberately omit Van der Kemp and Williams).

In 1827 a group of three arrived: Messrs William Chalmers, James Weir and Alexander McDiarmid.<sup>1</sup> These were workers sent to lighten the missionaries' load, by preaching the Word and with such manual labour as building houses, digging water furrows, planting trees, and so on. These men executed this work

Basi no Gilesi ndiyanixelela.  
 Yidlan' um Nga niqhelisele,  
 Lent' uMfundisi iyazondw' ezweni.  
 Ma Cib' e Nyasa ndiwavele;  
 Ndiye ndarob, e Mombasa;  
 Ndaphelela nganeno kwe Fiji.  
 Hamba nzwani' enkulu yakwa Cizama!  
 Nguwen' uyakuty' isithubi no Thixo.  
 Thina ma Xhos' asimz' ufayo  
 Sigwetywa ngovuko lwabafileyo  
 Ukufa kuthi yinzuzo nengenelo.  
 Kuba kulap' amandla azuzwa khona;  
 Kuba kulap' amend' azuzwa khona;  
 Hamba Cizama sikuvumele,  
 Wasa kusilibal' aph' e Nyangwaneni.  
 Ncincilili!  
     Ncincilili!!  
         Ncincilili!!!

## U Mnu. u Arthur Weir

*Imbheko kofanelwe Yimbheko\*.*

Kwiminyaka elikhulu linesibhozo (108) eyadlulayo, kwafika kweli lizwe lakowethu lakwa Ngqika, ugwece, lwamadodana amathathu awathunyelwa e Sikotilani, ngesicelo sabafundisi bokuqala. Abafundisi bafika umsebenzi umn-inzi kwe lizwe, bakhuthala basebenza nzima; kodwa waya ukhula ngokukhula umsebenzi, ufuna aba sebenzi. Abafundisi bama Rabe ababe sebeko ngeloxesha yayingaba: Revs. J. Brownlee, Thomson, Bennie, Ross, Laing, (ndibashiya ngabom u Nyhengana no Velidyam).

Ngomnyaka we 1827 kufike isi thathu esingevayo esisesi: Messrs. Wm. Chalmers, James Weir, no Alexander McDairmid. Aba yayi ngabasebenzi

\* *Yimbheko*

of theirs with great zeal. In the end we Xhosa could not distinguish between them and the missionaries.

Let me put the others aside at this point and take up our present subject – Arthur Weir.<sup>2</sup>

In time the elder Weir worked for and built the Lovedale Seminary with a member of the Krila clan, Tshuka Fithi, serving as his interpreter.<sup>3</sup> Is his grave even now not among our own graves there at Gaga?

Was his son, James Wilson Weir,<sup>4</sup> who studied with us at this boarding school built by his father, not a strong support to James Stewart right up to his death? Isn't he the one who worked tirelessly for the College at Fort Hare here and overseas? Please ask Dr W.B. Rubusana about their meeting in Edinburgh. Fort Hare is here now, and he hatched it. Isn't he also the one who, together with Innes, helped to establish the newspaper *Imvo* in King Williams Town, who said that today the great town of King Williams Town is appointing J.T. the young son of Jabavu, making him a man in the nation?<sup>5</sup> His son – the third generation among us – became Mayor of that important town in succession to a great friend of both black and white, the late J.W. Bryson.<sup>6</sup> We applaud and say –

Something proper was done –  
the fellow was properly placed in the chair,  
son of the soil, son of the dung.

Keep your eye on Mfetsho's home –  
experts will be born there.<sup>7</sup>

At the May Commemoration in King,<sup>8</sup>  
who was the proper man to rise,  
who was the fellow invested in robes,  
who could address the Ntinde people,  
the children of Tshatshu, Cika, Ngathani?  
Way over there something's breathing!<sup>9</sup>  
But it breathes in the forest out of sight;  
it breathes in the Mtshiza forest;  
it breathes in the Hoho forest.  
I heard something going "Haarfu-u!"

abathunyelwe ukuza kuphakamisa izandla zabafundisi, ngokushumayela i Lizwi, ngomsebenzi wezandla, onje ngokwakha izindlu, ukwenza imijelo, ukutyala imithi, njalonjalo. Lamadoda awenza ngenzondelelo enkulu loomsebenzi wawo. Sade thina ma Xhosa asawahlula nganto kubafundisi abaya.

Mandiwashiye ke apha amanye ndithabathe le sithetha ngayo, – u Arthur Weir.

U Weir omdala waba ngumsebenzi, nomakhi we Sinala yase Lovedale etolikelwa ngu Rila, u Tshuka Fiti. Inchwaba lakhe alikhona phakathi kwamanchwaba ethu na nanamhlanje apho kwa Gaga?

Unyana walowo, ongu James Wilson Weir, owafunda yena kunye nathi kuyo loo Sinala yayisakhiwa nguyise, asinguyena lo waba lixhatha lika Somgxada wada wafa? Asinguye na lo wagungqela le Koleji ise Fort Hare ngaphesheya nangaphonoshono kolwandle? Kanibuzise ku Dr. W.B. Rubusana nge ndibano yabo e Edinburgh. Nantsi i Fort Hare ikho wayeyifukamele. Asikwa nguye na lo bathi beno Innes bancedisa ukumisa iphepha le “Mvo” e Qonce, bathi, namhlanje ke umzikazi wase Qonce, ubeka umfana ka Jabavu u J.T. bamenza wayindoda esizweni? Unyana walowo, – osisizukulwuna sesithathu phakathi kwethu, – ukuba abe sisi Bonda sawo lowo mzikazi, endaweni ye sihlobo esikhulu, somzi omnyama nomhlophe, umfi u J.W. Bryson. Siyathakazela sithi, –

Yenziw' into yafaneleka, –  
 Wabekw' umfo esitulweni, samfanela.  
 Ithol' lomthonyam' ithol' lomgquba.  
 Lomzi ka Mfetsho wujongeni, –  
 Usaza kusizalel' inkunqele zama doda.  
 Kwisi Khumbuzo se Qonce ngo May,  
 Ngubanin' indod' ebifanel' ukuma;  
 Nguwuphin' umf' obemelwe kugaxela;  
 Ngubanin' obengathethayo nama Ntinde,  
 Usapho luka Tshatshu, ka Cika, ka Ngathani?  
 Nantsiy' int' iphemla iphefumla!  
 Kok' iphefuml' ema hlathin' ayibonwa;  
 Iphemla kulooma Hlati ka Mtshiza;  
 Iphefumla kulooma Hlati ka Hoho.  
 Ndive mn' into seyisithi, “Haarfu-u!”



Not a lion, not a bush pig;  
 we took our sticks and went to diviners;  
 they said it was those who own the forest,  
 they stretch themselves out, they're the ones breathing –  
 to stop the return of Sandile's stick,  
 to stop an earth tremor a long way away.  
 Come to the men, son of Weir!  
 calf of the old cow Nojomo.  
 The Ngqika will greet you in May –  
 saying Hail, Bangindawo!<sup>10</sup>  
 The Ntinde and Hleke will thunder,  
 Ndlambe, Dushane will thunder,  
 the Gwali and Dange will thunder –  
 the Mqhayi will thunder on your behalf.  
 The Mfengu and Gqunukhwebe  
 will say Hail, Bangindawo!  
 Don't Xhosa girls know how to blow a child's nose!  
 They know how to dandle and comfort a child.  
 You missionaries know just how to hatch eggs.  
 Sons of Gcinisango, Sebe, Tshotyana,  
 things have calmed down.  
 The One who quickens the times is in motion,  
 the great wheel of God is turning;  
 when we look at the start of things we say  
 "Hail, Gungqel' umzi!"<sup>11</sup>  
 So says the Nation's Poet himself –  
 staring, staring, staring!!

Ayabi ngonyama ayabi ngulube;  
Sithath' intonga saya ko Siyazi;  
Bathe bona ngabanini balooma Hlati,  
Bayazolula bayaphefumla, –  
Ngade kubuy' i "Ntonga zo Mgolombane."  
Ngade kunyikim' umhlab' ekudeni.  
Emadodeni kwedini ka Weli!  
Thole lemaz' endal' u Nojomo.  
Uyakubuliswa ngama Ngqika ngo Canzibe, –  
Ayakuthi A! Bang'indawo!  
Ayakudum' ama Ntinde nama Hleke,  
Adum' ama Ndlambe nemi Dushane,  
Adum' ama Gwali nemi Dange, –  
Abakwa Mqhayi baya kukudumela.  
Ama Mfengu nama Gqunukwebe,  
Ayakuthi, A! Bang'indawo!  
Hay' intombi zama Xhosa ziyakwaz' ukufinyisa.  
Ziyakwaz' ukuteketisa nokuthuthuzela.  
Bafundisi niyakwaz' ukufukamela;  
Gcin' isango no ka Sebe neka Tshotyana,  
Izinto zibuyel' ezindaweni zazo;  
Uyahamb' u Khaulezis' amaxesha,  
Iyahamb' ivil' enkulu ka Tixo;  
Sitsho sakujong' esiqalweni sezinto,  
"A! Gungqel' umzi!"  
Itsh' Imbhongi ye Sizwe ngelayo, –  
Ntsho – ntsho – ntshobololo!!

## 57 The late Meshach Siphethwe Pelem and Canon Daniel Malgas

On 6 March 1936 Mr Meshach Pelem,<sup>1</sup> noted as an outstanding member of the Mpinga clan, passed on from this earth through the rite of death at the age of 77. On the 14th of the same month an old minister from Nondyola, Fort Beaufort, Canon Daniel Malgas of the Nozulu clan, departed through the renowned rite of death at the age of 83.

The passage of these two holy men cracked the Xhosa nation and wounded all of Africa – therefore balm of Giliad is required to bandage “the wound of the daughter of my people.”<sup>2</sup>

Meshach was born at the time of the Nongqawuse devastation, in 1859, though his father,<sup>3</sup> the son of Humana, of Mgquba, a Mpinga by clan, did not slaughter his cattle. Because we are ruled by a white man today, the baby was given the name Siphethwe, We are hemmed in. He grew up among the Gqunukhwebe at Mxumbu in the land of Hina; he studied at Healdtown when it was starting to become an excellent little school, together with people like the sons of Kawa, Msikinya, Masiza, Kakaza and Jabavu. He left to teach in Cradock. When diamonds were discovered<sup>4</sup> he threw himself into diamond prospecting; then with his elder brother,<sup>5</sup> another man among men, he took a job recruiting for the mines, which he did very well. He built a large homestead at Zingquthu among the Thembu, and he also owned really beautiful homes in Queenstown. On his return to King Williams Town he constructed a residence for himself renowned as “Pelem’s home,” where he died.

Gaudy display was not his style, for he used to say where is there room for gaudy display when his people were still so underdeveloped! His conduct was impeccable and he loved his mother very much. If he said he would do something he always did it; he valued education highly; because he was not acquisitive he was made responsible for a small fund at Fort Hare. He was an astute observer of white government affairs. He was President of the Bantu Union from its inception. He became President of the Saint Ntsikana Commemoration, from its inception. He used to say that the African community was expecting something, which is why there are folktales that say

## Umfi Meshach Siphethwe Pelem; no Canon Daniel Malgas

Ngomhla wesi 6 ku March (eyo Kwindla) 1936 kunduluke elizweni ngenkonzo yokufa u Mnumzana u Meshack Pelem obesaziwa ngelokuba ngum Ping' omkhulu, xa ama 77 iminyaka ubudala. Ngomhla we 14 kwakuyo loonyanga kumke kwa ngenkonzo ezukileyo yokufa umfundisi omdala wakwa Nondyola, eBofolo ongu Canon Daniel Malgas, wakwa Nozulu xa ama 83 eminyaka ubudala.

Ngokunduluka kwawo kunye omabini lamadoda a Ngcwele isizwe sasema Xhoseni sapukile, ne Afrika yonke yenzakele, – ngakho oko umelwe ukuba afunwe uMathunga wase Giliyadi kubotshwe “ukwaphuka kwentombi yabantu bakowethu.”

U Mesheki lo uzalelwe ezinkcitakalweni zika Nongqause, ngowe 1859 nakuba uyise u Pelem wayeli Gogoty, into ka Humana ka Mgquba, umPinga. Ngenxa yokuba namhla side saphatwa ngumlungu, intwana le yasel' inikwa igama lokuba ngu “Siphethwe.” Ukhulele ema Gqunukwebeni, e Mxumbu kwe sika Hina; ufunde eNxukwebe isaqala ukuba sisikolwana ekunye neento zoo Kawa, Msikinya, Masiza Kakaza, nezoo Jabavu. Uphume waya kufundisa e Kaladokwe; ute ukucela kwe Dayimani waya kuzizamela naye ekumbheni idayimani; ukhe wabambha ngokufezekileyo kumsebenzi' wokugaya, enomkhuluwa wakhe, enye indoda yamadoda. Wakhe umzi omkhulu ku Zingquthu eba Tenjini; nase dolophini e Komani waba nemizi emihle kunene. E Qonce akugoduka ube nengqutu yomzi ongowakhe, obudume ngokuba li “Khaya lakwa Pelem,” ngulo ke aswelekele kuwo.

Ubuchokochoko bobuhomba asinto abeyenza, kuba ubesithi, uyakuthinina ukucokoza ahombe, isizwe sakowabo sisenje ukuba semva kwaso! Ube yimbhalasane ngesimilo, azi umfo ubemthand' unina! Ukuteta into ayenze ibiyinto yakhe; imfundo eyixabise kakhulu; akafumananga wenziwa igosa elithile leemali ezincinane eFort Hare. Ubezibona kakuhle izinto zombuso wesilungu. Ube ngu Mongameli we “Bantu Union” oko yati yasekwa. Waba ngu Mongameli wesi Khumbuzo sika Ntsikana Ongcwele, oko sati saqalwa. Ubesakutsho kuso ukuti, usapo lwe Afrika makube lunento oluyilindeleyo, kon' ukuze kubekho iintsomi eziti, –

\* *kukumsebenzi*

“We’re looking for Mother, mpanga-mpanga!  
She gave birth and left, mpanga-mpanga!  
We ate earth and grew up, mpanga-mpanga.”

Let me leave the grandchild of Humana there, Mr Editor –

He hovers in doorways,  
being Phalo’s ear  
and Rharhabe’s eyes,  
the country’s pillars,  
props of the earth.

Siphethwe, son of Mgquba,  
because we’re ruled by whites,  
a towering man,  
who breaks off and switches direction,  
stiff-necked.

I set him as an example  
of how to live on earth

so you can be smooth-tongued,  
so you can slip from danger,  
so you can find the strength  
to live a decent life,  
storing to feed your own.

A man who stood in the Jordan  
as if standing on dry land.

“We sat down and wept.”<sup>6</sup>

Peace, son of Humana, you’ve triumphed  
under the wing of dominion  
of earth and of Heaven,  
you’ve beaten massive powers,  
you’ve beaten death and the grave.  
Look after us from the Highest.

That’s it!!!

“Sifuna Ma-a-mpanga-mpanga!”  
Uzele washiya mpa-anga mpanga!  
Sadla mhlaba sakhula mpa-anga mpanga.”

Mandimshiye apho Mhleli umzukulwana ka Humana: –

U Nca-mgubasini  
Kub' eyindlebe ka Palo  
Engamehlo ka Rarabe  
lintsika zelizwe  
Izixhaso zomhlaba

U Sipetwe ka Mgquba  
Kuba sipetw' emlungwini  
Umdondosholo wendoda  
U Mareq' aqhawule  
Kub' intam' ilukhuni  
Ndisenz' umzekelo  
Wokuhlaliwa kwelizwe

Kuz' ube mpunyumpunyu  
Kuz' ube nethelezi  
Kuz' uwazuz' amandla  
Kuhlala ngesimilo  
Uqweb' ukuzondlela  
Ndod' eyem' e Jordane  
Kwanga kukumhlab' owomileyo  
“Sahlala phantsi salila.”

Taru mfo ka Humana woyisile  
Pantsi kwephiko lombuso  
Womhlaba nowe Zulu  
Woyis' iint' ezinkulu  
Woyis' ukufa nenchwaba  
Sikhangel' ap' eNyangwaneni.  
Ncincilili!!!

CANON DANIEL MALGAS

In recent months I wrote a few lines about this father, so I won't have much to say today. As someone whose parents accepted the Word late in life, he received no higher education. But I was amazed when he delivered a vigorous speech in English in the Grahamstown Cathedral at the ordination of Revs A.E. Kuse and Habana. He began his ministry in Port Elizabeth, and was transferred to Nondyola in Fort Beaufort when the son of Mnyakama died. He is the first black minister besides Canon Masiza in Transkei to be made Canon.<sup>7</sup>

He too, like the late Pelem, was ill for a long time. They seemed to be waiting to be fronds for "the Great One on whom the sun does not set," their chief King George V.<sup>8</sup> It seemed too that they were waiting for each other so that they should both die within a week. They left during Lent, so that they would be mourned at the same time as their Chief, the Good Nazarene, was mourned.

Canon had made a close study of the history of his church. Both he and Pelem represented their denomination, the Church of England, at the last translation of the Bible, the Union Version. Both of them loved Xhosa ways and values, the Xhosa language and Xhosa history, as if they had come upon them afresh. On their death both left manuscripts which they had written about the history of their people, which await publication.<sup>9</sup>

Both Pelem and Malgas were distinguished and devout men. And so:

Mfengu people! Mfengu people!  
 Come let us weep, weep for Canon,  
 weep for Nozulu the Keswa, really handsome,  
 with two lovely ears.<sup>10</sup>  
 You know how to weep,  
 for you weep while you speak,  
 recounting the deeds of the dead!  
 He wrote a book with the Bishop,  
 the Fathers and Priests were shaken,  
 the altars completely altered.

Is there no balm in Giliad?  
 Is there no doctor in Sebayot?

## U CANON DANIEL MALGAS

Kwezinyanga zikufupi zidluleyo, ndikhe ndenza capazana ngaye ubawo lo; ngakho oko andikuba semka naye ndiye phi namhla. Njengo mntu obazali bangene bumini e Lizwini, imfundo ephakamileyo akafumanananga nayo. Kodwa ndothuka mhla wayesenza isiyalo ngesi Ngesi esiqavileyo, e Cathedral e Rini, mhla kwaku ngeniswa o Revs. A.E. Kuse no Habana. Ubufundisi ubuqale e Bhayi, watshintshelwa kwa Nondyola e Bhofolo ukusweleka koka Mnyakama, ngumfundisi wokuqala ontsundu, ngapandle ko Canon Masiza Pesha kwe Nciba, ukwenziwa i Canon.

Naye lo njengomfi u Pelem ugule ithuba elide; kanti koku balinde ukuba ngamahlamvu e "Ngangalal' Enkul' engatshonelwa Langa," inkosi yabo u King George V. Kanti koku balindene ukuze bangashiyani ngaveki; bemke ngexesha elinye le Nzila (Lent), ukuze bangaze basilele ukuzilelwa nabo xa kuzilelwa iNkosi yabo umNazarete Omhle.

U Nkanunu lo ubeyifunde wayigocagoca imbhali ye tyalike le. Bobabini no Pelem lo babe ngabameli be Bandla lakowabo e Tshetshi, koluguqulo lokugqibela lwezi Bhalo, kuthiwa yi "Union Version." Bobabini bekuxa ngati bayafika ebu Xhoseni kangango kubuthanda kwabo, nokubuxabisa kwabo, intetho namabali ayo. Bobabini bafe benamaphepha (MSS) aba wabhalayo embhali zakomawabo, abe elindele ukushicilelwa.

Bobabini u Pelem no Malgas bebe ngama "Doda" nasema dodeni beben-gama "Dod' a Ngcwele." Ngakho oko.

Lusapho lwase Mbho! Lusapho lwase Mbho!

Yizani silile, silile' i Nkanunu!

Silile' Keswa uNozul' omhle kunene;

Ondlebe ntle zombini,

Ninina bakwaziy' ukulila,

Kuba nina nilila nithetha;

Nixel' ingxelo nezigigaba zomfi!

Ude wenz' incwadi no Bishophu

Zashukum' iFada naba Bingeleli;

Zaguqulwa ngakumbi nezi Bingelo.

Akakho n' u Mathunga eGiliyadi?

Akukho Gqira na e Sebayothi?



Is there no killer in Lebanon?  
 Then who is there to bind  
 the shattered Xhosa nation?  
 The injured Church of England?  
 Africa bleeding to death?  
 Young son of Kuse! Young son of Kuse,  
 bring balm, the community's injured,  
 and the balm must come from Giliad!

Move on, Father, move on, black man!  
 A hundred heifers of Hintsá.  
 Cintsá and Cefane territory.  
 KwaZidenge land below the forest.  
 Land of our fathers at Mzinyathi.  
 You were the salt of the earth, son of Malgas;  
 lustrous you lit up the land,  
 you'll glitter among the stars.  
 War chariot of Israel!  
 War chariot and its horsemen!  
 My Father! My Father!!<sup>11</sup>

58

**The late Dr W.B. Rubusana**

The community has already heard of the death of the Presbyterian minister in East London known as Dr W.B. Rubusana, but it remains a fact. This man has been ill for quite a while but, because of his strength, the illness was not immediately evident. He departed this earth on 19 April 1936 at the age of 78.

Mpilo (for that was the name his mother and father used) first saw the light on a farm at Mnandi<sup>1</sup> in the Somerset East district in 1858, shortly after Nongqawuse. It is widely claimed that he was the son of a red,<sup>2</sup> but this is not exactly true, because his grandfather Mbonjana was the leader of a Free Church congregation at Nyakanyaka in the Fort Beaufort district. It is also claimed that he was the son or grandson of Nophanyaza. But Nophanyaza was the name of the white man for whom his father Rubusana worked; during Mlanjeni's War,

Akakho na u Mfisi wase Lebanoni?  
 Phofu kuthenina kungabotshwa,  
 Ukwaphuka kwesizwe sasema Xhoseni?  
 Ukwenzakala kwe Bandla lase Tshetshi!  
 Ukuphalala kwe Afrika yonk' iphela?  
 Mfana ndini ka Kuse! Mfana ka Kuse!  
 Yiza no Mathunga umzi wenzakele,  
 No Mathung' ibe ngowase Galiyadi!

Hamba Bawo hamba mdak' omnyama!  
 Khulu lamatokazi akwa Hintsu.  
 Zwe lase Cintsa nelase Cefane.  
 Mhlab' akwaZidenge pantsi kwa Mahlathi.  
 Zwe lobaba bethu lelase Mzinyathi.  
 Ubuyityuwa yomhlaba mfo ka Malrasi;  
 Ubulukhanyisel' oluhle lwehlabathi,  
 – Uyakuqaqamba nasezi nkwenkwezini.  
 Nqwelo yokulwa yakwa Silayile!  
 Nqwelo yokulwa nabamahash' ayo!  
 Bawo wam! Bawo wam!!

58

### Umfi Dr. W.B. Rubusana

Njengoko umzi sewuvile ngokusweleka kom Fundisi wase Rabe ose Monti, owaziwa ngokuba ngu Dr. W.B. Rubusana, okunene kunjalo. Lomntu kumzuzu kakhulu egula koko ngenxa yokomelela kwakhe umkhuhlane lo ubungavakali matyhotyhotyho. Ude ke noko walishiya elimiweyo ngomhla we 19 ku Tshazimpuzi lo (April 1936) xa aminyaka ikuma 78.

U Mpilo, kuba lalilelo igama lakhe lika nina noyise, waqala ukulibona ilanga, ezi bhulasini eMnandi, kwisi Thili sase Somerset East, ngomnyaka we 1858, kufuphi emva ko Nongqawuse. Idunyisiwe kakhulu into yokuba waye ngumntan'\* eqaba, kanti ayiyo nyaniso ngokupheleleyo londawo, – kuba

\* ngmntan'

after he had been left with the possessions of this white man, who had fled, Rubusana took all those possessions to Maqoma in the forest as loot. When his compatriots thanked him they said, "This loot came with Njomborha of Nophanyaza's place." Then the name stuck to him and he became known as Nophanyaza.

The Doctor's mother is Nondika, the tiny daughter of Zuzani of the Gqwashe clan, known as Nomenti in marriage; the Doctor is their firstborn. It is said that while he was still a baby, when his mother was busy, he was often suckled by the white woman who employed his mother, who had a baby of her own.

Dr Rubusana commenced his school career at Peelson when the Dange were moved there after Mlanjeni's War, during the Nongqawuse disaster; the Dange minister Rev R. Birt was fond of him, and took him to Lovedale as a boy of 16, after he began his basic education in Peelson. He left Lovedale to become a teacher in Peelson; and in 1882 he was ordained as a minister. At this stage he married the daughter of Nzanzana Mqhayi of the Zima clan, who had studied overseas at Dollar Academy; she bore him sons and daughters. After her death<sup>3</sup> he married the daughter of Zweni Kashe of the Vundla clan, whom he has left with one son.

On this occasion I will pass over the many achievements of this minister to avoid pressure on the newspaper. Readers know that this fellow belongs to the Cirha clan of Ntsikana, the people of Qanqolo, of Ntswentswe, of Mhlandlandlovu - those whose heads aren't eaten.

He established the black and coloured congregation of the Presbyterian Church in East London.<sup>4</sup>

uyise omkhulu u Mbonjana wayengum Khokeli we Bandla lika Kristu eRabe (Independent Church) kwa Nyakanyaka kwisi thili sase Bhofolo. Ikwa dunyisiwe nendawo yokuba ngunyana okanye ngumzukulwana ka Nophanyaza. Kanti u Nophanyaza ligama lomlungu awayekhonzwe kuye uyise u Rubusana; koko kwathi nge Mfazwe ka Mlanjeni akuba eshiywe neempahla ngumlungu lowo wakhe owaye sabile, suke u Rubusana ayidudule yonke loompahla aye kwela nayo emahlathini ku Maqoma ibe lixhoba. Kuthe ke ukubongwa kwakhe ngamawabo athi, – “Elixhoba lize ne Njomborha yakwa Nophanyaza.” Lase lisuka limnamathela ke elogama, eba ngu Nophanyaza.

Unina kaGqira lo ngu Nondika intokazi emfutshane ka Zuzani yasema Gqwasheni, ngu Nomenti elomzi wakhe; u Gqira lo ngowamazibulo kubo. Kuthiwa kwathi ebusaneni bakhe wamana ukwanyiswa kumlungukazi kanina xa axakelileyo unina, ababe ngabadlezana kunye.

Ekufudusweni kwemi Dange ukuza e Ncemerha, emva kwemfazwe ka Mlanjeni, nangenkcithakalo yo Nongqause, uqale apo ke u Dr. Rubusana; ukubona isikolo wathandwa ngumfundisi wemi Dange uRev. R. Birt, wamsa esikolweni eDikeni (Lovedale); wayeqale ukumsa esikolweni eyinkwenkwe eminyaka ili 16, e Peulton apo waqala ukufunda oo “a.” Uphume e Dikeni waba yititshala e Peulton (Ncemerha); ute ngowe 1882 wabekwa izandla wangumfundisi. Utshate kweso sithuba nentombi ka Nzanzana Mqhayi, umZima, eyakhe yafunda Pesheya, eDollar Academy; yamzalela oonyana nentombi. Ite yakuba iswelekile watshata nentombi ka Zweni Kashe um Vundlekazi, amshiye enonyana omnye.

Ubuninzi bezenzo zomfundisi lo ndinga ndingazishiya ngokwanamhla, hleze ndibe iphepha ndilibandezile. Bayazi ke abafundi ukuba umfo lo ngum Cirha wakulo Ntsikana, kwa Qanqolo, kwa Ntswentswe kwa Mhlandlandlovu, – amabandl’ angadliwa ntloko.

I Bandla lase Rabe elise Monti lasekwa nguye kwabaNtsundu nabeBala.

### The late HESSIE LYTHIANA BOTHA

Excuse me, Editor, I'm a well-known nuisance in this paper. An announcement concerning this woman of the Dlomo clan has already been widely distributed, nothing more needs to be done; yet much still remains to be said.

The deceased is the younger daughter of Tyhutyhani the son of Ruqu (Kruqu) of the Nywabe clan in the territory of Maqoma, home of Jingqi; she was born in the Suurveld, at Mphintsho, in the territory of Sikoko, in the Somerset East area. Her parents encountered the Word at just about that time; and for that reason they moved from Sikoko's territory to the school at Glen Avon, where she was under the tutelage of Kondile Vandala of the Thunzi, her grandmother's clan. HESSIE's mother was a member of the Jwarha clan, the daughter of Ngqekethe the father of Gqosho.

Because she was lively in her lessons and in singing, she was a source of pride to the Thunzi who would take her with them to Port Elizabeth. After a while her family moved from white land to return home to Xhosa territory, to Burnshill, where the Gatyeni clan were mainly settled including the Sethi and the Ngxwana. They did not live there long, they heard of a land survey at Knapps Hope and they moved there. At that stage she learnt something of town life – in East London at Mr J.F. Soga's home, her mother's people,<sup>1</sup> and in Port Elizabeth with Mr Vandala; there she even served in the shop of the late Mr W.W. Pikoli.

She met her boyfriend at Mankazana at the Pringles,<sup>2</sup> on a visit to her elder sister; this boyfriend I speak of was of course the Rev Forbes, son of Ntothi, of Botha, of Rikwe, of Nchibi, whereupon she came to the Nxeko clan, Dlomo, Bhomoyi, a Thembu.

