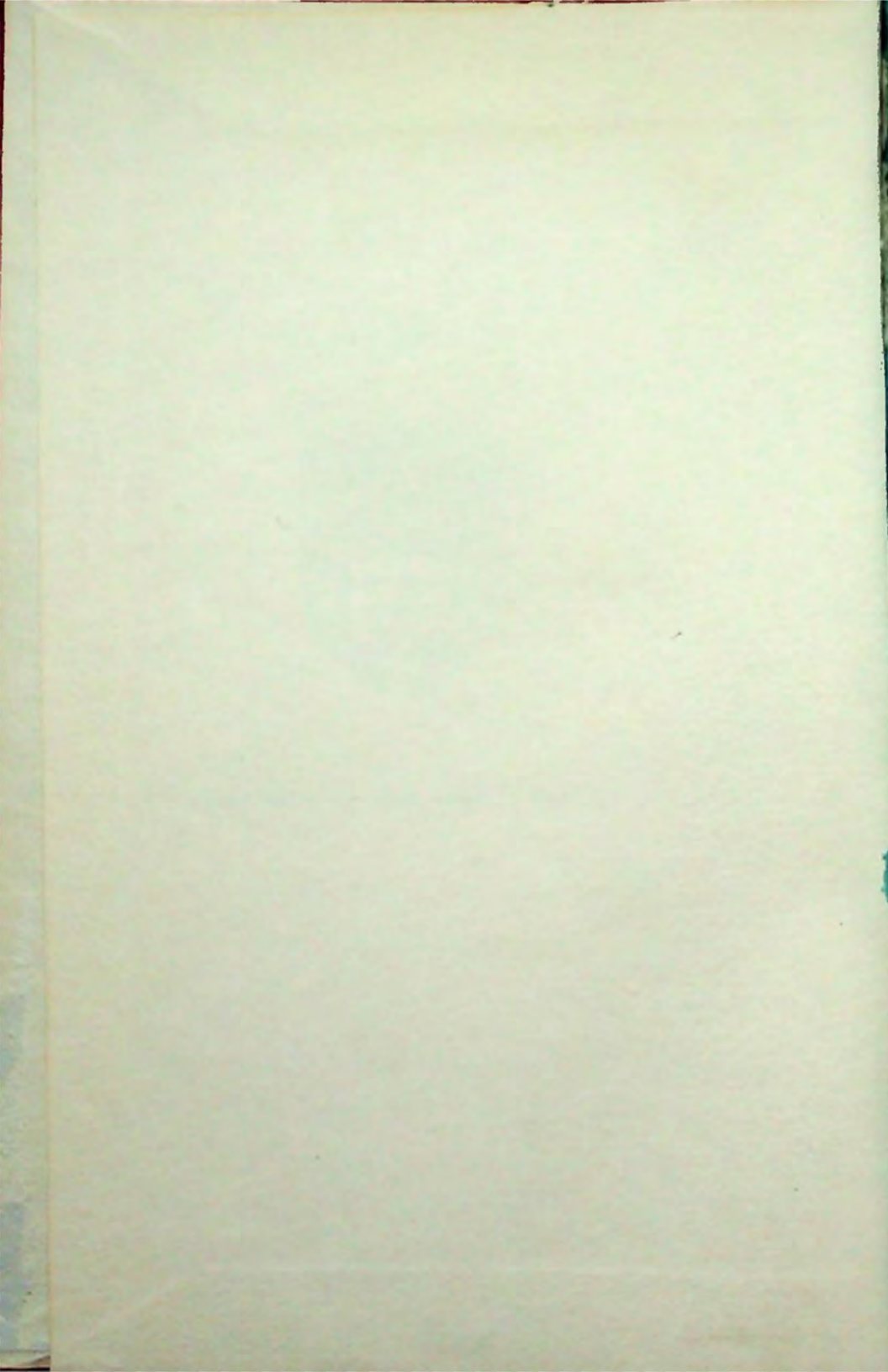




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LOVEDALE AND LITERATURE FOR THE BANTU

A Brief History and a Forecast

By

R. H. W. SHEPHERD, M.A., D.Litt.

Principal of Lovedale

PRINTED BY
THE LOVEDALE PRESS
1945



2 G. J. R. Darbyshire,
The Archbishop of Cape Town

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FOREWORD

In the pages that follow an attempt is made to sketch the efforts of the Presbyterian missionaries from Scotland who founded and have carried on Lovedale, as they sought to further the development of literature among the Bantu people of South Africa. From this as starting-point, various aspects of a literature movement among Africans are passed in review, particularly the need for guidance and encouragement to those engaged in such a movement, the lines along which help should be given, and the question of Bantu reaction to European sponsorship. In the closing sections an attempt is made to foresee developments and to say what future contribution Bantu literature may make to literature as a whole.

The survey covers the period up to 1941 ; in July of that year Lovedale Institution celebrated its centenary.

R. H. W. SHEPHERD.

Lovedale, Cape Province.

(This book was submitted as supplementary to the main Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Literature and accepted by the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa).

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CHAPTER I

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT POSITION

The Glasgow Missionary Society, under whose auspices Lovedale was founded, sent its first agents, the Rev. W. R. Thomson and Mr. John Bennie, to South Africa in 1821. Even before Bennie left Britain, he was planning the provision of literature for the Bantu. He recorded that the "Tract Society" was furnishing him with a quantity of English and Dutch tracts. "I wish they could give us a few in the Caffre language too, but alas! there is not a morsel for my poor Caffres." Already his mind was set also on the translation of the Scriptures into the language of the people to whom he was going, and so the British and Foreign Bible Society gave him for his aid a Hebrew Bible, a Dutch Bible, a Syriac Testament and an Arabic Testament and Psalter, as well as 25 Dutch and 25 English Bibles for distribution.¹

We recognise even more the boldness of Bennie's plans when we remember that up to that time the Bantu were devoid of the knowledge of letters. While their spoken languages were highly developed and they had much traditional lore, they were utterly illiterate and had not so much as a written alphabet. One of Bennie's first tasks when settled at Chumie Mission station, only a few miles from the present site of Lovedale Institution, was to devise an orthography for Xhosa.

EARLY EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS

Chumie station had been begun by the Rev. John Brownlee in June 1820. When he was joined by Thomson and Bennie in November of the following year, the three men agreed on a division of labour. As a result, a school was opened for children and put under the supervision of Bennie. Three months after beginning his missionary duties, he had forty pupils in attendance and in the following month between fifty and sixty. Some of the Bantu as well as the Hottentots in the vicinity had been in touch with Dutch settlers, and so the missionaries found it

Glasgow Missionary Society Report, 1821, pp. 11-12.

necessary to learn not only the Xhosa but also the Dutch language. In a few months Bennie—a gifted linguist—was so proficient in the latter that he was able to converse and teach in it. The Xhosa tongue he found more difficult, but yet before a year was over he was able to report: “The attainment of it will certainly be a most difficult task; but to the poor people it is of great importance. We are much in want of proper assistants. We will, however, lay the foundation as well as we can, on which future Missionaries may build; and we have a few stones already collected. For we have got a little way with our Vocabulary. I have got the children in the school to repeat, in their native tongue, the Lord’s prayer, a morning prayer, thirty short questions, a part of the Creed, a doxology, and part of the twenty-third Psalm, the whole of which we have translated.”¹ He proceeds to give specimens of the language and to make observations on the sounds and orthography of Xhosa, as adopted by the missionaries. “It is a fine, soft, agreeable language, and uncommonly musical, and the chief defect in the attainment of it, besides the various clacks (clicks), is the ignorance of the Caffres concerning hundreds of objects, and by consequence of their names, with which the civilized world is familiar.”² The lack of a written language among the people and of books for teaching in school was partly got over by the employment of sandboards, “according to the Lancasterian plan.”³

It deserves to be noted that from the period of the first contacts with the Bantu respect for their intellectual qualities was engendered. “The stamina of their intellectual faculties,” says a missionary report of more than a century ago, “may be said to be good. Though, in the native condition, they are entirely destitute of education, and of every species of learning, yet their minds are neither blunt nor dwarfish. They are quick to apprehend, shrewd to discover an error, and can readily appreciate an argument when it is set before them.”⁴ As early as 1823 the missionaries at Chumie reported that the Bantu were a fine race

¹ *G.M.S. Report*, 1822, p. 30

² *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1

³ *Ibid.*, 1823, p. 8

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1832, p. 11

of people and that nothing but religion and civilization were wanting to exalt them in the scale of being—to raise them to the true dignity of human nature.¹

FIRST PRINTING PRESS

The efforts in school and the cherished aim of providing literature were both greatly furthered by an event of the year 1823. In September of that year, a new missionary, the Rev. John Ross, arrived at Cape Town and was met by Brownlee. Ross had with him a small Ruthven printing-press, with a quantity of type, paper and ink.² These the missionaries put on a wagon and travelled with it overland from Cape Town to Chumie, a journey of a thousand miles, as detours were made to include Caledon and Genadendal. Arriving at Chumie on 16th December, the press was got in order on the 17th; on the 18th the alphabet was set up; on the 19th fifty copies were thrown off; and on the 20th Bennie recorded that a new era had commenced in the history of the Bantu people.³ He spoke even more truly than he knew.

From the time of the setting-up of the press Bennie and his colleagues (Brownlee, Thomson and Ross) bent their minds to the production of literature, including the Scriptures. Bennie was soon busily engaged "in reducing to form and rule this language which hitherto floated in the wind."⁴ In the Public Library at Cape Town may be seen a small booklet printed by the press in 1824. The title-page reads:

INCWADI YOKUQALA
 EKUTETENI
 GOKWAMAXOSA
 ETYUME
 ILIZWE LAMAXOSA
 YABADEKWA LUBADEKO LUWATUNYUWA
 EGLASGO
 1824

¹ *G.M.S. Report*, 1823, p. 21

² *Ibid.*, p. 24

³ *Ibid.*, 1824, p. 27

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1825, p. 11

It contains the alphabet, spelling lists of two letters, three letters, four letters, and five, six and seven letters, and then groups of sentences. Thereafter we have a morning prayer, an evening prayer, "thanks before eating" and "thanks after eating." Two extra sheets attached to the booklet contain the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. It is the first of the spelling-books or elementary Readers which were produced at Chumie.* A spelling-book printed in 1829 was Bennie's own, as were also the *First Kaffir Reader* and the *Second Kaffir Reader*, printed at Grahamstown in 1839.

Bennie, however, had larger ambitions. He was soon working at the preparation of a Grammar. So early as December 1824 he recorded that he had a considerable quantity of materials ready for it.¹ He was also engaged in preparing a large vocabulary. And so the first ambitious work of the press was published at the new station of Lovedale, to which it had been shifted, in 1826. It bore the title *A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in two Parts; to which is prefixed an Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar*. In addition to this printed book there exists a MS. grammar, dated 1832. This MS.—dated two years before the appearance of the first complete Kafir Grammar in print, that of W. B. Boyce—is an elaborate treatise on the Kafir alphabet and the Kafir syllables, followed by detailed discussions on the noun, the adjective, the numeral, the pronoun and the verb. Over and over again Bennie in this MS. seems to be on the point of discovering the Euphonic Concord, but he never actually strikes it. But, in spite of this, he anticipates much that is embodied in later grammars, and notes also some things that are not to be found in them.² The important principle of the Euphonic Concord was discovered and made known by Boyce. In addition to the *Systematic Vocabulary* printed in 1826 there exists in MS. *A Dictionary in Kafferse and English* by John Bennie. This is a remarkable work which is of value to-day.

* Note. "Chumie" was the spelling used by the missionaries in their communications to Scotland, but it is noteworthy that Bennie shows his powers as a phonetician by spelling it *Etyume* in the Xhosa spelling book of 1824

¹ Appendix to *G.M.S. Report*, 1825

² R. Godfrey in *Bantu Studies*, June, 1934, pp. 123-34

While pursuing these tasks Bennie was also making a permanent contribution to hymnology. He was a prolific hymn-writer, and fifty-one of his hymns are found to-day in the *Incwadi Amaculo a-e-Rube*, the Xhosa Presbyterian hymn-book.

The publication work of the early years at Chumie and Lovedale was carried on under various difficulties. In 1825 the missionaries reported that they were "labouring under disadvantages arising from the want of some particular letters in the font of types which was sent them, calculated as it was according to the English and not the Caffer proportion of sounds."¹ An original spelling-sheet printed at Chumie and now in the possession of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, confirms other evidence that the press was a small one. And so for the provision of larger alphabets the missionaries in 1829 were looking to Cape Town.² Most serious handicap of all was the fact that the press was utterly destroyed in the war of 1834-35.

Before that calamity, however, the missionaries had extended their collaboration with those of other societies. In 1830 agents of the Glasgow, London and Methodist Societies met at Buffalo "for the purpose of fixing rules for writing the language." They took Bennie's system as the basis.³ This co-operative effort led to further collaboration for the publication of the Scriptures.

BIBLE TRANSLATION

The rendering of the Bible into Xhosa was the missionaries' paramount literary task, from the days when Brownlee, Thomson, Bennie and Ross were together at Chumie. Different books were assigned to different individuals. In this work far-seeing views prevailed. It was reported in 1825: "Aware of the importance of an accurate version, and of the difficulty of translating such a pure, spiritual volume as the Bible into the language of a people conversant only about material objects, they have resolved to exercise the most vigilant caution before they commit their version to the press. The work of one is examined separate-

¹ *G.M.S. Report*, 1826, p. 11

² *Ibid.*, 1829, p. 18

³ *Ibid.*, 1831, pp. 18-19

ly and successively by them all. Errors, which otherwise might have escaped the eye of the most scrupulous, are thus corrected, useful discussions upon the language are promoted, and the translation when it comes forth, will be stamped in the eyes of the Natives, and of the world, with the name and authority of the whole Institution."¹ Parts of the Bible when translated were read for some time in public worship from manuscript, and in that form were revised and re-revised, so as to render them more and more accurate.² To Thomson was early assigned the duty of translating St. John's Gospel and to Brownlee that of St. Matthew.³ Later Brownlee translated St. Mark,⁴ but in its first printed version it came from the pen of John Bennie,⁵ as did also the Acts of the Apostles. For the prosecution of the work on these two books Bennie was set free from his duties at Lovedale and went to live at Somerset East, having taken with him a competent Native assistant.⁶ The First Epistle of John and a history of the Bible came from the pen of Ross.⁷

It is noteworthy that in translating the New Testament the Chumie and Lovedale missionaries had before them the original Greek, the Latin version of Beza, the Authorised English version and that of the Reformed Dutch Church.⁸

The task of translating the whole Bible was rightly deemed too great for the missionaries of one society who were beset with many other tasks, and so in 1831 there met at Buffalo River (now King William's Town) representatives of the London, Wesleyan and Glasgow Societies to consider co-operative effort. They agreed to collect the books of the Bible which various missionaries had translated. They arranged also to write a letter to the British and Foreign Bible Society, requesting assistance in the printing of the New Testament, or a large portion of it, in Xhosa.⁹ From that time Bible translation became more and more a joint

¹ *G.M.S. Report*, 1825, p. 12

² *G.M.S. Quarterly Paper V*, p. 10

³ *G.M.S. Report*, 1825, p. 12

⁴ *G.M.S. Quarterly Paper V*, p. 10

⁵ *Laing's Memorials*, p. 339

⁶ *G.M.S. Report*, 1837, p. 18

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1829, p. 18

⁸ *G.M.S. Quarterly Paper XIII*, pp. 1-3

⁹ *G.M.S. Report*, 1832, pp. 17-18

task. Also with the destruction of the Chumie press in the war of 1834-35 and the increased functioning of the Wesleyan press at Mount Coke, the share of the Glasgow Society became less prominent and the contribution of Wesleyan missionaries markedly increased. The first *published* translation in Xhosa was that of Luke's Gospel, brought out by Boyce and Shaw, of the Wesleyan Society in 1833. The New Testament was completed in 1838 and published in 1846.¹ J. W. Appleyard, of the Wesleyan Society made a separate translation of the New Testament in 1854, and he and A. Kropf of the Berlin Society completed the Old Testament in 1857.²

The contributions of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard and of the Wesleyan Society to Bible translation in Xhosa were outstanding, and so it was not surprising that in the early 'sixties the British and Foreign Bible Society made to them a proposition that the Bible Society should bear the expense of printing a full edition of the Xhosa Scriptures. The Wesleyan Society naturally assumed the responsibility of singly responding to this, and Mr. Appleyard proceeded to England to revise the work and see it through the press. The complete book was published early in 1865. It was received in South Africa with satisfaction and gratitude. "Such feelings of satisfaction, however, were considerably modified, when those who were best fitted to judge the character of the translation, had had time to examine, and to form a judgment of it. It was not long till it was known that some of these had come to the decided conviction—a conviction to which they did not shrink from giving unhesitating expression—that this could not be accepted as an *authorised* version, and that it was indispensable that, without delay, means should be used to have it thoroughly revised."³ The version indeed met with considerable criticism in Lovedale and other places, one of the severest critics being the first fully-qualified Bantu minister, the Rev. Tiyo Soga. Many of the strictures passed were printed as a pamphlet, to which Mr. Appleyard replied in his vigorous

¹ Dr. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1940, p. 245

The Bible Throughout the World, by R. Kilgour, p. 66

² Dr. C. M. Doke, *Ibid.*

³ Rev. William Govan, first Principal of Lovedale, in *Memorials of the Rev. James Laing*, p. 265

An Apology for the Kafir Bible. The controversy is important in connection with Lovedale's literary history because it led to the Scottish missionaries again taking a prominent part in Scripture translation, but even more important because it led to the appointment of a new Revision Board. To this Board, appointed in 1868, a representative was sent from each of the following Churches and Missionary Societies: Church of England, Moravian, London Missionary Society, Wesleyan, Berlin Missionary Society, United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the Free Church of Scotland.¹ Work began in April 1869. It was arranged that the Board should have sessions when the members would work together for nine or ten hours daily. The New Testament revision was completed in 1877.² It was printed at Mount Coke.³ The whole Bible in its revised form was ready in 1887. In regard to the Old Testament, tentative editions of the Book of Genesis and of the Psalms were printed at Lovedale. This revision of the Bible proved to be a very scholarly version of great credit to the translators, and of far-reaching influence on the standardization of the language.⁴ On the Board the Revs. J. W. Appleyard, Tiyo Soga, A. Kropf, Bryce Ross, J. A. Chalmers and the Hon. Charles Brownlee were prominent figures.⁵ Messrs. Appleyard and Soga, however, passed away while the New Testament was being revised.⁶

It deserves to be emphasized that "Appleyard's Version" remains to this day a favourite version of many of the Xhosa-speaking people, who prefer its more colloquial terms.*

¹ *Memorials of Rev. James Laing*, p. 268

² *Christian Express*, October, 1877, pp. 6-8

³ *Ibid.*, August, 1883, p. 119

⁴ *Memorials of Rev. James Laing*, pp. 261-9

⁵ *Christian Express*, August, 1887, pp. 119-20, 125

⁶ *Ibid.*, m., Aug. 1883, p. 119

* *Note I.* The new version, though generally approved, met with considerable criticism. Some of the objections voiced against the revised New Testament of 1877 were the following:

1. Its language was not the language of the common people. Many unusual words and even outlandish words figured in it. Many *hlonipha* words and obsolete "Gaika" words had been given a place.
2. "Pricking" words—"that make people repent"—had been removed. Puerile words, used only by boys in their sports, and colloquial words beneath the dignity and sacredness of Holy Scrip-

In the final stages, the labour and service of the Revs. A. Kropf and Bryce Ross were specially outstanding.¹ Both had the degree of doctor of divinity conferred upon them, the one by Berlin University and the other by Glasgow. In earlier years, Bryce Ross was on the staff of Lovedale as minister, translator and preacher.