She was involved in education with the Pringles; there she was joined in marriage by Rev J. Black MA at Macfarlan where they stayed for a little while as the young man was teaching there; they moved on and settled among other races at Pietersburg, the land of Mamabolo, among the Awuwa. After staying there for quite a while teaching well, her husband was suddenly taken with the desire to become a minister; for this he went to train at Tiger Kloof.<sup>3</sup> In 1921 they went to fill the place left by the late Rev D.D. Tywakadi in Johannesburg, relinquishing control of the congregation in Mafikeng.

## Umfikazi u Hessie Lythiana Botha

Uxolo Mhleli, sendingumkhathazi owaziwayo wasekhay'apha. Isaziso ngaye lomfazi wakwa Dlomo sesitsho kakhulu, bekunga safuneki nto iyiyimbi; kanti ke noko kusekukhulu okufanelwe kukuthethwa.

Umfikazi lo yintombi encinane ka Tyhutyhani into ka Ruqu (Kruqu) umNywabe kwa Maqoma kulo Jingqi; izalelwe kweli Phakathi, eMphintsho, kwa Sikoko kwisi Qingatha sakwa Somaseti. Abazali bakhe bafumenene neLizwi kweso sithuba kanye; baza ke ngeso sizathu bafuduka kwa Sikoko basinga esikolweni e Glen Avon, apho wabaphantsi koqeqesho lwento ka Vandala, uKondile, umThunzi wakulo ninakhulu. Unina ka Hessie lo ngum Jwarakazi intokazi ka Nqhekethe uyise bo Gqosho.

Ngenxa yokuphaphama kwakhe ezifundweni nasengomeni, ube liqhayiya kum Thunzi lowo ade aye nabo nase Bhayi. Kuthe kungenini ikokwabo lafuduka emLungwini, yekoko ukugodukela emaXhoseni, eMkhubiso (Burnshill), apho umzi omkhulu wakwa Gatyeni ubusakuba khona oo Sethi noo Ngxwana. Ababanga nathuba lingakanani apho, beva ucando lomhlaba eKnapps Hope (kwa Gqadushe), basele besuka besiya kuma khona. Kukweso sithuba athe wanolwazana lweedolophu, – eMonti kwa Mr. J.F. Soga kulonina; eBhayi ku Mr. Vandala; apho ebesakukhe athengele kuloo Venkile yo Mnumz. Umfi u W.W. Pikoli.

Ubonene nelisoka lake kwa Mankazana kuma Pilingile mhla wayehambele kwadade wabo omkhulu; isoka elo ke ndithetha umFundisi lo u Forbes, into ka Ntothi ka Botha ka Rikwe ka Nchibi weza kwa\* Nxeko kwa Dlomo kwa Bomoyi um Thembu.

Ukhe wabamba ekufundiseni kwalapho kuma Pringile; liqhinwe elapho iqhina lomtshato ngu Rev. J. Black M.A. Ekrwakrwa (Macfarlan) bakhe bati chu ifundisa khona indodana le; banduluke apho ukuze baye kuqhuma ezintlangeni e Pietersburg, kwa Mamabolo, kuma Awuwa. Emva kwethuba elide apho, befundisa kakuhle, kusuke khatha umoya wobufundisi endodeni; khon'ukuze iye kubufundela e Tiger Kloof. Ngowe 1921 baye kuzalisa indawo yomfi u Rev. D.D. Tywakadi e Rautini, sebebhuma ekubambeni ibandla e Mafeking.

\* wenza a ke

In 1932, according to the custom of the Free Church, they were summoned to the Presbyterian congregation in Fort Beaufort. As it turned out, the eminent lady now brought her body to her last place of rest, leaving behind two little ones, a boy and a girl.

She departed on 13 July; she was buried by the Moderator, Rev D. Tolmie Fraser of Brownlee in King Williams Town together with Rev J.N.J. Tulwana of Uitenhage; Rev. Magalela of the Seventh Day Adventists was in attendance, as were Rev. A.A. Wellington and W.C. Teka of Healdtown. About 500 mourners accompanied her to the banks of the river, of all colours and races. Shops were closed in Fort Beaufort.

A pile of letters and telegrams of condolence and comfort arrived from all over for the minister and his family, more than a normal day's delivery.

You served on to the end, Jingqi girl;  
 you served the Dlomo and congregations:  
 you served other races on our behalf –  
 we Ngqika are outcasts:  
 we lost our sticks, lost everything;  
 we bear all we own like ants on the path.  
 You served on to the end, Gatyeni girl!  
 You served for the nation, for all of Africa.  
 Today you make sacrifice, the final service;  
 you serve the Messiah, Son of God.  
 A lone traveller cries as he walks the earth,  
 loud and clear, he summons the nations.  
 It's the Almighty, Eternal!  
 It's the King, Lord of Lords!!!

News came that Reverend John Henderson, the middle son of Rev Tiyo Soga and his long-haired wife, the daughter of Burnside,<sup>1</sup> has laid down the bonds of work and retired after lengthy exertions<sup>2</sup> labouring in the Lord's vineyard. He

Ngowe 1932 ngokwesiko lase Dipende babizwe libandla lase Bofolo, eRabe. Ithe kanti inzwakaz'enkulu namhla seyisisa umzimba kwindawo yawo yoku-phumla okokugqibela, ishiya iintwana ezimbini intombi nenkwenkwe.

Induluke ngomhla we 13th July; yanchwatywa ngu Moderator Rev. D. Tolmie Fraser wakwa Brownlee, eQonce, no Rev. J.N.J. Tulwana wase Tinara; wayekho u Rev. Magalela we Seventh Day Adventist; ekho u Rev. A.A. Wellington no W.C. Teka, base Healdtown, (eNxukwebe). Babekuma 500 aba khaphi, ababuya bona eludinini lomlambo, bengawo onke amabala nezizwe. Zavalwa iivenkile eBofolo.

Iincwadi, nengcingo ezize zivela phinaphi zokukhuza nokuthuthuzela uManeli lo nentsapho yakhe, zibe sisithungu, esesingavela ngowaso umhla.

Ukhonze wagqiba ntomb' akulo Jingqi;  
 Wakhonz' ama Dlomo wakhonz' iiRamente:  
 Ukhonze neentlanga ukhonzela thina, –  
 Thina bakwa Ngqika siphokophalala:  
 'Ntonga z'lahlekile 'Mpula z'ka Lujaca;  
 'Nothwal' iimpahlana Mbovane zendlela.  
 Ukhonze wagqiba ntomb' akwa Gatyeni!  
 Wakhonzel' isizwe i Afrik' iphela.  
 Namhla wenz' idini inkonz' okuphetha;  
 Ukhonz' uMesiya uNyana ka Thixo;  
 Eny' imbacu yomhlaba, ehamba ilila, –  
 Ithwele nezandla ibiza izizwe.  
 Kanti ngu Somandl' u Sonini nanini!  
 Kanti ngu Kumkan' i Tshawe lama Tshawe!!!

Kuvakele ukuba umFundisi u John Henderson, into ka Rev. Tiyo Soga ephakathi, ngentokazi enwele nde ka Burnside, izibekile iintambo zomsebenzi, yathatha ukuphumla, emva komxhino omde womsebenzi esidiliyeni se Nkosi. Apho ebekhona ebese Xhora (Miller Mission) Elliotdale, kwelakwa Somvana,



was stationed at the Miller Mission at Elliotdale, in Bomvana territory, a place established by his elder brother, the elder Dr Soga – Bottled Snake!<sup>3</sup>

The man was wholly dedicated to his work, at first in a shop at his home in Ngqikaland, at Candeni, because he first studied to be an engineer. He continued his studies overseas and returned a qualified preacher – and poured out this milk in Bhacaland; he moved to Bomvanaland on the death of his elder brother. There he published books, taught, wrote and translated;<sup>4</sup> he leaves today casting light about him.

This John Henderson is the middle son of Tiyo the son of Soga, son of Jotelo, son of Mthika, son of Khonwana of the Jwarha clan, senior Rharhabe councillors from the time of Ngqika and Sandile; he also held positions of authority in Education and Religion. Let me leave it at that:

He came out with his bat  
 (as cricketers would say)!<sup>5</sup>  
 Tiyo's son came out with his bat,  
 son of Dirty Knee from praying –  
 son of Forked Stick from Qaukeni.  
 Whoever challenges us Xhosa,  
 won't the roof pendants frustrate him?  
 Whoever's jealous of us,  
 won't he turn into a lump of clay?  
 Nations, beware the Xhosa!

The Jwarha boy came out with his bat;  
 he scored over a hundred!  
 He took his stance on one leg:  
 the other was a sacrifice to the nation.<sup>6</sup>  
 He sweated, drew blood, and flailed away –  
 imitating the Ngqika of old;  
 isolated among the nations,  
 you must shield yourself and bark:  
 the old people left for the thickets,  
 praising the Name of Golgotha.

kwindawo eyayisekwe ngumkhuluwa wakhe u Dr. Soga, omdala, – u Zilenzi lahlal' ebhotileni!

Indoda le isebenze ngamandlakazi amakhulu, iqalele kowayo kwa Ngqika, evenkileni, nasekuCandeni, kuba ngemfundo yayo yokuqala yayingu Nocanda (Engineer.) Ekubeni iphindelele yasinga kwasemfundweni Phesheya ibuye ngoku seyiphethe i-Ntyilazwi, – yaya kulukhuphela ologadla kwelakwa Baca; iye kwa Bomvana ngokubhubha, komkhuluwa wayo lowo. Apho ishicilele zincwadi, yafundisa, yabhala, yaguqula; imka namhla kukhanya.

U John Henderson lo ngunyana ophakathi ka Tiyo, ka Soga, ka Jotelo, ka Mtika, ka Khonwana um-Jwara, nomphakathi oyintloko kwa Rarabe, kude kuze koo Ngqika noo Sandile; ubuye wayintloko kweze Mfundo ne Lizwi. Mandiyeke gxebe:

Yaphuma nephini layo!  
 (Ngabula ndlali zebhola)  
 Yaphuma ngephin' into kaSongcangcashe,  
 Ka Dolo limdaka kuthandaza, –  
 Ka Ntong' enembhaxa yase Qaukeni.  
 Ngubanin' ofunzelene nathi maXhosa,  
 Eyakuxakwa sidang' entungo?  
 Ngubanin' onomona sithi,  
 Akayi kuba nasigaqa-na?  
 Zizwe walumkelen' ama Xhosa!

Yaphuma ngephin' ikwekw' amaJwara;  
 Ikhul' elinamanci ngaphezulu!  
 Ixhome yemisa ngamlenze mnye  
 Kub' omnye waba lidin' esizweni  
 Yabila, yophisa, yabetha. –  
 Yafuzis' ama Ngqik' amadala;  
 Yena yodwa phakathi kwezizwe,  
 Ilikhaka nomkhonkotha.  
 Yashiy' imikhuthuk' ekweneni.  
 Idumis' iGama le Golgota.

Nongadlela<sup>7</sup> came out with his bat!  
 Answer, Bomvana, say something,  
 say something, House of Gambushe;<sup>8</sup>  
 Langa's children and Jalamba's;  
 the Qaukeni boys say so,  
 calves of the long-haired cow;<sup>9</sup>  
 the boys of Phalo's House say so,  
 Tshiwo's and Ngconde's and Togu's!  
 They're just like the days of Ngqungqushu,<sup>10</sup>  
 when we spread our wings to welcome you!

The boy from Gwali came out with his bat!  
 And I recalled the days of Chalmers;  
 the days of Laing and McDiarmid,  
 the days the Word was spread.  
 The day the haunts of Bushmen echoed,  
 and they were dragged down from the hillsides,  
 and bush pigs were washed in their mudholes.  
 Someone said, "Spread the News,  
 sound the trumpet, you people of His –  
 let the trumpet of His Word echo!"

The boy from Khonwana's came out with his bat!  
 For "We've summoned this House of Khonwana."<sup>11</sup>  
 Oh, the Ngqika are heedless fellows –  
 they've scorned death from time immemorial!  
 The sons of Koyi, Ntintili, Mngunana,  
 who died in foreign lands,  
 illuminating darkness.<sup>12</sup>  
 Answer me, son of Qhoshu –  
 answer for the Bomvana children:  
 what do you have in store for us Ngqika?

The son of Somandla's came out with a bat!  
 He crossed the sea in retirement.  
 Then a voice behind him called:

Waphuma nephin' u Nongadlela!  
 Phendulani ma Bomvana, yenzan' izwi,  
 Yenzan' izwi mzi ka Gambushe;  
 Lusapho luka Langa luka Jalambha;  
 Atsh' amakwenkw' aseQawukeni,  
 Amathol' emaz' enwele zinde;  
 Atsh' amakwenkw' omzi ka Phalo,  
 Ka Tshiwo ka Ngconde ka Togu!  
 Ase njengamhla ngo Ngqungqushe,  
 Mhla sanolulel' iphiko nangena!

Yaphuma nephin' ikwekw' ase Gwali!  
 Ndakhumbhul' imihla yooTshemese;  
 Imihla yoo Lanke noo Madelimeni  
 Imihla yokwabiwa kwe Lizwi.  
 Mhla kwahlokom' emiweweni,  
 Bathotyw' aba Twa emaxandekeni,  
 Zahlanjw' iingulub' ezindakeni.  
 Wat' umntu "Qhuban' i Ndaba zihambe,  
 Vuthelan' ixilongo nina bantu Bakhe, –  
 Ixilongo le Zwi Lakhe lihlokomiseni!"

Yaphuma nephin' ikwekw' akwa Khonwana!  
 Kuba "Lomzi ka Khonwana siwubizile."  
 Hay' ama Ngqik' abaf' abangevayo, –  
 Amadela kuf' ase phakadeni?  
 Into zoo Koyi, Ntintili, Mngunana,  
 Int' ezafel' ezintlangeni.  
 Zatsho kwakhany' ezinyameni.  
 Phendula mfondini ka Qhoshu, –  
 Phendulel' ama Bomvana ngabantwana:  
 Nithinina namhla ngathi ma Ngqika?

Waphuma nephin' umfo wakwa Somandla!  
 Wacand' ulwandl' eya kuphumla.  
 Laye likhal' izwi ngasemva:

“The harvest’s abundant, the workers are few!”  
But we know “Everything yields its place”  
on earth as well as in heaven.  
At Amalinde Jotelo left his spear;  
at the Kei Soga left it;  
John leaves it today at Elliotdale.<sup>13</sup>  
“Call the workers and send them away!”  
You leave us in times of darkness;  
they’ll arrive in the year of the comet;<sup>14</sup>  
they’ll arrive in the early morning;  
they’ll play in the dust at dawn.

Mercy, my people!  
I accept the soft earth.  
Go in peace, son of Tiyo,  
though you go to an alien land.  
Your dreams will turn you back home.  
Remember Tiyo’s dying wish.<sup>15</sup>  
We value the gifts of the bible,  
and your father’s additional gifts,  
they’ll be of help to the poor –  
for us Xhosa there is no death!

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**The late Rev Elijah Mdolomba**

*Ascend this mountain of the Abarim, Mount Nebo, ...  
and die on the mountain which you ascend. Deut. 32: 49 & 50*

When royal Siwani the son of Mdushane Ndlambe, chief of the Dushane at Tamarha in the King Williams Town district, saw the success and good progress of the school of his grandfather Ndlambe at Mount Coke, he went to the Wesleyan missionaries over there at Mount Coke and told them he wanted a school of his own to be built at Tamarha. In the event the missionaries sent two men to go and break that barren ground.

“Sivuno sininz’ abasebenzi bambalwa!”  
Phofu siyazi, “Asin’ ededelana;”  
Kunjalo kwezomhlaba nezezulu.  
Lomkhonto washiywa ngu Jotel’ e Malinde;  
Washiywa ngu Soga e Nciba;  
Namhl’ u John uwushiy’ eXhora.  
“Bizan’ abasebenzi nibamkelise!”  
Umka wena ngexa lomnyama;  
Bona bofika ngo Zatshoba;  
Bofika ku Mpondo zankomo;  
Bagqube kuphume nelanga.

Taruni mabandl’ akowethu!  
Ndizekene nomhlab’ ukuthamba.  
Hamba ngoxolo mfo ka Tiyo;  
Nok’ uya kwizwe lasemzini.  
Obuy’ akujik’ amathongo,  
Ukhumbhul’ umyolelo ka Tiyo.  
Sibulel’ izipho ze Baibile,  
Namany’ amabhaso kayihlo,  
Asaza kunced’ iimbhedlenge, –  
Thina akufiwa kwa Xhosa!

61

### Umfi u-Rev. Elijah Mdolomba

*Nyuka uye kule ntaba yase Abarim, entabeni ye Nebo ... ufele  
entabeni leyo uyinyuka yo, Duter. 32: 46 & 50*

Um Hhlelazi, u Siwani ka Mdushane Ndlambe, inkosi yemi Dushane e Thamarha kwisithili sase Qonce, uthe akubona impumelelo nenqubo entle yesikolo sika yisemkhulu u Ndlambe esise Mkhangiso (Mt Coke) waya kubafundisi base Wesile e Mkhangiso apho, wathi kubo naye ufuna ukuba enzelwe esake isikolo e Thamarha. Okunene abafundisi basusa amadoda amabini ukuba aye kuqandula koloqayi.

The chief, Siwani, arrived and entrusted them to his councillor Nkuntulana Mali, son of Nogcule of the Cethe clan, to see to their every need. The names of the men sent by the missionaries are Dyan Mfazi and Badle Mdolomba, the father of the deceased. I will not enumerate the fruits of the work of those men, I will let them speak for themselves at Tamarha.

That is where Elijah grew up and that is where he attended school before going to senior schools – until he emerged as a teacher in Port Elizabeth – and progressed to become a Wesleyan minister trusted by the people, the Conference and the government.<sup>1</sup> This fellow comes from the Ngwe, but he was a steadfast Mdushane councillor. From childhood he overpowered and crushed the local demon of ethnicity that destroys everyone. He was a skilled newspaper correspondent and an unquestioned praise poet.<sup>2</sup> Even now at his death he left a little book he composed (could his family please produce it so that it can be processed).

Wherever he was his thoughts returned home (like Moses in Pharaoh's land), strayed back to his people entirely – that is where his church's Conference started. As a result of the wheezing of the Union Government which affected all Christian denominations, he was pensioned off before his time. Then he went to Johannesburg. There he was like a Bishop of all denominations, especially to the Colonists.

Because he was smart and handsome he married as a young man of experience, and so he leaves a family behind.

On the first day of the month of the Coronation<sup>3</sup> he left everything behind and went to his own coronation in heaven. They say he has left –

Burst of laughter – stick – I'm carried off.<sup>4</sup>  
 Great bullet of Cape Town.<sup>5</sup>  
 He came to the fore in the plague,  
 leading residents off to Ndabeni,  
 saving them from Wolves and Wild Dogs;  
 those like Mangena's son profited.  
 We continued working in Port Elizabeth,  
 razing slums like Mpundu;  
 establishing new locations  
 like Korsten and New Brighton.  
 Burner of huts of those who've left.

Inkosi u Siwani ifike yawanikela kumphakathi wayo ongu Nkuntiyulana Mali into ka Nogcule u Mcete, ukuba awagcine ngento yonke. Amagama amadoda lawo ayethunyelwe ngabafundisi ngu Dyan Mfazi no Badle Mdolomba uyise womfi lo. Iziqhamo zomsebenzi walawo madoda azikuba saxelwa ndim sezizithethela ngokwazo e Thamarha.

Ukhulele apho ke u Elijah, wafunda apho, phambi kokuba aye kwizikolo ezikhulu, – ade aphumelele abe yi titshala e Bhayi – anyukele ngentla abe ngumfundisi wama Wesile okholekileyo ebantwini nakwi Komfa naku Rhulumete. Ngumfo wasema Ngweni, kodwa engumphakathi ongathandatyuzwayo wakwa Mdushane. Idemoni apha egqibe abantu ekuthiwa “bubuhlanga” wayiqukula wayoyisa yona kwase buncinaneni bakhe. Ube lichule ekubhaleni emaphepheni eyengabuzwayo imbhongi. Nangoku ufe enelinge alenzayo lencwadana (intsapho mayincede iyivelise, ize kuqhutyelwa phambhili.)

Kuthe kuphi iingqondo zakhe zagoduka ngoku (ngokuka Mosisi kwa Faro) zaya kumawabo ngokupheleleyo, – iqale apho ke iKomfa yakowabo: ngokomphunga wo Rulumente wo Manyano osulele zonke iimvaba zobu Krestu, yabona ukuba makabe ngumphumli phambhi kwelona xesha. Kukuze ke aye kuba se Rautini. Ufike apho wanga yi Bishopu yazo zonke imvaba, ngakumbhi kona kuma Koloni.

Ngenxa yobu nzwana nobu homba, umfazi umfumene seleyi ndodana ethe vetshe, ushiya intsapho ke ngoko.

Ngomhla wokuqala wenyanga yo “Thweswo lwe Sitsaba” yena ulushiyile olo, waya kuthweswa esake isitsaba emazulwini. Bath’ umkile ke, –

U Gquzu mnqayi ndathabatheka, –  
 Ikorol’ elikhulu lase Kapa.  
 Lide latshatshela ngobhubhani,  
 Lawukhokel’ umz’ ukuya kwa Ndabeni,  
 Lawusiza kwi Nchuka namaXwili,  
 Iinto zoo Mangena zazuzo.  
 Kude kwase Bayi sisebenza;  
 Sigxoth’ ama Xamba noo Mpundu;  
 Sidal’ amaxow’ amatsha,  
 Ama Kostini noo Nyubrayidile.  
 Mtshisi weendlu zabemkayo.



You had two initiation schools,  
 at Healdtown and Lesseyton.  
 Young women killed one another, chum –  
 bit each other's lips as they rolled in the dust.  
 What did you say to Lumkwana's daughter?  
 What did you tell Tyabinkobe's daughter?  
 They laid into each other with slight provocation,  
 at the sight of his beard standing on end.  
 Hononoshe! Bholomposhe!  
 In the end he was struck by the Zulu girls' arrows.  
 They were said to have charmed him with "Come-and-get-it";  
 they got him because of his long beard like a white man's.  
 I prayed for the Zulu regiments,  
 set off with the armies in support of Bambatha;<sup>6</sup>  
 armed like a white I advanced like a Zulu.  
 Rouse storms of wind and rain!  
 When will this man father a baby?  
 Is he not the nation's leaven?  
 Let Conference start to tremble –  
 the nation's men have appeared,  
 from the homes of Cush, of Put and Nimrod!<sup>7</sup>  
 Peace, home of Ndaba, of Zondwa,  
 of Madiba and Sophitshi.<sup>8</sup>  
 Ngoji of Mgudlwa, let's cry for each other.  
 Our father is dead, we'll travel to him.  
 You too, Dalindyebo's son,  
 wipe the tears from your eyes,  
 your father's Mfengu has joined your father.  
 Peace to you, Zulu, peace, Mini's son;  
 peace, nation, peace, Princess;  
 peace, Ngwe and Tolo clans;  
 today the whole country's mourning!  
 A child at heart has departed,

Amasuth' akho mabini Laundini!  
 Lise Nxukwebe naku Ndlovukazi;  
 Mfondini iintombi zibulelene: –  
 Zirhinyen' imilomo kwaluthuli.  
 Ubuke watinina kweka Lumkwana?  
 Wateta ntonina kweka Tyabinkobe?  
 Zivunukelene phezu kwelize;  
 Zijong' intsheb' ubuntsasawula.  
 Hononoshe! Bholomposhe!  
 Zide zamtol' iintombi zakwa Zulu.  
 Kuthwa zimze ngo "Vukayibambe";  
 Zambamba ngetsheb' ende yomlungu.  
 Mabutho ka Zulu ndiwathandazele;  
 Ndemka nezimpi ngo Bambatha;  
 Ndaxob' isilungu ndaqhub' isi Zulu.  
 Vus' izaqhwithi nezi wendu!†  
 Izalelwa nini indoda le, –  
 Kant' ayilo gwele lohlanga?  
 Mayishukum' i Komfa, –  
 Avelil' amadoda esizwe.  
 Omzi ka Kushe ka Phuthi ka Nimrodi!  
 Tarhuni mzi ka Ndaba ka Zondwa;  
 Mzi ka Madiba ka Sophitshi;  
 Nina Ngoji ka Mgudlwa masililelane.  
 Sifelwe ngubawo siyakuya kuye;  
 Nawe nto ka Dalindyebo, –  
 Zisul' inyembez' emehlweni,  
 Le Mfengu kayihlo iye kwaku yihlo.  
 Taruni ma Zulu, tarhu mfo ka Mini;  
 Tarhuni lusapho, Tarhu Nkosazana;  
 Tarhuni ma Ngwe nani ma Tolo;  
 Namhla lonk' ilizwe lizijaha hela!  
 Kumk' umntwana ngentliziyo,

---

\* *ngentsheb'*

† *nenzi weuru*

a brawny-armed man has departed.  
 Oh yes, son of my father!  
 It's good to have you precede us,  
 so we take the road free of foes,  
 so we find the Lord well disposed,  
 already pliant, already yielding,  
 trussed up by your praises.  
 Son of Badle, you've caused me grief;  
 I thought we still had life to spare,  
 time to instruct the community,  
 to show them nationhood, health, and life,  
 to show them the Gate of Gates to reward,  
 to show them the great, high mountain,<sup>9</sup>  
 that glorious twelve-gated city;  
 then the Lord spoke and said "Ascend";  
 he felt you were done, and a crown awaited you  
 for your beautiful labour of love.  
 In the Highest care for your family!  
 Commend them, speak for them, plead for them  
 from the Greatest of all Great Places!!!  
 I offer you my greetings.

62

### The Right Rev Yekelo Mbali

*Honour to the deserving.*

When I was a youngster studying at Lovedale in the junior school next to the canal, we were often visited by students from the boarding school who came to assist our white teacher. Among these students was the one named above. In his presence we were stock still, because the fellow was himself very grave; he was handsome; he would do just what he came here to do; as soon as he tiptoed out at the end of his period, we would start to relax!

Kumk' indoda ngezigalo.  
 Awu! Ewe nto ka bawo!  
 Kuhl' ukwandulelwa nguwe, -  
 Ze sifik' indlel' ingasena ntshaba,  
 Ze sifik' i Nkosi seyithambhile;  
 Seyityefetyefe seyitofotofo,  
 Sewuyibonge wayirintyarintyela  
 Ndibuhlungu ngawe mfo ka Bandle;  
 Bendith' ubom sisaze kubuxhamla;  
 Umzi sisaza kuwufundisa;  
 Siwalathis' ubuzwe nempilo nentlalo,  
 Siwalathis' iSango Sango lebaso;  
 Siwalathis' i Nduli enom Tshanzanana;  
 Lomzikaz' oma Sangw' ali 12;  
 Ithethile k' i Nkosi yathi Nyukela;  
 Ngelak' ufezile ulindwe sitsaba;  
 Ngomsebenzi omhle wo thando.  
 Wakulukhangel' usap' e Nyangweni!  
 Uluyaleze, uluthethelele, ulubuzele  
 Kwelo Komkhulu lama Komkhulu!!!  
 Ndiyakubulisa.

Oko ndandiyi nkwenkwana ndifunda e Dikeni (Lovedale) kweso sikolwana  
 besi sesabantwana ngase mjelweni, kube kusakuthi kumane kufika iimfundi  
 ezivela esinaleni eziza kunceda ititshalakazi yethu emhlophe. Phakathi kwezo  
 mfundi ke bekubakho nalo ugama lingentla. Xa kukho yena ke kube kusakuthi  
 kubekho ukuzola okukhulu, kuba umfo ube sisizolane yena ngokwakhe;  
 emhle; eze kwenza lento ebezele yona apha yena; athi akuthi cwashu ukumka  
 lakuphela ithuba lakhe, kuqale kuthi qabu!

As I was a very bright student, all those teachers took particular note of me, and some passed comment on me; they loved me, and I loved them in return.

This young man continued to study, this son of Mbali, until he was ordained by the Scots as a minister of the Free Church, assigned to Burnshill near Middledrift. At some stage he was sent to the Awuwa people in the land of Mamabolo (Zoutpansberg), in the Northern Transvaal. By the time he returned, Mbali's son had established a strong bond with those nations, and he could speak their language. A petition was lodged on his behalf at Nqamakhwe; he moved to the land of Jojo among the Xesibe people in response to the request. Among the black congregations he was the first African minister to be Moderator.<sup>1</sup>

As adults involved in community service – the translation of the Bible, the Templars, schools and education, etc – we took to discussing issues, and it turned out that he was a Thembu like me, a member of the Mpemvu clan. Here among the Rharhabe he was a Ngcangathelo Ngqika in the land of Ngonyama Tyhali – he even went to Ngqanda as all the Ngcangathelo did.<sup>2</sup> This fellow is an orphan abandoned by his parents; he received his education from missionaries, especially Rev James Stuart of Burnshill. Today his denomination, meeting in Durban (Natal), accorded him the honour of appointment as Moderator.

Do it again, son of Mbali!  
 Do it again!  
 The land is in turmoil –  
 do it again!  
 Let the wagon of the Word roll on,  
 driven by you alone,  
 until the way is lit.  
 Do it again!

Boy, go to the men of the Great Place!  
 Till Mavuso and Mamabolo listen;  
 till Jojo and Luzipho respond.  
 Your Ngqika home is far off,  
 your Thembu roots are far off,  
 as are the Ngcangathelo.

Njengomfundi owaye bukhali kakhulu, ezoo titshala zonke zandithabathela ingqalelo kwa oko, zade ezinye zanamazwi ngam, zandithanda, ndaye ndikwanjalo nam kuzo.

Ifundile ke lendodana, lomfo ka Mbali, yade yabekwa izandla ngama Skotshi, yangumfundisi wase Fritshatshi, ikhaya lise Xesi, (Burnshill) e Mkhubiso. Ide yasiwa nakuma Awuwa, kwesika Mamabolo (Zoutpansberg), emantloko e Transvali. Ubuye apho umfo ka Mbali evene incilikithi nezo zizwe, eyithetha nentetho yazo. Wenzelwe isicelo e Ndakana (Ngqamakwe); apho ke asuka khona ukuze nje aye kwelika Jojo kuma Xesibe kwangokucelwa. Kwi "Bandla la Bantu," ube ngu Mongameli (Moderator) wokuqala kwaba ntsundu abafundisi.

Sakuba ngoku sesingamadoda, siphethe iinkonzo zesizwe, – ku guqulo lwezi Bhalo; kwi Tempile; kwi zikolo zemfundo, njalonjalo, siqalile ke ukuncokola, – uthe kanti ungum Thembhu kwanje ngam, into yasema Mpemvini. Apha kwa Rarabe ungum Ngqika, ulunge kwaziko lasem Ngcangcatelweni, ku Ngonyama Tyhali, – ude wakhe waya nase Ngqanda, oko yayenjenjalo imi Ngcangatelo. Ngumfo oyinkedama eyashiywa ngabazali; imfundo le seleyi zuziswa ngabafundisi ngokungakumbi u Rev. James Stuart, wase Mkubiso apho. Namhla ke i Bandla lakowabo, elibe lihlangene e Thekwini (Natal) limnike kwa imbeko yokuba abe ngu Mongameli walo (Moderator),

Phindela kwakhona nto ka Mbali!

Phindela kwa khona!

Izwe limagad' anzima, –

Phindela kwa khona!

Mayihamb' inqwelo ka Lizwi,

Iqhutywe nguwe kanye;

Kude kukhany' ezinyaweni;

Phindela kwa khona!

Emadodeni kwedin' a Komkhulu!

Ad' ev' u Mavuso no Mamabolo;

Ad' aphenkul' u Jojo no Luzipho;

Kukude kowenu kwa Ngqika;

Kukud' emva kwelaba Thembu;

Sekumgama nasem Ngcangcatelweni.

Let the wagon of the Word roll on.  
Do it again!

Bend your knee and bend your back  
until you rest on your elbows!  
The wagon sinks down in the light;  
the law is lost as we watch;  
the chief is spurned by his people:  
resist with every fibre,  
Mzolisa of the Mpemvu.  
Do it again, dear friend!

Cut off the noise and commotion!  
Cut off the gaping mouths;  
we Ngqika are well-known,  
we're a people given to barking;  
cast your eye on Lovedale –  
peer round about at Healdtown;  
look closely at St Matthews;  
fix your gaze on Mgwali.  
Do it again!

Do it again, Mpemvu,  
Sililo's a failure in Zululand.  
The northern Awuwa are talking,  
the country's produced a youth.  
Mzolisa! The Nation's Mzolisa!  
Tall, lanky rod of a man;  
loose floppy blanket;  
sticks from Antioch.  
Do it again, father!!!

Mayihamb' inqwelo ka Lizwi, –  
Phindela kwa khona!

Gob' idol' ugod' umqolo!  
Ud' umise nangendololwane;  
Inqwel' iyazik' ekukhanyeni;  
Umtheth' ulahleka kubonwa;  
Inkosi ikhanyelwa ngabayo;  
Misa nangama zondolwane;  
Mzolisa wasema Mpemvini, –  
Phindela kwakhona Laudini!

Nquml' ingxolo nengxokozelo!  
Nquml' imilom' emide;  
Thina ma Ngqika siyaziwa,  
Singama bandl' omkhonkotho;  
Phos' iliso e Dikeni, –  
Ukrwaqule nase Nxukwebe;  
Jonga kakuhle em Thwaku;  
Umis' iso lakho em Gwali;  
Phindela kwa khona!

Phindela kwa khona mPemvu  
Uyajangaz' u Sililo kwa Zulu  
Ayatheth' ama Awuwa ngasentla  
Isizwe sizalelwa ndodana  
Mzolisa! Mzolisa wo Hlanga!  
Mnqay' uluswayiba loswazi;  
Ngubo zimwalala-mxanana;  
Ntonga zase Antiyokhwe, –  
Phindela kwakhona bawo!!!



**I thank you, my people**

I suffered a string of bereavements in a short space of time. I struggled to say nothing about them, but sympathisers dug it out of me.

MR KLASS MAYEKISO – This is the husband of my father's eldest daughter; he is the prince of Chungwa's Gqunukhwebe, who was at the time based at Mnqaba with James Mama – and he died on 6 November 1937. This is the fellow who was sent by my father to fetch me from my uncles, the sons of Nzanzana Mqhayi, at Centane – he took me to his home in Alice, at Lovedale Station, and I stayed there for years, acquiring the little education they say I have – he is the one who conducted me to the initiation school – until he saw me married. He left the old lady who was my sister with two girls and two boys.

He was 81 years old at the time, because he was born before the cattle-killing.

Nomagodo,  
 Tied up on watch,  
 Ruler with a blanket,  
 Bluemantled flycatcher taking its chances,  
 Bull of Lantyu,  
 of Mngqenge, of Mndlela!  
 by means of a jacket indeed!!

MRS AGGIE LEKALAKALA

This is the eldest daughter of Klass Mayekiso, who was born in 1889, and took a Sotho husband, Mr P. Lekalakala from Queenstown, who died in the flu epidemic.<sup>1</sup> This niece of mine, who takes after me in many ways, and is also just like her father, died on 6 November 1938. This girl of mine was always studying as a child, even before she started school; by the time she was sent to school she had already made great progress. Dr Stewart (Somgxada) refused to admit this girl on several occasions saying that education would damage her, until he gave her a place in his kitchen, as a domestic worker. She broke through the barrier, though, until she passed her 1st and 2nd year. When Dr Stewart completely refused her access, I attacked him angrily and took her off to Miss Dunsmore at Mgwali.<sup>2</sup> She studied there with the disobedient daughters of Armstrong of Ugie, as well as Dr Rubusana's daughters, and she met her contemporaries:

## Ndiyabulela makowethu

Ilandelelene imiphanga endixhwalileyo kuso esisi thuba sikufuphi nje. Bendizama nokungathethi nto ngayo, koko abavelani bandikhuphulule.

U MR. KLASS MAYEKISO. – Lo ngumyeni wentombi ka bawo enkulu; yinkosana yasema Gqunukwebeni kwa Cungwa, ubeselemi e Mngqaba ku James Mama, – yena usweleke ngo 6th. Nov. 1937. Lomfo nguye owathunywa ngu bawo ukuba aye kundithabatha koo bawokazi iinto zika Nzanzana Mqhayi kwa Centane, – waya nam emzini wakowabo e Dikeni, e Lovedale Station, ndahlala khona iminyaka, ndifunda lemfundwana kuthiwa ndinayo, – ndisiwe kwanguye ebudodeni, – wade wabuye wandizekela. Elo xegokazi lingu dad'ethu ke ulishiye lineentombi zombini, nabafo ababini.

Bekuxa aminyaka ima 81 kuba wayesel'ekho nge Ngqawule.

U Nomagodo,  
 U Vingcwa livarhasha,  
 Um Balawuli ngablankethe;  
 U Gotyi libal' amathuba;  
 Inkomo ka Lantyu. –  
 Ka Mngqenge ka Mndlela!  
 Ngeyas' inene!!

## MRS. AGGIE LEKALAKALA

Le yintombi ka Klass Mayekiso enkulu, ivele gowe 1889, yatshata nom Suthu u Mn. P. Lekalakala kwa Komani, owasweleka ngesibetho. Lo mtshana wam obephantse ukundithabatha ngezinto ezi ninzi, naye njengoyise usweleke nge 6th. Nov. 1938. Lentomb'am yafunda kakhulu isencinane, ingekasiwa nasesi kolweni; ithe iyasiwa yabe seyiphambili. U Dr. Stewart (Somgxada), uyinqhwinibe amaxesha ngamaxesha esithi imfundo iyakumenzakalisa, ade akhe ayifake ekhitshini lakhe, isebenze ngaphakati. Ityhudisile noko yade yayiphumelela i 1st year ne 2nd year. Uthe xa u Dr. Stewart amophulayo mpela ngoku, ndamhlasela ngomsindo ndamsa e Mgwali, ise ngu Miss Dunsmore. Ufunde apho neentokazi ezingevayo zika Armstrong zase Ugie, nezika Dr. Rubusana, wadibana noogxa bakhe: uphumelele kwangawo lomnyaka wee qu ngokufundisa kowethu ema Bheleni e Tyume, nase Somerset East kamfi

she passed in the same year and quickly left to teach at home at maBheleni at Tyhume, and at the Somerset East of the late J.T. Jabavu; she even went to Queenstown where, as I've said, she married. Now she is a peerless resident of Queenstown who knows the full history of Princess Nonquvana, Blankets can be seized for loved ones!! The lady controlling all Queenstown's grand gatherings!!!

MRS JOSEPH GABHA

This past December I received a letter from Port Alfred from her in-law Mr Thomas K. Runeli saying that Khatshiwe had died. She was the daughter of Mr Boo Monqo of the Giqua clan, who was married to my nephew, who grew up in my home, the son of the eldest daughter of Krune of Theopolis. What recommended this woman is that she cared for and fed my old grandfather Krune Mqhayi, until he died at the age of 95.

WALTER BOMOYI

As it happened, on the last day of the past year, on the 31st, we buried my son, the abovementioned. I don't know – it looked like this man with his little education was starting something new, something we black people don't have – performances known as "Plays" in English, and "Drama," like those of Shakespeare. He used to tour the country, teaching these plays to schoolchildren, entertaining the children. The teachers and school inspectors liked to give him rein in order to encourage him, and liked the poetry interspersed in these plays.<sup>3</sup>

As from July 1938 he was at Mxhelo with the sons of Sigila and at Tyhume in Alice; he popped up here at home after leaving Peddie. On his arrival, he was already consumed by disease. Attempts to save him proved fruitless, and he died on 30 December 1938.

All this serves to thank my people who have come in a constant stream to comfort me in these misfortunes without my saying a single word. In actual fact you were healing me, my people. Thank you so much!!

u J.T.J.; ude wayakutsho kwa Komani, apho senditshilo ke ukuba watshatela khona. Ngumntu wakwa Komani ke ngoku ongagqitisa apho azitsho iziganeko ze Nkosazana, u Nonqh'uvana, u Ngubo ngangahlutwa zinikw' abathandwayo!! Intokazi ebiwa bambe onke amatheko amahle omzi wakwa Komani!!!

#### U MRS. JOSEPH GABA

Kwangaye u Dec. lo udluleyo ndifikelwa yincwadi evela e Cawa (Port Alfred), ku mkhozi u Mr. Thos. K. Runeli isithi u Khatshiwe akasekho. Lo ke yintombi ka Mr. Boo Monqo, umGiqwa, yayendele kumtshana wakowethu, okhulele kowethu, unyana wentombi enkulu ka Krune ebise Tapolisi. Into awazithethelela ngayo lomfazi kum kukondla noku nqaka ixego elingu bawomkhulu, u Krune Mqhayi, wade wafa ema 95 eminyaka yobudala.

#### U WALTER BOMOYI

Kuthe kanti ngosuku lokugqibela emnyakeni lo udlulayo, nge 31st siza kunchwaba umfo wam, oleligama lingasentl' apha. Andazi, – lendoda ngeyayo imfundwana ngathi ibizama ukuqala into entsha, engekabikho kuthi bantsundu, – imi dlalwana ekuthiwa ngesilungu zii "Play," nee "Drama" ezinje ngezoo Shakespeare. Ibilijikeleza ke ilizwe, ifundisa lemidlalo kwintsapho zezikholo, isithi yonwabisa abantwana. Iititshala, naba Hloli bezikolo bebethanda ukuyinika iintambo zokuyikhuthaza, bezithanda nezi "Bongo" ezenza kunye nemidlalo leyo.

Ukususela ku July '38 ibe se Mxhelo koka Sigila nase Tyume e Dikeni; ithe thu apha ekaya seyiphuma e Peddie (Nqhushwa). Kwafika umfo oseledliwe kade ngumkhuhlane. Akabanga sancedanto amalinga, waphela ngowama 30/12/38.

Ukwenjenje kukubulela amakowethu asoloko elandelelana nam endikhuza kwezi ntlekele,\* ndingabikanga nto ngokwam, nithe kanti niyandiphilisa makowethu enkosi, enkosi kakhulu!!

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\* ntlekehle

## The late Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke

*I arose as a mother in Israel – Judges 5: 7<sup>1</sup>*

Many, Mr Editor, have already written about this woman; this, for my part, serves only to confirm the nation's shock at the death of this lovely lady.<sup>2</sup> This daughter of Manyhi, though she is Sotho, first saw the sun in this land of ours of Ngqika; she studied here, and from among us here she travelled overseas to America; and when she returned with education as her prize she came to her home here and shared it with all Africans – a difficult thing for educated men or women to do. We gave her away in marriage, she didn't choose her own husband, we married her to the son of Maxeke of the Nywabe clan of Gatyeni, of Ndongela, among the Gqunukhwebe. Therefore: –

Shake, women!

The mother of scruffs has turned aside;  
she helped the snotty blow their noses.

The community builder has turned aside;  
she swept out the motley drunkards;  
chased the homeless back home,  
so foreign vagrants returned.

Foundation stone of Ethiopia!<sup>3</sup>

Shake, women!

The girl of the home has finished,  
the girl from Lesotho has finished,  
wife of Gatyeni's Nywabe;

she set her feet on Tswana land,  
Khama's people, the Rolweni.

She gave her breasts for the Thembu to suck,  
Ndaba's tribes and Zondwa's;

at Tyalarha at Ngangezwe's grave  
the full-breasted woman of Africa  
suckled all the black children.

Since this year her breasts have dried up,  
whose daughter will take her place?

Raise a stone to her memory,

## Umfikazi U Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke

*Ndesuka ndingunina kwa Sirayeli – Gwebi 5: 7*

Sebe baninzi Mhleli, ababhalileyo ngayo le nkosikazi; ukwenje nje oku nam ndingqina umothuko wesizwe ngako ukusweleka kwayo le nzwakazi. Le ntombi ka Manyhi, noko ingum Suthukazi, yaqala ukulibona ilanga kweli lizwe lakowethu lakwa Ngqika; yafunda apha, yawela ukuya e Merika isuka phakathi kwethu apha; yade yabuya nelo xhoba liyi mfundo yeza nalo ekhaya; latyiwa ngawo onke ama Afrika – into leyo ezinqabeleyo iimfundi neemfundikazi. Ide yendiswa kwasithi, ingazendisanga, siyendisela kulo mfana ka Maxeke wasema Nywabeni, kwaGatyeni, kwa Ndongela, ema Gqunukhwebeni. Ngako oko: –

Shukumani bafazi!

Ushenxil' u Ma marhixi-rhixi;

Ufinyis' amagruxu.

Ushenxil' okad' esaakh' umzi,

Egutyul' iirhanga zamanxila;

Egodus' amahilihil' agoduke;

Kubuy' amadungudwan' emazweni.

I Tye lesiseko se Tiyopiya!

Shukumani bafazi!

Igqibil' intomb' asemzini;

Igqibil' intomb' aselu Suthu;

Umfazi wama Nywabe kwa Gatyeni;

Ukhe wabek' iinyawo kwelaba Tshwana;

Kusapho luka Khama nolwaba Rolweni.

Wabek' amabele kuba Thembu, –

Kumabandla ka Ndaba ka Zodwa;

E Tyhalarha kwinchwaba lika Ngangezwe

Maz' emabele made yase Afrika, –

Okwanyis' usapho luka Ntu luphela;

Azi nonyaka yaphusile nje, –

Logangwa yintokazi kabanina?

Menzelen' ilitye lokukhunjulwa,

to display to lazy women.  
May she never be forgotten by her people;  
may she never be forgotten on earth;  
may she never be forgotten in Africa.  
That's it!!!

(With these words the Nation's Poet boils our blood and enflames our ears so we cannot hear. Perhaps we will control our blood enough to listen closely to the news about the eldest daughter, Thembeke, in next week's paper,<sup>4</sup> also by the Nation's Poet. – Editor)

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**Dr A. B. Xuma**

*Join the men, kid!!!  
You Xhosa man*

Through initiatives previously mentioned, this councillor has within a few years made a name for himself in the hearts of the entire community.<sup>1</sup> I believe no greater service can be performed than in the interests of the nation. And so, I think he deserves some lines to adorn him. We say,

Hail, Storm the Orange!!!  
Tough Qwathi oxhide; Earth Tremor.  
That's what the poet calls him.  
Courtier of Fubu and Dabasile,  
diviner who trained with spirit animals,  
animals of doctors and fairies.<sup>2</sup>  
This is an active new wife, admit it –  
this sharp tongue is no joke.  
We heard the liars deceiving us –  
saying this young man's a livewire;  
but he's a man mature in every respect,  
older than the Tugela and Mount Khala;

Ze siqhayisele ngal' amavilakazi.  
Az' angaz' alityalwe kowabo;  
Az' angaz' alityalw' emhlabeni;  
Az' angaz' alityalw'e Afrika!  
Nci! Ncincilili!!!

(Kamb' imbongi ye Sizwe le iske itsho kuhlwabizel' igazi' kubeshushu neendletyan' ezi singeva. Mhlaumbi soba se sibek' igazi phantsi, siphula phule ngesonti ezomafungwashe u Thembeka kweleveki ezayo kwa yi Mbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele. – Mhleli)

65

**Dr. A.B. Xuma**

*Emadodeni kwedini!!!*

*MXhosa*

Lo mphakathi ngamaling' asentl' apha uthe kuyo le minyaka ikufuphi nje, wazibalula ngokulibala igama lakhe ezintliziyweni zoluntu luphela. Andazi ukuba ikho inkonzo exabiseke ngaphezu kwaleyo, enokwenziwa ngumntu kwisizwe sakowabo. Ngakho oko ke, andazi ngathi angayifanela invambho embalwa yokumvathisa. Sithi, –

A, – Gqogq' iGqili!!!  
Ngqongq' omQwathi; Zwelanyikima.  
Nal' elibizwa yiMbhongi.  
Gaga looFubu noDabasile,  
Gqirh' elithwase ngezilo zomoya,  
Izilo zooMhlola noomiKholonjane.  
Le nt' inkazan' ikhaliphile yivumeni, –  
Ingqanda le asinto yakufeketha.  
Sive ngamaxok' esixokisa, –  
Ethi lo mfana yingqungqumbhana;  
Kanti hayi yindod' ikhule yagabadela,  
Ivelel' uThukela neNtab' oKhala;



older than the Fish and Nqabangozi;  
 neck thick as a gulugulu tree!<sup>3</sup>  
 A diviner more skilled than others –  
 I couldn't believe he healed Nonvingwa,  
 a young woman known for her love of men.  
 I couldn't believe he raised up Congress  
 a week after its funeral,  
 with Makgatho and Dube in tears,  
 and Calatha at sixes and sevens,<sup>4</sup>  
 and Ngojo and Mdolomba making upriver!<sup>5</sup>  
 Peace, Earth Tremor!  
 Peace, male diviner!  
 One who was and remains a teetotaller<sup>6</sup>  
 like Gcaleka at Nxinxolo!<sup>7</sup>  
 We prize it, debate it, then try to quit it:  
 Here it comes! Mamlambo's still talking a blue streak!<sup>8</sup>  
 And there go the men tumbling down cliffs.  
 Men, give up on Nontsendwana –  
 twice he strayed from his nation:  
 the third time will be a low blow.<sup>9</sup>  
 I'd be reluctant to see the old guard rebound!  
 The one with guts like iron  
 can carry a hundred men;  
 lifting all the Manyano members.  
 The one with veins like wire;  
 to lift a Xhosa and Zulu –  
 a Sotho and Tswana will swing.  
 Join the men, Xuma's kid!  
 The nations have long been jumping<sup>10</sup> and swerving!  
 And so we need to focus on something.  
 We also bore children, wiped their nose, had them schooled –  
 we even dressed them in "gym dress."  
 Open your eyes, and don't lose your way!

Ivelel' iNxuba neNqabangozi;  
 Int' entam' ingangekaMgulugulu!  
 Igqirh' elindoq' emagqirheni, –  
 Ndincame mhla lanyang' uNonvingwa,  
 Inkazan' ebidume ngokuthand' amadoda.  
 Ndilincame ngokumis' uKhongolesi;  
 Sel' entsuku sixhenxe wanchwatywayo.  
 Sekulil' uDube noMakgatho;  
 Ethwel' izandl' okaQalata,  
 Wakhwez' okaNgojo nokaMdolomba!  
 Camagu Zwelanyikima!  
 Camagu Gqirh' eliyindoda!  
 Int' ehlal' ihlal' iiNqakra-Zili!  
 Ixel' uGcalek' eNxhinxholo.  
 Sibeke, sibuzane sifun' ukuncama:  
 Qhaphu-gqi! Seyithwel' uMamlambho!  
 Atsh' amadod' aw' iziqaqa.  
 Madoda mncamen' uNontsendwana, –  
 Ulahleke kabin' ebuzweni:  
 Okwesithathu koba nguNomagwevu.  
 Ndineentloni kuya kujub' imikhuthuka!  
 Ngozintsinga ngathi ziintsimbhi  
 Uyalithwal' ikhulu lamadoda;  
 Awaxhom' onk' awoManyano.  
 Ngomithambho ngathi ziingcingo;  
 Zokuxhom' umXhosa nomZulu, –  
 Kujing' umSuthu nomTshwana.  
 Emadodeni kwedini kaXuma!  
 Kad' izizwe zixhuma ziphethuka!  
 Xa kulapho sifun' ukunamanama.  
 Nathi sizele, safinyisa, safundisa, –  
 Side savathisa nangee "Jimdresi,"  
 Vul' amehl' ungab' ulahleke!

'Tough Qwathi oxhide,  
shake up the continents,  
succeed through surprise,  
extract the bewitching charms,'<sup>11</sup>  
Nontsendwana's calf.  
That's it!!!

Ngqongq' omQwathi;  
Zamis' amazwana;  
Qubul' egqitha;  
Phath' izidlanga;  
Thol' loNontsendwana.  
Ncincilili!!!

TABLE I

| Year       | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Population | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |
| ...        | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  | ...  |

## Notes

## Preface and Introduction

- 1 Unveiling Samuel Edward K Mqhayi Tombstone by Dr A.B. Xuma, 26 March 1951. 510326 Michigan State University. Thanks to Dr Peter Limb for supplying me with this text.
- 2 Mandela: 1995, 47.
- 3 Jordan: 1973, 105.
- 4 See the invaluable booklets by Patricia E. Scott (1976a and 1976b).
- 5 For details, see J.B. Peires, "The Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited," *History in Africa*, 6 (1979), reprinted in Peires: 1980.
- 6 Peires: 1981, 176–78.
- 7 See *Ityala lamawele*, 7th ed, p. vi. "The Battle of Amalinde" relies on an unusually detailed knowledge of events which Mqhayi can only have got from a written source. Compare item 50 on The War of the Axe, which relies entirely on oral tradition.
- 8 See, for example, Walshe: 1971, 175–78.
- 9 "A short autobiography of Samuel Krune Mqhayi," in Scott: 1976b, 9, 20.
- 10 "Bantu 'Poet Laureate,'" *Umthunywa* (7 April 1951), 5.
- 11 Unless otherwise noted, information on Mqhayi in this introduction is drawn from his autobiography *U-Mqhayi wase-Ntab'ozuko* (1939), and from material held in The Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature.
- 12 *Izwi* (4 September 1906), 3.
- 13 Scott notes that "The Lovedale Report for 1926 shows that Mqhayi was no longer on the staff" (Scott: 1976b, 32).
- 14 On *izibongo* and the *imbongi*, see Opland: 1983 and 1998.
- 15 Bud-M'Belle (1903), Wauchope (1908, reprinted in Wauchope: 2008, 39–74), Bokwe (1905), Rubusana (1906), Mqhayi (1907) and Ndawo (1909).
- 16 See Scott: 1976a.
- 17 R.H.W. Shepherd wrote to Mqhayi on 21 December 1928 requesting permission to include *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika* in the Presbyterian hymnbook *Amaculo ase Rabe*; Mqhayi replied on 25 December granting his permission and noting that "The music is a general one taken from the old songs. The words of the first verse were composed about 1903 by the late Mr. Enoch Sontonga of Jo'Burg; the rest by the 'Imbongi ye Sizwe'" (Cory MS 16430/III). On the spelling revision committee, see "Abantu," *Imvo* (29 April 1930), 1.
- 18 "As a missionary press," R.H.W. Shepherd wrote to Mqhayi on 18 April 1940, explaining the Lovedale Press's rejection of *Rubusana*, "we cannot allow ourselves to become

- involved in political controversy making for division among the Bantu people." Mqhayi's dealings with the Lovedale Press can be found in Cory MS 16,321 (c).
- 19 Yako was present on Ntabozuko at the unveiling of Mqhayi's tombstone in 1951, and wrote a poem about the occasion (Yako: nd; see Kuse: 1975, 187) that mentions the performance of the *imbongi* D.L.P. Yali-Manisi. In 1947 Manisi was given the soubriquet *Imbongi entsha* (the new poet) by J.T. Arosi, organiser of the Ntsikana Day celebrations, who invited Manisi to appear as Mqhayi's successor (Opland: 2005, 47).
  - 20 For an earlier appraisal of Mqhayi, see Nhlapo: 1941 and Linda Gqobose's response, extracts from both of which are quoted in Opland: 2005, 10–11.
  - 21 "Izikumbuzo zobu Zwe," *Imvo* (24 March 1925).
  - 22 G.M.M. Pemba to P.E. Scott from P.O. Box 9040, Port Elizabeth, 17 May 1983; original in The Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature.
  - 23 G.M.M. Pemba to J. Opland from P.O. Box 9040, Port Elizabeth, 17 June 1983; original in The Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature.
  - 24 "Ityala lama Wele," *Imvo* (21 December 1915), 3.
  - 25 "Reviews," *Imvo* (18 January 1916), 5.
  - 26 The Standard V reader included Mqhayi's "Intlanganiso neenyamakazi nezinja" (49–53), "U-Suthu" (54–60) and "U-Mbambushe" (97–100), and his translations "Ilanga lika Qilo" (21–26), "Iqgira lemvula" (115–28) and "Inkosikazi yaseba-Thenjini" (128–31). The Standard VI reader included "Ububele" (19–21), "UNtsikana" (90–96), "USarili" (102–8) and "Ithemba" (169–71). The Senior reader included "Umbongo weentaka" (5–7, originally published in *Umteteli*, 23 December 1933, 10), "Iintaka ezibalulekileyo emaXhoseni" (8–20), "Imbeko" (21–25), "Itshawe laseBritani" (90–3), "Izilo ezikhulu" (93–98), extracts from *UDon Jadu* (116–22), "Iqakamba" (153–58, originally published in *Umteteli*, 6 December 1930, 5) and "Aa! Lwaganda!" (187–90, originally published in *Umteteli*, 20 August 1932, 9, where it is ascribed to Nzulu Lwazi). Bennie's anthology *Imibengo* contained the following pieces by Mqhayi: "Aa! Mhlekezi omhle!" (19–21), "Imiyolelo yowe-1931 umnyaka" (126–28), "URarabe" (129–40, originally published in *Umteteli*, 18 August 1928, 8; 25 August 1928, 8; and 1 September 1928, 5), extracts from *Ityala lamawele* (173–84), "Umkhosi wemidaka" (184–87), "Ukutshona kukaMendi" (187–89), "Aa! Sifuba-Sibanzi" (189–91), "Idabi laMalinde" (191–95, originally published in *Umteteli*, 1 December 1928, 10 and 8 December 1928, 10), "Isithathu sabafundisi" (198–208, commissioned by Bennie), "Inkokeli" (208–11) and "Kuwe Igora kwaNyawuza" (215–18, originally published in *Imvo*, 23 May 1933, 2).