Other revisions of the Xhosa Bible have been carried through, notably in 1927 when the Union Version was produced (a compromise between the Re-revised and Appleyard's) and in 1937 when further revision was undertaken and the new orthography adopted. To the conversion into the new orthography Dr. W. G. Bennie and the Rev. R. Godfrey gave long and devoted

ture, had been included. Some unnecessarily indelicate expressions had been used.

3. An occasional infelicitous not to say erroneous word was used to designate the Botany, the Zoology, the Ornithology, the Minerology and the Entomology of Scripture.
4. It was not a true revision because Appleyard's Version² was not taken as the basis.
5. It ignored the Fingo dialect.
6. Passages hard to translate had the traditional rendering altered. An occasional too literal rendering of some idiomatic expression from the original became obscure and sometimes unintelligible to a Native mind.
7. The revisers slavishly followed the received text.
8. The version did not recognize typographically the distinction between poetry and prose, or of quotations.
9. It had no marginal references.

(*Christian Express*, October, 1877, pp. 6-8; May 1878, pp. 11-12; June, 12-14; July, 9-10; August, 2-3; September, 3-4; October, 2-3; August, 1883, 119-120; September, 138-9.)

Note II. As an indication of the contributions made by the representatives of the different different Societies, we may cite the following tables of days given to the meetings of the Board by the members :

	<i>New Testament</i>	<i>Old Testament</i>
	62 days	72 days
	(Figures available only up to Book of Jeremiah.)	
Church of England	62 days	72 days
Moravian	72	Nil
L.M.S.	152	62
Wesleyan	186	34
United Presbyterian	194	147
Free Church	191	216
Berlin	201	216

(*Christian Express*, August, 1883, pp. 119-120)

¹ *Christian Express*, August, 1887, p. 125

labour, so that the Bible in the new orthography was published in 1942. It has been customary for the Revision Board in modern times to hold its meetings at Lovedale.

It would be unfair to leave the impression that the Xhosa-speaking area was unique in its interest in the translation of the Bible into African languages. Of other areas a similar story can be told. The first published scripture translation we have is that by the great missionary Robert Moffat into Tswana; in 1830 he published Luke's Gospel, the printing being done at the Government printing-office in Cape Town.¹ In 1840 the New Testament translated by Moffat into Tswana appeared, 500 copies being brought from England to South Africa by David Livingstone in 1840.² Moffat's translation of the Old Testament was published in 1857.³ The New Testament in Southern Sotho appeared in 1855 and the whole Bible in 1881.⁴ The New Testament in Zulu was published in 1865,⁵ and the whole Bible in 1883.⁶

Recognition must be made of the fact that the Bible Societies, British and American, have rendered service beyond all praise in providing excellent translations of the Bible in the principal South African vernacular tongues. The volumes also have generally served the secondary purpose of giving standards for purity of language.

OTHER LITERATURE

In addition to the Scriptures, various books for the prosecution of the evangelistic and educational tasks were planned or produced in Xhosa at Lovedale in early years: hymn-books, devotional books, translations such as Tiyo Soga's Xhosa edition of the first part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, spelling-books, readers, and many more. Of much influence in the schools were the *First Kaffir Reader* and the *Second Kaffir Reader*, which appeared in 1839 and continued in use for about three generations.

¹ *Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, by J. S. Moffat, pp. 165-6. Dr. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1940, p. 245

² *Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, p. 231

³ *Ibid.*, 318

⁴ Dr. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1940, p. 245

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *The Bible Throughout the World*, by R. Kilgour, p. 66

As already mentioned, the first press which was installed at Chumie in 1823 was totally destroyed in the war of 1834-5. A second press was sent from Britain in 1837. It also was destroyed at Chumie, in the war of 1846-7. Lovedale was transferred to a new site in 1838, but there was no printing or binding as part of the operations of the mission station till 1861. The Rev. William Govan, the first Principal of Lovedale, collected £1,000 from friends overseas, and without government aid opened in the year mentioned the new department.¹ In addition to Mr. Robert Stocks, a printer brought from Scotland, there was appointed the Rev. Bryce Ross as translator, editor of school books and of the vernacular magazine *Indaba*.² In addition to printing and bookbinding, a book store was opened at the same time for the sale of Lovedale and other publications. Thus there came into being the departments which are to-day united in the Lovedale Press and which have been functioning continuously for over eighty years.

In the year that the new departments were opened at Lovedale the Rev. John Ross, who had brought the first printing press from Britain to Chumie nearly forty years before, showed that his interest in literature was unabated, for he wrote that there must be provided "good books for youth and age, for the Lord's Day and week-days, for schools and libraries. . . . The Church has still her own people, for whom to care. She should not forget that her commission extends to the world—whence others are to be called—the world of readers, who become the men of action, for evil as much as for good."³

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

It was in pursuance of such ideals that the Scottish missionaries arranged for the publication of periodical literature. Their first attempt was in 1841 when there was printed at Chumie a small magazine in English and Xhosa named *Ikwezi* (The Morning Star). Only a few issues were printed.⁴ In 1862

¹ *Indaba*, January, 1864

² *African Wastes Reclaimed*, by R. F. Young, p. 83.

Memorials of the Rev. James Laing, pp. 214-8

³ *MS. Letter*, J. Ross to Prof. G. C. M. Douglas, 11th April, 1860

⁴ *Memorials of Rev. James Laing*, pp. 351-2

Indaba (The News), a Lovedale magazine in English and Xhosa, began to appear. This was published only for a few years, but in 1870 Dr. Stewart began the new venture *The Kafir Express*, a monthly magazine, partly in Xhosa and partly in English. In 1876 this was divided in two. The English portion was then issued as *The Christian Express* and the vernacular portion as the *Isigidimi Sama-Xosa* (The Xosa Messenger). At the time of the first publication of the latter it was declared that the period when a newspaper begins to live in the history of any people is an important era. The magazine was being sent forth to ascertain if that time had arrived among the Bantu people of South Africa. The newspaper was undoubtedly a great educator, and were the *Isigidimi Sama-Xosa* to become an established fact, it might be the means of educating, informing, carrying ideas, and stimulating the desire to be able to read. It was hoped by it to scatter ideas in "the moral wastes and desert places of heathen ignorance," and aid the general missionary work of South Africa. Without printing, the mass of the people must remain barbarous, whatever might be the increase of their material wealth. In the *Isigidimi* it was hoped to supply a weekly sheet, such as would gradually induce the habit of reading and make it both a taste and a necessity; and thus serve as an educator in the highest sense of the word. It was desired to cultivate habits of intelligent thinking among a people—a fair proportion of whom thought acutely; and, above all, to aid their moral, spiritual, and social progress by the spread of Christian truth, for this alone could do them permanent good.¹ The *Isigidimi* ran for nearly eighteen years, when the appearance in King William's Town of the Xhosa weekly newspaper *Imvo*, under the editorship of J. Tengo Jabavu, who had also been editor of the *Isigidimi*, helped to lead to its discontinuance. It is noteworthy that the editors of *Isigidimi* were all Bantu—E. Makiwane, J. Knox Bokwe, J. Tengo Jabavu and W. W. Gqoba²—an early instance of Lovedale faith in Native capacity. The *Christian Express* (known since 1922 as the *South African Outlook*) has continued to this day and has always had considerable support from educated Africans,

¹ *Christian Express*, April, 1882, p. 2

² *Christian Express*, January, 1896, p. 1

among whom it has been a powerful literary force. It began as a journal of missionary news and Christian effort and was carried on in order to express the ideas of those who were engaged in such work, and to form a means of communication among missionaries, without regard to denomination. In time (to tell its later history here) it gradually changed to concentrate on South African Native affairs. With the awakening race consciousness of the southern Bantu, and the need for voicing their difficulties, grievances, advances and aspirations under the influence of Christian civilization it had become an organ primarily and mainly concerned with what might broadly be called the progress of the Kingdom of God among them. The change in name to *The South African Outlook*, adopted in 1922, represented a change that in fact had long existed. There was no innovation in the principles for which the magazine had so long stood. The *Outlook* has a large and influential editorial committee including some prominent Africans. Lovedale and Fort Hare hold a body of men who are devoting their lives to the study of racial problems in South Africa, and it may be claimed that not a few of them have become specialists in certain aspects, such as Native health, education and economics. Every month this committee holds a round-table conference at which the policy of the magazine in regard to public questions is discussed. The *Outlook* acts as the official organ of the Christian Council of South Africa. It meets the wants of the general public who desire information on racial affairs. The racial problems in South Africa has so many aspects, the references to it in the public press are so numerous, the books published concerning it so varied, that there is need of guidance. The *South African Outlook* seeks to throw light on Native questions in the southern continent while also stating the bearing of events in other lands on South African problems. With no political bias but fearless in its comments on inter-racial affairs, it seeks to place before its readers, European and African, the latest facts concerning the inter-racial situation and to suggest measures for the advancement of all races in the land. To Africans it has rendered special service by the guidance given in its columns, by providing them with a medium of expression, and by giving them a share in its

management with all this means by way of training in literary and public affairs.*

COLPORTAGE

A colportage scheme was begun at Lovedale in 1880 as an aid to book distribution and supplementary to the book store, but after a short time it had to be abandoned as the financial loss was too great.¹

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS

It must be acknowledged that, despite all the efforts that had been made, more than fifty years after the setting up of the press at Chumie the Xhosa literature produced in Lovedale and at other centres was not extensive. In 1877, after taking a wide survey, the extent of the literature was summed up as follows: "Of translations, the Bible (the new version of which is acknowledged by all unprejudiced critics to be excellent), *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by the late Rev. Tiyo Soga, *The Westminster Shorter Catechism*, (the booklets) *Come to Jesus, Follow Jesus, The Angel's Message* (translated by a Native), *The Book of Common Prayer*, or part of it, *The Book of Offices* (Wesleyan) and fifteen *Sermons* by Wesley translated by Rev. E. J. Barrett—the last two just published—are the more important and almost the whole. Of works more or less original, there are the various hymn-books, a small compendium of Wesleyan Theology, *Umhlobo Wabashumayeli*, and the different school books in use . . . and a number of tracts and sermons that have from time to time appeared and disappeared. It seems somewhat strange that the literary result of more than fifty years of mission work should be so small."²

Yet to make such an assessment as the foregoing was not to use the fairest method. Far beyond missionary circles it has been freely recognized that a great debt is due to missionaries,

* In 1882 various periodicals, besides the *Isigidimi Samaxosa* were being published by missions in South Africa. They included *Ubaqa* (The Lamp) in Zulu, *Leselinyana* (The Little Light) in Southern Sotho and *Umwesile* (The Wesleyan) published at Grahamstown in Xhosa. (*Christian Express*, April 1882, p. 2.)

¹ *Christian Express*, 1881, p. 1

² *Christian Express*, December, 1877, p. 2

and not least to early missionaries, for their work in this important field. To take one instance, Professor C. M. Doke, the Joint Editor of *Bantu Studies*, writing of the research work done in the various language fields, paid the tribute: "A great deal of this—all the pioneer work—must be placed to the credit of the various missionaries who have done and are doing yeoman service, often at great disadvantage and with scant equipment. Much of their work is of such a quality that it will not be superseded for many a year . . . Their names are written in the hearts of the people, and inscribed in their lasting contribution to South African literature."¹

The fact is that the mass of the vernacular literature published in the past emanated, and still to-day emanates, from mission presses, and naturally such literature has sought to fulfil the aims of missionary societies. Thus books of a scriptural or devotional character and text-books for schools predominate.

Yet even in far-back years wider views prevailed. It is noteworthy that early in the 'seventies there was published at Lovedale the first historical work of the later famous historian George M. Theal. It was entitled a *Compendium of South African History and Geography*. Theal was a teacher-printer on the Lovedale staff at the time, and not only wrote the book but largely did the type-setting with his own hands. Again, *Lovedale Past and Present*, a book of nearly 700 pages and containing a simple record of facts, giving brief biographies of some 2,000 Natives and of hundreds of Europeans, who had at different times come to Lovedale for instruction, went far beyond the ordinary limits of church and school literature. It was an apologia for Africans and work among them which has never been surpassed in effectiveness.

Again, Lovedale did an indirect but valuable service towards bringing Bantu literature into esteem when at an early stage of its work as printer and publisher it set a high standard of workmanship. Fifty years ago it was declared, "We have never aimed at cheapness, but to produce really good work at a fair price."²

¹ Dr. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, p. 26

² *Lovedale Missionary Report*, 1892, p. 39

TWENTIETH CENTURY PROGRESS

Progress slow but sure was made in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The years of the present century have however seen considerable advance made at Lovedale in furthering Bantu literature. With the spread of education among the Bantu tribes and the entry into the publishing field of non-Christian and even anti-Christian forces, it became increasingly recognized that the provision of suitable literature of very varied kinds for the thousands who had been taught to read was a paramount duty of the Christian Church. To overtake a developing programme radical changes were made in the organization of the Lovedale Press. Perhaps the biggest step was taken when in 1928 the various departments were combined into one organization under the one Director, with Publications and Works Managers, the whole controlled by a special committee of the Governing Council of the Institution. The aim of the Press was, as ever, to provide the aid of the printed word to the Bantu people, and it was therefore no hardship when trade union regulations laid it down that the Press must confine its operations to Bantu literature and missionary or Native affairs publications. The most common languages employed have always been Xhosa and English, although generally each year sees some ten to twenty languages appearing in the printing done by the Press. An issue, for example, of *Bantu Studies*,* a journal devoted to the scientific study of Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman, may contain six different languages. This magazine is published by the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand but the printing is done at Lovedale.

TWO PRINCIPLES

Two subsidiary principles have guided the Lovedale Press in the activities of recent years. One is that books which are to be paid for and used by the Bantu people of South Africa should, as far as possible, be printed and bound by Bantu workmen. So just a principle, it might be thought, would be accepted as axiomatic, especially by those interested in the advancement of the Bantu, particularly in these days when a "white labour"

* Now *African Studies*

policy in government circles has reduced the number of the avenues of employment open to Africans. It is, however, not so. Even churches and missionary societies which inveigh against the governmental policy still place work in Europe which could be done equally well and cheaply by Bantu workmen in South Africa. War circumstances, however, are causing some rectification of this position.

The other principle is that Bantu authors should be encouraged as much as possible. During recent years Lovedale has accepted for publication at its own risk and cost books by the following, Bantu authors: H. I. E. Dhlomo, R. R. Dhlomo, Z. Futshane, D. D. T. Jabavu, A. C. Jordan, J. J. R. Jolobe, R. T. Kawa, M. Kgasi, S. E. R. Mqhayi, J. S. Mpanza, H. M. Ndawo, A. Z. Ngani, S. T. Platje, G. B. Sinxo, T. B. Soga, V. Swaartbooi, and by Bantu composers such as W. T. Bam, R. T. Caluza, D. C. Marivate, M. M. Moerane, E. A. J. Monaisa, S. M. Mphahlele, E. Sontonga and B. Tyamzashe. The difficulty that Bantu authors and composers have in financing the publication of their work has been met by the Lovedale Press bearing all the costs of publication and paying a royalty on sales to the authors or composers.

In October 1936 and again in September 1937, the Lovedale Director of Publications convened meetings of Bantu authors, in order to encourage and assist African writers, and to consult with them regarding the steps which could be taken for the development of the literature of the Bantu languages of South Africa. The first meeting was held at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, Florida, Transvaal, and the second at the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand. Both gatherings were small in number—eight African authors on the first occasion and nine on the second, along with some European friends—but all the Bantu were men who had had meritorious work published. The present writer presided over both Conferences and among other European friends who attended were Professor C. M. Doke, Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, Rev. R. Ellenberger and Dr. J. Lennox. The main Southern Bantu language groups were represented at the meetings. Among the subjects dealt with were: Obstacles to

Publication ; Payment—royalty or lump sum ; Unpublished manuscripts in existence ; Literary competitions ; Training in Language and Literature ; Orthography ; Unification of Dialects ; Language and Medium ; the Use of Native Presses ; the Need for Magazine Literature among the Bantu ; a Bantu Academy ; Problems of Distribution ; Preservation and Development of Bantu Indigenous Songs ; African Language Nomenclature ; and Borrowed Words.¹

One of the most hopeful features of recent years has been that Bantu authors, particularly in Xhosa and Southern Sotho, have been producing works in fiction, poetry, biography, history and essays. Indeed, there is now in some of the Bantu languages a fair and growing number of books available for general and cultural reading. Mofolo's *Moeti oa Bochabela* (" Traveller to the East ") and his *Chaka*, both in Southern Sotho ; Mqhayi's *Ityala la Mawele* (" The Lawsuit of the Twins ") and his collection of verse *Imi-Hobe Nemi-Bongo*, Jordan's *Inqumbo Yeminyanya* (" The Wrath of the Ancestors "), and Jolobe's *Anavo* (Essays), all in Xhosa ; S. T. Plaatje's *Diphòshò-phòshò*, a remarkable translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, in Tswana ; Bareng's *Lithothokiso tsa Moshoeshoe le tse Ling* (Praises of Moshesh and other praises) in Southern Sotho and Vilakazi's *Inkondlo Kazulu* in Zulu, as well as the works of other writers, all tell of a literary movement still in its infancy but of immense possibilities. A large number of meritorious MSS. also remain unpublished, chiefly because of war conditions and for financial reasons, despite the efforts of some presses to give the Bantu author his chance.

A few Bantu writers have written books of merit in English. D. T. T. Jabavu, of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, has penned several, of which the best-known is *The Black Problem* ; Dr. S. M. Molema published *The Bantu* ; S. T. Plaatje *Mhudi*, a novel ; H. I. E. Dhlomo a play, *The Girl Who Killed to Save* ; and R. R. Dhlomo a short novel, *An African Tragedy*.

¹ *Report of African Authors Conference, October, 1936* ; also *South African Outlook, November, 1937, pp. 246-9*, for report of second Conference.

Magazines produced solely by Bantu editors and publishers in the vernacular are practically non-existent in South Africa. Such vernacular magazines as do circulate among the Bantu, e.g. *Umcebisi Wo-Mlimi No-Mfuyi*, a magazine devoted to agricultural interests and published under the auspices of the United Transkeian Territories General Council, *The Health Magazine* published (in English, Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho) at Lovedale and *Moxwera wa Babaso* (Companion of the Black People) are in part the product of European initiative and supervision. Native authors, however, make frequent contributions to such magazines, and there are sometimes Native joint or assistant editors.

In the newspaper field, Bantu editors and publishers have been engaged for many years. *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Native Opinion) led the way in 1884. To-day there are some ten weekly Bantu newspapers regularly appearing. The best known of these are *The Bantu World*, *Ilanga lase Natal*, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, *Umteteli Wa-Bantu* and *Ieselinyana la Lesotho*. Most of these are under European management but Bantu editorship. In all of them articles in English find some space, but the major portion is devoted to vernacular writing, frequently in several languages. Their tone is good.

LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

Modern days have seen a big development of the Lovedale Press. Some of the principal lines of advance have been :

- (1) Religious books and pamphlets.
- (2) Important ethnological, historical and sociological works.
- (3) School Readers.
- (4) Numerous other volumes published in English or the African languages Xhosa, Zulu, and Tswana have belonged to the classes of church service books, plays, history, domestic science, fiction, poetry, language and music. In 1939 sixteen new books were financed and published by the Press.

No MS. is accepted, even though the author is prepared to meet the cost of publication, unless it is found after close scrutiny to have reached a certain standard of excellence.

While not a few of the books may seem to have more of a utilitarian than a literary value, the latter aspect is not forgotten.