- 27 Peires's appendices as a whole (170–91) offer an invaluable, sensitive introduction to Xhosa oral and written history, including an assessment of Mqhayi as a historian, and sample *amabali*.
- 28 Owakona, "Ezase B'ofolo," *Umteteli* (12 January 1929), 8.
- 29 Peires lists "The quarrel between Ngqika and Ndlambe," including "the abduction of Thuthula" and "Ngqika seeks help from the whites," as one of twelve basic *amabali* commonly known at the time of his fieldwork (Peires: 1981, 184). He observes: "It is very apparent that Xhosa oral tradition has declined considerably in the twentieth century" (174).
- 30 With the exception of two theses by Saule (1989 and 1996), all academic dissertations on Mqhayi ignore his copious journalism. Saule's work is based on The Opland Collection's Nzulu Lwazi file, which I offered him in 1985 together with the identification of Nzulu Lwazi as Mqhayi, facts not adequately acknowledged in the dissertations. Apart from my own work, Saule and A.C. Jordan (1973) are the only scholars to treat Xhosa literature in newspapers.
- 31 This variability in Mqhayi's spelling is present, even though he was intimately involved in the orthographical revisions. The Central Orthography Committee under Clement Doke formed sub-committees for each language in 1928. Mqhayi served under W.G. Bennie on the Xhosa sub-committee, whose proposals were accepted by the Central Committee in 1930. These proposals were published, and responses solicited; Mqhayi served on the sub-committee appointed to consider the responses. A permissive period was admitted, before the Department of Education made the new orthographies compulsory as from 1937.
- 32 For example, Joseph Scotch Coko wrote to Amy Ayliff Goss in 1960: "I remember once doing some typing for Rev. Dowsley on the recommendation of Mr Bennie. The translation was from the Poet Mqayi in Xhosa. Mr Bennie found some words beyond him and [I] helped where I could but others were new words to me also. We had to substitute those words" (Coko, 9). The reference is to Mqhayi's translation of W.G. Dowsley's textbook on agriculture, published as *Ulimo* in 1922.
- 33 On the origin of this nomenclature, see item 28.

## History

Nzulu Lwazi, "Imbali," *Umteteli* (27 August 1927), 5

- 1 Richard Victor Selope Thema (1886–1955) joined the British troops in Pietersburg during the Anglo-Boer War. He studied at Lovedale and qualified as a teacher, and later worked with Johannesburg attorney Richard Msimang, through whom he became



involved in ANC affairs, serving as secretary-general in the 1920s. He contributed to the newspapers *Abantu-Batho* and *Umteteli wa Bantu*, and edited *The Bantu World* from 1932 to 1952: see *NDSAB* 1, 245–47 and Skota, 53.

- 2 Pahl defines *ukubhenqa itshoba*, literally to raise the tail, as to “run about or buck with the tail held high as a result of exuberance or irritation caused by a gadfly” (1989, 404).
- 3 Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870–1950) and James Barry Munnik Hertzog (1866–1942) both fought as Boer generals in the Anglo-Boer War, and both served as Prime Ministers of the Union of South Africa in opposition to each other, Smuts from 1919 to 1924 and again from 1939 to 1948, and Hertzog from 1924–1939.

## 1 The late Peku Mqhayi

S.E.M., “Umfi u Peku Mqayi,” *Izwi* (4 November 1902), 2

- 1 The obituary notice that appeared in the same issue. Clearly Peku died in 1902, and not in 1904, as Mqhayi claims in his autobiography (Mqhayi: 1939, chapter 4).
- 2 This Mqhayi was S.E.K. Mqhayi’s greatgrandfather.
- 3 1834–35. On 12 May 1835, during the war, Hintsá was killed; Mqhayi added a chapter on Hintsá’s death to the second edition of his historical novel *Ityala lamawele* (1914), later excised from the abridged edition. Mqhayi also published a poem appealing for a monument to be erected to Hintsá (Mqhayi: 1937). See Scott: 1976b, 43–45 for John Knox Bokwe’s translation of Mqhayi’s chapter on Hintsá from the third edition of *Ityala lamawele*, and Lalu: 2009 for an assessment of Mqhayi’s writings on Hintsá.
- 4 i.e., Peku’s twin sister Nonca married a Thembu man.
- 5 Ngqika’s Mgwali, on a tributary of the Khubusi river, distinguishes it from the Mgwali on a tributary of the Mbashe, known as Clarkebury.
- 6 James Stewart (1831–1905), second Principal of Lovedale.

## 2 “Nonibe’s Bone”

Imbongi yakwa Gompo, “I Tambo lako Nibe,” *Izwi* (24 September 1907), 1; (1 October 1907), 1

- 1 Hirst notes that “Many Xhosa people regard rivers with a mixture of fear and supernatural awe” (1997, 225). Rivers strongly invest Mqhayi’s imagination.
- 2 The sons of the Xhiba House could not rule, but served in a significant advisory capacity to the chief; the Great Place was the royal residence of the chief; Mlawu was Ngqika’s father. On Ngqika, see especially items 9, 27 and 45, and Peires: 1979.
- 3 The lines of this poem all refer to whites, who are depicted as duplicitous, who are quick to grab the best for themselves, and who were initially placed under Nonibe’s care. Theal

offers this comment on *Omasiza mbulala*, "The people who rescue and kill": "This saying is applied to Europeans. It first arose from the heavy demands made by Lord Charles Somerset upon the Gaikas in return for English protection, but the Kaffirs maintain that we have acted up to the description ever since. It is sometimes put in this form, The people who protect with one hand and kill with the other" (Theal: 1886, 198-99). Phyllis Ntantala offers this comment on the second and third lines: after his defeat in the Battle of Amalinde, "Ngqika invited the British to come and help him crush his uncle Ndlambe. This gave the British an excuse to involve themselves in the affairs of the Xhosa under the pretext of helping Ngqika. For having involved the British in Xhosa affairs, Ngqika is known as the first African quisling. Too late was Ngqika to realise what he had done when the British, no longer needing him, threw him out, an empty shard. It was then that he came to call the British '*OoQhina ka Qhonono, mayizal' imaz' enkomo, size kudl' isigqokro*' (Those who will tie up fast the pregnant cow, so that when it calves, they, and they alone, will have the milk curds)" (Ntantala, 63).

- 4 1846-47. The spark that ignited existing tensions was the theft of an axe by Tsili, also known as Kleintjie: see item 50.
- 5 Charles Holliday (1804-88), for many years mayor of Fort Beaufort, owner of Holliday House, now Emgwenyeni Flats in Fort Beaufort, from which Tsili stole the axe (information from Fort Beaufort Museum).
- 6 i.e. Queen Victoria.
- 7 When he opposed a patrol attempting to confiscate livestock, Tyhali's brother Xhoxho received a slight bullet wound to the head, an incident that fuelled tensions leading to Hintsas's War of 1834-35. Xhoxho fought in the War of the Axe and Mlanjeni's War (participating in the Boma Pass attack: see item 37). After the cattle-killing he was imprisoned for horse theft, escaped, was recaptured and imprisoned on Robben Island with Maqoma. He was released in 1869, and fought and died in Ngcayechibi's War (1877-78): see *DSAB* V, 901 and, for an unsympathetic account of his career, Brownlee: 1916, 302-8. Mqhayi probably characterises him as cruel for his vicious mistreatment of his councillor Bashe.
- 8 Xayimpi might be the headman who led the successful Xhosa attack on Auckland on Christmas Day 1850 (Milton: 1983, 188-89).
- 9 Nomenti was the married name of Qashani, daughter of Bedle, who married Ziwani, Mqhayi's father; her father-in-law was Mqhayi's grandfather Krune.
- 10 Ntsikana, the revered Xhosa prophet, died in May 1821 and was buried at Twatwa: see Bokwe: 1914 and item 19.

- 11 Mqhayi's earliest literary pseudonym, *Imbongi yakwaGompo*. Gompo is Cove Rock, near East London.
- 12 Nonqane is an alternative name for the Gcaleka king Sigcawu, who died in 1902. Why he might be appealed to here is uncertain.
- 13 The Tyhume flows through Alice, the location of the University of Fort Hare, with Lovedale nearby.
- 14 Lwaganda, Stamps in Fighting, is Ngqika's praise name.
- 15 William Govan (1804–75), first Principal of the Lovedale Institution from 1841 to 1870. When Govan arrived in January, the buildings were not yet completed: the Institution opened on 21 July 1841 (Shepherd: 1971, 13). It stood on the site of an earlier mission station established in 1838 under John Bennie. For an account of Govan's principalship, see Shepherd: 1971, 16–32; for an obituary, see "The Rev. Wm. Govan," *The Christian Express* (1 May 1876), 4.
- 16 William Buchanan Chalmers (1833–1910) arrived at Tyhume in December 1827 as an agent of the GMS; he worked at Lovedale and Burnshill, and took charge of Tyhume after his ordination in 1834 (*DSAB III*, 138–39). James Read (1777–1852) joined Van der Kemp at Graaff-Reinet in 1800, moved to Bethelsdorp in 1802, founded the Kuruman mission in 1817, and after 1829 lived for much of the rest of his life at the Kat River settlement (Sibree: 1923, 4). Johannes Theodorus Van der Kemp (1747–1811) studied medicine before sailing for South Africa in 1798. From September 1799 to December 1800 he lived in Ngqika's territory as the first missionary to the Xhosa, then withdrew to found Bethelsdorp in 1802: see Enklaar.
- 17 The first person pronoun is not to be taken literally here: it is not Govan speaking, but the early missionaries in general, who are all "the same messenger." The mission station at Ncerha founded by John Ross and John Bennie of the GMS in 1824, "Old Lovedale," was destroyed during Hintsa's War ten years later. Nduluka assisted these missionaries, and moved with Bennie to the new Lovedale site (see item 17).
- 18 The second Lovedale was established by John Bennie on the west bank of the Tyhume just north of the Gaga stream in 1838.
- 19 Brief identifications of place names will be found in the index of place names at the end of this book.
- 20 The curdled, sour milk that is a particular Xhosa delicacy. It bears a sacral connotation, since fermented sour milk was the original libation to the ancestors before the Mfengu introduced the Xhosa to fermented sorghum beer (Manton Hirst, personal communication).
- 21 A river that flowed from the Garden of Eden: *Genesis 2:11*.

### 3 The late Antyi Kota

Gompo, "Umfikazi u Antyi Kota," *Izwi* (19 November 1907), 3

- 1 Antyi Kota was Nzanzana's eldest daughter; Nzanzana (1825–91) was a son of Mqhayi, the author's greatgrandfather.
- 2 The name means Mother of Mothers.
- 3 The Great Place is the royal residence. Ngconde is an ancestral Xhosa king.
- 4 Xhosa ancestral kings.

### 4 The late Captain Veldtman

Sam. E. Mqayi, "Umfi Captain Veldtman," *Imvo* (23 August 1910), 3

- 1 Veldtman Bikitsha was a prominent Mfengu leader who supported the whites in the last three frontier wars, earning his commission as Captain in 1877 during Ngcayechibi's War: see Kawa, 110–12. The title *Umshumayeli wamzuzu* suggests that Veldtman held the authority of a leader for a limited time only; if he preached anything, he preached collaboration with the whites, a strategy Mqhayi clearly disapproved of. The sub-title supports this reading: although he acted as such, Veldtman was never a chief, and even that illegitimate authority was limited in time. I am indebted to Jeff Peires for this interpretation and for alerting me to the poem's ironies.
- 2 Charles Pamla (1834–1917), one of the first students at Healdtown, became a Methodist minister in 1871 (see Millard, 61–63); or perhaps George Pamla is referred to, a graduate of Healdtown who taught in the Queenstown and Mount Frere districts before becoming a head teacher in Butterworth in 1881 (Odendaal: 1983, 83–84). For Mqhayi's obituary of Patrick Xabanisa, see Mqhayi: 1938. Enoch Mamba was appointed headman of the Lota location in 1893, became a prominent leader of the Vigilance Association, *Iliso lomzi ontsundu*, and was an active member of the SANC and SANNC: see *NDSAB* 2, 88–90 and Bundy. Joel Madubela, a member of the Transkeian Teachers' Association in the 1880s, who started the Butterworth (later Transkei) Mutual Improvement Association in 1884, was active in politics in the Transkei (Odendaal: 1983, 82–83).
- 3 Theodore Ndwandwa was Bikitsha's "son-in-law, interpreter and right-hand man" (Odendaal: 1983, 82).
- 4 On 14 May each year the Mfengu gathered at the Milkwood Tree near Peddie to renew the vows of loyalty they made to the British Government in 1835.
- 5 Kropf: 1915, 502 defines *eMbo* as "in the North-east; Fingoland," glossing *abaMbo* as "The Natives of the districts eastwards of the Umtata. The Fingos, as coming from those parts, are commonly called by this name." Refugees from the unrest among the

Zulu-speaking peoples to the northeast of the Xhosa-speaking peoples, *abaMbo*, fled southwards and settled among the Xhosa, where they collectively acquired the name of *amaMfengu*, destitutes (Kropf: 1915, 235), anglicised to Fingos. The Mfengu generally supported the whites in the frontier wars against the Xhosa; for this and other reasons there was considerable tension between Xhosa and Mfengu. The rooster's crow, for example, was rendered in Xhosa as *Gxoth' amaMfengu*, drive out the Mfengu (Kropf: 1915, 197).

- 6 Fat in the literal sense, with a suggestion too of riches and wealth. If Veldtman lacks cattle of his own, his gains are ill-gotten. This is one of many criticisms in this poem undercutting the superficial praise, rendering the praise ironical.
- 7 Rectangular houses on the European model were a mark of progress, more "civilised" than the circular wattle and daub Xhosa huts with conical thatched roofs.
- 8 According to Kropf, *ukujakuja* is "To dance as boys do, throwing the upper part of their bodies into contortions, while moving forward on their buttocks." The sense of the stanza is that the Mfengu will profit from Veldtman's collaborative policies, with the Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo relatively ignored.
- 9 The Gcaleka king Hintsá granted land to the refugee Mfengu. John Ayliff (1797–1862) was a Methodist missionary at Butterworth in Hintsá's territory, who led the Mfengu from Gcalekaland to the Peddie district after Hintsá's War in May 1835. After Mlanjeni's War, in 1853, Ayliff founded Healdtown Institution on the site of Birklands (established by Henry Calderwood of the LMS in 1844). For Ayliff's own account of the Mfengu exodus, which he saw as the deliverance of the Mfengu from bondage, see Ayliff and Whiteside, 27–34; for an alternative view from Xhosa oral tradition, which sees Ayliff as "a missionary who caused a division to develop between the Mfengu and the Xhosa," see the testimony of the Gcaleka chief Ndumiso Bhotomane of Zingqayi in 1967 (Scheub: 1996, 31–47). In these four lines Mqhayi is speaking as an Mfengu.
- 10 The translation of the second and third lines of this stanza is based on the assumption that Mqhayi has transposed some of the consonants (principally, substituting a *y* sound for an *l*) to mimic a speech defect (as he does to imitate N.C. Mhala's lisp in item 16). If so, the original lines might have read *Hamba mafanelwe kukuhlal' esitulweni, /Nyan' ongazang' apum' epungulelweni*. Why these two lines have been so affected is not clear; perhaps the lisping speech is another strategy to undermine the surface praise.

## 5 The late Mrs Naniwe Wauchope

S.E. Mqayi, "Umfikazi U Mrs. Naniwe Wauchope," *Imvo* (28 March 1911), 3

- 1 Clearly an error for "the daughter-in-law of Dyobha the son of Citashe." Naniwe was married to Isaac Williams Wauchope (1852–1917), the son of Dyobha, the son of Citashe, a prominent member of the African elite in the Eastern Cape and Congregational minister in Fort Beaufort, who died heroically on the *SS Mendi*: see Wauchope: 2008; *NDSAB* 2, 237–39; and item 55.
- 2 A reference to the conviction and imprisonment of her husband, who was found guilty of fraud and sentenced to three years' hard labour in Tokai Convict Prison in 1910. He was still in prison when his wife died.
- 3 Stewart records that "Ntame Lukalo from Toleni, Free Church Station, Transkei, went to school at Uitenhage previous to entering as a pupil at Lovedale in July 1868. She first attended the Classes, and then joined the Industrial Department in which she remained till 1873. She made good progress, and for several years was head-servant in the Boarding Establishment here. ... She has taught in the Native School at Uitenhage, and is now, 1886, teaching at Port Elizabeth" (Stewart: 1887, 438).
- 4 Thomas Jones Paterson of the LMS (1814–99) taught at Graaff-Reinet, moved to Bethelsdorp in 1845 and was ordained in 1847. He then moved to Uitenhage, where he served until his retirement in 1882: Sibree: 1923, 60.
- 5 The son of Christian parents, Paul Xiniwe (1857–1910) left school to work as a telegraph lineman in Graaff-Reinet, then returned to Lovedale to qualify as a teacher. He took charge of a school in Port Elizabeth for four years, and worked in King Williams Town before playing a leading role in the African Choir (Charlotte Maxeke, Isaac Wauchope's Uitenhage pupil, was another member of the choir), which toured England from 1891–93. In 1894 he opened the Temperance Hotel in Market Square, King Williams Town, the first hotel for Africans in the Eastern Cape. Xiniwe was a member of the earliest black political organisations, the Native Education Association, Imbumba Yamanyama and the South African Native Congress, and served as sports editor of *Izwi*: see Erlmann; Masilela; and Odendaal: 2003.
- 6 The youth section of the temperance organisation, the Independent Order of True Templars.
- 7 On Walter Benson Rubusana, see items 48 and 58.
- 8 Both Naniwe and Isaac Wauchope campaigned on behalf of the Inter-State Native College Scheme, which led to the foundation of the University of Fort Hare in 1916.
- 9 Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba (1850–1911) studied at Lovedale, was ordained and served the Lovedale Congregation from 1875–98. In 1898 he broke from the Free Church

of Scotland to form the Presbyterian Church of Africa: see *NDSAB* 2, 153–54; Skota, 72–74; and Millard, 52–54; see also the biography of Mzimba written by his son in 1923 and Elijah Makiwane's obituary notice in *The Christian Express* (August 1911), reprinted in Wilson and Perrot, 177–80. On Daniel Malgas, see item 57. Sigonyela Kakaza is one of four individuals whose deaths are commemorated in Mqhayi's poem "Ukufa" (Death) included in *Inzuzo* (1942), 30–33.

- 10 *Isikwili* is a "sharp-pointed wooden stick, shaped like an assegai, used by boys" (Kropf: 1915, 209).
- 11 Members of Wauchope's Cethe clan.
- 12 Wauchope's children.

## 6 Bombo

S.E.R.M., "U Bombo," *Imvo* (22 August 1911), 3

- 1 Birt (1810–92), an LMS missionary, came out from England with Henry Calderwood in 1838, and worked at Mxhelo with Bhotomane's people before establishing Peelton in 1848.
- 2 The Dange were one of the earliest Xhosa groups to settle west of the Kei. Mdange son of Ngconde fought with his brother Tshiwo's son Gwali. The Gwali and the Ntinde crossed the Kei, later followed by the Dange, leaving Gwali's younger but senior brother Phalo as king of the Xhosa east of the Kei. Mqhayi's ancestor Sheshegu (after whom Sheshegu was named) became a Dange when he moved from Thembu to Xhosa territory.
- 3 The last frontier war (1877–78) was precipitated by a clash between Gcaleka and Mfengu guests at a wedding feast held by Ngcayechibi near Butterworth on 3 August 1877 (Hummel: 1989, 8).

## 7 Nongqawuse

S.E. Rune Mqayi, "U Nongqause," *Imvo* (30 January 1912), 3

Submitted from East London

- 1 In 1856 the teenage Nongqawuse, Mhlakaza's niece, announced that she had been visited by the ancestors, who instructed the Xhosa to destroy their cattle and grain in preparation for the resurrection of the ancestors and the conquest of the white settlers. Some, the *amaThamba*, the Believers, followed the instructions, others, the *amaGogotya*, the Unbelievers, did not. The prophecy failed, and thousands of people and cattle died: see Peires: 1989.

- 2 On Veldtman Bikitsha, the Mfengu leader, see item 4. Mqhayi probably refers to the practice of Xhosa chiefs taking Mfengu wives after the Mfengu settled in Xhosa territory.
- 3 The high priest Hilkiyah, ordered by King Josiah to make an account of the temple's money, discovered the book of the law, which he sent to the king, who then initiated a purge of places of worship (II Kings, 22–23). Moses and Hilkiyah both wrought radical social transformations by introducing and reintroducing the law. Mqhayi praises Nongqawuse by association: she did not flee like Jonah; like Moses and Hilkiyah, she accepted her duty in transmitting what was delivered to her, and transformed her society.
- 4 Kropf defines *iqobokazana* as a dispatch-carrier, and refers to the saying *amaqobokazan' angalal' emzini alahlekile*, "girls who do not sleep at a village (i.e. those who sleep on the way) get lost. This phrase is used to thank girls for going [on] a message or bringing wood quickly" (356). After her vision, Nongqawuse "did not rest at a strange home" on her return, she came straight back with the news.
- 5 Nongqawuse is buried at Alexandria in the Eastern Cape, near the Sundays river.
- 6 *UmNikandiba* is *Clausena anisata*, "a shrub or tree whose leaves have a foetid odour; steaming with the leaves is said to cure colds, fevers and influenza; babies are fumigated with the smoke from the leaves" (Mini, Tshabe, et al: 2003, 829).
- 7 Kropf defines *isidlubu* as "Brownish mark of burning on the stomach, got from sitting too much over the fire" (83), and *imbhala* as "Spots, blotches, or marks on the shin-bone of old people from sitting over the fire too much" (20).
- 8 The translation of this line is conjectural, since the meaning of *izishampa* is unknown.
- 9 Kropf defines *intsenge* as "The root of *um-Senge* [the cabbagewood tree], eaten in times of scarcity" (384), and *iqhobo* as "a root dug up and eaten in time of hunger" (356).
- 10 Broadbreast, *uSifubasibanzi*, is one of Ntsikana's names for Christ: see Hodgson: 1982. In one of his visions, Ntsikana, son of Gabha, left a dance and washed his red ochre off in the Gqorha river near Peddie (Hodgson: 1980, 9).

## 8 Ndlambe

S.E. Mqayi, "U Ndlambe," *Imvo* (7 May 1912), 1  
Submitted from East London dated 25 April 1912

- 1 Mqhayi's expression conveys the belief that people, sacrally, *are* their kings. Collectively, they bear their kings' names (the *amaNgqika* recognise *uNgqika* – or any of his descendants – as their king) and may be addressed by their kings' names. Mdushane and Mqhayi (no relative of the author) were sons of Ndlambe.



- 2 People were attracted to live in the territory of a popular chief. According to a saying, *Inkosi yinkosi ngabantu*, A chief is a chief by virtue of people. The Thethe are Gcaleka chiefs.
- 3 Gxuluwe son of Gcakana, who crossed the Kei with Rharhabe, was surprised by a party of San (Bushmen) while hunting in the Amathole mountains. He stayed his immediate execution by insisting he was not a supporter of Rharhabe but of Ndlambe, ultimately killing his captors (see Tiyo Soga: 1862 and Theal: 1886, 204–6). Soga's account was reprinted in W.G. Bennie: 1935: 32–36; for J.J.R. Jolobe's translation, see Williams: 1983, 160–63). Rharhabe was a scourge of the San: see item 28.
- 4 Nxele, also known as Makana or Makhanda, respected as a prophet, commanded much influence among the Ndlambe. Nxele preached confrontation with the whites, Ntsikana, who joined Ngqika, preached accommodation.
- 5 i.e., Ngqika, his nephew. On the tension between Ndlambe and Ngqika, see Hirst: 1992.
- 6 "School" and "red" refer to those Xhosa who attended missionary schools and followed European ways, and those who continued to live in accordance with Xhosa custom, which included using red ochre as a cosmetic.
- 7 Since the poems produced by the Xhosa court poet (*imbongi*) are improvised in performance, poets are inclined to be freer in praise – and criticism – of their chiefs than they might otherwise be: see Opland: 1983 and 1998.
- 8 *Ndabanduna*, Newsworthy Prince, is one of Ndlambe's praise names, *Gabulukhula*, Weedclearer, is another. These names and praises occur in Ndlambe's *izibongo* in Bennie: 1935, 17; for a translation, see Kuse: 1979, 209.
- 9 Qamata is the supreme being of the Xhosa (see Hodgson: 1982).
- 10 Ndlambe's father Rharhabe was killed at the Xuka river in a battle from which Ndlambe turned back: see item 28.
- 11 Cihoshe was the lowest ford across the Fish river. Mqhayi says that Ndlambe was free to move west across the Fish because there were at the time no whites there yet to restrict his movements by demanding a pass.
- 12 Bethelsdorp is the mission station near Port Elizabeth established by J.T. van der Kemp in 1802 after he withdrew from Xhosa territory.
- 13 These two lines are found in Ndlambe's praises: Ndlambe was deaf to the warning about his ward Ngqika, who turned on Ndlambe.

## 9 Ngqika

S.E. Mqayi, "U Ngqika," *Imvo* (25 June 1912), 1, 4; (9 July 1912), 1

- 1 In other words, the woman who was to become Mlawu's wife in the Great House, whose son would succeed as king.
- 2 "Among some Bantu tribes ... there exists the custom of *u-ngeno*, that is, raising up seed to the deceased head of a family, by his brothers cohabiting with his widows" (Soga: 1931, 57).
- 3 See item 28.
- 4 After Rharhabe crossed the Kei, his brother Gcaleka, senior in status, remained king of the Xhosa people: the Rharhabe continued to acknowledge the Gcaleka as senior. Hence the Great Place referred to here is the Gcaleka Great Place, where Khawuta ruled.
- 5 Khawuta invests Ngqika with the royal *isidanga sobuhlalu*. The *isidanga* according to Kropf, is "an ornament of many strings of beads worn on the neck or across the upper part of the body" (72); this ornament is normally made of *ubuhlalu*, the "generic term for beads, especially red ones which are considered the finest beads; hence a necklace composed of large reddish beads worn by principal chiefs as a sign of royalty" (Kropf, 152), but Mqhayi specifically adds the fact that the necklace was gold. It is possible that this royal *isidanga* did contain gold: a man called Bhayi, an escaped captive from further up the eastern seaboard, possibly of Arabic extraction, was said to be working gold among the Mpondo in the 18th century (Crampton, 97, citing Holt: 1972, 25). Later, in 1827, the Moravian missionary Hans Peter Hallbeck handed the Thembu chief Bawana "for his own use and that of his son, two large gold-plated breastplates decorated with the name and coat of arms of the King of England" (Van Calker in Baudert and Keegan, 7-8); the currency of such objects is unclear. On the *ubuhlalu* and Ngqika's investiture, see J.H. Soga: 1931, 31-32.
- 6 These distinctive headdresses were worn by veterans tried in battle.
- 7 The cup-shaped depressions (*amalinde*) that give the battlefield its name.
- 8 See item 2 for an explanation of this derogatory term for whites.
- 9 Van der Kemp's Xhosa name was Nyhengana.
- 10 Ntsikana is revered as a prophet, a harbinger of Christianity, among the Xhosa, who remember his sayings and the hymns he taught his followers: see Bokwe: 1914; Hodgson: 1980; Booi; and item 19.
- 11 Presumably by Van der Kemp, who worked in Ngqika's territory.
- 12 i.e., to the Gcaleka.
- 13 This Mqhayi is the author's greatgrandfather. Mqhayi tells this story often: see item 16 and Mqhayi: 1939, chapter 3. The Jingqi were the people of Maqoma, Ngqika's son.

- 14 i.e., Ngqika enjoyed the recitation of praise poems in his honour. On the Xhosa tradition of praise poetry, see Opland: 1983 and 1998.
- 15 On the Ngqakayi river, later to become Victoria East.
- 16 On Maqoma (1798–1873), see item 12 and Stapleton.
- 17 See item 2 on Nonibe; on Tyhali (c1800–42), see *DSAB* II, 755–57.
- 18 On Sandile (1820–78), see *DSAB* II, 614–16 and Meintjies. For anonymous contemporary accounts of his death and burial, see “Ukufa kuka Sandile” and “Ukungwatywa kuka Sandile,” *Isigidimi* (1 July 1878), 2–3.
- 19 Sandile was shot on 29 May 1878 and died a few days later. He was buried in the Isidenge forest on 9 June. For a description of his death and burial, see Milton, 278–79.
- 20 *Sinika*, an interjection meaning “Tell us what you have seen! (said by the *impi* [army] to the sentinels or guards)” (Kropf, 392).
- 21 Two of the praises of Ngqika from his unflattering poem (Rubusana, 245–46), referring to Ngqika’s intimacy with white authorities like Lord Charles Somerset: see item 32.
- 22 Ngqika’s salutation name, meaning Stamps While Fighting.
- 23 The translation assumes this name is equivalent to Nyawontle, Lovely Foot, which Kropf glosses as “A respectable or welcome person; one who brings good tidings; a minister of the gospel” (304). It might refer ironically to Lord Charles Somerset, to whom Ngqika appealed after the Battle of Amalinde.
- 24 The sons of Tiyo Soga, who married a white woman.
- 25 William Koyi (c1846–86), Mapasa Ntintili (c1848–97) and Isaac Williams Wauchope (1852–1917), three of the four Lovedale students who accompanied James Stewart to Nyasaland in 1876: see Thompson. Koyi died and was buried in Malawi (see “William Koyi” in *The South African Outlook* (October 1925), reprinted in Wilson and Perrot, 173–75); Ntintili returned to South Africa in 1880 and died at Shixeni; Wauchope returned in December 1876 and ultimately died on the *Mendi* (see item 55).
- 26 John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921), founding editor of *Imvo* (see item 15) and James Mata Dwane (1848–1916), who left the Methodist Church to join Mokone’s Ethiopian Church in 1896 and in 1900 formed the Order of Ethiopia under the Anglican Church. Kondile and Gonya are respectively Nathaniel Cyril Mhala (c1843–1920) of the Ndlambe (see item 16) and Edmund Gonya, son of Sandile of the Rharhabe, who was imprisoned for participating in Ngcayechibi’s War, and died in 1910 (see Hodgson: 1987, 146–52 and Wayeko: 1910).
- 27 Walter Benson Rubusana, Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba and Candlish (or perhaps Ebenezer) Koti. Robert Ndevu Mashaba (c1861–1935), a Mozambican who studied at Lovedale, worked as a Methodist minister in South Africa and was imprisoned on the

Cape Verde Islands on a charge of supporting a revolt in Mozambique (Skota, 58–60; and Millard, 33–35). James Anta served as a Methodist missionary to the Shona in Zimbabwe from 1892 until his assassination in 1896 (see Whiteside, 470; and [http://www.bulawayo1872.com/history/anta\\_james.htm](http://www.bulawayo1872.com/history/anta_james.htm)).

## 10 The late William Wilkin Mjokozeli

S.E. Mqayi, "Umfi u William Wilkin Mjokozeli," *Imvo* (19 November 1912), 6

- 1 The translation of the unknown *isimenu* is conjectural.
- 2 Qilo was a rainmaker to Ngqika and Sandile. Sandile appealed to him to end a drought. Qilo instructed ten virgins to sing and dance across the stricken land. When one of them fell pregnant, Sandile had Qilo thrown over a waterfall, but the girl rescued him. He sought Ngangelizwe's protection and, in response to the Thembu king's request, produced rain. He was subsequently imprisoned in an asylum in Queenstown, where he died. This account is drawn from an article by M.M.B. (Mary), "Qilo: a great rainmaker," *Alice Times* (30 November 1930). gives 1863 as the date of Qilo's drought, Mqhayi here gives the date as 1865 and in item 14 as 1862; Rubusana, 511 confirms this latter date, as does Jeff Peires in a personal communication. W.G. Bennie edited 's article, it was translated into Xhosa by Mqhayi and published without attribution in *SXR V*, 21–26 as "Ilanga lika Qilo" (see Cory Library PR 1175 for 's article, and PR 1457 for the article with Bennie's excisions).
- 3 Gaika Cricket Club. Nathaniel Cyril Mhala and W.B. Rubusana were both involved in the sport: see Odendaal: 2003.
- 4 On Bhungane, the Hlubi king, see item 22.
- 5 i.e., Mjokozeli of the Rhadebe clan.

## 11 At Centane

S.E. Mqayi, "Kwa Centane," *Imvo* (4 August 1914), 1

- 1 John Gordon Sprigg (1830–1913), four times Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1878–81, 1886–90, 1896–98 and 1900–4: *DSAB II*, 698–700.
- 2 Nzanzana was the son of Mqhayi and half-brother to Krune, the author's grandfather.
- 3 The traditional opening of a court case: see Soga: 1931, 41–42. Mqhayi used this legal interchange at the start of his novel *Ityala lamawele* (The court case of the twins, 1914) and in *Idini* (The rite of sacrifice, 1928).
- 4 Ngqika's younger half-brother Ntimbo, Mlawu's son in the Right Hand House, died childless, so Ngqika's son Anta was placed in Ntimbo's house, named the Gwelane after Ntimbo's ox: see Rubusana, 306.

- 5 The United Transkeian Territories General Council, established in 1895.
- 6 *Ukuyeyezela* is to sing and clap and drum for the initiates' dance, *ukutshila*.
- 7 Ntsikana taught his disciples to be wary of money, the button without holes, *iqhoshha elingenamngxuma*.
- 8 On Auld, see item 49.
- 9 i.e., he's the man involved in the annual Ntsikana commemorations.
- 10 Tyam might be George Tyamzashe. T.B.S. is Tiyo Burnside Soga, son of Zaze, son of Soga; W.D.S. is probably his brother William Dilizintaba.
- 11 This was Mqhayi's second wife, Amy Cukudu (see Mqhayi: 1939, 78).

## 12 Maqoma

S.E. Rune Mqayi, *Ityala Lama-Welc*, 3rd edition (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1917)

The text used here is that of the fifth edition of *Ityala lamawelc* (1922), the earliest located (apart from the first), in which it appears as chapter 24 on pages 81 to 93. Dots on vowels indicating aspiration have been transcribed here as acute accents.

- 1 On Maqoma (1798–1873), see Stapleton.
- 2 A prince would generally marry his first wife shortly after initiation.
- 3 Khama son of Chungwa was the first Xhosa chief to convert to Christianity (Holden: 1879). After 1842 he broke with his brother Phato and moved his followers away from the Peddie district (Peires: 1981, 131–32). His father Chungwa was callously murdered by a Boer patrol in 1812: see Maclennan, 112.
- 4 Ngqakayi is in the Alice district. After the Battle of Amalinde and the attack on Grahamstown, Lord Charles Somerset met Ngqika and other principal chiefs on 15 October 1819 and declared the land between the Fish and the Keiskamma to be Ceded Territory; all the Xhosa were to withdraw beyond the Keiskamma. Ngqika "recognized with considerable shock the price that he had to pay for his collaboration with the British. ... Ngqika's shock was the greater for the fact that his own Great Place, his beloved Tyumie valley in which he had spent practically all his life, was included in the extensive expropriation of territory that he considered to be his own domain" (Mostert, 506–7).
- 5 i.e., the whites, with whom Ngqika collaborated.
- 6 Tyhali was Ngqika's son with his wife Nonibe in the Xhiba House. Anta was Ngqika's son, who was placed in his half-brother Ntimbo's house after his death. Sandile was Ngqika's son and heir with his wife Suthu in the Great House (see items 11 and 27).

- 7 A number of the early missionaries (Brownlee initially, Williams, Thomson and Calderwood, for example) served more or less uncomfortably as government agents, which undermined Xhosa trust in them.
- 8 On this expulsion and the events leading up to it, see Mostert, 618–21 and Stapleton, 57–58. The Moravian missionary Ernst van Calker names Bawana's opponent as Mtyelela, a Geina chief (Baudert and Keegan, 5); Stapleton calls him Galela; Cingo gives his name as Xamela or Xamba (1927: 20 and 58). Stapleton gives quite a different account of Maqoma's attack on the Thembu, as do other scholars: see Stapleton's note 96 (232–33) for a summary of the academic positions. After the expulsion of Maqoma's people, Khoi were moved in to form the Kat River Settlement.
- 9 Henry Somerset (1794–1862), eldest son of the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, arrived at the Cape in 1818 and later commanded the British military forces on the frontier. On this occasion he embarked on a large-scale burning of Xhosa huts to drive Maqoma and his people out of their Kat river territory, which evoked strong missionary criticism from, among others, John Ross (1799–1878) of the GMS, who was stationed at Balfour, a mile from Maqoma's Great Place, and John Philip (1777–1851), Superintendent of the LMS in South Africa. On Henry Somerset, see Rivett-Carnac. Somerset's father, Lord Charles Somerset (1767–1831), was British Governor of the Cape Colony from 1814 to 1826; he travelled to meet Xhosa chiefs on the frontier in 1817 and 1819, and insisted on recognising Ngqika as paramount: *DSAB* II, 685–691 and item 32.
- 10 James Read (1777–1852) of the LMS established Bethelsdorp with Dr Van der Kemp in 1802; he ministered to the Khoi of the Kat River Settlement at Philipton after 1829 (*DSAB* I, 666–68).
- 11 Nojoli was the wife of Rharhabe and mother of Mlawu, Maqoma's grandfather. The mountains named after Nojoli overlook Somerset East.
- 12 Sharp Horns, one of Maqoma's praise names. See item 38 for a shortened version of his praise poem; a fuller version can be found in Rubusana, 261.
- 13 Williams: 1859, 204–5.
- 14 The elephant symbolises power, whereas the hartebeest, according to Kropf (466) may be taken figuratively to mean an outlaw, or outcast. Williams's original contrasts an elephant and a deer. Mqhayi follows Williams's story, but rearranges and embellishes the narrative, which concludes: "The decision highly incensed the Englishman, who refused to submit. 'He deserved punishment, not reward,' said he, 'for his insolence.' 'You have not proved that,' said Macomo; 'but had it been so, you should have brought him to me. Why do I sit here, if need be, from sunrise to sunset? It is to decide between man and

man in cases where their anger blinds them, and hinders their judgment. If men use their hands in secret, instead of their tongues before the judge or the old men, whose life would be worth a husk of corn?' The traveller replied that he would not argue the matter with Macomo, 'as he was ignorant of the usages of civilised life, and did not understand the rights of property. I will complain of your conduct,' he added, 'to Major Somerset, the commander of the frontier, who will soon show you the difference between an elephant and a deer.' To this taunt Macomo calmly replied, 'I know that Somerset is stronger than I am. He is an elephant, but neither I nor my father has been called a deer. You say that your people are wiser than ours. You do not show it in appealing from reason to force. When you return to the colony, the landdrost will decide between you; here it can go no further. Give him the ox,' he added; 'it will be better for you.' The ox was given." This rearrangement and embellishment of his source characterises Mqhayi's treatment of Samson: see Opland: 2007.

- 15 Calderwood, 37–42. Henry Calderwood (1808?–1865) of the LMS travelled to the Cape with Richard Birt in 1838. He established a mission station at Blinkwater in 1839, and at Birklands (later Healdtown) in 1845. In 1846 he was appointed Ngqika Commissioner, and in 1848 magistrate in Victoria East (Ritchie: 2004).
- 16 Calderwood clearly identifies the thief as Maqoma's son, which explains Maqoma's initial reluctance to pursue the case.
- 17 Calderwood's speech named the chief's son directly, accusing him of threatening the missionary. Maqoma concurred. Calderwood triumphantly concludes: "His son's power at the place was taken away, and the [mission] station was no more molested" (42).
- 18 Siwani supported the whites in Ngcayechibi's War, at one point successfully attacking his half-brother Siyolo. He was married to Nonibe, the granddaughter of Bessie (Gquma), an English girl shipwrecked off the Mpondoland coast in the 18th century: see Crampton. See further item 35. This Nonibe, the wife of Siwani, must not be confused with Nonibe the wife of Ngqika (on whom see item 2).
- 19 The House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines under the chairmanship of T. Fowell Buxton met from 1835 to 1836.
- 20 The despotic, theatrical Sir Henry (Harry) George Wakelyn Smith (1787–1860), served as quartermaster-general to the Cape Colony from 1828 to 1840, during which time he was involved in Hintsas's War and the death of Hintsas; from 1835 to 1836 he controlled the Province of Queen Adelaide from King Williams Town. He returned to South Africa as Governor at the Cape from 1847 to 1852: *DSAB II*, 673–77.
- 21 On this engagement at the start of the war, see Milton, 158–60, who describes the Xhosa spoils: "Besides uniforms, medical supplies and a selection of fine wines, they

- found themselves possessed of guns from the best London gunsmiths and nothing less than the regimental silver. The latter disappeared into the Amatolas never to grace the regimental mess again" (Milton, 159).
- 22 Oba son of Tyhali (1832–1907) was named Ngonyama (Lion) after his valiant fighting in Mlanjeni's War. Rubusana describes him as highly intelligent (254). For details of his wives and children, see Wauchope: 1907; for an anonymous obituary, see anon (1907).
- 23 A male of any age who had not undergone initiation was considered to be a boy.
- 24 The Xhiba House was one of Ngqika's innovations. Because the Great House was usually established late in a chief's career, his son and heir was often a minor on his death. To provide an outlet for the power of his surviving councillors and those of his father, they were assigned to the Xhiba House, the house of the ancestors or grandfather, which then served in an advisory capacity to the young heir. As the Methodist missionary Henry Dugmore explained in 1846, "At some specified period, the chief of a tribe, who, it is assumed, has a plurality of wives, assembles his relatives, with his principal officers and councillors, to decide as to the investment of two of his wives with the respective dignities of 'the great one' (*omkulu*), and 'the one of the right hand' (*owasekunene*). These two wives rank superior to all the rest. ... An additional element of subdivision was introduced by the chief Gaika (Ngqika), who was an innovator, in several respects, upon the customs of his forefathers. He originated the custom of investing *three* of the chief's sons with distinct authority, instead of *two*, as had previously been the case. The third son thus invested was made the representative of his grandfather [*owasexibeni*], and the families of his grandfather's councillors were attached to him, as standing in the place of their own deceased chief" (Maclean, 11–13). Tyhali was Ngqika's son in the Xhiba House.
- 25 Tyhali's people, named after his grandfather Mlawu's ox, because Tyhali was given responsibility for his grandmother Yese (Rubusana, 253).
- 26 *Isijora soNothonto*, one of Maqoma's praises (see item 38): Nothonto was Maqoma's mother.
- 27 For an account of Namba's heroic rescue of the Knapps Hope missionary Friedrich Kayser during Mlanjeni's War, see Wauchope: 2008, 68–71. For a detailed eyewitness account of Namba's death and burial, see Chalmers: 1862, translated by C.Z. Gebeda in Williams: 1983, 153–60. Williams ascribes this article to Tiyo Soga, but Soga's pseudonym U-Nonjiba Waseluhlangeni appears only at the end of a separate 13-line note at the bottom of the page on which the article concludes; the article is anonymous but is ascribed on stylistic grounds to Chalmers in Bennie: 1935, 87. For George Cory's conversation with Tini on 16 April 1908, see Berning: 1989, 105–7.



- 28 Mlanjeni was an 18-year-old mystic from Mqhayi's Ndlambe who appeared in a time of drought, and whose behaviour and teachings provoked nationalistic fervour among the Xhosa (see Mostert, 999–1001).
- 29 This gathering took place in King Williams Town on 26 October 1847, according to Mostert, who claims that neither Maqoma nor Sandile attended (Mostert, 1002).
- 30 This second meeting was held on 19 December (Milton, 181).
- 31 This was the attack in the Boma (Boomah) Pass on 24 December 1850. The British vanguard was led by George McKinnon and his staff officer Jack Bisset, who was seriously wounded in the engagement (Mostert, 183; for Bisset's account of the engagement, see Bisset, 128–40; see also Hirst: 2007). John Jarvis Bisset (1819–94) was also present at the murder of Hintsá, and at the British defeat at Burnshill during the War of the Axe (*DNB I*, 78–79). On the following day, Christmas 1850, the military villages founded by Sir Harry Smith in the Tyhume valley in 1847–48 were sacked; for an account of the attack on Woburn by Tanco, a participant, see Berning: 1989, 127. The Boma Pass is named for Noboma, a local diviner, who apparently gave advice on where to attack McKinnon's patrol (Manton Hirst: personal communication).
- 32 Sandile met Bisset at his camp in Keiskamma Hoek on 19 October 1847; Sandile was imprisoned in Grahamstown on 25 October (Milton, 170–1). Bisset (124–27) claims that Sandile, "having confidence in me," voluntarily surrendered.
- 33 On the Waterkloof engagement, see item 38.
- 34 On the cattle-killing, see Peires: 1989.
- 35 In September 1857 Maqoma was found guilty of being in the colony without a pass and sentenced to one year's hard labour in Grahamstown. In November he was found guilty of murdering Fusani, a Ndlambe headman (though he had not ordered the killing), and sentenced to death, a sentence commuted to 21 years' imprisonment on Robben Island (Stapleton, 188–90). Released in April 1869, he was arrested in 1871 for pass offences, and returned to Robben Island in December (Stapleton, 204–5).
- 36 Dugmore records that the Xhosa "have no form of oath by which the Supreme Being is called to witness to the truth of their statements. Neither have they any form of cursing. But in accordance with their pride of birth, and veneration for the spirits of the dead, ... they swear (*funga*) by their ancestors. They take also to witness their Chief, or some great deceased Chief of his line, or sometimes their Chief's great wife, (mother of the succeeding son), or their own father's daughter. The form consists in putting forth the right hand, ... and in putting it forth with the fore and middle fingers extended, the thumb and other fingers being kept closed" (Maclean, 168).

- 37 Rubusana gives Kona as Maqoma's son in the Right Hand House, but names the Xhiba House as Ngcweleshe (260).
- 38 Hirst notes that "handclapping (*umyeyezelo*) forms the rhythmical accompaniment to all singing and dancing associated with ancestor cult ritual among Xhosa-speaking people" (1997, 228).
- 39 For an obituary on Maqoma's death on Robben island on 9 September 1873, see "Ukububa kuka Maqoma," *Isigidimi* (1 October 1873), 1.

### 13 The late Jonas Ntisko

Imbongi Ye Sizwe, "Umfi u Jonas Ntisko," *Imvo* (3 December 1918), 1

- 1 Jonas Ntisko contributed numerous letters and articles to *Isigidimi* and *Imvo* between 1875 and 1916, including nearly 50 items of poetry. He often wrote under the pseudonym *Uhadi waseluhlangeni* (The musical bow of the nation). "It seems," writes A.C. Jordan, "that no controversy could be brought to a close in *Isigidimi* until 'Hadi' had made his contribution" (Jordan: 1973, 91–92). Ntisko studied at St Augustine's, Canterbury, and served as a deacon at St John's, Mthatha. By 1899 he had gone blind, and his ministerial licence was withdrawn. He then served as interpreter for the magistrate in Tsolo. See Jordan: 1973, 91–96; on Ntisko's poetic clash with Mqhayi, see Kuse: 1978, 19–27.
- 2 No book by Ntisko has been published.
- 3 Each line of this stanza ends with the root *-hadi*: the poet's literary pseudonym, *Uhadi waseluhlangeni* (the stringed bow – a musical instrument – of the nation), *umhadi* (a deep pit), *ihadi* (the stringed bow) and its extended meaning (a harp, the instrument of angels).

### 14 The late Deena Rubusana

E.S. Mqayi, "Umfikazi u Deena Rubusana," *Imvo* (3 August 1920), 1

- 1 From this genealogy, it is evident that the author and his patron Rubusana were related by marriage.
- 2 Margaret Birt Rubusana died in 1907, following the death in the previous year of two of her siblings. "Maggie was the eldest daughter, her mother's favourite to whom her early death has been a terrible shock. ... The deceased was singularly cheerful, and of a sunny disposition which was well reflected in her pet name 'Beauty': "The late Margaret Birt Rubusana," *Izwi* (8 January 1907).
- 3 This translation of the unknown *intangantwa* is conjectural.

## 15 The late J.T. Jabavu

Imbongi yakwa Gompo Neyesizwe Jikelele, "Umfi u JT Jabavu," *Imvo* (20 September 1921), 3

- 1 John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921), one of the most prominent men of his generation, studied at Healdtown and pursued a controversial public career in journalism and politics. He edited Lovedale's newspaper *Isigidimi samaXosa* from 1881–84, then in 1884 founded his own newspaper in King Williams Town, *Imvo zabantsundu* (Black opinions), the first Xhosa newspaper under independent black editorial control, which lost much credibility through its support for the Boer cause. He campaigned for the Inter-State Native College, which led to the foundation of the University of Fort Hare (DSAB I, 403–4). Jabavu's biography was written by his son: see D.D.T. Jabavu, and also Ngcongco.
- 2 Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu (1885–1959) was the eldest son of John Tengo Jabavu. He studied at Lovedale, at Colwyn Bay in Wales, and at the University of London, travelled in the United States, and returned in 1925 to assume a career at the South African Native College. He was a prolific author of books, pamphlets and newspaper articles, often under the pseudonym UmNgqika. See the biography by Higgs, who is unaware of most of D.D.T. Jabavu's journalism.
- 3 Jabavu served on the committee of the Inter-State Native College from its inception in 1905.
- 4 *Lizalis' idinga lakho*, a very popular hymn composed by Tiyo Soga.
- 5 The calling to enter a pool or a river, *ukuthwetyulwa*, forms part of a diviner's initiatory process, *ukuthwasa*. See Hirst: 1997, 219–20.
- 6 Jabavu married his second wife, Gertrude Joninga, in 1901.
- 7 See Kawa, 116 for an earlier poem Mqhayi wrote about Jabavu on 24 June 1911.

## 16 SoGqumahashe (N.C. Mhala)

S.E. Rune Mqayi: 1921

- 1 A long stick without a knob used in dancing and fighting.
- 2 Kondile and Mbodla are the salutation names, respectively, of Nathaniel Cyril Mhala and his father Mhala (on whom see item 41).
- 3 Mqhayi mimics Mhala's speech impediment by making *ubusho* of *ubuso*; hence, in the translation, *fashe* for *face*.
- 4 In order to avoid using his own name out of respect, in accordance with the practice of *ukuhlonipha*: see Finlayson. SoGqumahashe means Father of Gqumahashe, the hlonipha name of his son.

- 5 Little Calabash.
- 6 Ziwani (1830–1920) was the author's father.
- 7 Ngqika was Mlawu's son in the Great House, Ntimbo was Mlawu's son in the Right Hand House. When Ntimbo died without an heir, Anta was moved into his house, making him in effect Ngqika's brother. Anta's people were known as the Gwelane, after Ntimbo's ox (Rubusana, 306).
- 8 Dukwana left Mgwali, where he had served for 20 years, to join Sandile during Ngcayechibi's war: see Hodgson 1986. He was killed defending his king.
- 9 Commandant (Baron) Wilhelm Carl Ferdinand von Linsingen, leading the Kaffrarian Mounted Volunteers, was killed in an engagement with the Qwathi on 14 November 1880, during hostilities associated with the Sotho Gun War: see W.T. Brownlee: 1975, 77–80 for a description of Von Linsingen's heroic death.
- 10 The Inter-State Native College, later the University of Fort Hare, was opened in February 1916.
- 11 Mothameli is Nathaniel Cyril Mhala.
- 12 These are Ziwani's praises. For further information on Mqhayi's three sons Krune (1800–95), Nzanzana (1825–91) and Peku (1827–1902), as well as on Krune's son Ziwani (1830–1920), see Mqhayi: 1939, chapter 4 (in W.G. Bennie's abbreviated translation, Scott: 1976b, 9–11).
- 13 Legina was the sister of the author, who was thus related by marriage to the Ngqika royal family.
- 14 The second and third lines suggest that Ngqika (the wild beast of the first line) and Mqhayi became as inseparable and mutually dependent as mouthpiece and trumpet, as rope and milkpail.
- 15 Tshatshu travelled to England to give evidence before the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines in June 1836: see item 50.
- 16 Elijah Makiwane (1850–1928) was born in Sheshegu and studied at Healdtown and Lovedale. He taught at Lovedale, and helped to edit *Isigidimi samaXosa*. He was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, and took charge of the Macfarlan mission in 1877: see NDSAB 2, 87–88 and Davis: 1979. Mqhayi wrote a biography of Makiwane, which was submitted to the Lovedale Press in 1932. In 1945, at Mqhayi's death, it was still unpublished; the manuscript is now lost (Opland: 1998, 269).
- 17 Tyala was Sandile's chief councillor: see item 39.
- 18 Mbodla is Mhala, Nathaniel Cyril Mhala's father: see item 41.
- 19 Although Xhosa kings and chiefs took Xhosa wives, they remained junior in status: the wife in the Great House, who usually produced the heir, was generally a member of a

- royal family other than Xhosa. "The royal wife, that is, the mother of the heir, is seldom, if ever, the first to be married, but is usually one of the chief's later wives. ... She must be the daughter of the chief of an important tribe, and as a rule, of another branch of the Bantu race, as consanguinity of blood is avoided" (J.H. Soga: 1931, 48).
- 20 Mgolombane is Sandile's praise name.
- 21 i.e. Nathaniel Cyril Mhala, who was known as both Kondile and Mothameli, and whose *hlonipha* name was SoGqumahashe.
- 22 On Mhala's capture and trial, see Peires: 1989, 232–37.
- 23 According to Chief Ndumiso Bhotomane, Gonya was actually the son of Sandile and Nolenti in a supporting house, who was moved to the Great House when Noposi, Sandile's Great Wife, produced only a daughter (Scheub: 1996, 40–41).
- 24 On Zonnebloem College, and Emma in particular, see Hodgson: 1987.
- 25 On Jonas Ntsiko, who wrote under the pseudonym Uhadi waseluhlangeni, see item 13. The first group of Zonnebloem students to be sent to the Missionary College of St. Augustine arrived in Canterbury in 1861; one died, and the remaining three returned in 1864. Mhala and Ntsiko were members of the second group, which arrived in 1867. Mhala spent 18 months in England, according to his file in the archives of St Augustine's College, Canterbury, returning to South Africa in 1868. Ntsiko returned in 1871. Both were trained as catechists: see Bailey, 75–76, 237.
- 26 *Izwi*, published from November 1897 to April 1909, served as the mouthpiece for the political views of the Xhosa-Thembu faction, in opposition on almost every count to the Mfengu sentiments of Jabavu's *Imvo*: see Switzer and Switzer, 47, and Opland: 1998, 242–44. Mqhayi was closely associated with and contributed to *Izwi*.
- 27 N.C. Mhala's diary was led as evidence in his trial. Covering the period from 1 January to 13 March 1878, just before his arrest, it was edited and published by C.C. Saunders (1979), who claims the diary "captures the inner mental torment of a man of two worlds facing an agonising dilemma, for his kinsmen were in rebellion against the Crown and yet he was a government official, a Christian, a man of peace who by his education belonged to the new class of Africans who believed in working within the colonial system rather than rejecting it" (24).
- 28 Gonya's father was Sandile, who fought and died in Ngcayechibi's War. The forests were places of refuge, from which attacks could be launched in times of war, and where white artillery was less effective than in the open field.
- 29 Kropf defines *intsusa* as "The fine put on a man whose wife has run back to her parents to escape his cruelty, and which must be paid before he can take her back."
- 30 From the expression "a cow who pulls with the oxen".

- 31 Qelekequshu, or Sandile's Kop, overlooks the town of Alice. N.C. Mhala was a member of the committee of the Inter-State Native College Scheme on its formation in 1905, and campaigned for the College, which became the University of Fort Hare: see Wauchope: 2008, 377–82 for an account of a meeting addressed by Mhala in Centane in 1906.
- 32 Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) entered Parliament in 1837, becoming Prime Minister twice as leader of the Conservative Party. William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) was elected to Parliament in 1832, and became Prime Minister four times as leader of the Liberal Party. Disraeli and Gladstone were bitter political opponents, and loathed each other.
- 33 The reds were Xhosa traditionalists, who did not accept Christianity, and who continued to smear their bodies and clothing with red ochre.
- 34 *Intsonyama*, according to Kropf, is "The best part of the meat on the belly behind the shoulder, which is always cut off for the chief."
- 35 Gompo is Cove Rock near East London; the name is an onomatopoeic representation of the thudding of waves into its hollow base.
- 36 On the worship of Qamata, the Xhosa god, see Hodgson: 1982, 75–90.
- 37 The Shield of Truth and The Forest of Truth are praise names for Jesus in Ntsikana's Hymn, the text of which is a praise poem to Jesus. See Hodgson: 1980 on Ntsikana's hymn.
- 38 A leopard's tail was sent as a summons to the Great Place; presumably the talk would have been designed to get God to reverse his decision to summon the chief.
- 39 *Incakuba* is, according to Kropf, a Mfengu term for a small, sharp instrument for letting blood.
- 40 *Intlukuhla* is the fat on the liver of a sacrificial animal, the first thing to appear when the belly is cut open. According to Kropf, it "is used to appease the departed ancestors."

### 17 The late Rev John Knox Bokwe

S.E. Mqayi, "Umfi u Rev. John Knox Bokwe," *Imvo* (7 March 1922), 2; (14 March 1922), 4

- 1 Elisha addresses his father Elijah with these words as he is assumed into heaven in a whirlwind (II Kings 2: 12).
- 2 John Knox Bokwe's praise name uMdengentonga (literally Tall by virtue of his weapons) is applied to "any man of short physical stature who distinguishes himself in some worthy cause—intellectual, military, etc." (Jordan: 1966, 123). Bokwe (1855–1922) studied and worked at Lovedale from 1866 to 1897, then joined J.T. Jabavu as a partner at *Imvo* for three years. Ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1906, he served at Ugie until his retirement in 1920. He was a prominent author, and an outstanding musician

- and composer of hymns: see Olwage: 2006. Mqhayi's biography of Bokwe was published in 1925.
- 3 James Henderson (1867–1930) succeeded James Stewart as the third Principal of Lovedale in 1906: see Shepherd: 1971, 70–95 for an account of his Lovedale career.
  - 4 Bokwe and his first wife Letta produced four children: James Stewart, John Stephen, Evelyn and Agrinette Beatrice.
  - 5 Tshuka was a prominent Lovedale personality for over 50 years from the time of its founding: see Wauchope: 2008, 96–97.
  - 6 John Bennie (1796–1869) of the GMS joined John Brownlee at Tyhume in 1821, and produced the first systematic transcription of Xhosa, an orthography accepted by the other mission societies operating in Xhosa territory in 1830 that stood as standard until its unfortunate revision by Bennie's grandson William Govan Bennie in 1936. With John Ross, Bennie founded Old Lovedale on the Ncerha in 1824, where he was ordained in 1831, established Lovedale after Hintsas's War, moved to Burnshill in 1843 and from 1854 served as a DRC missionary in Middelburg, Cape (see Bennie: 1956, viii–xvi; Godfrey: 1934; and *DSAB I*, 68–69). James Laing (1803–72) was the son of a Scottish shepherd who arrived in Cape Town as a GMS missionary in January 1831 and moved later that year to Burnshill, where he stayed for over 40 years (Shell, 54–87). John Ross (1799–1878) brought with him from Scotland the printing press on which Xhosa was printed for the first time at Tyhume in 1823 (Shepherd: 1955, 26–30). In 1830 he founded the Pirie mission station, where he served until his death. He fathered a prominent family of missionaries (*DSAB I*, 681–83 and Brownlee J. Ross).
  - 7 Noyi son of Gciniswa, son of Pazima, son of Gando, was a disciple of Ntsikana. He was one of the first five converts baptised at Tyhume in 1823, when he was given the name Robert Balfour. Noyi dictated to John Bennie a history of the Xhosa that was partially set in print and would have been the first secular book in Xhosa had it been published (Opland: 2004, 23–25; the full Xhosa text can be found in Opland and Mtuze, 62–66). Noyi's son Makaphela composed an account of Ntsikana's life which, together with Bennie's version of Noyi's Xhosa history, is included in Bokwe: 1914.
  - 8 Charles Lennox Stretch (1797–1882) came to South Africa as a soldier in 1818, and took part in the defence of Grahamstown against the Ndlambe in 1819. He served as a government Land Surveyor in the Eastern Cape from 1823–34 and Resident Agent at Fort Cox and Block Drift after Hintsas's War (*DSAB II*, 721 and Le Cordeur).
  - 9 Stewart records: "John Knox Bokwe, the youngest son of Jacob Bokwe, was born at Ntselamanzi, Lovedale, on the 15th March 1855. He attended the Station School under Msindwana, William Daniel, and William Kobe Ntsikana, and on the 24th July 1866

was admitted into the Preparatory Classes of the Institution. He joined the College Department in 1869, and attended till the end of 1872. In 1870 he commenced work as clerk in the Institution, chiefly in connection with the publishing of the Kaffir Express, which was started in October of that year. In the beginning of 1873 he was fully employed in the Lovedale Office; and, subsequently, was appointed book-keeper and cashier. During an emergency he acquired the art of telegraphy, and has been in charge of the telegraph station at Lovedale since January 1874" (1887: 22).