This is best seen in the Press's most popular series, *The Stewart Xhosa Readers*. (This indeed is the "best seller" of all series handled by the Cape Province Requisites Store, in English, Afrikaans or any other language.) The books for the primary school are eight in number, from Sub A to Standard VI, and there is a Senior Reader and also an anthology (*Imibengo*) for post-primary classes. As the series sells in tens of thousands every year multitudes of young Bantu are having their introduction to literature by their means. It has been well remarked¹ that the teaching of the home language should be through good examples of the language, that the pupil may thereby gain culture, improve his own speech, and widen his knowledge of his people's lore. It is through this early drill in reading his language that the pupil may lay a sound basis in the heritage of his own people and his immediate surroundings. It is essential, therefore, that the primary reading books in the vernacular should be written in unimpeachable Bantu, necessarily very simple in style to begin with, but none the less correct and idiomatic. It is also essential that such books should treat of subjects apprehendable by the pupils, subjects touching their everyday life and the things around them, subjects connected with what is talked about in the kraal, their folk-lore and traditions. The pupils' interest—and intelligent interest—is necessary in what they are given to read. It is significant that the writer who has formulated these excellent principles goes on to say that the *Stewart Xhosa Readers* which were prepared under the editorship of Dr. W. G. Bennie, late Chief Inspector for Native Education, Cape Province, are of outstanding merit, are well-graded according to difficulty and reading-matter, and calculated to sustain the interest of the children from the beginning, they are also well-illustrated, and contain only the "best" Xhosa throughout. He concludes that the whole series provides a large amount of new material specially contributed by leading Native writers, as well as good idiomatic translations from well-known stories from Europe, and a number of Bantu folk-tales and typical poems.² Thus it may be claimed that even in the school-books no slight

¹ Dr. C. M. Doke in *Africa*, April, 1935, pp. 189-90

² Dr. C. M. Doke in *Africa*, April, 1935, p. 192

contribution is being made to the furtherance of Bantu literature, and there is the additional merit that in the Stewart series the work of forty-one Bantu writers finds a place.

A recent development is that some Lovedale publications are being illustrated by a Bantu artist. A lad of twenty years of age with a real gift but untrained was found in the Lovedale Hospital sketching his fellow-patients. He has since received tuition from the Professor of Art at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, and some of his pictures are to be found in Lovedale books.

The rate of development of the Lovedale Press in recent years may be gathered from some figures which tell of the sales of books, large and small, for which the Press has been financially responsible as publishers; the figures which are given below, take no account of magazines, pamphlets, etc. or of the books of other publishers sold at Lovedale:

1932	43,000	copies of books
1933	62,000	" " "
1934	73,000	" " "
1935	87,000	" " "
1936	120,000	" " "
1937	114,000	" " "
1938	107,000	" " "
1939	128,000	" " "
1940 (full war year)	124,000	" " "

For a list of the chief Lovedale publications, with explanatory notes, see Appendix I.

NATION-WIDE MOVEMENTS

In modern days, a feature of the Bantu literary movement has been the growing influence of University groups, particularly at such universities as the Witwatersrand and Cape Town. At these and at others, Departments of Bantu Studies have been established and they are in the forefront in their efforts for the development of Bantu literature and in furthering research into Bantu languages. An influential auxiliary to them is the Inter-University Committee of African Studies. In 1933 there was published through the influence of the latter body, *A Preliminary Investigation into the State of the Native Languages of South*

Africa with Suggestions as to Research and the Development of Literature. This publication is of great value both as an exhaustive critical survey of the contemporary position and of the lines along which development may best be encouraged. It also contains Appendices giving extensive Bibliographies of the important publications in the various languages. To this publication we shall frequently refer.

The Lovedale Press has sought to further a parallel movement among the missionary forces of South Africa, through the co-operative production and distribution of literature for the spiritual aid of the Bantu. At the meeting of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa held at Pretoria in 1932, the Director of Publications of the Lovedale Press endeavoured to review the existing situation and to state some of the principles that should guide the missionary forces in southern Africa in regard to the production and distribution of literature. He pleaded for a much more masterly and united plan and for the setting up of a body which would undertake certain specific tasks, such as :

- (a) Establish means to make more widely known the existing literature ;
- (b) Survey and evaluate with courage and candour the literature now available ;
- (c) Discover unfilled gaps or needs and suggest the order in which these needs should be met ;
- (d) Search out the persons best qualified by experience and literary ability to supply the particular needs, and especially to encourage African talent ;
- (e) Urge missionary societies to make arrangements, financial and otherwise, so that conditions would be favourable for the best literary work ;
- (f) Draw on the experience of other lands regarding the largest and most satisfactory introduction and use of literature ;
- (g) Endeavour to stimulate the love of reading among the Bantu people.¹

¹ *Proceedings of S. A. General Missionary Conference, 1932, pp. 127-8*

The objects in view were aided by subsequent happenings. In 1934 the Director of the Lovedale Press went, under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation Visitors' Grants Committee, to the United States and Canada in order to make a study of publication work, in various aspects, among the Negroes of America. He contended that in every aspect of a literature movement—intellectual, industrial and commercial—the Negroes were further along the road of progress than the Bantu, and yet not so far in advance as to render valueless the lessons they could teach to their African kinsmen; for they are essentially African people, with the spiritual, mental and physical characteristics of Africans, and for generations they have been the under-privileged section of the community in which their lot is cast. The results of the fourteen weeks tour in America were published in a booklet, *Literature for the South African Bantu: A Comparative Study of Negro Achievement*.

In 1936 he presided in Bloemfontein at a gathering of representatives of mission presses, church publishing houses and organizations interested in missionary vernacular literature, and pleaded for a forward movement in regard to literature production and distribution among the Bantu peoples. Long consideration was given to the main gaps or needs in Christian vernacular literature, co-operation in preparation and production, the place and work of African authors, and methods of distribution. The gathering commended to the consideration of the Christian Council of South Africa, then about to be inaugurated, the formation in each language area of a committee on which each church or missionary society in that area should be represented, to deal with the needs for literature in the particular vernacular of the area; and also for the formation of a central committee consisting of the conveners of the several language area or regional committees, the convener of this central committee to be an additional member appointed by the Christian Council.¹ The Christian Council accepted the suggestions and set up the regional and central committees proposed. The Director of Publications of Lovedale was appointed the first Literary Secretary of the Christian Council and also convener of the Council's central

¹ *Conferences on Literature for the Bantu*, pp. 3-9

literature committee, and for several years was actively engaged in a nationwide effort for the promotion of literature for the southern Bantu.

In April, 1930, while the Christian Council was in session in Cape Town, Lovedale arranged an exhibition of literature produced by South African mission presses. It came as a revelation to not a few to see how much is being done in literature for the help of the non-European peoples in the country.

Unfortunately war conditions have put a pause to certain activities.

COLPORTAGE

A further service rendered by Lovedale has been its efforts at book colportage. We have seen how an attempt in this direction begun in 1880 was soon abandoned.¹ In 1928, thanks to the initiative of Mr. D. A. Hunter, there was inaugurated the Lovedale Colportage Caravan Scheme. A notice of the proposed scheme placed in a magazine, brought into a Scottish business office an elderly lady who laid on the counter a cheque for £500 as her contribution towards the purchase of a motor caravan. Soon such a vehicle capable of carrying a liberal supply of books began to tour through a large part of South Africa. A colporteur, with ability to preach in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, was appointed. In ten years he had the valuable help of several African assistants, and wore out three vans. At lonely farms as well as in European townships and in Bantu locations, the van is a familiar object, and the modern George Borrow who is in charge is a welcome figure. Within a few years there had been sold from the van 9810 Bibles, Testaments and Scripture portions in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and Sotho. Of these the great majority were complete Bibles. The sales of Scriptures and books to foster the spiritual life amounted in the first ten years to £4573 14s. 8d., having risen from £176 1s. in the first year to £472 7s. 11d. in 1937, which was the highest total reached in one year. Since its inauguration the scheme has had the generous financial support of the National Bible Society of Scotland and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as of the promoter himself.

¹ See page 14

EXTENT OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE PRODUCED

The extent of the Christian literature being circulated in the various Southern Bantu languages may be gauged from some bibliographies which have appeared in the *South African Outlook* viz.,

Southern Sotho :	October, 1937
Northern ,, :	April, 1938
Tšwana :	September, 1938

A useful sketch of Christian literature in Xhosa was prepared by the Rev. E. W. Grant for the Ciskei Missionary Council and published in the *South African Outlook* in February, 1941. a full bibliography of such literature in Xhosa is in preparation. And it is hoped to publish similar bibliographies for the other South African languages.

It may be mentioned that in *Books for Africa*, the Quarterly Bulletin of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, in January, 1939, there appeared a *Survey of Literature in African Languages*. It gave the following figures :

<i>Language</i>	<i>Books on the Bible and the Christian Faith</i>	<i>School Books and Linguistics</i>	<i>General Literature</i>	<i>Total</i>
SOTHO (Northern and Southern)	98	48	81	227
TSWANA	49	27	7	83
XHOSA	106	58	74	238
ZULU	82	49	22	153
VENDA	6	1		7
TONGA	11	10	1	22

Such lists admittedly are of limited value. One would not claim for them the accuracy that distinguishes the work, for example, of the Inter-University Committee on African Studies. The above figures are compiled largely from the bibliographies published in missionary magazines and from the catalogues of religious publishing houses. A number of the publications listed are small pamphlets. A portion of the Bible printed separately and the whole Bible in one volume are each noted as

one book. At the same time, the figures give some indication of the relative activity in the production of Christian literature in the languages mentioned. It is noteworthy that according to the figures given there are now more publications in Xhosa than in any other African language with the sole exception of Swahili. In attaining such a result the Lovedale Press has played no little part.

Throughout the years Lovedale has had in remembrance that the press is one of the most powerful of agencies, and that the more education spreads in Africa the mightier will that agency become. It also has had in view the danger we have mentioned, that the missionary agencies, having in their schools taught vast numbers to read, should leave non-Christian and even anti-religious elements to supply the reading matter. Not only so, but it has recognized, and never so much as to-day, that the Bantu tribes of South Africa face a new and perplexing world. Their old life is passing because of the inrush of western civilization. Old sanctions no longer hold and old recreations have been forsaken because of their degrading pagan associations. Great numbers are being taught in school to read. While in school and when they leave it, they ought to find within their reach literature suited to their every need, in order that they may have an understanding grasp of Christian life and morals. Only thus can they be equipped for the demands of the new day. Only thus can they find a substitute of a satisfactory kind to take the place of so much that has passed from them. No individual and no nation will reach their highest development without a thoughtful and reverent love for good literature.

In face of such a need, so great and urgent, Lovedale would be the first to confess that all its efforts of the past and in the present are woefully inadequate. Its endeavours, both by itself and in co-operation with others, have often been sporadic and lacking in close co-operation. Larger plans and more widespread effort can alone meet the situations of the present time and of the days to come. There is a clamant call for guidance and encouragement in Bantu literature production. To this subject we turn in the chapter that follows.

Note. For extensive and valuable accounts of past and present Bantu Literature the following works should be consulted:

- (1) *Early Bantu Literature: The age of Brusciotto*, by Dr. C. M. Doke. (University of the Witwatersrand Press).
- (2) *Bantu Language Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century*, by Dr. C. M. Doke. (*Bantu Studies*, September, 1940, pp. 207-246)
- (3) *A Preliminary Investigation into the State of the Native Languages of South Africa with Suggestions as to Research and the Development of Literature*, by Dr. C. M. Doke. (University of the Witwatersrand Press).
- (4) *Vernacular Text-Books in South African Native Schools*, by Dr. C. M. Doke. (*Africa*, April, 1935, pp. 183-207).

CHAPTER II

THE NEED FOR GUIDANCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT IN BANTU LITERATURE PRODUCTION

In view of the large, nationwide task of providing literature for the Bantu now awaiting vigorous prosecution, it should be kept constantly in view that big-mindedness must rule. Sectional interests must be jettisoned. Work in a particular area or language should be fitted into comprehensive plans embracing other areas and other languages. In early days the task of providing literature laid upon a missionary was a simple one : a literary need was felt in the work of church or school, and steps were taken to provide the book required. But to-day the task embraces or should embrace every form of literature, not only for church and school, but for every phase of the cultural life of a people. The task of a press like that of Lovedale now extends far beyond the Xhosa area. Its interest must embrace every aspect of a literary movement, including the state of the southern Bantu languages at the present time, their needs in literature, guidance to African authors, help to publishers, the stimulation of the love of reading, and other matters. Thus wide views are demanded. The co-operation of all interested is required. Guidance from any quarter should be welcomed. Encouragement should be given and received. The greatness of the work waiting to be overtaken may well daunt even the stout-hearted, but co-operation and mutual helpfulness are inspirers of hope.

Thus if we now draw away from the narrower interests of the Lovedale Press, it is because the subject demands a wider purview and because Lovedale itself has sought to merge its concern in a larger whole.

STATE OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGES AT PRESENT TIME

The need for guidance and encouragement in Bantu literature production becomes evident when account is taken of the state of the Native languages of South Africa at the present time and of the present development of literatures. Fortunately, the

groundwork here is already overtaken, since a careful investigation into these matters was carried through about ten years ago by the Inter-University Committee for African Studies. This body set up a sub-committee to gather information upon the languages of the Union, to ascertain what research had been and was being carried out, and to make recommendations for further research and for the development of literature. The sub-committee consisted of men admirably qualified for the task in hand, viz., Professor C. M. Doke of the Department of Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand (Convener); Mr. W. G. Bennie, late Chief Inspector of Native Education, Cape Province; Dr. J. A. Engelbrecht, Department of Bantu Studies, University of Stellenbosch; and Professor G. P. Lestrade, Department of Bantu Studies, University of Pretoria. The Committee had the assistance of various expert collaborators, and the result of their labours was published in an issue of *Bantu Studies* in March, 1933, and as a separate book. We propose to give a resume of the main findings, because of the great and permanent value of the work done, because the findings should be constantly before all workers in the subject, and because of the basis they provide for future literary development.

The comprehensive nature of the investigation may be gauged from the terms of a questionnaire sent out by the Convener, and which read as follows :

- I. Give a critical review of the available literature published and unpublished under the following heads :
 - (a) Grammatical
 - (b) Phonetical
 - (c) Lexicographical
 - (d) Folk-lore
 - (e) Proverb-lore
 - (f) Ethnology, History, Customs in *Vernacular*
 - (g) Other important vernacular work
 - (h) Important Translations
- II. What linguistic field work or other linguistic research work (a) has been carried out, (b) is now being carried out ?
- III. What linguistic research should, in your opinion, be done ?

IV. In what direction should the literary development of the language be encouraged? How would you suggest that this might be done?¹

Some of the main points of the report we shall mention along with our own occasional comments :

(a) *Classification of languages.*

In South Africa, south of the Zambesi-Kunene region, (an area embracing the Union of South Africa and the three High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland) are to be found representatives of three distinct language families, Bushman, Hottentot and Bantu.²

We confine ourselves to the last-mentioned. The Bantu languages may be classified first as belonging to two zones reflecting mainly geographical considerations—the south-eastern and the south-western. A further sub-division gives us “clusters,” “the main qualification of belonging to a cluster being a high degree of mutual intelligibility, as well as an extreme sharing of grammatical, phonetical and lexicographical phenomena.” The languages of the south-eastern zone fall into four clusters, the “Nguni,” the “Sotho,” the “Venda,” and the “Tonga.” In the south-western zone there are two clusters, the “Herero” and the “Ambo.” Within the clusters the languages are divided into groups represented by the main literary forms. In the Nguni cluster there are two main groups, Xhosa and Zulu ; in the Sotho cluster three main groups, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tšwana ; within Venda there is only one homogeneous group ; in the Tonga cluster, three main groups, Ronga, Tonga and Tswa.³ Of the clusters of languages mentioned, Sotho embraces considerably over 2,000,000 speakers, Nguni more than 3,000,000, Tonga probably over 750,000 and Venda 150,000. These numbers include members of tribes within and outside the borders of the Union.

Thanks to the guidance of scholars who have made an intensive and comparative study of the languages, the basic work in their classification is almost complete. The clusters of the south-

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, p. 2

² *Ibid.*, p. 3

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4

western zone need more investigation, and the position of Swazi is not certain. The latter has often been considered merely a dialect of Zulu, whereas it is now contended that it should be counted the chief member of a third group in the Nguni cluster.¹

(b) *Orthography.*

The need for guidance is evident also in regard to orthography. It was a task particularly of early missionaries to provide orthographies for the various languages. Working as many missionaries did in isolation and at great distances from each other, and with varying national and cultural backgrounds, it is not surprising that different systems were evolved and that some of them were more and some of them less orthographically defensible. Consequences, however, have followed in serious difficulty and confusion through lack of standardized systems. Happily, in the last decade new orthographies, marked by great accuracy, have been worked out and recommended. Although in almost all responsible quarters these have been adopted, in others where ignorance or conservatism has prevailed, strenuous opposition has been encountered, so that patient guidance has had to be exercised in seeking their introduction. With this aspect, however, we shall deal more fully when we come to the matter of Bantu reaction to European sponsoring.

(c) *Dialectal Surveys.*

The report under consideration emphasizes in different sections the need for dialectal surveys in various languages. Here again the need for guidance has been evident, so that the surveys may be on right lines and take account of the relevant facts. It is curious that sometimes an assertion is made by those who ought to know that there are no dialects in a particular language, though the evidence of the existence of such dialects is proved to be abundant.²

(d) *Development of Literature.*

The object of the report was to stimulate research and gain real interest in the development of Native literature in South Africa,³ and it was therefore inevitable that a large part should

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, p. 10

² Cf. J. H. Soga in *South African Outlook*, 1933, pp. 99-100

³ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, p. 3

be given to stating what had already been achieved, and what still required to be done. Summaries of the work published help us to understand how great is the need for guidance and encouragement and even more so do accounts of gaps waiting to be filled. The main features may be summarized as follows :

Xhosa.

The basis of all literature is found in the adequate development of grammar, phonetics and lexicography. Languages that have been producing literature for centuries are generally fully furnished in these respects, but languages like the Southern Bantu which are just beginning their literary development are on the whole, as might be expected, poorly provided. In this respect Xhosa is no exception. In the early stages considerable attention was given to grammatical work, particularly by John Bennie, Boyce, Appleyard and others. But this activity was not maintained, with the result that, despite the modern contributions of James McLaren, W. G. Bennie and G. H. Welsh, there is ground for contending that there is probably still room for a more scientific grammatical treatment.

In phonetics no standard scientific work has been published in Xhosa.

In lexicography Xhosa has been well served by the labours of the early pioneers, such as Dohne, Bennie and Davis, and in modern times by Dr. A. Kropf, J. McLaren and R. Godfrey. Kropf's Dictionary, published by the Lovedale Press in 1900, was an outstanding work, and its revision by Godfrey, published in 1915, made it still more valuable. For years Mr. Godfrey has been busy on a revised edition of this Dictionary, and already considerable sums have been secured to ensure its publication at a figure within the means of the Bantu people. The book will be published in the new orthography.

In folk-lore Xhosa is poor, but a fair amount of proverb-lore has been published.

The language has been specially noted for its pioneer work of a biographical and historical character, and a considerable amount of miscellaneous literature is found in Xhosa. This includes *izibongo* and especially novels, in which Xhosa writers

have specialized. Translation work has been mostly confined to devotional literature and a few educational text-books. It is contended that special efforts should be made to extend translation work, especially in the direction of suitable English classics.¹

In Zulu good grammatical work has been done in early and modern times, while phonetics has also received considerable attention. In lexicography the position has not been satisfactory but the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, in co-operation with the Native Education Department of Natal, has for years been engaged upon the preparation of a standard Zulu-English Dictionary in the approved orthography. Parallel with this work, preparations are being made for an English-Zulu Dictionary, work on which it is anticipated the Department will undertake after the other Dictionary is completed. In folk-lore and proverb-lore there is considerable material in Zulu, but the latter is requiring to be collected and put together. In general literature Zulu is extremely poor and so presents a contrast to Xhosa. Biographical works are few and not much has been attempted in history. There are only one or two novels. School books and devotional books are fairly numerous, but Zulu is lacking in imaginative writing. "Izibongo" of the Zulu chiefs, if collected together, would be found to be extensive and valuable but much further work in this connection is required. Zulu is also in need of translations from English or other standard works.²

In regard to the *Sotho Cluster* there are three clearly marked groupings: Northern (or Transvaal) Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana. It is reported that there is a very real need for a thorough investigation into the dialects composing the three groups. Questions have been raised as to the abandonment of Northern Sotho as a literary language. Professor Lestrade is opposed to the total abandonment of Transvaal Sotho but is also against the full development of the language as such to the exclusion of a unified Sotho. He believes that if the Sotho languages are to have a worthy future some unified form of them must be evolved and gradually take the place of the present variants.

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 11-13

² *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 13-15

But he thinks this literary language must be introduced gradually, until it has become practically identical with the spoken forms.¹

Southern Sotho is more mixed in origin than either Tšwana or Northern Sotho, but owing to its strategic position in regard to missionary work it has built up a literature far richer and more varied than the other members of the cluster. A valuable paper *The Literature of Lesotho* was contributed by G. H. Franz to *Bantu Studies* in September, 1930. In it Franz describes the variety of religious literature in the language, the school books (including a Sesotho-English Dictionary, Sesotho Grammar, history books, etc.), the wealth of folk-lore and customs, principally in Jacottet's *Litšomo tsa Lesotho*, in two volumes, and Segoe's *Raphepheng*, short stories, novels (including Mofolo's great book *Chaka*) and allegories.* Unfortunately it has to be confessed that Southern Sotho is not to-day showing the same vitality in literature that it did in an earlier time. There is need for inspiration, guidance and encouragement that the old days may return and that we may have a renaissance of literature in the language. Co-ordinated effort both in the Southern Sotho field itself and as between the Southern Sotho field on the one hand and the Tšwana and Northern Sotho on the other is much to be desired.

Important work waits to be done in linguistics, such as research concerning the amount of outside influence, particularly Nguni, which has contributed to present-day Southern Sotho. There is a great dearth of translations in the language.²

In *Northern Sotho* there is a considerable literature, but it is almost wholly from missionary sources and there is a remarkable dearth of the work of African authors. A complete dialect survey aiming at unification is much to be desired. The present grammatical material in English is hopelessly inadequate, and there is urgent need for a standard Northern Sotho Dictionary. There is, however, a considerable amount of vernacular text

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 16-18

* In *African Studies* for December 1944 there is a valuable paper by G. L. Letele on some recent literary publications in languages of the Sotho group.

² *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 18-20

material which has been collected and published by researchers, almost all of them non-Bantu. There is an absolute dearth of translational material. "Works of an imaginative type are urged, simple life stories, descriptions of journeys, even wars and tribal movements, and a commencement made towards novel-writing. The people should not be dependent upon the missionaries and the Education Department for spoon-feeding with everything they have to read." There is, in short, a great call for BaSotho authors.¹

Tswana.

Perhaps no other Southern Bantu language is in so much need of dialectal unification. This is being aimed at, but a careful survey and comparison of grammatical, phonetical and lexicographical forms are necessary to secure reliable data for recommendation. The difficulties are formidable, for the number of dialects is large, mission preferences are strong and tenaciously held, many individuals have been conservative in regard to orthographies, and Native susceptibilities are very sensitive. A helpful advance was the adoption of a standard orthography in 1937, agreed upon at a conference fully representative of the various Education Departments and attended by a liberal number of Bantu delegates. This orthography is now appearing in various publications. There is a very urgent need for more books in the language. Bantu writers are poorly represented in existing publications but there is "this redeeming feature that one of the two names appearing in the bibliography of Tswana writers was a man of outstanding ability and initiative, a man who blazed a trail of his own in literary work which is destined to affect all South African Bantu Literature"—S. T. Plaatje. He was interested in phonetics and lexicography but his outstanding achievement was his publication of *Diphòshò-Phòshò*, a remarkably good translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. There is need for a good, up-to-date grammar in Tswana and books for European learners, as well as a full Tswana-English and English-Tswana Dictionary. In phonetics a great deal has been done, but a comparative study of dialectal differences from the point of

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 20-1

view of phonetics has not yet been done. In folk-lore Tšwana published material is poor, but, thanks to Platje, there is a large collection of Proverbs. Works on history, customs etc. are needed and so are more imaginative works and translations.¹ The Lovedale Press has recently published several books in Tšwana and among its projected publications is a life of Khama by L. D. Raditladi, which was awarded a prize in the May Bedford Esther Competition of 1935. It is hoped that these books are but an earnest of many more to come, so that the poverty of Tšwana literature may in time be less marked.

Venda.

As has been mentioned, Venda is spoken only by about 150,000 people. It is still in the stage of a language whose literature is developed only for pioneer missionary purposes, and the books are practically all the work of members of the Berlin mission. There is no work by a Native author. A dialectal survey is desirable and towards this a collection of ethnographic texts would be helpful. Professor Lestrade has given praiseworthy attention to grammar and phonetics, and in 1937 Dr. N. J. van Warmelo published a valuable *Tshivenda-English Dictionary*. Text-books for elementary school work are a necessity, and the collection of folk-lore and other indigenous material should be prosecuted and the work made available.²

Tonga.

Transvaal Tonga, also often vulgarly styled "Shangaan," is the Central one of three groups in the Tonga cluster. The other are the Southern (Ronga) and the Northern (Tswa). For the cluster a comparative phonetical, grammatical and lexicographical survey is of prime importance. A certain amount of literature has been produced in the group, as also in Ronga and Tswa, but it is contended that literary unification is highly desirable. All three groups embrace less than a million people. "The expenditure of time, energy and money on the production of three separate translations of the Bible in this one cluster . . . does not seem justified." Work on a Tonga Dictionary is being pro-

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 21-3

² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4

ceeded with. Much text material should be collected in folk lore, proverb-lore, ethnology, history, etc. and elementary school books properly graded should be prepared.¹

THE HERERO AND AMBO CLUSTER

Dr. Doke declares that our information regarding the inter-relation of the various members of these clusters in the south-western zone of Bantu languages is very meagre. "A thorough survey, dialectal and populational is urgently needed. Not only should the languages in South-West Africa be investigated, but those in Southern, Central and Eastern Angola, in order that the larger determination of zone relationship should be ascertained." Field work is essential. Following this investigation an attempt should be made to improve orthography, and endeavour should be made also to publish a good up-to-date grammar of Herero in English, and similarly a Herero-English dictionary would be valuable. Further collection of vernacular texts might be encouraged.²

ENCOURAGEMENT AND GUIDANCE OF AFRICANS

Such a survey as the foregoing reveals the pressing need for guidance and encouragement in the study of Bantu languages and in the production of literature. But needs in other directions may be briefly mentioned, fuller treatment being reserved for the next chapter, when we shall suggest the lines along which help may best be given.

The direct encouragement of linguistic and literary work among Africans demands attention. There is need to encourage and assist African university students to specialize in Bantu linguistics, so that they may be equipped to undertake research in this field. They should also be helped to a deeper appreciation of literary form and matter in the literature of Bantu languages. A felt need is some method of assisting Africans to assess the merit of literary and musical compositions, especially when these are produced by themselves or by other Africans. It is all-important to enable them to acquire and maintain a good

¹ *Bantu Studies*, March, 1933, pp. 24-5

² *Ibid.*, 25-6

standard of literary criticism in such assessment. African authors suffer from a lack of training in literary appreciation and criticism.

The direct encouragement of creative work among Africans is also clamant. In this connection there have been found helpful the competitions conducted under the aegis of the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures; the May Esther Bedford Trust and the Bisteddfodau held at several centres in the Union. It is significant, however, that at the first African Authors' Conference the unanimous view was expressed that there is no need for extension of these competitions, that they are adequate for the present, and that the most urgent need is for the means to publish existing material. The efforts of the Lovedale Press to publish the works of Bantu authors and the appearance of the volumes known as the "*Bantu Treasury Series*" are direct attempts to meet the needs of the situation.

At the same time, the whole position of the African author urgently demands review. To this we shall return more fully in the chapter that follows.

GUIDANCE FOR PUBLISHERS

Not only the author but the publisher also is in need of guidance, particularly as to what deserves to have prior claim on publishing resources. On the whole, the publishing of Bantu literature has been extremely haphazard and sporadic. Large-scale, planned programmes have been conspicuous by their absence. Publishers—including mission publishers—despite the specialized nature of the field have worked largely in isolation from each other. While the existence of various languages, coupled with the tendency of each mission press to concentrate mainly on the vernacular language of its own area, has tended to mitigate the evils of overlapping, the fact remains that much more could have been accomplished had there been mutual consultation and co-operation, the surveying of needs, the joint use of basic texts in translation, and the preparation of long-range programmes. Even to-day when the evils are clearly recognized and attempts are made to offset them, progress is slow largely through lack of vision and conservatism.

On behalf of publishers it deserves to be stated that they have frequently been discouraged by orthographical confusion. Before the adoption of the new orthographies there was practically no accepted norm among authors, though first-rate guidance was at hand in various translations of the Bible and other outstanding books. Many authors simply did that which was right in their own eyes. And since the introduction of the new systems many even among practised writers have failed to make themselves familiar with the new rules. For several years, publishers desirous of maintaining definite standards have required to keep a careful watch even on the MSS. of well-known authors, and often at considerable expense to themselves have had to correct them, so as to ensure orthographical accuracy and uniformity in their publications. In some quarters ignorance or conservatism has led to active opposition to the new systems. Unfortunately, the majority if not all of the Bantu newspapers have not come into line. Mainly on the plea that the new symbols mean additional expense, they have adopted the new orthographies in a half-hearted fashion, so that their columns display a strange mixture of the new and the old.

An even greater hindrance to publishers is found in another direction. A distressing feature of the present day is that even among the relatively few Bantu who are educated a love of reading is not a pronounced characteristic. Educationists who have devoted their lives to the Bantu would be the first to admit that it cannot be claimed that a majority of those who pass through schools and colleges emerge with a love of literature for its own sake. The Bantu have followed other sections of the public in a pathetic faith in the mere passing of examinations and in regarding such as the goal of scholastic endeavour. A consequence of the lack of love for literature is the limited sales of books, with, on the whole, the accompaniment of high prices for those printed. An edition of a vernacular book is generally small in number, and so the price is relatively high. The relation of price to size of edition is often not understood by Africans. At a recent literature conference an intelligent African minister pointed to a book published by the Watch Tower sect which he held to be a model of format and cheapness. It escaped his

notice, or he was unaware of the importance of the fact, that on the fly-leaf of the book it was stated that the edition was one of ten million copies.

Guidance and encouragement in efforts to stimulate the love of reading among Africans is a great need of our time.

But, as already stated, this and other related matters will be dealt with more fully in the following chapter, which seeks to suggest along what lines help should be given.

CHAPTER III

ALONG WHAT LINES SHOULD HELP BE GIVEN

It is important that all interested in fostering Bantu literature should have definite goals in view and should clearly visualize along what lines help should be given. It is doubly important in view of the unplanned and sporadic efforts of the past and the increase of needs and opportunities in the present.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTION BY INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE

A major contribution towards definiteness of aim was made by means of the recommendations put forward by the sub-committee of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies as given in *Bantu Studies* of March, 1933. These recommendations deserve the most careful consideration of all interested and the most earnest of efforts to ensure that they are carried into effect. Because of their importance the tasks set forth should be emphasized whenever opportunity occurs. These tasks are sufficient for years to come. As summarized by Dr. C. M. Doke in the publication referred to and in a subsequent report recently published the recommendations are as follows :

Xhosa (1) Preparation of an up-to-date grammar. (This has been partly met by the publication of a revision of J. McLaren's *Grammar* prepared by Mr. G. H. Welsh and the appearance of Dr. W. G. Bennie's *A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-Speaking*, but there is probably still room for a more scientific grammatical treatment.)

(2) Publication of *Xhosa Phonetics*.

(3) Revision of the Kropf-Godfrey Dictionary in approved orthography. (Rev. R. Godfrey has completed this. It is prepared in the new orthography.)

(4) Dialectal survey (common to all Nguni.)

(5) Collection and publication of folk-tales.

(6) Translation into *Xhosa* of selected English classics.

(7) Collection of standard *Isibongo* to be annotated and published.

(8) Collection of modern *Izibongo* (as published in Native newspapers and elsewhere) to be made, annotated and published together.

(9) Mqhayi's *Ityala la Mawele* to be translated into English.

(10) An investigation to be made into the influence of *ukuhlonipha* in Xhosa.

(11) A committee to be appointed (a) to choose suitable texts for translation from English into Xhosa (see (6) above), and (b) to act as an advisory committee to further the publication of manuscripts now ready and to be presented.

(12) The possibility of training Native investigators to be explored.

Zulu (1) Translation into Zulu of Mofolo's *Chaka*.

(2) Preparation of an English-Zulu Dictionary. (See under (3)).

(3) Preparation of a Zulu-English Dictionary in approved orthography.

(As already mentioned on page 33, the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, in co-operation with the Native Education Department of Natal, has for years been engaged upon the preparation of a standard Zulu-English Dictionary in the approved orthography. Parallel with this work, preparations are being made for an English-Zulu Dictionary, work on which it is anticipated the Department will undertake after the other Dictionary is completed.)

(4) Preparation of an annotated publication of Zulu proverbs.

(5) History of the Zulu in the vernacular.

(6) An annotated collection of *izibongo*.

(7) A comparative dialectal study of all Nguni.

(8) A comparative grammar (including phonetics) of Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi, with reference to dialects.

(9) Collection of texts in folk-lore and customs in Zulu.

(10) Collection of texts in dialects such as Swazi, Ndebele (Rhodesia and Transvaal.)

(11) Stimulation of Native authors, the work of the Xhosa writers to be emulated.

(12) Further study of Tonetics.

- (13) Translation into Zulu of selected English classics.
- (14) Preparation of a graded Reader for European learners.
- (15) Formation of a literature committee. This was partly met in recent years by the formation of a Zulu Regional Committee under the auspices of the Christian Council and by the efforts of The Zulu Society. A joint sub-committee of these bodies might meet mainly for the purpose of deciding points of detail in orthography or grammar.

*Southern Sotho.**

- (1) Preparation of a "Life of Moshesh."
- (2) Preparation of the "Story of Mohlomi" from a collection of the legends or that the Zulu book *Mohlomi* by Luthango be translated into Southern Sotho.
- (3) D. C. Theko Bereng to be approached for further Sotho poetry.
- (4) Enlargement and re-arrangement of Sekese's *Mekhoa le Maele* for a new edition.
- (5) Arrangements to be made for the publication of Sekese's other material, *Jonathan, Lipapali tsa Basotho*, etc.
- (6) Preparation of a vernacular collection of *Tales of the Bushmen*.
- (7) Collection of ethnological texts.
- (8) Study of the tonetics of all Sotho.
- (9) An investigation into the Nguni element in Sotho.
(This investigation was undertaken by G. E. Letele as an M.A. dissertation at Cape Town University.)
- (10) Preparation of a graded reader for European learners.
(B. I. C. van Erden has published *Ke Etela Lesotho* an elementary reader for European learners.)
- (11) Encouragement of vernacular writers.
- (12) Appointment of a committee to select texts for translation into Sotho.
- (13) Revision of orthography as a step towards more unity with the other members of the Sotho cluster.

* See the article in *African Studies* of December, 1944, by G. Letele on some recent literary publications in languages of the Sotho group.

Northern Sotho.

- (1) Thorough dialectal survey with object of standardizing.
- (2) Publication of the Grammar or Manual being prepared by Prof. G. P. Lestrade.

Though this recommendation has not yet seen fruition (Professor Lestrade reporting that his work upon this language is being incorporated into a comparative handbook of Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana) two manuals have been published in connection with the grammar of Northern Sotho, namely T. M. H. Endemann's *Handleiding by die Aantrek van Transvaal-Sotho (Sepedi)* and G. H. Franz's *Theilonyane*.

- (3) Compilation of an authoritative Northern Sotho-English and English-Northern-Sotho Dictionary.

(Dr. N. J. van Warmelo is understood to be preparing an authoritative dictionary of Northern Sotho.)

- (4) Stimulation to be given to Native writers to produce works of an imaginative nature; Native teachers especially to be encouraged.

Tswana.

- (1) Dialectal survey with a view to standardization.
- (2) The preparation of an up-to-date grammar and a manual for the use of Europeans.
- (3) Preparation of a graded reader.
- (4) Publication of an authoritative Dictionary.
- (5) Publication of the second edition of Plaatje's collection of proverbs.
- (6) Collection and publication of folk-lore.
- (7) Encouragement to Natives to collect and publish texts of history, customs, etc.
- (8) Publication of Plaatje's other translations of Shakespeare. (His translation of *Julius Caesar* has been published in the "Bantu Treasury Series.")
- (9) Preparation of a Life of Khama in Tswana. (A life of Khama has been written by L. D. Raditladi and was awarded a prize in the May Esther Bedford competition of 1935.)
- (10) Consideration of choice of texts for translation into Tswana.

Venda.

- (1) Collection of ethnographic texts.
- (2) Provision of elementary school books.
- (3) Collection of folk-lore material.
- (4) Publication of a Manual (Lestrade).
- (5) In 1937 Dr. N. J. van Warmelo published a valuable *Tshivenda-English Dictionary*.

Tonga.

- (1) Preparation of the Grammar of the Tonga cluster.
 - (2) Collection of texts in folk-lore, etc.
 - (3) Publication of Tonga Dictionary.
- (Work on the Tonga Dictionary is being carried out by Cuened and van Warmelo.)

Herero and Ambo.

- (1) Thorough survey, not only of dialect, but also of neighbouring affinities.
- (2) Preparation of a Grammar of Herero in English.
- (3) Preparation of a Herero-English Dictionary.
- (4) Collection of vernacular texts, Native effort to be encouraged in this direction.

In addition to the important publication we have been considering, the Universities have conducted considerable research and published various other studies. Again, through research grants they have made it possible for other workers to carry out work in the field. The Union Government, with commendable far-sightedness, allocated for a number of years grants for such research to the Universities of the Witwatersrand and of Cape Town. Since 1921 the University of the Witwatersrand has published *Bantu Studies*, (now *African Studies*) which is a large quarterly journal. Much material of a linguistic nature finds the light through its pages. Various important books of a linguistic or ethnographical interest have also been sponsored by the Bantu Studies Departments of the Universities. It is highly desirable that through government and other support such helpful effort should be continued and extended.

CO-ORDINATING PLANS OF MISSIONARY FORCES

The missionary forces, which were the pioneers in the production and distribution of literature for the Bantu, should give an increasing place in their thought and work to the publication of vernacular and other literature. There is a rising tide of education among African peoples. The fact, that, as we have seen, the Lovedale Press printed, published and sold during 1939 no fewer than 128,000 copies of its own books,¹ the vast majority in the vernacular, besides innumerable pamphlets, magazines, etc., as well as the works of other publishers, witnesses to a growing demand for the right kind of literature. For the first time in history the expenditure on Native education in the Union of South Africa recently passed the £2,000,000 mark.* The Government has made provision for more adequate educational facilities for the Bantu people, and the missionary forces should make provision for taking greater advantage of the developing situation. The number of those employed by the missionary forces for the teaching of the Bantu in schools is out of all proportion to the number whose definite task it is to produce literature suited to Bantu needs and to arrange for its adequate distribution. The number of the "literary" missionaries should be considerably increased. The call was never more clamant than it is to-day for missionary societies to make arrangements, financial and otherwise, so that conditions favourable for the best literary work may be ensured.