10 "Lovedale hymns."

11 Jacob Bokwe (i.e. Cholwephi) was a member of Lovedale's first group of 11 Xhosa and 9 white pupils when the Institution opened in 1841 (Shepherd: 1955, 73).

12 Stewart's Xhosa name, Somgxada, means Strider. He arrived at Lovedale in January 1867, and assumed duty as Lovedale's Principal on the fraught resignation of William Govan in July 1870 (Shepherd: 1971, 27-31).

13 Jane Waterston (1843-1932) travelled from England with Dr and Mrs Stewart, ran the girls' school at Lovedale from 1867 to 1873, studied medicine in Ireland and returned to Lovedale as a qualified doctor and missionary of the Free Church of Scotland until 1883. In 1866 Stewart married Williamina Stephen (1848-1928), known as Mina; one of their 8 daughters was Mina Waller (1867-1941), born in Lovedale in August, the Mina referred to here: [http://www.ancestry24.co.za/Downloads/hugh\\_grant.pdf](http://www.ancestry24.co.za/Downloads/hugh_grant.pdf). For Bokwe's own account of his introduction to the Stewarts, see Wells, 101-2. Bokwe was later to serve as Stewart's private secretary for 20 years.

14 Richard Ross, son of John Ross, minister at Lovedale from 1857 to 1868, and at Cunningham in the Transkei from 1868 to 1902. He was a member of the first class of pupils at Lovedale: for his description of the opening of the Institution on 21 July 1841, see Ross: 1891.

15 Bokwe married his second wife, Maria Sophothela, at Mgwali on 12 December 1895: see Wauchope: 2008, 103-11 for a description of the wedding.

### 18 The late Richard Tainton Kawa

Imbongi Ye Sizwe Jikelele, "Umfi U-Richard Tainton Kawa," *Imvo* (28 October 1924), 3

1 Kawa's clan.

2 The Tshawe are members of the Xhosa royal clan.

3 Kawa's *I-Bali lama Mfengu* was edited by D.D.T. Jabavu and printed by the Lovedale Press in 1929.



- 4 Portions of a game animal hunted and killed. The right hindquarter is reserved for the chief. These three lines qualify the young men of the previous line, of whatever status.
- 5 Sour milk, a delicacy.

### 19 Who is this Ntsikana?

S.E. Rune Mqayi: 1926, 5–10

- 1 Ntsikana's sons were Kobe and Dukwana from each of his two wives. On Alexander the son of Dukwana, see item 16. Mqhayi wrote an obituary poem on Kobe's son, William Kobe Ntsikana, a prominent author: S.E. Mqayi, "Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana," *Imvo* (30 June 1914), 1.
- 2 Tabu is an Mpondo name for God: see Hodgson: 1982, 55.
- 3 The Xhosa name for Breakfastvlei, Icibi lentonga, originated in the military campaign against the Ndlambe after Ngqika's defeat at the Battle of Amalinde. Lt-Col Thomas Brereton "shrank from the conduct of Ngqika's men, who showed such savagery towards those of their former conquerors and their women and children who were taken prisoner, that Brereton felt obliged to confiscate their weapons, returning them at Icibi Lentonga – the vlei of the weapons – only as he was heading back into the colony" (Maclennan, 179).
- 4 This item is extracted from the 33-page published version of Mqhayi's address to the annual Ntsikana Commemoration, held in Johannesburg in 1926. In his Preface, he tells us that he was first asked to deliver a speech at the Ntsikana Commemoration in East London in 1918, and subsequently spoke at the annual meetings at Njwaxa, King Williams Town and Alice. The Commemorations started in 1909; for a description of the meeting in Fort Beaufort in 1914, see Wauchope: 2008, 225–28.
- 5 Nxele once urged the Ndlambe to kill their dun-coloured cattle and assemble at Gompo for the resurrection of the ancestors and vast herds of cattle. For a description of the scene, see Wauchope: 2008, 63–64; Wauchope's grandfather Citashe was among those who assembled at Gompo in the vain hope of witnessing the fulfilment of Nxele's prophecy.
- 6 On William Wellington Gqoba (1840–88), son of Peyi and last editor of *Isigidimi*, see *NDSAB* 2, 38–40.
- 7 After Van der Kemp's withdrawal in December 1800, Joseph Williams of the LMS (1780–1818) was the next missionary to serve among the Xhosa, from 1816 until his sudden death in 1818, just north of Fort Beaufort.
- 8 In a letter to John Philip in January 1822, John Brownlee says that Ntsikana "died in May last" (Holt: 1976, 23). That would put Ntsikana's death in May 1821.

- 9 Early missionary accounts of Ntsikana include the anonymous "Imbaliso ka-Ntsikana" printed in *Ikwezi* 3 (February 1845), 39-44 and 4 (December 1845), 45-49, edited and reprinted in Bokwe: 1914, 45-50, and Kropf: 1891b.

## 20 Early schools

- Traffic Manager, "Izikolo Ezidala," *Imvo* (8 February 1927), 4  
cf Nzulu Lwazi, "Izikolo Ezidala," *Umteteli* (11 January 1930), 6 for an extension of this article, mentioning Fort Beaufort, Healdtown and three schools at Alice (Gwali, Ncerha and Lovedale).
- 1 Ngqika's Mgwali, the Mgwali in Ngqika's territory, on a tributary of the Khubusi, distinguishes Tiyo Soga's mission station from the Mgwali on a tributary of the Mbashe near Engcobo, Clarkebury.
  - 2 The Girls' School of the Ladies' Kaffrarian Society moved from Igqibirha to Mgwali in 1861. In 1893 there were over 300 girls in attendance. Slowan: 1894 includes photographs of the Mgwali girls (opposite page 68) and of the school (opposite page 71).
  - 3 i.e. John Ross.
  - 4 Candlish Koti (1868-1936) was born in Cathcart and studied at Blythswood and Lovedale. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Kaffraria in 1895 and worked at Mbulu, Sulenkama, Malan, Tuturha and Mgwali, and after his ordination in 1898 in Mbulu, Incisininde, Swartville in the Zoutpansberg, Pirie and Duff. He edited the Longmans Kaffir Readers (later entitled the Healdtown Xhosa Readers). In 1933 he was installed as Moderator of the Bantu Presbyterian Church (*Umteteli*, 1 October 1938, 5). See further the obituary by his brother Ebenezer P. Koti, "Ngo Mfi Rev. Candlish Koti," *Umlindi we Nyanga* (December 1936), 11.
  - 5 Van der Kemp was initially settled by Ngqika at Pirie in October 1799 before he was moved to Debe in October 1800 (Enklaar, 97, 100).
  - 6 On Gwayi Tyamzashe, see item 47; Skota, 1-2; and Hansen, 4-7.
  - 7 Daniel D. Tywakadi was born at the Pirie Mission. After his ordination as a minister of the Congregational Church in 1904, he moved to Johannesburg (Skota, 66).
  - 8 William Koyi (1846-86) was one of four Lovedale students who travelled to Nyasaland, modern Malawi, in 1876 to assist in establishing a mission (Isaac Williams Wauchope was another: see item 55). Koyi married the second daughter of Andries van Rooyen in 1880 (Thompson, 97).
  - 9 Both these mission stations previously fell under Isaac Wauchope's jurisdiction: see Wauchope: 2008, 28-33.

- 10 i.e., a member of the Xhosa royal family.
- 11 In 1898 Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba (1850–1911) broke away from the United Free Church, which he served as minister of the Lovedale congregation, to form the independent Presbyterian Church of Africa. On his death in 1911 his son Livingstone Ntibane Mzimba succeeded him as leader of this church; his biography of his father was published in 1923.
- 12 Mqhayi's novel *Ityala lamawele* (The court case of the twins) was first published in 1914. A "new and enlarged" sixth edition appeared in 1927, the same year as a history and ethnography of the Mpondo by Paramount Chief Victor Poto Ndamase of the Western Mpondo (1898–1974). Both books were published by the Lovedale Institution Press.

## 21 The late Fred Jonas

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, "Umfi u Fred Jonas," *Imvo* (19 April 1927), 3

- 1 Before this, in 1877, Jonas was one of Nathaniel Cyril Mhala's trusted advisors, as the latter's diary attests: see Saunders: 1979, 31–32. *Izwi labantu* commenced publication in East London in 1897 with funding from Cecil John Rhodes and others as a political counter to *Imvo*; N.C. Mhala served as its first editor, succeeded by A.K. Soga. It ceased publication in 1909.
- 2 Soga is named here by two lines from his praise poem.
- 3 Stewart records: "Frederick Jonas from King William's Town, finished a five years' apprenticeship as Printer here in July 1877. Was reported by the Master Printer as having conducted himself satisfactorily, as a fairly competent type-setter and pressman, and as sober and industrious" (1877, 104).
- 4 Kropf defines *isitsaba* as "A garland or bandage of an ornamented kind (beads) round the head or foot" (420).
- 5 Literally, a person of Butsolobentonga's place. Butsolobentonga, Sharp Weapon, was one of Rharhabe's praise names.
- 6 The Xhosa are in constant contact with their ancestors, whether through dreams, names or sacrifices. During a sacrifice, *idini*, an arm is inserted through an incision in the sacrificial victim's chest cavity, and the aorta is ruptured, causing the bull to bellow. The bellowing is the voice of the ancestors in the sacred kraal, and communication with them then proceeds. Mqhayi published a 21-page booklet entitled *Idini* (1928), in which he describes such a sacrifice and draws parallels with the crucifixion of Christ.

## 22 Bhungane

Nzulu Lwazi, "U B'ungane," *Umteteli* (5 November 1927), 7

- 1 This translation accepts Ndawo's version of the line, *Yintlabati yo-Ndi no Tükela* (1928, 10); *uNdi* is the Drakensberg. The Tugela river's source is at Mont-aux-Sources on top of the Amphitheatre in the northern Drakensberg.
- 2 Mqhayi is criticising the fact that black people are compelled to study English history in school, not the history of their own people (see the Prologue to this volume), and pointing to the lack of a Hlubi history by a Hlubi historian. In fact, the Hlubi are now quite well served in published Xhosa historical works, in their own right or as a constituent of the Mfengu peoples: see Kawa (1929), Ndawo (1928 and 1939), and Ncwana (1953); see also Mzimba (1887–88).
- 3 Zingelwako was a son of Bhungane (Ncwana, 8).
- 4 Zulu, the son of Mafu, was a herbalist who transferred his services from Mpangazitha to Matiwane, and cast spells on Mpangazitha that enabled the Ngwane to murder him (Msebenzi, 32–36); Wright and Manson assign this story not to Mpangazitha but to his brother Mthimkhulu II (14–15).
- 5 Wright and Manson suggest this Mafu was Mafu kaDwala of the Rhadebe (9).
- 6 This translation accepts the reading in item 10 of Mqadi for Mqodi, as in Ndawo: 1928, 10 and Rubusana, 326.
- 7 In the early years of the 19th century, the peoples of the territory that became KwaZulu expanded and clashed. "The ensuing series of wars and migrations which wracked the whole of south-eastern Africa have conventionally been conceptualised as the '*mfecane*', or crushing. The *mfecane* has always been specifically connected to the spectacular and savage rise of the Zulu kingdom during this period. However, the latest scholarship has been at pains to demonstrate that the upheavals of the time were not the result of the aggressions of the Zulu alone, but were a product of the struggles between all the emergent rival states north of the Thukela" (Laband, 14–15). In about 1817 the Mthethwa under Dingiswayo attacked and defeated the Ndwandwe under Zwide, an engagement in which Dingiswayo was killed. In about 1819, Dingiswayo's successor Shaka successfully attacked the Ndwandwe and drove them onto the Ngwane under Matiwane, who in turn fled westwards into the Hlubi, killing Mthimkhulu II, the son and successor of Bhungane, and scattering the Hlubi nation. Some of the Hlubi moved southwards to settle in Hints'a's Gcaleka territory; Mpangazitha, another of Bhungane's sons, led his people over the Drakensberg into the Harrismith area, where he fell in battle with Matiwane's Ngwane in about 1825 (Wright and Manson, 12–18).
- 8 On Langalibalele, see *NDSAB* 2, 73–74 and item 31.

- 9 According to the genealogical table in Ncwana (between pages 62 and 63), Monakali was the father of Zibi, who was the father of Fuba; Fuba's sons were Ncanywa and Shadrach Zibi.

### 23 Rev Tiyo Soga, Shaka and Mlanjeni

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Rev. Tiyo Soga, u Tshaka no Mlanjeni," *Umteteli* (17 December 1927), 6-7

- 1 On the 18-year-old prophet and the war he inspired, the longest of the frontier wars, see Kropf: 1891a, 5-7; Mostert, 998-1158; and Peires: 1989, 1-30.
- 2 Ntsikana predicted the appearance of trains below Ntaba kaNdoda: "Kambe kuthiwa waziselela nangololiwe esithi phantsi kwentaba kaNdoda koza kubaleke inqwelo yomlilo ezihambela iyodwa ingatsalwa nto" (Jabavu: 1953, 6), Yet it is said he prophesied about trains, saying that below Ntaba kaNdoda a fire wagon would run, independently, without being pulled. Sifubasibanzi, Broadbreast, was Ntsikana's name for Christ: see the discussion in Hodgson: 1980, 41-43.
- 3 On the significance of rivers, especially in the process of becoming a diviner, see Hirst: 1997.
- 4 Mlanjeni instructed that all dun-coloured cattle be destroyed. "Along with this there began the preparation of Xhosa warriors for battle through instructions on how they would make themselves invulnerable to English bullets. This was to be achieved by receiving from Mlanjeni short sticks of a variety of perlagonium and rubbing their bodies with juices from the root. When attacking the enemy they were to chew on the sticks, spit out the fibres and call on the ancestors and the prophet to bless them" (Mostert, 1000).
- 5 See item 25.
- 6 Francis George Farewell (1793-1829) led an expedition to visit Shaka in 1824; members of the party included Henry Francis Fynn (1803-61) and John Cane (c1800-38). Farewell was later killed by Nqeto near the Umzimvubu in September 1829; Cane was killed on a commando against the Zulu at the Battle of the Tugela in April 1838; Fynn lived for some time near the Umzimkulu, served as diplomatic agent to the Mpondo and Resident Magistrate at Pietermaritzburg, and died at his home in Durban: see Tabler.
- 7 Shaka was murdered by his brothers Mhlangana and Dingana, aided by his personal servant Mbopha, at Dukuza on 24 September 1828 (Laband, xiii-xv).
- 8 On Tiyo Soga, the first ordained Xhosa minister, see Chalmers; and Williams (1978, 1979 and 1983).

- 9 The genealogy in Williams (1978, 132–3) gives Soga 26 children from eight wives; two of his sons, Tiyo and Zaze, produced seven and 11 children respectively. Tiyo's sons were William Anderson, John Henderson, Allan Kirkland and Jotelo; Zaze's sons included William Dilizintaba and Tiyo Burnside.
- 10 Soga was ordained as a minister of the United Presbyterian Church in Glasgow on 23 December 1856 and set sail for South Africa with his new wife, Janet Burnside, in April 1857. On Janet Burnside Soga, see *NDSAB* 2, 218–19.
- 11 William Anderson Soga studied medicine in Glasgow, qualified as a Presbyterian minister, then returned to South Africa to found the Miller Mission in Elliotdale (Williams: 1978, 118).
- 12 Soga was at Mgwali from 1857 to 1868, and at Thuthura from 1868 to 1871.
- 13 *Incwadi yama-culo ase-Rabe* (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1914), 269–70, 101–2 and 66 respectively. Including these three hymns, this volume contains 28 hymns by Tiyo Soga.
- 14 Soga's translation of the first part of Bunyan's *The pilgrim's progress*, published in 1868. The second part was translated by his son, John Henderson Soga (1929). On Soga's translation, see Hofmeyr, ch 5.
- 15 Williams lists three daughters: Bella, who died young, Frances and Jessie Margaret (1978, 132).

#### 24 The late William C. Mthoba's memorial service

Nzulu Lwazi, "Isi-Kumbuzo ngomfi u Wm. C. Mtoba," *Umteteli* (21 January 1928), 9–10; (28 January 1928), 8

- 1 The women's prayer union.
- 2 Mqhayi himself, *Imbongi yesizwe jikelele*, the poet of the whole nation.
- 3 i.e. Pirie.
- 4 The Employment Bureau of Africa, a mine recruitment organisation.

#### 25 Dingiswayo, also known as Godongwana

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Dingiswayo Ogama limbi lingu Godongwana," *Umteteli* (3 March 1928), 6; (10 March 1928), 6; (17 March 1928), 7

- 1 On his successful attempt to reach India by sea around Africa, Da Gama (c1460–1524) passed Mpondoland and Natal on Christmas Day 1497, naming the latter after the Portuguese word for Christmas.
- 2 The Black and White Mfolozi.
- 3 *Matthew* 24:13.

- 4 On Absalom's rebellion against his father King David, and his death, see II *Samuel*: 15–18.
- 5 Dingiswayo means The Banished.
- 6 *Romans* 12:19.

## 26 The late Simon M. Phamotse

Nzulu Lwazi, "Umfi u Simon M. Phamotse," *Umteteli* (21 April 1928), 3

- 1 Alexander Geddes, Boarding Master at Lovedale from 1878 to 1907.
- 2 The independent *Naledi ea Lesotho*, The Lesotho Star, was published in Mafeteng and Maseru from February 1904 to April 1937 (Swizer and Switzer, 54).
- 3 Soga's name is qualified here by two of his praises.

## 27 Ngqika

Nzulu Lwazi, "U-Ngqika," *Umteteli* (2 June 1928), 6; (9 June 1928), 5–6

- 1 On Ngqika, see items 9, 32 and 45.
- 2 A practice known as *ukungeni*, "to marry or carnally know one's late brother's wife" (Kropf, 262).
- 3 In items 9 and 28 Mqhayi names her as Khinzela.
- 4 Skead has no listing for Xoxowa, but identifies the Xuxuwa as the Kluklu river near Fort Beaufort.
- 5 Ngqika's people, who could be named after their own chief, or any of his royal ancestors. Tshiwo was the father of Phalo, direct descendants of Xhosa.
- 6 Ngqika's cohabitation with his uncle's wife was considered incest.
- 7 See item 32.
- 8 See item 30.
- 9 For a fuller version of Ngqika's praises, which include the above lines and phrases, see Rubusana, 245–46.
- 10 *Ukutyhuluba* is "To dance in a nude state, while gesticulating with the assegai in such a way as to cause a quivering motion in the chest and strong muscular action in the body" (Kropf, 446).

## 28 Rharhabe

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Rarabe," *Umteteli* (18 August 1928), 8; (25 August 1928), 8; (1 September 1928), 5

Reprinted with minor alterations in *Imibengo*, 129–40, where the article is ascribed to Samuel E.K. Mqhayi. Each of the three instalments in *Umteteli* carries a head and

shoulders photograph of Mqhayi subtitled *Imbongi ye Sizwe*. An earlier version of this article appeared in *Imvo* (10 September 1912), 1; (1 October 1912), 6; (8 October 1912), 6.

- 1 On relations between Rharhabe and Gcaleka, see Hirst: 1991.
- 2 This was the trading party under Hermanus Hubner, who were resting at Phalo's Great Place on their return from Mpondoland: see Crampton, 67–69.
- 3 Skead lists no Njamkulu, but does have a Njankulu forest in the King Williams Town district (538).
- 4 The missionary John Ayliff led a large party of Mfengu from Gcalekaland to the Peddie district after Hintsas's War, escorted by Henry Somerset, son of Lord Charles Somerset.
- 5 "A tributary of the Gcuwa. (The Gcalekas do not drink of its water, because a former chief, Palo, died in its valley)" (Kropf, 507).
- 6 *Capparis albitrunca* and *Schotia speciosa* respectively.
- 7 This translation accepts the alteration in *Imibengo* (136), which switches Ntsusa and Khinzela. That Ntsusa was Rharhabe's eldest child is confirmed in an interview that James Laing held with her in her old age on 9 December 1836: see Shell, 487.
- 8 The Ndlambe considered the Qwathi marriage cattle, *ikazi*, transferred on Ntsusa's marriage insufficient, and therefore the marriage invalid. This insult was subsequently compounded by the Ndlambe requesting *ihogu* from the Qwathi, the fee paid for a concubine. Kropf defines *ihogu* as "The payment for a woman who is to be used as a concubine. It is distinguished from *i-Kazi*, not only because it is never given for a wife, but also because it never exceeds one animal or article; its verb is not *lobola*, but *rola*" (164).
- 9 The punctuation of these last two sentences follows *Imibengo* (137).
- 10 Ivory armbands were worn as a mark of distinction in battle. They were highly prized. Streatfeild records that he saw a Xhosa warrior wounded, "and directly he fell, he set to work to smash his ivory armband against the stones. I have seen this done twice. They are very jealous of these armbands, and if there is any life left in them, will always smash them sooner than let them be taken" (40). The three lines of the poem suggest that Rharhabe was so powerful his armband snapped and elephants fled in fear, knowing he would need ivory for a replacement; the elephants would be safe to return if old ivory were recycled.



## 29 Hail, Ngangomhlaba!

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, "A! Ngangomhlaba!" *Imvo* (25 September 1928), 8  
 cf Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, "A! Ngangomhlaba!" *Imvo* (1 September 1925), 4

- 1 The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (I.C.U.), a union of black dock workers, formed by Clements Kadalie in Cape Town in January 1919 (see Wickins; and Skota, 60–1). See also Mqhayi's two articles Nzulu Lwazi: 1928a and 1928b.
- 2 At the point of death the slaughtered cattle bellow their consent, signifying the presence of the ancestors.
- 3 Presumably a racist remark implying that the struggle between black and white is not yet over, that it is too soon for white East London to be officially welcoming Xhosa royalty.
- 4 Ngangomhlaba means "Vast as the Earth." His home name, Mpisekhaya, means "Home Guard."
- 5 Presumably the Great War between King George V of England and the German Kaiser Wilhelm II.
- 6 i.e., W.B. Rubusana.
- 7 This extended passage, starting at "Hail, Ngangomhlaba!", refers to the visit of the Prince of Wales to South Africa in 1925, during which Mqhayi accorded the Prince the Xhosa name *Zweliyazuza* (The Country's in Labour): "The Prince and the Natives," *Imvo* (9 June 1925), 5. Ngangomhlaba was unfortunately overlooked, and was not invited to meet the Prince in Umtata with other Transkei chiefs on 22 May; he complained to the Chief Magistrate, W.T. Brownlee, who arranged for Ngangomhlaba to meet the Prince in De Aar on 25 May (W.T. Brownlee: 1925). See item 52.

## 30 The origin of the Ndlambe

Nzulu Lwazi, "Ukuvela kwama Ndlambe," *Umteteli* (17 November 1928), 6

- 1 For Nathaniel Cyril Mhala's more detailed treatment of the same topic, see Mhala: 1935.
- 2 See item 9.
- 3 Yese was Ngqika's mother.
- 4 *Umduna* is a term for a superior person, but it is used ironically.
- 5 Hili, otherwise known as the tikolosh, is a short imp who lives in the reeds near water, a malevolent sprite. This sentence means that trouble commenced when the real purpose of the meeting became clear.
- 6 Hints'a's brother, acting as regent for Hints'a's son Sarhili.
- 7 The verbs *ukugqimba* and *ukunqwabula* are not recorded.
- 8 Literally, castrated.

- 9 Lord George Macartney (1737–1806), the new British Governor of the Cape, assumed duty in 1796, with John Barrow (1764–1848) as his secretary and scientific advisor. Barrow commenced his travels through the country in the following year, in the course of which he met Ngqika: in 1801 his *Account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa, in the years 1797 and 1798* was published. He left South Africa in 1804, after the Dutch regained control of the Cape in 1802, and later became one of the founders of the Royal Geographical Society and Second Secretary to the Admiralty. The visit to Ngqika is described in Barrow: 1801, 192–96.

### 31 Langalibalele

Nzulu Lwazi, "U-Langalibalele," *Umteteli* (24 November 1928), 8

- 1 See item 22. Langalibalele succeeded to the chieftainship after his circumcision in 1836 or 1837, and acknowledged the overlordship of the Zulu king Dingana (Wright and Manson, 27).
- 2 In 1848 the Hlubi fled the threat posed by the Zulu under Mpande, who had succeeded Dingana in 1840, and crossed into Natal, which had been annexed by the British in 1843 (Wright and Manson, 35–36).
- 3 African migrant workers from Natal could "acquire guns with impunity. In the late 1860s their opportunities for doing so had been greatly extended by the growth of a virtually uncontrolled traffic in firearms on the Kimberley diamond fields, where white traders imported large numbers of firearms specifically for sale to the thousands of African workers at the diggings. By the early 1870s it was common knowledge in Natal that many of these guns were being brought into the colony illegally" (Wright and Manson, 52).
- 4 John Macfarlane, magistrate at Estcourt, commenced his demands in March 1873.
- 5 Sir Benjamin Chilley Campbell Pine (1809–91), Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, assumed duty in July 1873. From 1856 to 1877, Theophilus Shepstone (1817–93) was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal.
- 6 This engagement took place on 4 November in Bushman's Pass.
- 7 Molapo (1814–80) was a son of Mshweshwe.
- 8 Lion skin (for kings) and leopard skin (for chiefs).
- 9 Malambule. After the succession of heavily biased trials, by the end of March 1874, Hlubi land was sold off to white farmers and "the Hlubi chiefdom effectively no longer existed" (Wright and Manson, 74). See Herd on Langalibalele's trial.
- 10 John William Colenso (1814–83), first Anglican Bishop of Natal, theologian, Zulu scholar and pro-Zulu activist: see Guy.

- 11 Mqhayi uses the Hlubi form of this word, *Ngiyasha*, where he would normally say *Ndiyatsha*.

### 32 The Battle of Amalinde: white provocation (1818–19)

Nzulu Lwazi, "Idabi lama Linde," *Umteteli* (1 December 1928), 10; (8 December 1928), 10  
Reprinted with alterations and excisions in Bennie: 1935, 191–195

- 1 See items 8, 9, 27 and 30 for earlier articles on Ngqika, and also item 45.
- 2 For Williams's account of the meeting, including the criticism he received from Jacob Cuyler and the Governor, see Holt: 1954, 57–68. In Lord Charles Somerset's party, apart from the landdrosts Cuyler and Stockenstroom, were the Colonial Paymaster Captain Thomas Sheridan, eldest son of the English playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and the Colonial Medical Inspector Dr James Barry, who was revealed on his death to be a woman.
- 3 i.e., let the assembled allied troops consume Ndlambe's cattle while they wait for hostilities to commence.
- 4 Ntsikana's father Gabha lived among the Ndlambe; Ntsikana spent some of his teenage years with his father (Bokwe, 4–5).
- 5 Worn by veterans in battle.
- 6 *Butsolobentonga*, Sharp Weapon, one of Rharhabe's praise names.
- 7 Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Brereton (1782–1832), recently appointed commandant on the eastern frontier and soon to be succeeded in March 1819 by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Willshire, who defended Grahamstown from the Ndlambe attack days after his appointment.
- 8 Fort Willshire later hosted trade fairs, which Ngqika often attended and at which he drank and danced (Milton, 87).

### 33 The Right Rev William Mpamba

S.E.R.M., "The Right Rev. Wm. Mpamba," *Imvo* (24 September 1929), 4  
Submitted from Ntab' ozuko, Berlin

- 1 Born at Burnshill in 1869, Yekelo Mbali entered Lovedale in 1887. See item 62.
- 2 The minister was Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba. Mqhayi perhaps refers to Mpamba as *umfana*, a young man, in inverted commas, because he entered Lovedale at the age of 22. He would be referred to as a boy until he was initiated.
- 3 On Tyamzashe, see item 47.
- 4 With Simon Phamotse, Levi Khomo and Simon Molisapoli, Mpamba founded *Leihlo La Babathso* (The native eye), which was published in English and Pedi in Pietersburg from

1903–8, “the first African owned and controlled newspaper in the Transvaal” (Switzer and Switzer, 54).