The time has come for the Christian forces to give help towards a great forward movement in the production and distribution of Christian literature of the best type. What is wanted is a united long-range plan for co-operative effort. Some steps towards this have already been taken. The Christian Council of South Africa at its inauguration in 1936 set up regional committees for Xhosa, Zulu, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Ronga-Tonga-Tswa. The conveners of these committees formed

¹ See page 21

* The estimated sum to be spent on Native Education in the year beginning 1st April, 1945, is £2,275,420.

a central committee of which the Literary Secretary of the Christian Council was chairman. Under these arrangements an attempt was at once made to give a lead in evolving a definite and concerted plan of literature production. Specific tasks were allotted to the regional committees. These included :

(1) The making of a survey of the existing Christian literature with a view to its evaluation for present-day needs ; this to involve the preparation of a bibliography for each language ;

(2) The establishment of means whereby the existing worthwhile literature might be made more widely known, with the hope that outstanding publications would in translations be carried over to other language areas ;

(3) The discovery of unfilled gaps or needs and the preparation of a definite programme as to the order in which the needs of the various sections of the population should be met ;

(4) The appointment of persons best qualified by experience and literary ability to supply particular needs, and especially the enlistment and encouragement of African talent ;

(5) The preparation of plans and the trial of methods for stimulating love of reading among African peoples.

Good work has been done by several of the Regional Committees, but vigorous prosecution of effort along the lines laid down is greatly to be desired in post-war days.

It is specially desirable that further steps should be taken to unify efforts at production. The missionary forces are represented throughout the Union and Basutoland by a number of comparatively small presses, which could render much more effective service if combined into larger concerns. It may seem to some too much to expect that denominational differences can be laid aside and co-operative production adopted, but the fact is that both in India and China this has been largely done by the missionary bodies. In India there is an interdenominational press, employing about three hundred workers, known as the Madras Diocesan Press, which produces literature of all kinds on a co-operative basis. It has been described as "a great production agency linked with a great distributing agency," and is a powerful aid to the Christian forces in India. In China there is (or was) the Christian Publishers Association, with headquarters in

Shanghai. It is a publishing concern in which seventeen Christian bodies combine. The object of the Association is "to co-operate in ensuring a united and progressive policy in matters of production, printing, distribution, nomenclature, and other matters affecting Christian literature." A conference of the bodies co-operating meets every six months. They have made a survey of Chinese Christian publications under thirteen classes or sections. For each of these sections there is a small body of consultants who advise as to publications required, and so overlapping is prevented. The Association publishes a monthly periodical known as *The China Bookman*, in which all new books are listed, and renewed recommendations made as to books formerly published. Agencies throughout China where the books may be obtained are also made known. The Association sponsors national conferences for Chinese Christian writers. It gives special attention to distribution problems. In this last connection it seeks "to promote negotiations with all Chinese book firms who can be interested in the matter of Christian literature, studying their point of view and endeavouring in every possible way to so adjust the business of Christian literature that in due course it may come into its place as an integral part of the book business of China."¹

Efforts along similar lines could profitably be adopted in South Africa. It is particularly to be desired that there should be not more than one mission press in each language area; indeed more than one area could profitably combine in supporting jointly one press, thus ensuring better results. For example, Morija for the Sotho cluster and Lovedale for the Nguni cluster might be developed sufficiently to undertake all vernacular work, without regard to ordinary considerations of profit or loss. For several years Lovedale has deliberately used the gains on some of its more successful books to meet the losses on others by Bantu authors. Such a system is capable of great development—development that can be limited only by the means available. It is of the utmost importance, particularly in view of the economic position of the Bantu, that books should be produced as cheaply as possible, and towards this end the development of large and

¹ Publications of Christian Councils of India and China

resourceful presses would be an important step. It is inevitable in the undeveloped conditions of Bantu literature and the lack of the reading habit, that some books must be published although it is evident from the first that they will result in financial loss.

Some classes of Christian literature in the vernacular which call for special attention in South Africa are : Christian Conduct, Home and Family Life, Hygiene, Nature Studies for Children, Notable Deeds of Africans, and Missionary History and Biography.

ACADEMY OF BANTU LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

In all their work on behalf of vernacular literature there should be the closest co-operation between the missionary forces, the University Departments of Bantu Studies and the Bantu people. A few years ago, this seemed on the point of being assured, under circumstances we now narrate.

Far-reaching proposals were made for the development of Bantu literature when, on the initiative of Professor C. M. Doke, it was urged that an Academy of Bantu Language and Literature should be set up. A Joint Committee was appointed representing the Inter-University Committee on African Studies, the Christian Council of South Africa and the African Authors' Conference. The Joint Committee made the following recommendations :

1. That one central Literature Board for Southern Bantu be formed according to the following representation :

- (a) Inter-University Committee to appoint 4
- (b) Christian Council (Missionaries) to appoint 5
- (c) Education Departments 5
- (d) Bantu representatives 6
- (e) Provision for additional members made in (5) below :

(N.B. (1) As far as possible, in appointing members a balance in numbers should be kept between representatives of the two main groups (Nguni and Sotho)).

- (2) A quorum shall consist of 8.

2. That the Central Board shall institute a Bantu Academy, membership of which shall be conferred upon such as may from

time to time do meritorious linguistic or literary work in Southern Bantu languages.

3. Privileges of members of the Academy :

- (I) The use of the letters M.B.A. after their names ;
- (II) The free supply of a copy of every publication of the Board ;
- (III) Participation in such conferences of members as may be arranged from time to time.

4. That Literature Committees be set up, one for each language or language group as decided by the Central Board, and that co-operation with any existing bodies be sought.

5. That one member of each such Committee be appointed member of the Central Board.

6. That the terms of reference of the Committee be briefly as follows :—

- (a) To act as consultative and advisory body on all subsidiary questions of orthography.
- (b) To forward dialectal unification and standardization of grammar, vocabulary, idiom, etc., and organize a dialectal survey.
- (c) To advise upon the inclusion or exclusion of doubtful or new words, phrases, idioms, grammatical forms, etc., in the language.
- (d) To advise upon linguistic terminology.
- (e) To choose and propose suitable texts for translation from and into the vernacular.
- (f) To invite suitable persons to undertake translations and endorse approved translations.
- (g) To consider the content and language of MSS. submitted, and to recommend such as are approved for assistance in publication.
- (h) To take measures for the development of literature and language study.
- (i) To award distinction for outstanding literary work.
- (j) To propose to the Central Board such names as should receive the distinction of membership of the Bantu Academy.

7. That the terms of reference of the Central Literature Board be as follows :

- (a) To meet at least *once* per annum.
- (b) To decide on the number of literature committees to be set up.
- (c) To appoint the members of each literature committee, and add thereto new members in consultation with the committee concerned, initial membership of each committee to be at least 50% Bantu.
- (d) To receive reports from the Literature Committees at least once a year and to take any necessary action thereon.
- (e) To undertake the raising and administration of funds to further the purposes of the Board including the financing of publications recommended by the literature committees and approved by the Central Board.
- (f) To act in consultation with the Inter-University Committee for African Studies, and keep that Committee advised of its activities from time to time.
- (g) To act as co-ordinating unit between the various literature committees.
- (h) To award Academy membership to persons proposed by the Literature Committees.¹

It is to be noted that the proposed Central Board and the associated Literature Committees would stand apart from the Academy, which would be empowered to confer on individuals a mark of distinction for linguistic and literary work of merit in the Southern Bantu languages.

The African Authors' Conference and the Christian Council of South Africa cordially endorsed these proposals, but unfortunately the Inter-University Committee of African Studies failed to do so, and as a result the plans were not proceeded with.

We trust that the shelving is only temporary. For the proposals, if acted on, would ensure that certain immediate and vital tasks would be attempted. A great merit of the scheme is that it would give opportunity for extended co-operation between the experts in Southern Bantu languages who are not of Bantu race and the Bantu people themselves. The Bantu languages are at a stage when questions affecting them demand settlement. Dialectal surveys are urgent, with a view to dialectal unification

¹ *South African Outlook*, November, 1937, pp. 246-8

and the standardization of grammar, vocabulary, idiom, etc. The onrush of Western civilization has been such that the borrowing of words from European languages has been on a large scale. It is estimated that already there have been something like 7,000 words from English and Afrikaans taken into Southern Bantu languages. The question of the advisability or otherwise of this wholesale borrowing demands close attention by an authoritative body. The matter of the translation of suitable works into and from the vernacular is not one that should be left to individual judgment but should be tackled by a body that can take a comprehensive and objective view. The consideration of the merits of MSS. should be undertaken by bodies of approved personnel, and in like manner such bodies should make recommendations regarding the provision of financial aid towards the publication of such as reach certain standards. The giving of some distinction to those who are pioneers in the field of African authorship would serve as a hall-mark and be an incentive to the production of meritorious work. The setting-up of the proposed Literature Committees and a Central Board for co-ordinating and furthering their work would, in the writer's opinion, be a big step forward in a Bantu literature movement.

HELP FOR THE BANTU AUTHOR

An important form of help which should be generously furnished by those who are in a position to provide it, is help for the Bantu author. He is often in need of aid and guidance in what may appear to the experienced to be very elementary matters.

(a) The Preparation of MSS.

The Bantu author frequently requires help in preparing his MS. He is often ambitious but uninformed and untutored in the elements and even the mechanics of authorship. Letters received by publishers are frequently of the most naive character revealing a consuming desire to write and publish, with very little idea of what is involved. Those aspiring to authorship often do not realize that the new writer should make a study of such elementary things as the divisions of a well-printed book—Title-page, Preface, Contents, Chapters and Chapter-

headings etc. Their ignorance of the latest and most up-to-date orthography, even of their own language, is often surprising. And the form in which MSS. are submitted to publishers often leaves much to be desired. Publishers and editors have frequently drawn attention recently to the lack of care too often shown by African writers in the preparation of material for publication. Authors submit MSS. in which the writing is difficult to read ; both sides of the paper are used ; and paper of different sizes and of different colours is also sometimes submitted. Thus a most unfavourable initial impression is made on those who have to consider the literary merit of the MS. In submitting the MSS. some ask that thousands of copies be printed while others are so untutored as to request that twenty copies be produced.

(b) Training in Literary Appreciation.

As already mentioned,¹ there is need to assist African authors in literary appreciation. Many fail to grasp the importance of style. They do not realize that only the best is good enough for publication and that the utmost care should be given to form and arrangement as well as to content. They do not know that for almost everyone the way of authorship is hard and that successful writers generally revise and re-write their MSS. again and again. They are unaware that for the acquiring of a good style constant practice in writing is necessary, and also the constant reading of the writings of front-rank authors.

How literary appreciation is to be imparted to Africans is a question that demands the best thought and effort. Perhaps the starting-point is to be found in the schools, but that requires teachers with a true love of literature and a feeling for style. So training colleges must take this as part of their task. Perhaps too vacation courses could make their contribution in rousing and fostering sound literary appreciation in Bantu literature, while individuals with a love of literature and the power to inspire others with a like affection might do much. The aim in view should not be difficult to reach among a people with such feeling for language and power of expression as the Bantu possess.

¹ See page 37

(c) The "Placing" of MSS.

Even when a meritorious MS. is completed the Bantu author frequently has difficulty in finding a publisher. An informal survey made a few years ago revealed a fairly extensive and varied amount of unpublished material in the various Southern Bantu languages. They comprised poems, folk-songs and lays, plays, novels, short stories, folk-lore, histories and biographies. In music there were praise-songs, work songs (chantics), hunting songs, etc.¹ An interesting case of difficulty experienced in securing publication of a deserving work was that of the late Sol. T. Plaatje, whose historical novel *Mhudi*, in English, went the round of publishers or was on his hands for eight years. Eventually he offered it to the Lovedale Press, and when published by the latter it received a long and favourable notice in the *Times Literary Supplement*. The sales have been satisfactory and have more than met the costs of publication. Instances have come to light of the disappearance of MSS. through lack of publication. An African writer recently described how the MS. of a play written by him years before had disappeared in passing from hand to hand, until one day he found the play being produced, and discovered a remnant of the MS. in the producer's hands. The late Rev. E. Makiwane, a gifted and scholarly African minister, collected a large number of Xhosa proverbs, but he could find no publisher, and eventually the MS. was burned in a fire which destroyed his house.²

Where the failure to "place" a MS. is due to financial considerations steps should be taken to provide a remedy. Means should be sought to ensure that every meritorious MS. by an African author shall find a channel of publication. The suggestion of Dr. W. G. Bennie that an effort should be made to raise a capital sum to be placed in the hands of trustees in order to finance valuable publications is worthy of careful consideration. As is well known, books by or for the Bantu are, generally speaking, slow in selling, and this militates against the acceptance of MSS. by publishers. A fund that would help the latter to bear the initial outlay would be serviceable to all concerned.

¹ *Report of African Authors' Conference*, Oct. 1936, p. 13

² *Ibid.*, p. 12

Such a fund could be replenished by refunds as sales were effected, or by fresh donations, and so would be a continuous one. It should not be overlooked, however, that the equivalent of such a fund is vested in every mission press of large dimensions. Such presses are not ruled by ordinary commercial considerations such as the payment of dividends, and so can devote their profits to further development and the publication of MSS. which may meet a need though they may bring little financial return or a very slow return.

At times the inexperience of Bantu authors on the financial side of publishing places an obstacle in the way of their work being printed. The payment of royalties on sales seems the fairest system as between publishers and African author. Unfortunately, where publishers are willing to risk financial loss by suggesting such an arrangement, some Africans refuse to agree because they desire a lump sum payment on acceptance of the MS. This no doubt is often due to the author's acute need of money, but it places the publisher in a difficulty, since he is naturally reluctant to add to the ordinary costs of publication by paying the author outright before any returns from sales have been received. African writers should be advised not to insist on outright payment on work unpublished and unsold.

It is the writer's experience that advice on such matters is generally readily accepted by the African author. He may sometimes feel that all the emphasis on compliance in such things is a whim of the European, but he is conscious that in this field the White man has behind him centuries of experience of established ways and that indifference or opposition to such customs and considerations may result in failure to have work published.

Again, help may be given the Bantu author in another direction as he seeks to place his MSS. The African who is new to authorship frequently suffers extreme dejection if his work is not accepted when offered to a publisher. If, however, a careful and courteous communication is sent by the latter explaining why rejection is necessary, letters received in acknowledgment are often touching in their expression of thanks for the guidance proffered. Sometimes, however, the reaction takes

the form of a violent charge that the publisher is prejudiced against the author because he is Black or because he has not said the smooth things desired.

Here the European with knowledge and who has won the confidence of the Bantu may greatly help. Apart from any necessary criticisms of the intrinsic nature of the MS., he may point out that when a MS. is completed careful consideration should be given to the publisher who is to be approached. It is not enough to know how to write or even what to write; the author must also know where to send what he writes. A MS. written in any particular Bantu language should be sent first to a press that specializes in that language. In addition, Bantu authors must be taught that in choosing a publisher the nature of the MS. must be considered. Some presses specialize in purely biblical literature or devotional books. Others will accept school books, plays, histories, novels and other general literature. Again, authors should be warned against making charges of racialism or prejudice. Publishers are waiting with open hands for a good book and for new talent and worthwhile manuscripts. It is only by discovering such that their business prospers. Failure to place one's work should serve simply as an incentive to do better. The publisher should not be blamed. If an author finds his first manuscripts rejected he should not be discouraged. It is the experience of most beginners. Many reputable British firms accept only some two per cent of articles or books submitted to them. Indeed, in comparison with overseas writers African authors are more fortunately circumstanced. The number of authors among the Bantu is so few and the need of books so great, while mission presses in particular are so lenient in their standards, that the African author has a greater chance of having his work accepted than does his fellow author in Europe. Such a fact should be made plain to Bantu authors. It should be noted, however, that the standard in various departments is rising. For example, the high standard in the Xhosa novel recently attained by A. C. Jordan in *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* is to make it much harder for the second-rate Xhosa novelist to find a footing.

To get some of these things across to Africans with literary

ambitions and to afford opportunities for their help, the holding, at not too frequent intervals, of African authors' conferences is to be commended.¹ It must be remembered that the number of Bantu authors who have had work of some merit published is on the increase. The range and variety of their work is demonstrated by passing in review the works published for Bantu authors by the Lovedale Press in recent years. (See Appendix I.)

BANTU EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

Many of the plans for furthering a literary movement among the Bantu will fail of fulfilment unless and until there is greater educational advancement among them. The spread of education is indeed a pre-requisite of such a movement. Literary education as known to Europeans was unknown to the Bantu and still remains unknown to the majority of them. While some tribes, such as the Fingo, have been swept by a desire for the White man's knowledge, other sections have remained with little schooling. In estimating the causes of this, account must be taken of European and Native conservatism (suspicions, for different reasons, of the value of book-learning to African peoples). Into the controversy over the question of education for Africans we cannot enter, as it would lead us away from our main purpose, and the writer has dealt with it at length in the volume *Lovedale, South Africa* (see particularly pages 88-91, 95-99, 130-35, 152-67, 410-20, 423-51, 451-69). Suffice it to say, we believe that all true education must be based on literacy; that at least a section of any African people must be introduced to European literature and the arts, if even a vernacular literature is to be created among them and become the possession of the many; and that it is largely through the literature of the European that the African will be enabled to learn something of the unfamiliar background of the foreign beliefs and ways with which in modern times he is encompassed. At the same time, the vernacular must have a large place in African life and literature. As Lord Hailey has stated, their own language is an integral part of the individuality of a people, so that their intellectual development would be prejudiced by any measure which imposed on them for educational, and

¹ See pages 17-18 for description of first and second African Authors Conferences.

ultimately for literary purposes, a language to which they could not readily accommodate themselves.¹ Fortunately, the Bantu has a strong sense of pride in his race and its language, and so, while demanding the best in European culture, he clings to his own heritage. Most educationists of to-day seek for the Bantu an education which builds on practical elements of their own culture and at the same time conveys to them the benefits of Western civilization. The Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-6, urged that the Bantu be given a general and a practical education which would help him to adapt himself to life in a country governed by the White man, and that for this the vernacular should be used in the lower classes and English and Afrikaans for higher education.

At the same time, although a few hundred thousand of the Bantu are being daily taught in mission schools to know something of the contents of books, it must be confessed that education of the type desired has not yet reached even half of them. For this various causes are responsible. It has not been without influence that the Bantu population has been almost wholly dependent for educational facilities on missionary bodies whose means have never been abundant. The latter, aided by the Native people themselves, have had to provide almost all the school buildings, the Provincial Education Departments supplying subsidies for the payment of teachers up to a limited aggregate figure. According to the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education referred to above, only 342,181 Native pupils were enrolled at school in the classes Sub-Standard A to Standard X or Matriculation, in 1935. Thus only about one-fourth of the children of school-going age were at school. Not only so, but of those at school 81.03 per cent were in Standard II or below. Only 0.5 per cent were above Standard VI.² Some progress has been made in more recent years but the vast majority of the Bantu population still remain illiterate; also, since the medium of instruction in the lower school standards is the mother tongue, and the official language (English and Afrikaans) are only gradually introduced, the majority, even of those

¹ *African Survey*, pp. 97-8

² *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, 1935-36*, p. 142

who know something of letters, can read only in the vernacular. Such facts must be taken into consideration in any plans for the supply of literature and the furtherance of a literary movement among the Southern Bantu. For the latter no contribution could be so effective or far-reaching in its influence as the spread of education, and especially of education beyond the primary stage. Among other facts also it deserves to be noted that many of the outstanding books written by Africans have been penned by those with superior education, e.g. (to cite Xhosa books only) the works of Tiyo Soga, A. C. Jordan and J. J. R. Jolohe.