- 5 Mqhayi served as councillor to the Ndlambe chiefs.

### 34 The African National Congress

S.E. Rune Mqayi, “I-African National Congress,” *Umteteli* (5 October 1929), 10

- 1 Richard Victor Selope Thema (1886–1955) was born in Pietersburg, studied at Lovedale and returned home to teach and work in mine recruitment. In 1915 he moved to Johannesburg to work for Richard W. Msimang, who was engaged in drafting the ANC constitution. He became Secretary General of Congress, serving under J.L. Dube. He assisted in editing the Congress newspaper, *Abantu-Batho*, and in 1932 became editor of *The Bantu World*; Mqhayi contributed to both newspapers. See *NDSAB* 1, 245–47 and Skota, 53.
- 2 Pixley kaIsaka Seme (1881–1951) was born in KwaZulu and studied in America and England, graduating from Columbia University in 1906 and Oxford University in 1909. In 1912 he helped to organise the meeting that saw the formation of the SANNC, serving as ANC President General from 1930–36: see *NDSAB* 2, 205–6 and Skota, 93. For a succinct history of the ANC, see Dubow.
- 3 The Parliamentary Voters Registration Act of 1887 (known in the Eastern Cape as *Thung’ unlomo*) threatened to remove tens of thousands of African voters from the roll. Through *Imvo*, J.T. Jabavu summoned “the first regional conference of political interest groups in the eastern Cape” in King Williams Town on 6 October 1887, at which *Imbumba Eliliso Lomzi Yabantsundu*, the Union of Native Vigilance Associations, was established (Odendaal: 1983, 125–30). Jabavu subsequently lost popular support through his co-operation with members of the Afrikaner Bond, and declined to attend meetings that led to the formation of the SANC in December 1891, with Mqanda as President and Thunywisa as Secretary (Odendaal: 1983, 163–68 and Odendaal: 1984, 12–16, 41). Isaiah Goda Sishuba (1865–1914) was born in Queenstown and educated at Lovedale and Zonnebloem College. He left the Wesleyan Church after working as a preacher in the Orange Free State, and joined the AME Church, which he left in turn in 1912 to form the Ethiopian Church of the United South Africa with Henry Reed Ngcayiya (see Pelem: 1907 for Meshach Pelem’s tribute to Sishuba). Thomas Mqanda was a farmer and headman in Peddie; Thunywisa was a teacher in Mount Coke. For Mqhayi’s obituary poem on Mqanda, see Mqayi: 1915.
- 4 Abdullah Abdurahman (1872–1940), leading Coloured political leader, President of the African People’s Organization from 1905 until his death; Silas Thelesho Molema was

personal advisor to Montsioa, paramount chief of the Rolong (Odendaal: 1983, 207); Makobeni Mehlomakhulu was leader of the Hlubi in Herschel.

- 5 Walter Benson Rubusana (1858–1936) was born in Mnandi and studied theology at Lovedale. He served at Peelton, during which time he married Deena Nzanzana (see item 14). After his ordination as Congregational minister, he transferred to East London, where he was active in social development and politics. He was a founder of *Izwi labantu* and in 1910 became the first and only black member of the Cape Provincial Council. He was elected President of the SANC, and Vice-President of the SANNC at its inaugural meeting in 1912. He edited an unsurpassed collection of early journalism and praise poems, *Zemk'inkomo magwalandini*, paying for its printing in England in 1906. See items 48 and 58.
- 6 Alfred Mangena was active in social improvement in Cape Town before he left to study in Britain, where he was called to the Bar in 1909. He returned in 1910 to practise in Johannesburg, where he became the first registered African lawyer and the first treasurer of the ANC. He died in 1924: see Skota, 90–91. George Montsioa of the Barolong was born in Mafeking in 1885 and studied law in England before returning in time to be appointed as secretary of the SANNC under John Dube. For a history of the SANC, see Odendaal: 1983, 163–220. Writing from personal recollection, Mqhayi differs from Odendaal on a few dates, but offers many additional details.
- 7 See Odendaal: 1984, 61–62 on these two newspapers.

### 35 Mdushaneland

Nzulu Lwazi, "Kwa Mdushane," *Umteteli* (26 April 1930), 8

- 1 Gushiphela was installed as chief of the Mdushane on 23 December 1919, the son of Menziwa and his wife in the Great House, Nomi (the daughter of Makinana). He died on 10 December 1942 (Hammond-Tooke: 1958, 76).
- 2 Since *relemnqa* is unknown, this translation is conjectural.
- 3 This was Mdushane's eldest son Siyolo from his first wife, "one of the fiercest and most determined Xhosa nationalists" (Mostert, 1071). He participated in the War of the Axe and Mlanjeni's War, was imprisoned on Robben Island with Maqoma and Mhala, released after 16 years in 1869, and supported Sandile in Ngcayechibi's War, in which he was shot and killed.
- 4 This information differs from that given by Hammond-Tooke, who makes Menziwa the son of Dyavda (daughter of the Thembu chief Mthikrakra) in the Great House, Gebashe the son of Nomvatho (the daughter of the Thembu chief Maphasa) in the Right Hand

House, and Qwetha the son of Nosomi (daughter of the Thembu chief Jumba) in the supporting house (Hammond-Tooke: 1958, 75–76).

- 5 Nonibe was descended from Bessie, a white shipwreck survivor: see Crampton.
- 6 On Badle Mdolomba, see item 61.
- 7 On William Shaw Khama, the son of William Khama, see the account in Holden, 52–73, who was his missionary in 1874, when he withdrew from the Wesleyan ministry to assume his duties as a chief.
- 8 The translation assumes that the unknown *isangqwaka* is related to the ideophone *gqwakagqwaka*, for which Kropf offers the gloss “To start people on a line of work or study which they themselves will follow up.” Mjikwa’s daughter is Siwani’s mother Nonibe.

### 36 People of the Nation

Nzulu Lwazi, “Abantu Besizwe,” *Umteteli* (9 August 1930), 11

- 1 Horatio Isaiah Budlwana Mbelle (1870–1947) qualified as a teacher at Healdtown and taught in Herschel and Colesberg before assuming duty as a court interpreter in Grahamstown and, for 20 years, in Kimberley. He was active in social affairs and politics, and served as general secretary of the SANNC in Johannesburg for two years from 1917. He ended his career as an interpreter for the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria (*NDASB* 1, 170–72 and Skota, 20). In 1903 he published a pioneering study of Xhosa language and literature, *Kafir scholar’s companion* (see Shepherd: 1955, 108–11).
- 2 Probably Griffith Motsieloa, who qualified as a teacher at Healdtown, taught in Kimberley, then studied elocution in England. In South Africa he pursued an influential career in popular music (see Skota, 109).
- 3 Charlotte Manye (1874–1939) was born in the Pietersburg district, qualified as a teacher and taught in Kimberley. She traveled overseas with a choir, which she left to study at Wilberforce University, becoming the first black South African woman to earn a bachelor’s degree. She founded a successful school at Evaton with her husband. She was heavily involved in social and political affairs in Johannesburg, was instrumental in the formation of the Bantu Women’s League of the ANC, and gave evidence before a number of committees and commissions: see *NDSAB* 1, 168–70 and Skota, 77–78. See item 64.
- 4 Marshall Maxeke (1874–c1932) studied at Lovedale and Wilberforce University in America, where he met Charlotte Manye, whom he later married. After graduating in classics, mathematics and theology, he returned to South Africa as an ordained minister

of the AME Church. He served as the first editor of the Johannesburg newspaper *Umteteli wa Bantu* from 1920: see Skota, 63–64.

- 5 Mangena Maaka Mokone (1851–1936) was the first black minister to work in Pretoria. In 1892 he left the Wesleyan Church to form the Ethiopian Church. Through the agency of Charlotte Maxeke, Mokone successfully sought a union between the Ethiopian Church and the AME Church in America: see Skota, 14–17, *NDSAB* 2, 124–26, and Campbell.
- 6 See item 34.
- 7 On Makgatho (1861–1951), see *NDSAB* 2, 86–87 and Skota, 70–71.
- 8 See item 47.

### 37 Keiskammahoek

Nzulu Lwazi, "Kwa Qoboqobo," *Umteteli* (9 August 1930), 9; (16 August 1930), 5

- 1 This echoes a phrase in Ntsikana's prediction about trains running below Ntaba kaNdoda.
- 2 Intaba kaNdoda literally means Man's mountain, hence Mqhayi's pun on the man's back. According to Hirst (1991, 8), Ndoda was the Khoi (Hottentot) chief killed by Rharhabe when he crossed the Kei. Ndoda's wife was Hoho.
- 3 See Mqhayi's obituary notice and poem on Rev Solomon Kuze (1931).
- 4 John Solilo, whose collection of poems *Izala* (1925), was the earliest anthology of original poetry to be published in Xhosa. See Mqhayi's poetic tribute on Solilo's death in 1940.
- 5 This translation is conjectural, since *mbanyaru* is unknown.
- 6 On the Xhosa ambush in the Boma Pass at the start of Mlanjeni's War in December 1850, see item 12.
- 7 The lovely lady is Mrs Kuze: see below.
- 8 Mqhayi is thinking of those who built the pass, and comparing them, probably, to the Israelites labouring under Egyptian oppression.
- 9 No meaning can be found for *iPokitalisi*.
- 10 S.P.G. is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- 11 Robert Gray (1809–72), first Bishop of Cape Town from 1847. The meeting with the chiefs in King Williams Town took place on 7 October 1848: see Gray.
- 12 For an account of the meeting of John Armstrong (1813–56) with Socishe to request land for the school, see Carter, 293–95.
- 13 George D'acre, military chaplain at Keiskammahoek.

- 14 Greenstock brought with him the ship's bell from the *Lady Kennaway*, wrecked off the East London coast in November 1857, and installed it as the St Matthew's chapel bell, where it remained in use for over a century: <http://knowledge4africa.com/eastlondon/kennaway10.htm>.
- 15 Henry Melville Taberer (1870–1932), son of Charles Taberer, was born in Keiskammahoeck and served as manager of the Native Recruiting Corporation for the Chamber of Mines. Mqhayi's poem on Taberer (1932), was reprinted in *Inzuzo*, 38–41.
- 16 Nathaniel James Merriman (1811–82) came to South Africa as Archdeacon of Grahamstown in 1848, and served as Bishop from 1871 until his death. His son, John Xavier Merriman (1841–1926), entered Cape politics in 1869 and served as Prime Minister from 1908 to 1910.
- 17 One of the early Xhosa novels, *U-Nomalizo*, was written by Enoch Silinga Guma (1901–18) in 1918; an English translation appeared ten years later. Guybon Budlwana Sinxo (1902–62), Mqhayi's son-in-law, was a prolific author, whose works include the popular novel, *U-Nomsa* (1922), and the first play in Xhosa, *Imfene ka Debeza* (1925), in verse: see *NDSAB* 2, 210–12. James James Ranisi Jolobe (1902–76) was another prolific Xhosa author whose novel *U-Zagula* was published in 1923: see *NDSAB* 1, 106–8.
- 18 Tokazi is a character in Mqhayi's novel *U-Don Jadu* (1929), chapter 4.
- 19 Translated by Mqhayi from William George Dowsley's school textbook on agriculture (1922).
- 20 *Ibotwɔ* is "the house of the great wife of a chief where the councillors meet" (Kropf, 44).

### 38 The Battle of the Waterkloof (Fordyce 1852)

Nzulu Lwazi, "Idabi lase Mtontsi (Fordyce 1852.)," *Umteteli* (8 November 1930), 6

- 1 On this incident, see item 12.
- 2 Harry Smith's autobiography gives 7 January 1848 as the date of this meeting (Smith: volume 2, 231). Armstrong cannot have been present, since he arrived in South Africa only in 1854. Mqhayi must be thinking of Bishop Gray of Cape Town, who attended a meeting of chiefs addressed by Smith in October 1848, but he was not summoned to the meeting by Smith, he attended only on hearing about the meeting the previous day in Grahamstown, according to his account of his 1848 visitation.
- 3 See item 12.
- 4 Lines from the praises of Sandile: for a fuller version of the poem, see Rubusana, 247–49.



- 5 Not Sandile literally, but his army: in 1852 John Brownlee's son Charles received a serious assegai wound in his leg and, shortly after, his younger brother James was killed in an ambush and decapitated (Holt: 1976, 128).
- 6 *Iziqwenga* properly refers to pieces ripped off a body by a beast of prey.
- 7 For a fuller version of Maqoma's praise poem, see Rubusana, 261, translated in Opland: 1992, 218–19.
- 8 After a two-month voyage, Lieutenant-Colonel John Fordyce embarked at Port Elizabeth on 16 May 1851 with his regiment, the 74th Highlanders (McKay, 1). On Fordyce and the engagement in the Waterkloof, see McKay, 172–78.
- 9 Namba (1828–60) was the son of Maqoma and Noxlana in the Great House, according to Stapleton, 55.
- 10 Khona (1818–1907) was the son of Maqoma and Noxina, according to Rubusana, 262. Rubusana also gives Khona's seven-line praise poem, in which Khona is *Ngubulu, umacal' exama*, Boer with a hartebeest's flanks.
- 11 Ngqabe is listed as one of Maqoma's sons by Stapleton (Table 2 on the flyleaf), who also lists Makrexana, Tini and Imfazwe; Rubusana (who does not claim completeness) mentions Namba, Dalasile, Tini, and Riliho as sons in the Great House and Khona in the Right Hand House (260).
- 12 A derogatory Xhosa name for Scottish soldiers. The British were given numerous nicknames, not all of them flattering, and gave rise to proverbial expressions: Theal (1886) notes "*Omasiza mbulala*, The people who rescue and kill" (198–99) and "*Umona wasemlungwini ubandeza icitywa ungaliqabi*, They prevent us from getting red clay from the pit, and they do not use it. This saying is used of Europeans, to denote that they act as the dog in the manger towards the Kaffirs" (201–2).
- 13 This account of Fordyce's death on 6 November 1851 differs from that in McKay, 164 and 177, and Stapleton, 160.
- 14 Cathcart (1794–1854), who served as Governor from 1852–54, was killed in the Crimea shortly after he left the Cape (DSAB II, 123–25).
- 15 Grey (1812–98) served at the Cape from 1854 to 1859 (DSAB I, 326–32).

### 39 Tyala Nteyi

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Tyala Nteyi," *Umteteli* (22 November 1930), 10

- 1 See Rose-Innes (1888), a lecture reprinted with slight alterations in Brownlee: 1916, 314–38, which also contains Brownlee's notice "Death of Tyala" (339–42) and a poem by Diamond Digger, "Lament of Tyala" (343–46).
- 2 See item 2.

- 3 The grave of the Khoi victim can still be seen today, just off the Fort Beaufort-Grahamstown road on the banks of the river. The inscription surrounds the outline of an axe, and reads "Hottentot victim of the war 1846."
- 4 The forests served as refuges in times of war, and bases for attack.
- 5 There is a small gap before the last two letters of the Xhosa word: if the word is *sawucuta*, it would mean "reduced in numbers, compressed"; if the word is *sawucita*, it would mean "scattered".
- 6 On 3 August 1877 a fight broke out at a beerdrink hosted by an Mfengu, Mgenga, and a Gcaleka chieftain was struck. This provided a flashpoint for the last of the frontier wars (Milton, 257-58).
- 7 Between the Centane and Willowvale districts.
- 8 "The breaking up of the Gaikas, the death of their chief, and the imprisonment of his sons, weighed on the poor old man [Tyala]. ... in the end he died of grief at the misfortunes of his chief and tribe" (Brownlee, 341-42).
- 9 A tributary of the Kei.
- 10 Other casualties of the war that took the life of Soga, a disciple of Ntsikana, were Dukwana, Ntsikana's son (Hodgson: 1986), and Kootje, the son of Dr Van der Kemp, who was murdered in the East London district on 15 January 1878 (Theal: 1919, 88). Milton offers a different account of Soga's involvement in the war: "Even old Soga, for so long the servant of Ngqika's sons, had refused to fight, although he would neither join the 'loyals'. He retired to his village and there awaited his fate. One day a band of Mfengu levies came upon him. Hard, haughty, heathen Xhosa, warrior to the last, the old man asked only that his own spear be used to kill him. The Mfengu obliged him in this" (Milton, 272).
- 11 Sandile, "the Great Son of Ngqika, and the only chief of his line to die in battle against white men," was fatally shot by an Mfengu patrol on 29 May 1878 towards the end of Ngcayechibi's War (Milton, 278-79).
- 12 Mbombo (line 3) and Mbede were alternative names for the Ngqika, Mbombo being Ngqika's favourite ox and Mbede Sandile's (Rubusana, 245).

#### 40 Sarhili

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Sarili," *Umteteli* (22 August 1931), 6; (5 September 1931), 6  
Reprinted with alterations and excisions in *Stewart Xhosa Readers VI*, 102-8

- 1 In 1815, Frederick Cornelius Bezuidenhout, a farmer on the Baviaans river, ignored a summons from the landdrost Andries Stockenstroom to appear in court on a charge of beating his Khoi servant. Bezuidenhout resisted arrest and was killed; his supporters

were tried and brutally executed. For a detailed account of the affair, with photographs, see Cory: 1921, 323–68.

- 2 Rubusana has a much fuller version of Sarhili's praises (231–32), translated in Opland: 1992, 222–23.
- 3 i.e., Sarhili.
- 4 For an account of this affair from the Thembu viewpoint, see Cingo: 1927, 42–43.
- 5 Manton Hirst has established that Sarhili died at about 10 pm on 2 February 1893 and was buried the following day (personal communication). Theal describes Sarhili's last years as follows: "A small tract of land in the district of Elliotdale was then purchased from the Bomvanas, and was allotted to him as a residence. There the last paramount ruler of the Xosa tribe, the man whose command had once been implicitly obeyed by every warrior from the Keisakama to the Bashee who could hurl an assagai, passed the remainder of his life in almost complete obscurity. As far as food and clothing were concerned, he wanted nothing, and the Galekas still regarded him with affection and reverence, but he must often have reflected with bitterness upon the fact that he was no longer a power in the land" (Theal: 1919, 96). W.D. Soga's description of Sarhili at this time includes his recollection of Sarhili saying "The white man will be punished by God for what he has done to me, in depriving me of my chietainship. I was not created a chief by a white man, and no white man has a right to depose me" (W.D. Soga, 5).
- 6 For Lindinxowa's conversation with George Cory in 1910, see Berning, 99–105.
- 7 Sarhili may have earned this praise name from one of the consequences of the cattle-killing, of which he was a principal supporter: "In a very short space of time, the Xhosa became a landless and largely unskilled workforce at the mercy of a predatory government and, as a precursor of the hated Pass Laws of apartheid, all who entered the Colony had to be in possession of special passes authorising their presence there" (Crampton, 236). His salutation name Ntaba means Mountain.

#### 41 Mhala. Hail, Mbodla!

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Mhala A, Mbodla!" *Umteteli* (26 September 1931), 8; (10 October 1931), 6

- 1 On the Ndlambe, see items 8, 16, 30 and 43.
- 2 The capital letter suggests that this is the origin of Mhala's salutation name Mbodla, a wildcat.
- 3 On 8 June 1846 British forces surprised a Ndlambe party in the open at the Gwangqa river and slaughtered "upwards of 300 Xhosa warriors" (Milton, 165).

- 4 For a fuller version of Mhala's praise poem containing these lines, see Rubusana, 269–70. Rubusana has Mnzwi for Mqhayi's Muzwi.
- 5 The *amafanankosi* (literally those who die with the chief), the chief's bodyguard, are according to Kropf, "in duty bound to cleave to him, even unto death" (99).
- 6 Near Bathurst, "formerly a large property owned by the London Missionary Society and granted to them in 1814" (Skead, 741–42).
- 7 Mhala was on Robben Island from 1858 to 1864 (*DSAB III*, 608).
- 8 See further item 43.
- 9 These lines are not in Rubusana, 269–70.
- 10 Lines from Maqoma's praises: see Rubusana, 261.

#### 42 The late Rev Edward Tsewu

S.E. Rune Mqayi, "Umfi U-Mfundisi Edward Tsewu," *Uniteteli* (2 January 1932), 10  
Submitted from Ntab' ozuko, Berlin, C.P.

- 1 On Tsewu, see Skota, 79–80 and Millard, 73–75. He was involved in organising the inaugural meeting of the SANNC in 1912, and was one of the three nominees for President (Odendaal: 1984, 261–62, 275).
- 2 Richard Ross, son of John Ross, Missionary of Lovedale Congregation from 1857 to 1868, then missionary at Cunningham from 1868 to 1902 (Shepherd: 1940, 519).
- 3 Mqhayi provides his own precis of Stewart's entry on Tsewu. The full text in *Lovedale: past and present* reads "Edward Tsewu was born at Grahamstown in 1856, his father being a deacon in the Lovedale Native Congregation. He attended school at Gqumahashe under Nkohla Falati, Gwayi Tyamzashe and Bolompana Majomboza. He came to Lovedale in February 1871 when fifteen years of age, and attended the First and Third Years' and Junior Students' Classes till December 1875. Then with a view to supporting himself, he taught at Adelaide in the school connected with the Rev. Peter Davidson's congregation. Before leaving Lovedale in 1875, he obtained the Twenty-eighth Certificate of Competency at the Government Examination for Elementary Teachers. Early in 1878 he was re-admitted and attended first the Students' Classes for two years, then the Theological Course from February 1880 till December 1883. He was licensed by the Free Church Mission Presbytery of Kaffraria in January 1884, and was appointed Assistant Missionary at Toleni Station, Transkei, during the absence for one year of the Rev. R. Ross. Later on he was placed in charge of the station of Idutywa where he now is, 1886" (Stewart: 1887, 364).
- 4 On Jolobe (1902–76), a prominent Xhosa author, see *NDSAB I*, 106–8. In 1973 he became Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

- 5 Tsewu: 1897.
- 6 "In 1905 Edward Tsewu, seconded by four current or future AME ministers – Marshall Maxeke, D.H. Hlati, John Mtshula, and J.Z. Tantsi's son James – formally challenged the refusal of the Registrar of Deeds to register land in Africans' names. The case of *ex parte Tsewu* represented perhaps the greatest African political victory in the entire reconstruction period. ... Africans were thus entitled to buy property anywhere in the Transvaal Colony and to hold it in their own names" (Campbell, 153). See also Odendaal: 1984, 53–54.
- 7 Andrew Smith taught at Lovedale from 1867 to 1887. On his death in 1898 he bequeathed his estate for the establishment of bursaries at Lovedale for black students (Shepherd: 1940, 520).
- 8 Gumna was the son of Sandile and Nojini in the Right Hand House. For his praises, see Rubusana, 252.

#### 43 Hail, Ndluzodaka! Makinana Mhala

Nzulu Lwazi, "A, Ndluzodaka! U Makinana Mhala," *Umteteli* (11 June 1932), 6

- 1 See items 16 and 41.
- 2 An act that would make Makinana junior to Smiti.
- 3 Since the noun *umqhambhasholo* is obscure, the translation is conjectural.
- 4 Moni was descended from a white castaway, as was Nomsa, the mother of Sarhili (Crampton, 184–85).
- 5 Somro is "Father of Nomro": the women need an alternative name for him to avoid using the syllables of his given name in accordance with the custom of respect, *ukuhlonipha*.
- 6 Pahl defines *KwaNtliyondise*, literally "at the place of Heart-take-me-there," as "wherever one chooses to go" (353).
- 7 Since the noun *ubudilatashe* is obscure, the translation is conjectural.
- 8 See item 40 for this clash between the Gcaleka and the Thembu over the murder of Sarhili's daughter Nongxokozelo.
- 9 Makinana's salutation name, meaning Mud Hut.
- 10 Makinana, whose favourite companions were his dogs, preferred the company of his livestock to human company, so his own people gave him the nickname Ntakamhlope and accordingly referred to his home as Ntakamhlope's place. Since his home could also be referred to by the name of his favourite ox, and the name of Nkanti was not widely known, it was assumed by outsiders that Ntakamhlope was the name of Makinana's ox.

- 11 Silimela was a popular Ndlambe chief, who died on 3 April 1948: "Uswelekile UMhlekezazi Silimela Makinana KwaGompo," *Umteteli* (17 April 1948), 11. Mqhayi served Silimela as a councillor, and married his daughter. Mqhayi recorded a poem in praise of Silimela that included an extended passage on Makinana's heroic involvement in Ngcayechibi's War: see Opland 1977.
- 12 Mqhayi used the bitter, ironic phrase *Hayi amaNdlamb' amatsha* (Oh the new Ndlambe!) recurrently. It signalled their dispossession of ancestral land and their enforced removal.
- 13 The Tanqa, a tributary of the Gqunube river, flows south of Komga (Skead, 741).

#### 44 Suthu

"U Sutu," *Umteteli* (16 July 1932), 9

Published anonymously, but ascribed to Mqhayi by A.M.G. Sixam (1932) in a letter from Johannesburg that starts "Ndibulela Imbongi ye Sizwe ngo bom be Nkosazana Sutu" ("We thank the National Poet for the life of Queen Suthu").

- 1 W.D. Soga: 1885.
- 2 On these Thembu Tshatshu, see Somana: 2006.
- 3 Probably Rear-Admiral George Dundas, who served as Naval Commissioner in South Africa from 1813 to 1814, and bought land for a naval base in Simonstown.
- 4 Something good must make way for something better: see the commentary on this proverb in Wauchope: 2008, 280–84.
- 5 Two lines from the praises of Hintsá: see Rubusana, 231. Zanzolo was Hintsá's salutation name.
- 6 Burnshill was established as a GMS mission station on the site of Ngqika's Great Place on 13 June 1830. The journal of James Laing, who arrived at Burnshill in 1831, contains many references to Suthu: see Shell.
- 7 The verb *ukukhotha* defines the action of an animal, such as a dog, licking something with its tongue.
- 8 See item 2.
- 9 Literally, take to the forest (where warriors were protected and from which they could attack).
- 10 John F. Cumming (d 1907) arrived in South Africa as a GMS missionary in 1840. He worked at Igqibirha and Tyhume, at Glenthorn from 1855 to 1868, and at Mgwali for the next 18 years, retiring in 1886: see the obituary in *The Christian Express* (2 September 1907), 138–39.

- 11 For Rev Cumming's account of the baptism of Suthu and her daughter, see Cumming (1880).

#### 45 Hail, Lwaganda!

Nzulu Lwazi, "A, - Lwaganda!" *Umteteli* (20 August 1932), 9

Reprinted with alterations and excisions in *Stewart Xhosa Readers: Senior*, 187-90, where it is attributed to Mqhayi

- 1 See items 9 and 27.
- 2 All but the last two of these lines can be found in the version of Ngqika's praises in Rubusana, 245-46, translated in Opland: 1992, 217-18.

#### 46 Rev J.D. Antoni

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Rev. J.D. Antoni," *Umteteli* (15 October 1932), 10

- 1 In 1892 Mangena Mokone resigned from the Wesleyan Church to form *Ibandla laseTiyopiya*, the Ethiopian Church. James Dwane, who became leader of the church in 1896, secured the affiliation of the church with the AME Church in the United States and then, in 1900, left to form the Order of Ethiopia under the Church of the Province of South Africa (Pretorius and Jafta, 214).
- 2 *Inxanxadi* is the fiscal shrike. Godfrey: 1941, 107 refers to "the bird's practice of impaling its prey on mimosa thorns or barbed wire."

#### 47 Heroes of the gospel

S.E.R. Mqayi, "Amagora E-Vangeli Akanyisa Indawo Ezininzi, Ngoku Iziqamo Zivelile," *The Bantu World* (29 October 1932), 4

- 1 Gwayi Tyamzashe (1844-96) pioneered the mission to the Zoutpansberg for six years, after which he returned to Kimberley, where he died six years later: see Skota, 1-2. For his account of life in Kimberley, see Tyamzashe: 1874.
- 2 These four were Lovedale student volunteers on the mission to Malawi in 1876: see Thompson.
- 3 Robert Ndevu Mashaba (c1861-1935) was born in Mozambique and travelled to Durban and Port Elizabeth, where he became a Wesleyan convert. He studied at Lovedale and returned to do mission work in Mozambique. He was banished to the Cape Verde Islands for four years, then returned to work in the Transvaal (Millard, 33-35).
- 4 See item 42.

- 5 Stewart records: "Gwayi Tyamzashe was born at Mdala, near Ely, Victoria East. He went to school first at Blinkwater and afterwards at Peulton, and was admitted to Lovedale Institution in January 1858. After two years' attendance here, he spent five years, 1860-1864, in teaching at King Williamstown. He was re-admitted to Lovedale in 1865 and remained till 1872, when he finished a course of theological study. ... In 1873, he was ordained and appointed to Kimberley" (1887: 367).
- 6 Of Tyamzashe's journey north, Ferguson records that "It was a perilous journey, for the roads were mere tracks, and the Boers unfriendly. It was the time when gold had just been discovered on the Rand, and there was much unsettlement. On the Rand Tyamzashe was arrested, and sent handcuffed to Pretoria where he was lodged in jail. His wife pleaded with the President, who ordered his release, and gave a pass allowing the party to proceed. Tyamzashe spent six years in Mamabolos, where his work was blessed" (1940: 231).
- 7 The Free Church of Scotland, which had broken away from the Church of Scotland in 1843, united with the United Presbyterian Church in 1900 to form the United Free Church; the Bantu Presbyterian Church was formed in 1923.
- 8 The Xhosa word *ikeme* is unknown.
- 9 The Xhosa word *isirwalaxu* is unknown.
- 10 A Xhosa battle cry, uttered on stabbing an enemy.
- 11 All three were of Pedi origin, all three had "fallen" to the missionary message. The poem is a heroic exhortation to Xhosa missionaries.
- 12 No meaning can be found for the word *pezola*.

#### 48 Dr Rubusana's Jubilee

S.E. Rune Mqayi, "I Jubulu ka Dr. Rubusana," *Umteteli* (26 November 1932), 5-6

- 1 *Mpilo* means Health.
- 2 The entry on Rubusana in *Lovedale: past and present* (Stewart: 1887, 319-20) concludes: "It is pleasant to have nothing to say, in these pages, except what reflects credit on the subject of the notice. And in the present case this is safe, though we often find praise not a little dangerous. Walter Rubusana, however, both in the classes and out of them, in the general work of the place, showed the spirit of a humble and faithful Christian man, and hearty commendation is only his due. He now occupies a large and responsible sphere, and with the confidence of all who know him."
- 3 Dale (1826-98) taught at the South African College in Cape Town from 1848 to 1859, when he became Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape. He was elected the



first Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, the first university in the country (later the University of Cape Town) and later Chancellor (*DSAB I*, 201-4).

- 4 Bella Kashe from Victoria East (*DSAB II*, 608).

#### 49 The late Rev J.M. Auld

S.E.R. Mqayi, "Umfi u Rev JM Auld," *Imvo* (14 February 1933), 2

- 1 Gumna was the son of Sandile and Nojini in the Right Hand House: see item 42 and Rubusana, 245. He died in 1913. On James McDonald Auld (1848-1932), see *DSAB V*, 22.
- 2 Auld kept within *umfuto*, the snorting of a horse or bull, suggesting his proximity to his Mgwali colleagues.
- 3 William Girdwood of the United Presbyterian Church joined Tiyo Soga at Thuthura in 1868, shortly after his arrival in South Africa.

#### 50 The War of the Axe

S.E. Rune Mqayi, "Imfazwe ye Zembe," *Umteteli* (4 March 1933), 11

- 1 *Umteteli* (4 February 1933), 4.
- 2 John Philip, Jan Tshatshu, James Read and his son James, and Andries Stoffels travelled as a party to give evidence before the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines in June 1836. Stockenstroom travelled from Sweden to give his evidence. Tshatshu and Stoffels served a number of early missionaries as assistants and interpreters; both were products of Bethelsdorp. On Tshatshu (c1791-1868), see *DSAB II*, 751-53; on Stoffels (1776-1837), see *DSAB IV*, 623-25.
- 3 Fort Willshire, built in 1819: see item 32.
- 4 In January 1846, land was surveyed for a fort on the east bank of the Keiskamma [sic], according to Mostert, who comments: "A more provocative action at that particular time could hardly have been sought" (862).
- 5 See Mostert, 862-65 for an account of the meeting. "The surveying party at Block Drift, by raising the land fears of the Xhosa to a new pitch, had brought the Cape Colony to the edge of war" (Mostert, 865). See also Cory: 1926, 412-16.
- 6 Sir George Thomas Napier (1784-1855), Governor at the Cape from 1838 to 1844 (*DSAB IV*, 391-94); and Sir Peregrine Maitland (1777-1854), Governor from 1844 to 1847 (*DSAB II*, 431-33), when he was succeeded by Sir Henry Pottinger (*DSAB II*, 557).

## 51 Mpande

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Mpande," *Umteteli* (22 April 1933), 7

- 1 For a biography of Dingana (c1795–1840), see Becker; for an analysis of his praises, see Rycroft and Ngcobo. For a positive view of Dingana, "one of the bravest Kings who ever sat on the Native throne," see the article by Nontsizi Mqgqwetho, a major Xhosa poet of the 1920s (Mqgqwetho: 1923). On Mpande, see Wright: 1979.
- 2 i.e. the Zulu people.
- 3 Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius (1798–1853), Voortrekker leader, led a commando from Graaff-Reinet against the Xhosa in Hintsá's War, and defeated Dingana's Zulu at Blood River on 16 December 1838 (*DSAB II*, 559–66).
- 4 Dingana was defeated in battle by Mpande in February 1840.
- 5 While in captivity, Cetshwayo dictated an account of Zulu history: see Webb and Wright.

## 52 Hail, Busobengwe!

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, "A, – Busobengwe!" *Umteteli* (3 June 1933), 7

- 1 The Xhosa name means Face of a Leopard, Freckleface.
- 2 John Brownlee arrived at the Cape in January 1817 as an agent of the LMS and began work on Somerset Farm (now Somerset East), where he met Joseph Williams and whence he travelled to meet Ngqika; it was intended that he assist Williams near Fort Beaufort, but he moved to Cape Town in November 1818 after Williams's death in August, and resigned from the LMS. As Government Agent and Missionary, after the Battle of Amalinde and the Xhosa attack on Grahamstown, Brownlee settled on the Gwali in June 1820. About a year later he was joined by the followers of Ntsikana, who had died in May 1821, and by William Ritchie Thomson and John Bennie of the GMS in November 1821. Bennie learnt Xhosa from Jan Tshatshu, and devised a system of transcription, so that, three days after John Ross of the GMS arrived at the Tyhume mission station with a printing press on 16 December 1823, 50 copies of the Xhosa alphabet were printed, the first printing of the Xhosa language (see Holt: 1976 and Shepherd: 1955, 26–30).
- 3 Four issues of the journal *Ikwezi* (The Morning Star), edited by William Chalmers and Dukwana the son of Ntsikana, were printed at Tyhume between August 1844 and December 1845. Prior to that, the Wesleyans had produced 15 issues of *Umshumayeli wendaba* (The Preacher of the News) between July 1837 and April 1841, and seven issues of *Isibuto samavo* (A Collection of Stories) between January 1843 and July 1844.

On Xhosa newspapers, crucial for the development of Xhosa literature, to many of which Mqhayi contributed, see Opland: 1998, 223–61.

- 4 "In 1836, a mere lad of fifteen, [Charles Brownlee] accompanied the American missionaries Aldin Grout and Newton Adams on their journey through the Transkei to Natal. He served as an interpreter for the Rev. H. Venables in his negotiations with Dingane on the very day of the massacre of Piet Retief and his Voortrekkers (6.2.1838), seeing, scarcely five hours after they had been murdered, the guns and baggage of the Boers in the kraal at Mgungundhlovu" (*DSAB I*, 126). See C. Brownlee, 77–97 for a recollection of his visit to KwaZulu.
- 5 Brownlee served as magistrate, in succession, in Tsomo, Willowvale, Idutywa, Butterworth and Mthatha. In 1914 he was appointed Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories. He retired to Butterworth. During the First World War, he served as a Captain with the SALC, and survived the sinking of the *Mendi* (W.T. Brownlee: 1975 Preface).
- 6 Gwadiso was Walter Stanford's brother, Arthur Henry Bell, the subject of W.T. Brownlee's story "The looting of 'Gwadiso's' pipes" (W.T. Brownlee: 1975, 124–28). On Walter Stanford, see item 53.
- 7 On Auld, see item 49.
- 8 See item 29. To each of the chiefs presented to him the Prince handed "a silver-mounted stick on which was engraved the name of the chief" (X, 54).
- 9 Mqhayi is here praising W.T. Brownlee by praising his father, Charles Brownlee, who was appointed co-regent of the Ngqika with Queen Suthu by Sir Harry Smith in October 1850.
- 10 Somtsewu was the Xhosa name of both Lord Charles Somerset and Theophilus Shepstone (referred to here).

### 53 My father Walter Stanford is no longer with us

Nzulu Lwazi, "U Bawo u Ndabeni Akaseko," *Umteteli* (7 October 1933), 8

- 1 Walter Ernest Mortimer Stanford (1850–1933) served as magistrate in Engcobo, Chief Magistrate of Griqualand East and administrator of Mpondoland before becoming Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories in 1902 while continuing to serve as under-secretary of Native Affairs in the Cape government. He entered the Cape Legislative Assembly in 1908, and from 1910 to 1929 he was a member of the Senate (*DSAB I*, 766–68). Ndabeni, the industrial suburb of Cape Town, is named after him, his Xhosa name meaning In the News.
- 2 Stanford was at Lovedale from January 1860 to December 1861 (Stewart: 1887, 624).

3 W.T. Brownlee: see item 52.

4 *Proverbs* 22:29.

#### 54 The late William Congreve Mvalo

S.E.R.M., "Umfi u William Congreve Mvalo," *Imvo* (4 September 1934), 4; (11 September 1934), 4

1 A member of the royal clan.

2 The Xhosa author J.J.R. Jolobe acknowledged the literary encouragement he received from Mather, his teacher at St Matthews: see Scheub: 1970, 58.

3 An idiomatic expression referring to a cow that damages her calf while caring for it, and thus to a two-faced person, who flatters you to your face but slanders you behind your back. See Wauchope: 2008, 286–90.

#### 55 The late Rev Isaac William Wauchope

S.E. Krune Mqhayi, "Umfi u Mfundisi Isaac William Wauchope," *The Bantu World* (5 January 1935), 6; (12 January 1935), 6; (19 January 1935), 6; (26 January 1935), 4

- 1 Isaac Williams Wauchope (1852–1917) was descended on his father's side from associates of Joseph Williams and the Tyhume missionaries, and on his mother's side from associates of Dr Van der Kemp. He helped to found one of the earliest political organisations for blacks in the Cape, Imbumba Yamanyama, served as a Congregational minister in Fort Beaufort, campaigned for the Inter-State Native College Scheme, and died on the *Mendi*. For his life and a selection of his writings, which includes this item, see Wauchope: 2008.
- 2 Wauchope's father was Dyobha, known as William Wauchope, his grandfather was Citashe.
- 3 These leading members of the African elite in the Eastern Cape are identified by their dates of birth.
- 4 On the participation of these four Lovedale students in the mission to Malawi, see Thompson.
- 5 Charlotte Maxeke, a pioneer civil rights activist, founder of the Women's League of the SANNC, who earned a science degree from Wilberforce University in Ohio in 1905. See items 36 and 64; *NDSAB* 1, 168–70; and Skota, 77–78.
- 6 The IOTT, The Independent Order of True Templars, was the African branch of the international temperance organisation, The Independent Order of Good Templars.
- 7 The Band of Hope was a youth wing of the IOTT. On Bokwe, see item 17.
- 8 See item 5.

- 9 Gqadushe was Friedrich Gottlob Kayser (1800–68), who founded the Knapps Hope mission station in 1836.
- 10 Sihlali (1849–1919) became the first President of Imbumba Yamanyama: see Wauchope: 2008, 172–75 and, for Mqhayi's obituary poem, see Mqhayi: 1919, reprinted with the omission of the prose introduction in *Inzuzo* (1942), 41–43.
- 11 James Stewart's *Kafir phrase book* was first published by the Lovedale Mission Press in 1899. As from the 11th edition of 1928, the title was changed to *Xosa phrase book* (Peters and Bothma, 110)
- 12 Both Jabavu and Wauchope (as well as Nathaniel Cyril Mhala and John Knox Bokwe) were elected to the inaugural Executive Committee of the Inter-State Native College Scheme in 1905: see Wauchope: 2008, 213–16 and 377–82 for accounts of meetings to seek community approval for the Scheme (the latter attended by Mqhayi). Mqhayi and *Izwi* opposed the Scheme, campaigning instead for a bursary to send Africans overseas to study.
- 13 Wauchope enlisted for the SANLC, a corps of black auxiliary volunteers: see Clothier.
- 14 Wauchope married the daughter Saul Koom, a headman of Tini's location, on 21 January 1913, a year after his release from prison. Mqhayi omits all reference to the conviction of Wauchope for fraud and the two years he spent in the Tokai Convict Prison, during which time his wife died (Wauchope: 2008, xxiii–xxvi).
- 15 The other ship was the SS *Darro*. For a full account of the *Mendi* disaster and recent archaeological explorations of the wreck, see Wessex Archaeology's report 64441.01 *SS "Mendi": archaeological desk-based assessment* (<http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects/marine/eh/ssmendi/index.php>). Over 600 black South African volunteers drowned.
- 16 Apart from this poetic encouragement, presented here as a speech by Wauchope, Mqhayi wrote two poems on the SANLC and the sinking of the *Mendi*, "Umkosi Wemidaka" (The black army, 1916) and "Ukutshona kukaMendi" (The sinking of the *Mendi*), both incorporated into later editions of *Ityala lamawe* and his first collection of poetry, *Imihobe nemibongo* (Songs and poems, 1927).
- 17 *Lizalis' idinga lakho*, a popular hymn composed by Tiyo Soga.
- 18 Wauchope had Khoi blood. When Rharhabe crossed the Kei, killing the Khoi chief, a treaty was confirmed with his widow Hoho, to seal which ten young men and women from both sides married. Wauchope was descended from the marriage of one of the Khoi men to an attendant of Rharhabe's daughter Ntsusa (Wauchope: 2008, 51). On Rharhabe and Ntsusa, see item 28.

- 19 *Ililel' uluhle olumike namangabangaba*: the Rharhabe nation bewails "young beautiful children," "the flower of the army," "carried off by the (fabulous) birds of the sea, applied to one who has mysteriously disappeared, or whose whereabouts are unknown" (Kropf, 258).
- 20 Ngconde is the father of Tshiwo in the Xhosa royal (Tshawe) line. *Butsolobentonga*, the point of a stick, was the praise name of Ngqika's father Mlawu, the son of Rharhabe (Soga: 1931, 80) and of Rharhabe.
- 21 Jabavu (1953, 35) lists the descendants of Cethe, after whom Wauchope's clan takes its name, as Chizama, Ngcoko, Nkenkceza and Burhuma.
- 22 Xhukwana is a location near Debe Nek.
- 23 A praise name, meaning Mud Smear, for Wauchope's father Dyobha, which Wauchope assumed as one of many pseudonyms.
- 24 A reference to Wauchope's career as a court interpreter before entering the ministry.
- 25 The Waterkloof is in the Fort Beaufort district; on Maqoma's attack on British troops in the pass, see item 38.
- 26 Hinsathi was a Khoi chief who lived near Somerset East.
- 27 Wauchope, though "a Xhosa through and through," associated himself with Jabavu, who represented Mfengu attitudes and strategies through *Imvo*; Wauchope wrote for *Imvo* but never for *Izwi*, which represented the opposing Xhosa perspective.
- 28 Perhaps Wauchope's son, whose nickname was Bassie, and daughter Grisell.
- 29 These two lines draw on a saying Mqhayi attributes to Sarhili: see item 40.
- 30 speed: the Xhosa word is *amendu*, perhaps punning on the name of the ship, the SS *Mendi*.

## 56 Mr Arthur Weir

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, "U Mnu. u Arthur Weir," *Imvo* (12 March 1935), 8

- 1 Chalmers (1802–47) came out as a catechist, Weir (d 1886) and McDiarmid (1801–73) as industrial missionaries. Chalmers joined Bennie at Lovedale, Weir joined Thomson at Tyhume, and McDiarmid helped Ross to establish Balfour (Shepherd: 1971, 5).
- 2 Arthur Stanger Weir (1875–1950), mayor of King Williams Town from 1936–38, served on the governing council of Lovedale for many years (Stephanie Victor, personal communication).
- 3 Tshuka worked at Lovedale for over 50 years from its opening in 1841; he died in 1902. See Wauchope: 2008, 96–97 for a student's impression of the old man.

- 4 James Weir's son James Wilson (1842–1909) studied at Lovedale from 1854 to 1860 and was elected to the Executive Board of the Inter-State College in 1907 (Shepherd: 1971, 74). Like his son Arthur, he served as mayor of King Williams Town.
- 5 *Imvo zabantsundu* was “founded in King William’s Town in the Eastern Cape by John Tengo Jabavu with white financial support – chiefly from Richard W. Rose-Innes, a lawyer, and James W. Weir, a local merchant and son of a Lovedale missionary” (Switzer and Switzer, 40).
- 6 Bryson was mayor from 1927–35 (Stephanie Victor, personal communication).
- 7 Pirie, among the Hleke people.
- 8 Probably a reference to the annual Ntsikana Commemoration, held in King Williams Town.
- 9 The verb *ukuphemla* in this line is unknown: the assumption is that it is a shortened form of *ukuphefumla*, to breathe.
- 10 Demands his Place.
- 11 Community Campaigner.

### 57 The late Meshach Siphethwe Pelem and Canon Daniel Malgas

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, “Umfi Meshach Siphethwe Pelem; No Canon Daniel Malgas,”  
*Imvo* (28 March 1936), 3

- 1 Pelem (1859–1936) taught at Cradock and Middelburg, was a successful Queenstown businessman and became President of the Bantu Union in 1919 (see Skota, 235); he also served as Vice-President of the SANCA, and was elected Vice-President of the SANNC at its inaugural conference in 1912.
- 2 “For the wound of the daughter of my people is my heart wounded, I mourn, and dismay has taken hold on me” (*Jeremiah* 8:21).
- 3 Pelem’s father was Gogotya.
- 4 In 1866.
- 5 James Pelem, a leader of an early black political organisation, the Thembu Association (Odendaal: 1984, 10).
- 6 “By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion” (*Psalms* 139:1).
- 7 In 1877 Peter Masiza, later Canon Masiza, studied at Zonnebloem College and became the first African priest of the Church of England to be ordained in South Africa (see Goedhals: 1989).
- 8 George V died on 20 January 1936.
- 9 No books have been published by either Pelem or Malgas.

10 A line from Malgas's clan praises.

11 "My father, my father! the chariots of Israel and its horsemen!" (II Kings 2:12).

### 58 The Late Dr W.B. Rubusana

S.R. Mqhayi, "Umfi Dr. W.B. Rubusana," *Imvo* (2 May 1936), 2

- 1 Mqhayi used Mnandi (meaning Sweet Home) as the name for the utopian province under black rule in his novel *UDon Jadu* (1929). Sweet Home is Mqhayi's own translation of Mnandi (Cory MS 16,321 (a)).
- 2 Someone who smeared red ochre on his body and garments, and therefore someone who had not converted to Christianity.
- 3 See item 14 for Mqhayi's obituary.
- 4 Mqhayi wrote a biography of Rubusana, which he submitted to the Lovedale Press together with revisions to *Ityala lamawele* and a defence of initiation entitled *Ulwaluko*, but *Rubusana* and *Ulwaluko* were never published and are now lost. His poem on Rubusana appeared in Rubusana's *Zemk'inkomo magwalandini* without ascription: in the course of correspondence about *Rubusana*, Mqhayi wrote to R.H.W. Shepherd, publications manager at Lovedale, from Ntabozuko on 30 March 1940: "I have not yet given you the poem or poems I spoke about in my last letter to you. I thought I shall have a space of time to speak to you personally when I am there during the I.O.T.T. meetings. I hope you got a copy of "Zemkinkomo," so please take the "Izibongo" of Dr. Rubusana on pages 356 to 359. This will make the last chapter of the book" (Cory MS 16,321).

### 59 The Late Hessie Lythiana Botha

S.E. Krune Mqhayi, "Umfikazi u Hessie Lythiana Bota," *Imvo* (15 August 1936), 6

- 1 John the son of Festile was Tiyo Soga's nephew.
- 2 The poet Thomas Pringle (1789–1834) led the Scottish Party of 1820 Settlers, which settled in the upper reaches of the Baviaans river and in the Mankazana valley. Descendants of Pringle's brothers still occupy these farms. In 1822 Pringle moved to Cape Town, where he became Librarian of the South African Public Library. As a journalist, he clashed with the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, over freedom of the press. In 1826 he left for England, and died suddenly as he was preparing to return to South Africa. For an account of his re-internment in 1970 on Eildon, a farm settled by his brother William in 1822, see Pringle.
- 3 In Vryburg, founded in 1904.



**60 Rev John H. Soga**

Imbhongi ye Sizwe Jikelele, "U Rev. John. H. Soga," *Imvo* (22 August 1936), 11

- 1 Tiyo Soga married Janet Burnside, a Scotswoman. They had four sons. Dr William Anderson Soga (1858–1916) studied at Lovedale and in Scotland, founded the Miller Mission at Elliotdale and worked there as a medical missionary from 1887–1903. John Henderson Soga (1860–1941) studied in Scotland, was ordained in 1893 and worked in the Mount Frere district until 1904, when he succeeded his elder brother at the Miller Mission. Allan Kirkland Soga (1862–1938) was educated in Scotland and entered the civil service on his return to South Africa in 1888. He succeeded Nathaniel Cyril Mhala as editor of *Izwi*. Jotello Festiri Soga (1865–1906) trained as a veterinarian in Scotland and practised in Fort Beaufort and King Williams Town from 1889 to 1893 (Williams: 1983, 7–8). On J.H. Soga, see Shepherd: 1955, 119–22. For Mqhayi's tribute on his death during a bombing raid on Southampton, see Mqhayi: 1941.
- 2 *Umxhino* is derived from a verb meaning "To dance by jumping or moving up and down with the body erect, the feet falling always in the same place" (Kropf, 471).
- 3 *Izilenzi* is the olive-brown water snake. William Anderson Soga might have received the praise name Bottled Snake from his medical specimens.
- 4 J.H. Soga is the pre-eminent Xhosa historian, author of *The South-eastern Bantu* (1930) and *The ama-Xosa* (1931), both written in Xhosa but published only in translation, a hymn writer and translator of three works, including the completion of his father's translation of *The pilgrim's progress* (1929). Peters and Bothma list two other publications (108). Soga made a few contributions to *Imvo*, including an extended comment (1925) on the gaffe involving the Prince of Wales and Ngangomhlaba (see items 29 and 52).
- 5 For a history of African cricket in South Africa, which mentions many names prominent among Mqhayi's writings, such as N.C. Mhala and W.B. Rubusana, see Odendaal: 2003.
- 6 J.H. Soga was lame in one leg: see Chalmers, 270.
- 7 i.e., John Henderson Soga.
- 8 The Bomvana royal line.
- 9 i.e., the Soga brothers.
- 10 Ngqungqushe was the father of Faku (c1780–1867) of the Mpondo; his name could be assumed by any of his descendants, so this and the following line probably refer to the establishment of the Miller Mission by William Anderson Soga in 1888.
- 11 A line from Ntsikana's hymn, referring to Soga the father of Tiyo (see Hodgson: 1980, 19–20).

- 12 Lovedale volunteers on the Malawi mission, with Isaac Williams Wauchope (see item 55).
- 13 At the Miller Mission, where he worked.
- 14 1841.
- 15 Tiyo wanted his sons' education to benefit Africa: see item 23.

### 61 The Late Rev Elijah Mdolomba

Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele, "Umfi u-Rev. Elijah Mdolomba," *The Bantu World* (5 June 1937), 6

- 1 Elijah Mdolomba was a Methodist minister who served at Ndabeni in the Cape and Edendale in Natal. He was a member of the SANLC in France during the First World War: see Skota, 119. He served as Secretary-General of the ANC from 1920 to 1936.
- 2 Among Mdolomba's newspaper contributions between 1896 and 1936, apart from items on the ANC and the Wesleyan Synod, are an obituary of Nonibe the wife of Mdushane (1897; see item 35) and a poem on *Imvo* (1902).
- 3 George VI's coronation was held on 12 May 1937.
- 4 It is difficult to see how the three Xhosa words relate to each other, and hence to make sense of the line.
- 5 Assuming that *Ikorol'*, unknown in Xhosa, derives from Afrikaans *kogel*.
- 6 Bambatha (c1865–1906), chief of the Zondi, clashed with the authorities in Greytown and was deposed in 1906. He led a Zulu rebellion, but was ambushed and shot in the Mome gorge.
- 7 Cush and Put were sons of Ham; Nimrod was the son of Cush (*Genesis* 10:6).
- 8 Ancestral chiefs of the royal Dlomo clan of the Thembu.
- 9 No meaning can be found for Tshanzanana, but it is assumed that these two lines refer to *Revelations* 21: 10–12: "And in the Spirit [one of the seven angels] carried me away to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. ... It had a great, high wall, with twelve gates."

### 62 The Right Rev Yekelo Mbali

Imbongi ye Sizwe, "U Right Rev. Yekelo Mbali," *Imvo* (17 December 1938), 8

- 1 Mbali served as Moderator of the Bantu Presbyterian Church. He died in Umtata in 1942 while attending the General Assembly of the Church (see Mlonyeni).
- 2 The Ngcangathelo were the division of the Rharhabe under Tyhali, Ngqika's son, so named after Mlawu's favourite ox.

### 63 I thank you, my people

S.E. Krune Mqhayi, "Ndiyabulela makowethu," *Imvo* (28 January 1939), 7; (4 February 1939), 7

- 1 In 1918 a Spanish Influenza epidemic killed some half a million people, two-thirds of whom were in the Cape.
- 2 The Girls' School of the Ladies' Kaffrarian Society moved to Mgwali in 1861. In 1893 over 300 girls attended the school.
- 3 Walter Bomoyi Mqhayi contributed a few poems and articles to *The Bantu World*, *Imvo* and *Umlindi we Nyanga* between 1936 and 1938. A photograph of him in dramatic pose and dress appeared above a reproduced letter, in which he signed himself "Leading Xhosa Poet-Dramatist," in a medical advertisement in *Umlindi* (15 December 1936), 7. An anonymous obituary says that "The late Mr. Mqhayi took after his father, and was 'a chip of the old block,' for he was a very keen poet, dramatist, musician and comedian. He was well known in Port Elizabeth where he had acted as a poet on several important occasions. The deceased was just about to publish a book on drama, plays, phrases, etc" (anon: 1939). He died at the age of 29 at Ntabozuko.

### 64 The late Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jigeelele, "Umfikazi U Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke," *The Bantu World* (9 March 1940), 6

Reprinted in Mqhayi's *Inzuzo* (1942, 35-36), with minor alterations apart from the excision of the first sentence and the concluding editorial note

- 1 Taken from Deborah's song of triumph on defeating the king of Canaan.
- 2 See item 36.
- 3 As a member of the AME Church, Maxeke fostered closer relations with the Ethiopian Church of Mokone and Dwane.
- 4 Imbongi Ye Sizwe Jikelele: 1940.

### 65 Dr A. B. Xuma

Imbhongi Yesizwe Jikelele, "Dr. A.B. Xuma," *Imvo* (1 April 1944), 8

- 1 Alfred Bitini Xuma (1893-1962) was born in Manzana in the Engcobo district and qualified as a teacher at Clarkebury. From 1913 he studied in the United States, and qualified as a doctor from Northwestern University in 1926. After further study in Hungary and Edinburgh, he returned to South Africa in 1927 to practise in Johannesburg. He served as president-general of the ANC from 1940-49: see *DSAB V*, 901-3, Skota, -70, and Gish.
- 2 In the course of training, a novice diviner adopts a life-long spiritual familiar, usually an animal: as he trained to be a doctor, Mqhayi asserts, Xuma adopted animals associated with medicine.
- 3 *Strychnos mackeenii*.

- 4 Calana notes that the expression *Intloko uyiphethe ngesandla*, literally "He carries his head in his hand," is applied to "one who has acted foolishly, as if his head was not on his shoulders but was carried in his hand" (18).
- 5 When he was elected as president of the ANC in December 1940, "The organization he inherited seemed strikingly ill-prepared to meet the challenges of the time. ... After a decade of relative inactivity, its organizational structure was fragile, its treasury empty. ... The organization Xuma inherited was part think tank, part debating society. It limited itself to issuing periodic resolutions protesting government policy and drafting reports on conditions facing Africans. By most accounts, the ANC of 1940 seemed to be dying a slow death" (Gish, 110–11). Sefako Mapogo Makgatho (1861–1951) became president of the Transvaal Native Congress, and later president-general of the SANC from 1917–24: see *NDSAB* 2, 86–87 and Skota, 70–71. John Langalibalele Dube (1871–1946) led the Natal Congress from its formation in 1901, and served as first president of the SANC from 1912–17. James Arthur Calata (1895–1983), an Anglican minister from Cradock from 1928 to 1968, served as president of the Cape branch of the ANC from 1930 to 1949 and the ANC's secretary general from 1936 to 1949 (*NDSAB* 1, 36–38). James Ngojo was president of the Cape ANC. Elijah Mdolomba served as secretary general of the ANC from 1930–36: see further item 61.
- 6 *Nqara*, according to Kropf, is the greeting given to a nursing mother; I assume the compound "Greetings, abstainers" refers to someone who has a close association with abstainers.
- 7 A river in the Qumrha district associated with Gcaleka's calling as a diviner: see item 28.
- 8 Mamlambo is a hypnotic river snake that preys on the unwary.
- 9 From May 1937 to October 1938 Xuma travelled to the United States and Britain for a second time. Just before his departure, Mqhayi wrote to him personally from Ntabozuko: "Please don't delay more than necessary, because your presence in the Union is so much needed" (Gish, 91).
- 10 This line puns on Xuma's name by using the verb *ukuxuma*, which Kropf defines as "To bound, leap up, jump up and down in the same place, as Kafirs in dancing" (474).
- 11 To get to the cause of our problems.

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