And as a corollary to the spread of education there must be encouraged a love of reading for its own sake. Relatively few of the Bantu read more than they are compelled to for examination or similar purposes. They will listen. They have always been good listeners, whether Christian or non-Christian. This is an incentive to hope, for a listening public is likely as education becomes general to develop into a reading public. To bring this to pass is one of the great, primary tasks of the schools. Unfortunately, many of the Bantu teachers in such schools have not yet acquired a love of literature. Such a state of affairs is not to be wondered at, for they mostly come from homes where books are few, and in which economic conditions have not permitted the purchase of many books, even though the desire for them had made itself felt. One of the urgent tasks of the educationist to-day is to inspire Bantu pupils, and especially pupil-teachers, with a love for literature, and to give them training in literary appreciation—so to inspire them that they in turn will inspire their pupils. Even when we make all allowance for Bantu economic difficulties, it must be acknowledged that in some other races a deep love of literature has overcome the barriers that poverty set up, so that a widely-read though poverty-haunted people has been reared. This was long, for example, a feature of Scotland. In this connection it has been commendably urged that with an advance in the school standard so must the scholar's literary style and appreciation be encouraged. Even in the higher classes, when the scholars are using English medium for their other subjects, vernacular reading, analysis, precis-writing,

criticism of texts, composition, recitation and speech-training must be maintained.¹ As an aid to this, a growing literature must have powerful influence.

LIBRARY SERVICE

Another means to advance the love of reading and its accompaniments would be an efficient Bantu library service throughout Southern Africa. Such a system does not exist at present, but there are pleasing indications that efforts are being made in various quarters to change the position for the better. Mr. Karlton C. Johnson's recent publication, *Non-European Libraries in South Africa*,² is the best and fullest survey yet made of the situation as it affects Non-Europeans, and it contains not a few cheering and hopeful features, for the efforts have been more widespread than many, even of those interested, have imagined. In Cape Province the following places have established Non-European Library service, though at some the service is weak at present (1941):

Cape Coloured Carnegie Service (14 Centres)

Alival North (Joint Council)

Cape Town

Liberman Institute

Claremont Public Library

South African Public Library

East London (Joint Council)

Fort Hare (Howard Pim Library)—a notable college library, with over 15,000 volumes.

Grahamstown (Rhodes Social Studies Society and Bantu Social Club.)

Kimberley ("Bantu Social Endeavour" and Joint Council)

King William's Town (Joint Council)

Lovedale (College Libraries—four in number)

Port Elizabeth :

New Brighton Location (Joint Council)

Northern End Public Library

Queenstown (Joint Council)

¹ Dr. C. M. Doke in *Africa*, April, 1935, p. 191

² Publishers—Transvaal Branch of the S.A. Library Association

Tiger Kloof :

Lending Library (now discontinued)
Staff and School Libraries

Umtata :

Transkeian Native Reference Library
(Transkeian General Council)
'Transkeian Teachers' Library
(Inspector of Schools)

In Natal there are the following :

Natal (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service (40 centres)

Adams College Library

Durban Sastri College

Mapumulo (College Library)

Phoenix :

Inanda Seminary (College Library)
Ohlange Institute (College Library)

Pietermaritzburg :

Natal Native Education Department
(for Native teachers and missionaries)

In the Orange Free State :

Non-European Libraries of the Free State (Carnegie) (10 depots)

Bloemfontein (Branch of Public Library in Bantu Social Centre)

In the Transvaal :

Transvaal (Carnegie) Non-European Library

Benoni (Municipality)

Brakpan (Municipality)

Germiston (Germiston Public Library and City Council)

Johannesburg :

Non-European Library (Municipality and Public Library)

Winifred Holtby Memorial Library
(Municipality and Public Library)

Wolhuter Hostel Recreation Hall
(Municipality and Public Library)

Coloured and Asiatic Schools' Libraries—11 depots

Krugersdorp 3 school depots of Transvaal (Carnegie)

Pretoria :

Kilnerton Training Institution
(College Libraries)

Transvaal Native Education Department (for Native teachers)

Randfontein (Location Superintendent)

Spring, (Municipality)

Vereeniging (Municipality)

In the Bechuanaland Protectorate the Education Department fosters a library service on a system similar to the Provincial Carnegie services in the Union. A gratifying feature of present-day developments is that not only educational institutions and joint councils but also municipalities and public libraries are seeking to make their contribution. The recently-opened libraries under the Johannesburg Native Affairs Department of the Municipal Council are specially noteworthy.

All over the land libraries have been dependent upon or stimulated by the practical and generous help of the Carnegie Corporation. A specially outstanding service was rendered by the establishment of the 'Transvaal (Carnegie) Non-European Library System which was inaugurated in 1931 when the Carnegie Corporation of New York offered to purchase books to the value of £1,000 for the Non-Europeans of the Transvaal, under the condition that the cost of distributing the books purchased and the operation of the Library be borne by the responsible participating organizations. The Library has been fostered since its organization by the Witwatersrand Council of Education and has been fortunate in securing help from municipalities and other public bodies and particularly the active assistance of the officials of the Germiston (Carnegie) Public Library. The Library is based and administered on lines similar to the County Library Systems of Great Britain and the United States of America. It early established centres on the Witwatersrand, in Pretoria, Pietersburg and many other places in the Transvaal. Two special features have marked the Library's work. One was the appointment of an African as Librarian-Organizer. Special efforts were made to introduce and popularize Bantu literature by giving talks on African authors and their works. The other

special feature has been the organization of centres at rural schools, village clubs and other institutions. At Germiston Library there is a central stock of books from which batches of fifty to two hundred are sent in stout wooden cases to the various centres. On arrival at a centre the boxes are unpacked, opened out and used as shelving, thus solving a problem which exists because most locations and schools cannot otherwise provide for storing the books sent out. As a rule the local school-master or location superintendent takes charge of the branch library, registering the loans and keeping the books in good condition. After six or twelve months all the books are collected from the readers and sent back to Germiston where they are checked and mended; a new batch is then sent out to the branch in exchange for those returned. Any Non-European may become a member of the Library and borrow books, one at a time, free of charge. The total number of books issued during the year ending June, 1940, was estimated at 11,155.¹ (For 1943/44 a total of 33,728.)

The Transvaal Non-European library service has also as a feature the publication of a roncoed paper called the "Reader's Companion." It is issued free of charge and contains articles on reading, lists of recommended books, and reports from various branches.

The Library has been a valuable pioneering venture for which the promoters and officials cannot be too warmly thanked. It has been a praiseworthy attempt to provide an efficient, effective and economic library service to small and scattered communities. In recent days, however, the Library has been the object of some adverse criticism. Miss Gladys Oppenheim, the Librarian of the Bloemfontein Public Library, who visited the United States as a "Carnegie Visitor," and published her report under the title *Books for the Bantu, A Study of Library Service for the African, based on the Negro Library Service of the United States of America, with a Chapter on Bibliotherapy*, fastens particularly on the deficiency of the method of sending out boxes of books to where inexperienced readers receive no guidance. And Mr. Karlton Johnson, in his valuable monograph, *Non-European Libraries in South Africa*, makes the same point and

¹ *Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, Fourth Report, 1940, p. 13*

also avers that the Library has made little progress in ten years, chiefly because it has scattered its efforts too widely. It may be admitted that it is a weakness that inexperienced readers are so dependent on their own power of choice in the matter of suitable books. Yet the advantages far outweigh the defects, and it seems ungracious to emphasize the latter when the system has meant to many an introduction to a new world.

We believe that the defects will not be fully removed till there is a corps of fully-trained Bantu librarians, working at first under the supervision of qualified Europeans and later on their own. For their training correspondence courses, vacation schools and occasional visits from an organizer, which are the means Miss Oppenheim would employ, are quite inadequate. She seems unduly pessimistic when she declares, "The problem of training Bantu Librarians is governed by the fact that there will be very few paid posts available for very many years."¹ Some posts are waiting now at various educational institutions and other agencies if the men were available, and the growth in Non-European Library service in the past decade presages many more opening doors. Africans know best the background and conditions of African people. If trained they would know the books suitable and available for them and could best commend such books to them. Negatively they could save young readers who join a library from the common fault of selecting the wrong kind of book. It deserves to be mentioned that in numerous Negro colleges in the United States students have the boon of daily contact with librarians of their own race, who are thoroughly equipped, and who know their people's needs and the material available. In some libraries where highly-trained White librarians are in charge, all contacts at the counter with Negroes handing in and receiving books are made by Negro assistant librarians. If Bantu students while taking their courses of training could be in daily contact with librarians of their own race who know their needs and the books available for them and who could inspire them with a love of reading, much might be done to raise up a reading public among Africans. From teachers, nurses and others the movement would spread. And so the

¹ *Books for the Bantu*, p. age 42

writer returns to the suggestion he made in *Literature for the South African Bantu* (1936) for the opening of a School of Librarians at a centre like Fort Hare or Lovedale, for training Non-Europeans in library service on lines similar to those followed at Hampton Institute in the United States. The Hampton Institute School of Librarians has in the years of its existence performed great service for the appreciation of literature among the Negro people. Those trained in it are given instruction in the technique of running a library, but in addition they are introduced to the literature available and most suited to their people, particularly the young, and led to grasp the importance and privilege of inspiring others with the love of reading.* Care would, of course, have to be exercised to see that supply does not run ahead of demand in South Africa, but this is a familiar problem which has been solved in the training of African nurses and for other vocations.

A library service for Non-Europeans in South Africa has its difficulties. There is the problem of the large number of language in use in South Africa, and the scanty literature in most of them. There is the lack of the reading habit among Africans, due to little association with books in early life, the poor quality of many school "Readers," the absence of the idea of reading as a leisure-time occupation, the lack of time, pre-occupation with examinations, the lack of utility value in reading and the lack of a general perception of the benefit and pleasure to be derived from reading.

On the other hand, a library system among the Bantu has certain advantages from the beginning. Not a few of the Bantu have great faith in the printed word. In their eyes it is invested with almost magical powers and stands for knowledge with all the gain it brings. Africans take their reading seriously, so seriously that fiction is not popular with many of them. An African Librarian-Organizer said: "My people feel that they have so much to learn, so much leeway to make up that there is no time to waste on trash. They look upon the library service

* Note. For a fuller discussion see *Literature for the South African Bantu: A Comparative Study of Negro Achievement*, pp. 8-10, 50-60, 74-6

as a heaven-sent opportunity to educate themselves."¹ At the same time, the thought of novel-reading as a waste of time seems to be losing hold, if we may judge from Mr. Karlton Johnson's recent survey: over a period of twelve months in the Non-European Library, Johannesburg, and of six months in the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, the most popular class of literature was fiction. Similar trends are in evidence at some Native educational Institutions. Indeed, the position reached seems to be that in general the taste of Non-European readers is about the same as that of European readers of the same standard of education. A healthy sign is that all books dealing with Native life and South African affairs are popular with the Bantu.

Again, often the African in a city location is beset with drab surroundings, so that a brightly-lit library reading-room, with books and quiet, is irresistibly attractive. It is all the more attractive because frequently the educated Bantu, cut off from contact with Europeans which he enjoyed during his period at College, now finds that he must depend on books for his deeper understanding of European life and culture.

Amid all the difficulties and advantages, the broad fact remains that the stimulation of the love of literature for its own sake among the Bantu is greatly to be desired. And in effecting this a library system, designed, it may be, on unusual lines and mostly dependent on Bantu personnel, is likely to play an important part. At all events, this is another direction in which help should be given.² In this connection we would support the recommendations of the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36, when it contended that in teacher training institutions, secondary schools and higher primary schools, State grants towards the purchase of library books be made on the pound for pound system (par. 611) and when it urged that teachers' libraries be established in the other provinces on the same lines as in Natal (par. 612). In regard to the latter

¹ Quoted in *The Bantu in the City*, by Dr. Ray E. Phillips, p. 307

² For a full discussion of the stage reached in Non-European library development and the problems connected with it, the reader should consult *Non-European Libraries in South Africa*, prepared for the Transvaal Branch of the S.A. Library Association, by Karlton Johnson, June, 1941.

such a library was established (in 1938) under the Transvaal Native Education Department.

PROBLEMS OF DISTRIBUTION

In seeking to further a literary movement among the Bantu attention must be given to the problems of distribution, with a view to the establishment of selling agencies, so that good literature may be made more easily accessible to the Bantu people, both urban and rural. An organized system of introduction and distribution is essential if literature is to be brought to the people. In all the Native townships or "locations" connected with the cities and larger towns, there should be recognized shops or agencies at which may be obtained the publications of the chief presses specializing in work for the Bantu. In regard to the country districts, some contend that the district missionary is the key to the situation, and that he must therefore be awakened to a sense of the value of the use of literature; in short he must be made literature-conscious. In both spheres we have a large uncultivated field. A corps of men whose business it would be to foster literary interests might accomplish much. In this connection the writer would offer a practical suggestion. According to the rules of the Education Departments of South Africa, teachers must retire from active service at the age of 55 or 60. Many African teachers thus find themselves at a comparatively early age with abundance of enforced leisure. Generally, because of their calling and life-work, they are men of influence among their people. The careful selection of a corps of such men, dwelling in different districts, to act as agents for presses specializing in literature for the Bantu would probably lead to surprising results. The Bantu are fond of conferences of all kinds: religious gatherings, agricultural associations, home improvement societies, teachers meetings are being continually held amongst them. The attendance at such meetings, particularly in rural places, of one who would lay before them the fact that "a reading people is a leading people," might do much to stimulate the love of reading, and incidentally would not only augment for the agent a meagre pension but provide him with a task of interest and a further term of useful service. For all schemes of this kind active assistance should be forthcoming.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BANTU PUBLISHING BUSINESSES

A fact which ought not to be forgotten is that there is no Bantu book-publishing house of large dimensions. The Bantu author is almost wholly dependent on South African mission presses for the publication of his work. One or two London firms and a small number of firms in South Africa have published vernacular text-books. The lack of Bantu publishing houses is to be accounted for by the inexperience of the Bantu in trade and commerce and the want of the capital necessary for such ventures. Very few of the Bantu have, so far, succeeded as business men, largely, as some believe, because of lack of opportunity. An aim that should be kept in view and towards which assistance should be given is the establishment of an African publishing house.

It deserves to be added that in any consideration of the development of South African vernacular literature account should be taken of the industrial and commercial aspects of production, closely related as these are to the cost at which books can be provided for a group of readers who are generally poor, and also because printing and bookbinding open avenues of employment to a race that is in sore need of industrial opportunity. All this has not been overlooked, particularly by missionary societies. A number of Bantu are now employed as printers in Native newspapers and missionary printing offices, and a few as bookbinders in the latter. They have no status within the trades unions of South Africa, but their wages are subject to certain regulations and steps are taken to ensure that they are engaged only on vernacular printing or on work intended chiefly for a Native clientele. The production of books by Native workmen, although their wages are relatively high, helps to avoid costs that would make the prices beyond the means of Bantu readers. It seems also reasonable that books intended for Bantu readers should as far as possible be printed and bound by Bantu workmen, and this, under prevailing conditions, is largely the case. A great increase of literacy and the development of a love of reading among the Native people of South Africa, with the consequent increased sale of books, would have a powerful influence on the quality of the literature produced, as it would help to call out the

best in Native authors, give them more adequate rewards, and make it possible for many more to engage in literary work. And the development of the printing and book-binding industries would mean an increased number of Natives engaged in an honourable industry and obtaining thereby the means of livelihood.

CHAPTER IV

BANTU REACTION TO EUROPEAN SPONSORING

The reaction of Africans to European sponsoring of a literature movement among them and on their behalf is not always favourable or friendly. In South Africa national and racial feeling has, in an unusual degree, attached itself to matters of language and literature. In this respect the Bantu are in no way behind more advanced sections of the population. Their sensitiveness has probably been deepened because, while showing poverty in almost every form of art, in language they have a rich possession and in powers of expression they commonly excel. The more highly educated Bantu of different tribes are aware that their languages have merits as media of expression and that they themselves have gifts of oratory beyond the average White man. Thus their racial pride has come to attach itself to language, in which they have an instrument of real achievement, and even to literature in which they feel they have at least potential power.

Again, the natural harvest of such gifts, under modern conditions, should be a rich literature, but owing to historical causes such a harvest is only beginning to be reaped by Africans. With so many avenues open to White society but closed against themselves, they have a deeper sense of possession in this sphere which seems peculiarly their own : it is their own language, and they wish the literary movement centring in it and springing from it to be their own, of their own creation and development. Thus some are inclined to resent the foreigner taking a leading part in furthering its advancement. The man of another race may be infinitely better equipped in some respects ; he may have made a study of Bantu languages far more profound than Bantu scholars ; he may be in a position to make comparisons between European and Bantu languages ; his race may have behind it centuries of experience in the production and development of literature ; but all these considerations are as the small dust of the balance to certain Africans. The outsider is working in a sphere which Bantu racial feeling has declared to be in a quite special sense its own possession.

REACTION TO NEW ORTHOGRAPHY

In mentioning a few examples of how this works out in practice one may begin by citing so apparently a matter-of-fact affair as orthography. Scholars of the White race were almost wholly responsible for the orthographies adopted when Bantu languages were first reduced to writing. And when modern times revealed the need for revision of such orthographies European scholars again took the lead, though it must be acknowledged that influential Bantu gave them most valuable support, particularly after the advantages of the reforms suggested had been grasped. Soon, however, the subject was invested with an atmosphere of suspicion. The changes proposed all aimed at greater uniformity and accuracy in the representation of Bantu languages and in greater ease in reading them, and from many quarters witness has been borne to the fact that the reforms have been instrumental in reaching the ends desired. But from many sides, particularly at first, the strongest opposition was encountered. It was typical of a prevailing attitude that the introduction of the sign *f* for "sh" in Xhosa was seized on by the conservatives for stern condemnation. "See, it is a snake," they said—than which no dictum could be more damning in African eyes. There was a scene akin to both tragedy and comedy when a member of so influential a body as the United Transkeian Territories General Council tried in 1940 to persuade his fellow-members to request the Cape Education Department to banish the new system of Xhosa orthography from the schools of the Transkeian Territories so that "the spelling introduced by Appleyard in his version be adhered to, as most Natives feel that the new language should be spelt as spoken, and that no new symbols or letters should be added to it." He went on to say that the spelling of Xosa had become confusing; that new signs and symbols had been introduced which he and others could not understand, that they were at a loss to know where they came from, and they wanted to know who introduced them. "I am a good natured old man," he declared, "and I like my children to come and sit on my lap and repeat the lessons they have been reading at school in the Xosa language, but now I am unable to do so and I am not kind to them any longer because I cannot understand them. I have

been in the habit of reading the small Xosa primers used by the children at school, but the present printing beats me. If I try to decipher them I just doze over them and go to sleep trying to make out what they are about. I think we are losing our language and I am afraid that before very long the position will be so bad it will be beyond remedy . . . It looks like buying a bag of grain without opening it, and when I get home I find it is full of old rotten mealies. I think the new Xosa orthography is like that."¹

More serious were the charges made in other quarters that the orthographical reforms were designed to help Europeans to oust Africans from those forms of employment in which knowledge of a Bantu language is essential ; to transform Bantu languages into " White man's languages " ; to make less easy the use of Bantu languages in printing and typing processes ; and to divide the old from the young in Bantu life.²

REACTION TO DIALECTAL UNIFICATION

European scholars³ versed in Bantu languages have in recent years drawn attention to the fact that only those African languages can hope to survive that are efficient, vigorous and adaptable instruments of expression and must also serve, or be capable of serving, a certain minimum number of individuals as their common literary medium ; and that powerful and unremitting efforts must be made on behalf of these languages not only to keep them passively alive, but also to develop them actively, and so to maintain, and if possible to extend, their sphere of influence. And again it has been contended that in Africa the term " language " is apt to be used for what should more properly be termed a *dialect*, and " language-group " for what is in reality no more than a *dialect-cluster*. From these and cognate considerations arguments are rightly deduced for the emergence of a single literary language in a particular dialect group, e.g. Sotho. But the suggestion of creating a unified literary language

¹ *Proceedings of United Transkeian Territories General Council*, 1940, p. 133

² *Conferences on Literature for the South African Bantu*, p. 15

³ Cf. Professor Lestrade in *Roma College Review*, July-Sept. 1941, pp. 73-8

for any of the African dialect-groups seems to have acquired the habit of arousing pious horror in the minds of many persons, partly because of their mistaken and often fantastic views as to what the protagonists of unified literary languages for African dialect-groups are after,¹ and also from their lack of knowledge of what has happened in the case of other—particularly European—tongues.

REACTION TO EUROPEAN ENTHUSIASM FOR USE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BANTU LANGUAGES

Still more extraordinary is the fact that enthusiasm for the use and development of Bantu languages makes Europeans showing such enthusiasm objects of suspicion in a few African circles. Occasionally it is contended that the motives behind such enthusiasm are not disinterested, and that what is desired is to prevent Africans from attaining mastery of the English medium and to limit the intellectual freedom of the Black man. In short, enthusiasm for the Bantu languages as literary media is interpreted as another phase of the obnoxious movement to confine Africans to "development along their own lines." Such criticisms mostly come from a small group who advocate the constant use of the English medium. They hold that while it is true that Africans must write for Africans, English is the medium through which Africans should be reached, for it is impossible to produce a "national" literature through the use of a "tribal" language: only tribal literature will result. Such advocates are not satisfied by the contentions that Africans should have the utmost freedom to use whichever language they desire, that the audience must decide, and that if one writes in a Bantu language one does not limit thereby one's intellectual liberty.

REACTION TO LITERARY STANDARDS

In some quarters a feeling of resentment is felt by African authors that so often in submitting work for publication they find their MSS. appraised solely by Europeans. It is averred that these Europeans are frequently language "experts" who have norms with which the Bantu are not familiar or of which

¹ Prof. Lestrade in *Roma College Review*, July-Sept., 1941, p. 77

they do not approve ; and that in other cases they are missionaries whose standard of judgment is narrow, being bounded by considerations of what is fitting for a mission press to publish and of what will aid evangelistic and kindred activities. Typical of this reaction was the declaration of a well-known African which appeared in the *Bantu World* of 27th August, 1938. "Bantu journalism," he said, "is marking time, and it seems that there is no future for the Black authors. Many an author can write standardized articles and books. Their's is original, sincere and remarkable, but practically useless to the press, because perhaps it hints inter relationship problems, reveals the real Native problems etc. The question that rises here is what kind of books receive attention and instant publication ? There are many authors that we can think of in South Africa, because their master-piece works have no outlet to publication, they have shrunk and prefer to die in obscurity." The charge proceeds in this strain in paragraph after paragraph. He tells of "piles over piles of complete manuscripts" which have no publishers, and asks why "have most of our papers preconceived formula representing a clique ?" He declares that the time is ripe for publishers to have a standard formula—the publishing of the best. "Masterpiece books of any nature will always have faithful readers, but these works which are of artistic validity and of basic ideas written in the flow of the language have no market nor place in publisher's catalogue." The only cure to the problem he believes will be found in the formation of a strong Authors' Society whose concern would be solely for literary excellence, and which would get away from the fixed notions and out-of-date ideas of those who at present control publishing. Despite the verbiage and poor expression of the writer quoted, account must be taken of his views, since they are representative of those held by a section of Africans who are attempting authorship.

TREATMENT OF UNFAVOURABLE REACTIONS

In seeking to decide how much importance should be attached to such reactions on the part of Africans, we must not lose sight of the stage of development which they have reached. They

are at the adolescent period, a period which, as in the life of individuals, is difficult for any people. It is difficult and trying not only for themselves but for those who are in any sense their guardians or their guides. A people at this stage is strong enough to feel its own strength, but sometimes not wise enough to be completely independent. Emotion is often more powerful than reason, and such emotion may find expression at times in strange and startling forms. The guardian or helper must be prepared for disappointments and must exercise tact mingled with kindness. Over-firmness leads to estrangement but over-indulgence also leads to separation. Personal contacts, patient understanding and sane guidance are constantly called for. The recognition that the Bantu have reached such a stage should not pass from the minds of those who seek to aid the development of Bantu language and literature. At the same time, it will be well to recognize also that the very emotional and other qualities of a growing people, like the same qualities in an individual, may be a useful offset to the conservatism, lack of adventure and unworthy contentment of those more advanced in years or experience. The essentials are personal contacts and companionship in endeavour, on the part of both White and Black.¹

NECESSITY OF AFRICAN-EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION

It may be said at once that such companionship will be necessary for many a day to come if the full benefits of European help along the lines mentioned in Chapter III are to be obtained—and such lines of development seem inevitable if the goals aimed at are to be reached and Bantu literature come into its own. Such European help will be invaluable in overtaking the programmes outlined by the sub-committee of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies ; for the carrying out of the projects of the missionary forces ; for the setting up of a Bantu Academy ; for providing adequate aid and scope to the Bantu authors ; for the development of magazine literature ; for the

¹ See *The Literature of Lesotho*, by G. H. Franz, in *Bantu Studies*, September, 1930, p. 180

spread of education, the stimulating of a love of reading, and the development of a library service ; for overcoming the problems of distribution ; and for the establishment of Bantu presses. Whatever voices may be raised against European sponsoring of such movements, co-operation should be sought and aid given, for it must be remembered that in this work, as in all missionary and humanitarian work, it is not demand but need that should be the regulating factor. If, for example, missionaries had waited until there was a demand for their services from African tribes, comparatively little progress would have been made in the latter's evangelization or in their education. Missionaries often persisted in giving their services in the face of opposition, because of their sense of a need to be met, though such was frequently little felt by those to whom they came. And the missionary remains at his post to-day even when voices are raised for his withdrawal, if he retains a conviction of the presence of need. In the development of Bantu literature there is a great need still for the larger experience of the qualified European. It cannot be forgotten that this fact is recognized by many of the Bantu themselves. The opposite view is held by a few who are unrepresentative of the people as a whole, however vocal they may be.

Railing at "experts," which has become a favourite pastime in certain African circles, is foolish. No class has done more for Bantu literature than those sometimes tilted against. It remains a fact that in certain aspects there are European specialists who are ahead of Bantu scholars. The scholarship of the former ought to be taken advantage of for many days to come. Questions of orthography, dialectal unification, standardization of grammar, vocabulary and idiom, linguistic terminology, manuscripts suitable for translation, and other matters of importance should continue to have the attention of those who have made a life-long and profound study of Bantu languages and who on the technical side are so highly equipped. In linguistic matters, as in so many others, the outsider sometimes sees more of the game as various nations have discovered. To cite one instance out of many, the study of the English language was permanently enriched by the labours of Otto Jespersen, a Danish philolo-

gist.¹ And in the domain of literature, no sensible Englishman would despise the contribution made to English fiction by the novels of Joseph Conrad, a Pole.

WINNING BANTU CO-OPERATION

At the same time, the task of the European in the development of Bantu literature demands review. In this field the European succeeds best who makes himself dispensable. His chief function is not to do a particular work, but to bring forward others from among the Bantu who can do it. His success must be held to lie chiefly in the production of others who can take his place. Thus in regard to this field there is inherent in the process something that works against a possessive mentality. Not to yield to this unselfish pressure but to go on maintaining a sense of possession in a Bantu literature movement is for the European to produce sterility. He must open the door, and, at least in time he must get out of the doorway.

We may apply to the development of Bantu literature the principles enunciated by the late Rev. Dr. John Lennox in regard to Bantu church development when he said that the fact we offered the Native churches the finest product of our thinking and experience, while at the same time we removed from them the discipline of thinking out these great questions in relation to their own national life, retarded rather than stimulated thought and mental activity. We could do no greater disservice than to do all their thinking for them. Their life, their growth depended on the way they met their own difficulties and grew strong in the face of them. They must take their responsibilities on their own shoulders. They must exercise their own inventiveness. They must cast themselves on the future in faith, and must themselves garner and use the lessons of their own experience. The plans devised in such circumstances might not be so comprehensive or perfect as those which others with generations of experience behind them would make. But they were not for that reason to be reckoned as failures. "It is a thousand times better that a child should itself produce its own as yet imperfect copy than

¹ See *Growth and Structure of the English Languages*, by Otto Jespersen

that it should merely look on and see you produce the finer copy, or even that it should trace the lines while you hold its hand."¹

African youths should be trained for research work in dialect, grammar and other branches of language study. And in regard to the production of general literature, the future should find the European with fewer calls to be himself the producer of literature for the Bantu. More and more the Bantu themselves should provide the literature required, and the energies of others interested should be directed towards this end. The function of the European should be increasingly to advise and stimulate, to emphasize the value of literature, and to organize and promote its production and distribution. On every committee or board dealing with African literature matters the Bantu should have adequate representation.

The importance of winning the co-operation of the Bantu in all advances has been demonstrated again and again. To convince one or more of their leaders that a project or a reform is sound and necessary is often to win over a host. The writer has seen some leading Bantu among the Xhosa boggle at changes in hymn-tunes proposed with a view to preserving the Xhosa accent in the singing of the words. They had sung the hymns for years without regard to accent and saw no need for change. But when once they grasped how unfair was this treatment of the language and how there was being offered them a more excellent way, and not least when it was pointed out that a pioneer musician of their own race, John Knox Bokwe, had declared that adverse accent "simply murders Xhosa in the singing" opposition broke down and they turned to be supporters of the better form. The history of the new orthography in Xhosa offers a similar lesson. Some of the leading Bantu, with literary achievement to their credit, came to see the intrinsic value of the reform. Then the publication of the Baptist Church Xhosa hymn-book and of St. Mark's Gospel in the new orthography demonstrated to others the reasonableness of the changes adopted, with the result that the system came more and more into favour and made its way. And, so, when the motion for the abolition of the new orthography was made in the United Transkeian Territories

¹ *Proceedings of General Missionary Conference of S.A., 1909, pp. 86-7*

General Council in 1940 (see pages 71-72), it was voted down by this Bantu Council representing over a million people. One speaker advised the mover not to worry further : although old people like themselves might have difficulty with the new system, children liked it very much and learned it easily. " Fortunately the Bible, which is the only book I think he is interested in now, is not written in the new Xhosa orthography "—a somewhat dubious consolation in view of the imminent publication of the Bible in the new style !

INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM OF BANTU

In all European sponsoring and co-operation, it is of the utmost importance that the complete intellectual freedom of the African be preserved, so that he may attain mastery of the English or Afrikaans medium and be at liberty to express himself in any language he desires. Fortunately, whatever the restrictions imposed on the political and economic freedom of the African population in the Union of South Africa, it has to be admitted that no restriction has been placed upon their intellectual freedom, and that African writers are at liberty to use whatever medium they prefer for literary expression. It should be the endeavour of Europeans to see that this is maintained and, while encouraging and assisting the production of literature in the Bantu languages, to do all in their power to ensure that African authors have full freedom to use any medium they desire and that those who use English or Afrikaans be given all help and encouragement in their efforts to produce works of merit.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION

A subsidiary matter may be mentioned here as it affects European and African co-operation. It has been alleged that sometimes publishers, particularly hard-pressed mission publishers, have accepted work from African authors on terms very disadvantageous to the latter ; sometimes no monetary interest has been allowed the author, who has been made to understand that the satisfaction of seeing his work in print is sufficient reward. Such arrangements are to be deprecated. Royalty on sales is the fairest form of recompense to authors and it protects the

publisher. This system should be applied to African writers, who should be encouraged to accept it. And relations between publisher and author should be made clear and binding by the use of *Forms of Agreement* such as all reputable publishing firms submit.

CHAPTER V

AN ATTEMPT TO FORESEE DEVELOPMENTS

As one endeavours to foresee developments in Bantu literature, it is with the assumption that there is a future for Bantu language. Some would doubt this and contend that with the inrush of Western civilization and its greater dominance over African life, it is likely that the English and Afrikaans languages will come to be increasingly used in South Africa and that the Bantu languages, spoken as each of them is by comparatively few people, devoid of terms for much in modern life, and poor in literature, must eventually go to the wall. To the writer there seems that in Bantu culture and language which is well worthy of preservation, something unique and *sui generis*, the loss of which would be a loss to the world at large. Moreover, it has been well pointed out that Bantu languages stand high among the languages of the world ; they are effective vehicles of thought, and show richness, flexibility and elegance of expression. As the traditional lore of the past has been gathered and embodied in literature, and as Africans have become more articulate, there has been added to the world's storehouse of literature new treasure of African experience recorded in Bantu fashion ; experience of life set forth in modes of expression unparalleled in the life or writing of any other people. It may well be believed that many of these things are to survive, however much Bantu culture is adapted to new conditions imposed from without in these later times. Unlike some other races, the Bantu have shown wonderful powers of survival in face of the disintegrating forces of Western life, which have subjected them politically and made them economically dependent on other people. In like manner it is probable that features of their culture and also their languages will survive and even flourish. The chances of the survival of the latter are increased because of their intrinsically efficient nature and because of their adaptability for the expression of the new thoughts and feelings that have come with modern conditions. And this survival is likely to be aided because it is

probable that the future will witness successful attempts to reduce the number of literary forms and so to increase the area of operation of each form, and also because literature embodying the languages is likely to become richer and more extensive.

It deserves to be noted also that the Southern Bantu languages are living languages to-day. Comparatively few Africans have completely lost their mother-tongue. Educated Bantu may use a foreign language for the expression of their higher cultural life and for inter-tribal intercourse, but, speaking generally, they are proud of their languages and use them constantly in daily life. It seems safe to say that in some fields of literature, particularly where feeling is prominent, for example in poetry and religion, the Bantu will best express themselves through their mother-tongues.

UNPREDICTABLE ELEMENTS

As one attempts to foresee developments, one holds the hope that there are developments quite unforeseen and unpredictable. The richer the future of Bantu literature the more will it contain the element of surprise. It may assume forms unguessed at now; it may develop techniques yet undreamed of. One would cherish the hope that such things will come to pass, and that the peculiar genius of the African may assert itself for the world's enriching, to the upsetting of all prophecies as to the way it will take.

FULFILMENT OF PLANS OUTLINED

Certain lines of development seem, however, not unlikely. We would hope also that many of the plans outlined in previous chapters will be brought to fruition, that the programmes sketched by various bodies will be carried through, that linguistic studies will be pursued by Africans inspired by the thought that the language studied is their mother-tongue, that the African author will make an increasing and substantial contribution to Bantu literature, that education will spread and the love of literature grow, that library facilities will become more adequate and that Bantu presses will be established. But there are other additional possibilities.

THE GROWTH OF BANTU NATIONALISM

The future is almost certain to see a marked growth of Bantu national or racial feeling, with accompanying efforts to give it expression in literature. Hitherto tribal differences and tribal antipathies have been common among Africans. There has been little co-operation between the various tribes. Preference for their own respective tribal customs, the separation of the tribes in their own areas, and the lack of education and of travel have tended to keep them apart. But the impact of Western civilization with its call for Bantu labour and consequent mixing of the tribes; with its governmental legislation directed to the control, not of any particular tribe, but of the Bantu as a whole; with its education which widens horizons and gives views of what unity in other nations has accomplished—these and other influences all tend to unite Africans and to produce in them a solidarity hitherto unknown. Those who have their fingers on the pulse of Bantu life know that in recent years Africa has shown, as other lands have done, quickening of national and racial consciousness. As in other lands and amongst other people also, the sentiment attaches itself to language and literature. This tendency, we may assume, is bound to grow.

It is significant that not long ago a Bantu writer, after making acknowledgment of the work of missionaries in evangelism and education, made a pronouncement which for its thought and expression demands full and serious consideration. He wrote: "Have we then made, comparatively, corresponding literary progress up to now? If not, how long shall we march behind other nations educationally if we do not develop, increase and improve our Bantu literature? Why cannot our educationalists write books in their mother tongues? Are we so unpatriotic as to be ashamed, or such duffers as to be ignorant of our languages and will or cannot express our wishes, observations, pleasures and pains by writing vernacular books? If not, then why can't we have more Bantu men and women writers of books to show their worth to the world? Surely, we must be aware of the fact that there is much misrepresentation of our people by foreign people who profess to know us and our languages. It is our duty to take counter measures by writing our own books. There

is nothing in this world that can be accomplished without the right tools. Books are educational tools for our children and can best be made from the cast of their own people. As long as the Bantu people still remain indifferent on this matter our education will ever be mere sham, having failed in its purpose to inspire originality, and we shall always depend on other people's thoughts.

"For this lack I am forced to lay the blame on our teachers, ministers, academically educated people and those with ordinary general education. Institutions and colleges have been sending out many of them, but they in turn have done nothing more than being eloquent soap-box politicians and self-made leaders. A man can be a leader without ever appearing on public platforms, by inspiring and guiding the race through his books. He can infuse patriotism to the young by patriotic little stories, poems and songs.

"Nevertheless, we must acknowledge and pay tribute to those who have already made a start in this direction of literary efficiency. It is our study to follow them up; for we cannot afford to let the acknowledged descriptive richness and phonic beauty of our languages die out. There is still much to be desired, and we must be up and doing. The solidarity, progress and recognition of a race depend upon the quality and quantity of its literature."¹

This well expressed declaration points to a sure development of the future—the growth of racial sentiment and its expression in books from African pens. The writer quoted is clearly aware of the importance of literature in the growth of a people and as a vehicle for their self-expression, and, like a true patriot, he advocates writing in the mother-tongue.

A DANGER

It is much to be hoped that such racial feeling will not lead to excesses spelling the death of true art. Here a comparison with the American Negro may not be out of place. The first Negro poets in the United States—the first to have work published was a slave-girl, Phillis Wheatley, who arrived in Boston in 1781—

¹ J. P. Marwale in *The Bantu World*.

wrote in the style conventional to White writers of their age. This continued for generations. But during the war of 1914-18 a new group of Negro poets appeared. This group was marked by a revolt against the traditions of Negro dialect poetry, which had been popularised largely by White writers, and whose stock-in-trade were stereotyped humorous-pathetic patterns and sentimental supplicatory moods. The group endeavoured to express the feelings of disillusionment and bitterness so characteristic of the American Negro in the war and post-war periods, and so there came forth the poetry of protest, rebellion and despair, often an inartistic and unlovely thing. A still more modern group tried to apply a corrective. They revolted against propaganda in poetry, and struggled, though not always successfully, to get away from race-problem poetry, and to be simply poets. It is to be hoped that Bantu racial feeling will avoid the pitfalls that mean the death of true art. Fortunately, there is a natural sanity among the South African Bantu which hitherto has saved them, on the whole, from extreme racial bitterness.

UNIFICATION OF DIALECTS

Bantu nationalism would take a praiseworthy form if it led, as it may lead, to dialectal unification, for example, of Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tšwana in one literary language. For a worthy future to such languages some unified form must be found, and particularly if a literature is to be built up. It is hopeful to find an African recently advocate such fusion and go on to declare that "the adoption of a scheme such as this would result in larger markets for our literature with the corresponding increase in the distribution of the elements of culture."¹ Professor Doke has expressed the view that a million speakers of a language are necessary if literature is to be developed. There are signs that Africans are coming to see that the multiplicity of languages and dialects places the Bantu in South Africa at a disadvantage and that a remedy must be found. True, the feeling for this sometimes finds expression in extreme forms. Recently a lively controversy marked the pages of a leading Bantu newspaper, because of the proposals of an African corres-

¹P. N. Rabaroko in *Umteteli Wabantu*, 1st February, 1941

pondent. He first urged the abandonment of Bantu languages and the adoption of a form of Esperanto, and when he found this view extremely unpopular he pled for the retention and use of only one Bantu language—Zulu.¹ However unlikely the acceptance of such proposals is, the urge behind their expression is not without significance. It is almost certain that the spread of education, the increase of travel, and the casting down of tribal barriers through various causes, will lead to the fusion of language forms. It will no doubt be of considerable influence among the Bantu when the fact becomes more generally known that in standard English to-day we have a literary language used by people of varying dialects.

DEVELOPMENTS ALONG AFRICAN LINES

The future may be expected to show developments along distinctively African lines. It is obvious that in various departments of literature African writers have stuck too closely to European models. This is seen not least in the domain of poetry. There is a growing feeling that hitherto a good deal of Bantu poetry has been in bonds through its being wedded, like so much English poetry, to rhyme. It is significant that one of the Bantu, H. I. E. Dhlomo, has declared: "Pre-occupation with technique and rhyme may make for art that is too self-conscious. This is true especially of rhymes in African language where words end almost invariably with a vowel, and where stress and accent play an important part in meaning. Here, rhyme may obscure meaning, stem the even flow of thought, and lead even to artificiality and superficiality. Our dramatists and 'pure' poets are pioneers and innovators who are trying to find a suitable outward form for their emotional content." After criticizing certain proposals by a fellow-African and dismissing them because "the mountains, the seas, the storms, the earthquakes of tragedy do not lend themselves to a neat rhyme scheme of this kind," Dhlomo asks what poetic form is suitable for Bantu dramatic work. He declares that African dramatists should develop a form suitable to the structure, nature and flow of their language. "Personally, I think the poetic form used by the

¹ J. R. Mohlamme in *The Bantu World*, 25th January, 1941, etc.

ancient Hebrew writers is the best we can find, for it is natural to African genius and to our Native speech." And he quotes noted English authorities as saying Hebrew poetry is marked by parallelism of thought and expression—a sort of magnified alliteration; it differs in form from the poetry of other great literatures in not having metre or rhyme, yet it is not free verse, as its principle is a symmetrical arrangement of parallel clauses: "In the couplet where the parallelism is most obvious, the thought is expressed in the first line and then re-expressed with a difference in the second; as if one were to hold up a cut stone to the light and then, turning it slightly, show another facet. There is no counting of syllables or of stresses; but this system performs in its own way the function of metre; it has in common with metre what is absent from prose, the expectation of recurrence in form. The principle which is the foundation of the form of the poetry pervades also the thought. There is a rhythm of thought as well as a rhythm of sound." He holds that this is the most suitable form because it embraces the elements which already exist in Bantu tribal literature—strong rhythm, repetition, simple and natural imagery, etc. He himself has used it in some of his plays, and he quotes a traditional Sotho praise-poem, translated by Professor Lestrade, as an example of the parallelism—a feature to which also Professor Lestrade draws special attention. Professor Lestrade has also pointed out that in Northern Sotho the interesting experiment has been made of translating Psalms into the old metrical forms and employing much of the archaic language peculiar to these productions.¹

Dhlomo also contends that another useful form which could be adopted is the form favoured by Shakespeare in his later and more mature years. His verse became continually more flexible and free, more various in cadence, and more regardless of regularity. Unstopped lines and light endings continually increase in frequency. Rhyme becomes more rare and extra syllables are oftener placed at the end of the line. The line itself becomes less insistent. The verse pauses anywhere, at quite irregular intervals, and the tendency to pause at the end of a line as such

¹ G. P. Lestrade in *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa*, p. 123

disappears almost completely if not altogether. It depends less and less on line structure, on any orderly and regular sequence of sound within the line and more and more on the balance of sentences and on emphasis. Dhlomo insists that the Bantu tribal poet showed similar features, and cared nothing about line structure and regular sequence, since he fixed his mind on the poem as a whole. He holds that the greatest gift of Africa to the artistic world is Rhythm. "We, too, can use archaic tribal forms to produce a form of poetry and rhythmic effect distinctly African. Rhythm is more than a physical sensation. It is inspired uniformity in motion, giving birth to thought and emotion and vision."¹

The forms advocated by this Bantu writer are probably less important than the fact that he has seen the need for turning an open and enquiring mind to questions of Bantu forms of expression in literature, with a view to the adoption of forms that will best express Bantu genius. It is to be expected that as time passes African writers will give increased attention to such matters, to the enriching of Bantu literature and to the enhancing of Africa's contribution to the world.* With a further aspect of this we shall deal more fully in the next chapter when we treat of the contribution that Bantu literature can make to literature as a whole.

BANTU LIFE FROM WITHIN : ESSAYS, BIOGRAPHY, NOVELS

The future will probably witness the writing and publication of authentic pictures of Bantu life written by Africans. There has been much written about the life of African Natives and a great deal of it is valuable, but so far too little of it has come from the pens of the Bantu themselves. The African has felt and dreamed, laboured and aspired, danced in ecstasy and sunk to the depths of despair ; he has seen Western civilization come crashing into his primitive life, changing it in ways of which his forefathers had no imagination. But through all he has remained

¹ H. I. E. Dhlomo in *The South African Outlook*, April 1939, pp. 88-90

* Note. Another African set forth similar considerations in an article headed "Sechuana Poetry" in the *Tiger Kloof Magazine*, Decr. 1934, pp. 19-23

almost inarticulate, or, when he has spoken, too often it has been in wildness of passion and protest. But Bantu writers who have escaped from a purely utilitarian or propagandist view of literature and whose souls are dominated by ideas of art for art's sake, will arise and make known the soul of Africa. For the adequate filling of this role there will be required an objective viewpoint and a sense of literary values that will make calls on the restraint and artistic powers of the authors.

Such unfoldings of the African spirit may come through essays giving African philosophy of life, and in this connection it is noteworthy that the fifth volume in the commendable *Bantu Treasury Series* is a book of essays in Xhosa by the Rev. J. J. R. Jolobe, a writer of more than ordinary thoughtfulness. Or the revelation may come through biography, or even more through autobiography, as in S. E. K. Mqhayi's *U-Mqhayi wase-Ntab'Ozuko*. But the greatest call on African powers will probably come through the medium of the novel. It is noteworthy that the American Negro has so far been more successful in interpreting his thought and feeling through poetry and music than in the novel and the drama, probably because the latter are forms of art demanding a more objective attitude, and the Negro is still too self-conscious and too race-conscious to permit of sufficient detachment. Whether this will be repeated in the case of the Bantu remains to be seen. It must be remembered that the novel, as Europeans understand it, is something new to Bantu life. Up to the present, the Xhosa novel, despite its fuller development as compared with fiction in other Bantu languages, has been too often marked by various limitations: it has been slight, too much given to moralizing, and sometimes overmuch obsessed with the unhappy external circumstances of life in city locations. A recent happening, however, has seemed to usher in a new day. The publication of A. C. Jordan's *Inqumbo Yeminyanya* was noteworthy for more than one reason. It was on a larger plan than former novels, and it was an ambitious attempt to reveal the workings in the soul of an African awakened to the claims of a higher type of life and yet set in a pagan environment and fighting a grim fight with conservative and reactionary forces. But more: the author showed himself

to have a conception of artistic values that was praiseworthy. At the close of the book the forces of evil, of paganism and reaction, win, and there is a veritable blood-bath. Some who read the book in manuscript begged the author to give it a different and more happy ending. But Jordan turned a deaf ear to such pleadings. "This is how it came to me," he declared and declined to do violence to his own artistic conceptions.

WRITING IN ENGLISH

It requires no prophetic gifts to foresee that Bantu writers of the future will more frequently endeavour to express themselves through the official languages of South Africa and particularly through a world-wide language like English. Sol. T. Plaatje's novel, *Mhudi*, to which we have referred,¹ is a harbinger of the creative work that will be increasingly attempted. It was significant that in one of the African authors' conferences, the plea was made by one of the Bantu that Africans should abandon "tribal" languages and write in one of world-wide usage. The member who advocated this had shown his ability to write in English by the play *The Girl Who Killed to Save* and other works. It was noteworthy also that when in the May Esther Bedford Competition of 1936 a prize was given for a Xhosa poem *U-Mthuthula*, the author in the following year had published in London the English version, which the conditions of the competition required him to submit along with the vernacular. The English translation is a poem of no little power. The writer has had sent to him various MSS. in English by African writers in different classes of literature, and while most of them have fallen below publication standard some of them have been rich in promise for the future.

TRANSLATIONS

It is matter for surprise that so little translation of English classics has been done into Bantu languages, despite the early example and outstanding success of such a book as Tiyo Soga's translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. In that book he showed what could be done by translation into free and idiomatic

¹ See page 54

Xhosa combined with fidelity to the thought and language of the original. When Sol. T. Plaatje set himself to translate Shakespeare into Tšwana, he virtually blazed a new trail along which we may take it, multitudes will pass as they seek to embody in the tongues of their own people works of various kinds from the treasures of the world's literature. And the world's literature will also be enriched by a converse process—by the translation into a language like English of Bantu works such as has actually happened in the case of Mofolo's *Chaka*. This book is the first modern piece of Bantu literature to be so honoured, and it is noteworthy that in its English form it has been so much admired. Fortunately, the English translation has retained the outstanding features of the original and shown the writer to be possessed of high qualities of style, imagination, dramatic instinct and psychological insight.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SCIENCE

To turn to more utilitarian works, a need which may be felt more as education increases is for Africans who can interpret to their own people, either through the vernacular or otherwise, the new scientific knowledge that the educated African is acquiring. We may agree that it would seem to be misspent labour and expense to attempt to develop highly technical works at present in any of the Bantu languages of the Union. The more advanced study of scientific subjects is to-day through the medium of the European language, and text-books in that language are naturally used.¹ Yet there still remains throughout Africa a vast background of unexplained nature, which gives witchcraft and other sources of darkness and misery a chance to linger on. The training of Bantu nurses and others has revealed that the true method of attack against witchcraft is not by scolding or by ridicule, but by the imparting of sound scientific knowledge. This knowledge must be made more wide-spread, and those who will best ensure this are those who have first-hand, personal acquaintance with the African's environment and outlook. From such there should come books of popular science rooted in and related to the African's primitive observations of

¹ Professor C. M. Doke in *Africa*, April, 1935, p. 201

nature and his ideas of cause and effect. In addition, to the Bantu child who lives close to nature and has an inheritance of folk-lore and parable regarding birds and animals, there should be given books with abundant nature lessons. He should be taught to appreciate the birds and flowers that are the familiars of his daily life. European science is seeking knowledge of African herbal remedies, while many young Africans are losing the knowledge that their fathers had of the names and properties of the trees and shrubs and plants that mark the veld. We may hope that a development of the future will be the provision by African writers of books to meet such needs.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT FUTURE CONTRIBUTION CAN BANTU LITERATURE MAKE TO LITERATURE AS A WHOLE ?

Ibsen once wrote to Brandes when the latter was a youth :
“ What I chiefly desire for you is a genuine, full-blooded egoism, which shall force you for a time to regard what concerns yourself as the only thing of any consequence, and everything else as non-existent . . . There is no way in which you can benefit society more than by coining the metal you have in yourself.” It is a declaration that should dominate our thoughts and particularly the thoughts of Africans whenever enquiry is made as to what future contribution Bantu literature can make to literature as a whole.

For Africa, especially when her development is fully come, has something to offer to the world that only Africa can give, and not least in literature. She has metal of her own that is but waiting to be coined. [Who that has known with some intimacy African village life has not felt that in these children of nature, child-like, unselfconscious, often care-free, with stores of homely wisdom gathered from the past and from personal dealing with existence, the world has something unique and precious.] And when it is remembered that in Bantu speech, striking in its beauty of language, full of imagery and picturesqueness, there is much that tells of natural poetry, we grasp that when the outlet is afforded mankind will be enriched with wealth that only the true artist can give. Already the few creative writers in Southern Bantu languages have proved that in the African mind, in African views of life and living, we have something that is new to Europeans, something on which the world should more and more seek to draw.

TEMPTATION TO THINK AFRICAN CULTURE INFERIOR

It is to be hoped that the African will ever see that as an African with his special endowment, he has his own contribution to make

to the life of the world. We may pray that Bantu racial sentiment will lead to the cultivation and development of the valuable elements in Bantu heritage. It is one of the healthy signs of our time that so many African leaders are emphasizing in season and out of season the praiseworthy features of Bantu culture. This is all to the good, especially in a land where the tendency is to exalt things European to the disadvantage of the indigenious. One stresses this because there will probably come times and situations in which the temptation will be strong, even among some Africans, to think that what is peculiarly African is inferior, whereas in reality it holds elements that are valuable and worthy of preservation. In this connection their kinsmen the American Negroes offer more than one danger signal which is worthy of some mention.

A visitor to America, hailing from Africa, and cherishing the hope that Bantu writers will yet make their own distinctive contribution to the world's literature, finds few phases of Negro life more interesting than the group's reactions to its own cultural contributions. To the writer the position seemed to be marked by confusion and amazing diversity of view. On the one side was a marked contempt for things African and an intense desire for complete identification with American life.

" Far, far the way that we have trod,
From heathen kraals and jungle dens,
To freedom, free men, sons of God,
Americans and citizens,"

so runs a popular Negro poem.

On the other hand, in a land in which discrimination seems to brand the Negro as inferior, there is an intense desire to show original cultural superiority in the race wherever it can be found. Thus we have the claim made by James Weldon Johnson, one of the best-known of Negro writers, that the Negro is the creator of the only things artistic that have yet sprung from American soil and been universally acknowledged as distinctive American products. These are declared to be: The Uncle Remus stories, spirituals or slave songs, cakewalk and ragtime. Other writers are obviously not sure whether they should be proud of

and claim some of these distinctive contributions or frankly disown them, particularly such as ragtime! The conflict is well illustrated in the attitude of Professor Alain Locke, a Negro Rhodes scholar, who, anxious to lay hands on every token of Negro originality and yet to drain out doubtful elements, naively suggested, "Jazz is one-third Negro folk-idiom, one-third ordinary middle-class American ideas and sentiment, and one-third spirit of the machine-age."¹

By some Negroes even the "spirituals" are frowned upon. Their concepts and the language used to express them are felt to be beneath the dignity of the race. A sensation was caused in America in recent years by the publication and staging of the Negro religious play *Green Pastures*, the work of a White writer but played by an all-Negro cast. The *New York Times* said of it, "No play of the century has inspired so much artless affection," while a critic declared, "In Oberammergau I expected to see God, and I saw a play. On Broadway I went to see a play, and I saw God." Yet the great Negro actor, Richard Berry Harrison, who played "De Lawd" in *Green Pastures* found many of his own race resent his appearance in a play whose vehicle is the primitive and oft-times crude conceptions of some of the American Negroes before they were touched by the refinements of education. His detractors refused to accept the great meed of praise which Harrison and his fellow-actors brought to the Negro, since they believed the acclaim had come because the play belittled the race. They reckoned that the tragic treatment of peasant types gives greater currency to the popular notion of the Negro as an inferior, superstitious, half-ignorant and servile class of folk. Mr. Harrison, however, remained unmoved and to the hour of his untimely death exemplified the uplifting power of talent applied to a lowly theme concerning his own race, and contended that consecrated genius can redeem the commonplace, and, in the long run, compel world attention. Surely he was right. However much the race may have suffered from the comic minstrel tradition or the sentimental plantation tradition, there is no call to disown the common, racy, living, authentic

¹ Alain Locke in *Anthology of American Negro Literature*, pp. 248-9

speech and characteristic outlook of the Negro as he is to be found in many places.

So in like manner we may hope it will be with the Bantu. It is through seeing life with his own eyes, plumbing the depths of his own spirit, and giving his own characteristic expression to what he sees and feels that the Bantu will best prove himself a contributor to the world's artistic, cultural and spiritual values. It is in fidelity to his own life's experience and his own modes of expression that he will enrich mankind. This must be the principle and motive inspiring the contributions of Bantu literature to literature as a whole. It must be a revealing and an expression of the Bantu soul. In this expression free vent must be given to the emotional endowment of the Bantu, to their originality and artistic genius. It must show them unashamed of what is best in their people's past and in their racial heritage, but at the same time reaching out to that which will have universal appeal and influence because it is attractively human.

With this as the basis of all, we may venture to mention some of the aspects the Bantu contribution is likely to assume.

(1) PRAISE-POEMS

The Bantu have already made a contribution to literature as a whole through their praise-poems. Professor Lestrade contends¹ that the Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa possess in these a literary *genre* which has no exact counterpart in the literatures of more sophisticated peoples. The panegyric of the Hebrew Psalms and of the Greek Odes do, it is true, resemble these poems to a certain extent in general form and spirit; but they are radically different in function, and, indeed, in their peculiar combination of form and function, these primitive Bantu productions would appear to be unique in the literature of the world. Many of these praise-poems have come down from the past. They tell of the achievements of great figures of the tribes, and in modern days are recited by praise-reciters. But praise-poems are also composed in part or whole to celebrate contemporary people and events. Some special happening in the life of a tribe or of a chief, or the coming of a

¹ *The Critic*, October, 1935

distinguished visitor are favourite occasions for the production of a new praise-poem. Often they are marked by true feeling and are artistically of merit. Those of the past are being more and more recorded in literary form, and the future is bound to add many of merit. And so there will be extended "a contribution to the simpler literature of the world on the part of a primitive people which has no reason to be ashamed of its inspiration and craftsmanship in this regard."¹

(2) THE POETRY OF NATURE

In face of the immensities of the Continent and all its varied scenes, the African has remained almost inarticulate. So far as he has expressed himself his interest has been focussed on human affairs, on chiefs and heroes, as in the praise poems, on the activities of men and women in home and field, in hunting and herding. The mighty panorama of nature, viewed by itself, has claimed little of the African's thought and expression. Yet to the stranger visiting Africa the natural scene makes an appeal as great as do the people with all their fascinating ways. The Continent in its vastness offers endless vistas of mountain and plain, of forest and desert, with sometimes great inland seas; and brooding over all an atmosphere of mystery, whether sunshine floods the days or wondrous moonlight brings a feeling of awe. Descriptions of these things have come almost wholly from the pens of strangers. But men's understanding of them will not be complete till the African himself awakes to the fascination of the scene in which he dwells, and in his own characteristic fashion tells the world what he sees and thinks and feels. When that day comes in its fulness, Bantu literature will make a new and outstanding contribution to literature as a whole.

It is one of the heartening features of the present time that although Bantu poetry is in a transition stage between the old and new—between the poetic outbursts of the praises of the chief and new forms for which European poetry has supplied the patterns—there are signs of promise of a new age of Bantu poetic expression. Men like Mqhayi, Jolobe, Bereng, Vilakazi, H. I. E. Dhlomo and others are making no little offering to the litera-

¹ Professor Lestrade, *The Critic*, October, 1935

ture of the race. And in their work the poetry of nature is finding a place. An outstanding example of this is found in *Impophoma Ye-Victoria* (Victoria Falls) in *Inkondlo ka Zulu* by B. W. Vilakazi. Dr. Dexter Taylor rendered notable service when in *Bantu Studies*, June, 1935, he produced an English version of this poem, following Vilakazi line by line, using the same metre and not introducing an idea or an observation that was not in the original. The reproduction of this English version in Appendix II¹ will reveal how true is Dr. Taylor's declaration that the poem is a "remarkably observant and artistic appreciation of the majesty and beauty he apostrophises." And as an earnest of much that Africans will produce in days to come it is more than ordinarily significant.

(3) FOLK-STORIES AND PROVERBS

Enrichment has already come to the world's literature through African folk-stories. The most of these, it is true, have so far been given to the world through the work of European writers who have made collections and translated them into European languages. Thus we have *The Treasury of Basuto Lore* by E. Jacottet and Callaway's *Nursery Tales of the Zulus*. (Both these books give the tales in the original language with English translations.) On a wider field, Dr. Alice Werner's *Myths and Legends of the Bantu* reveals the wealth of folk-lore that lies in African minds. It is gratifying to find that Africans themselves are now more alive to the value of these things and are making efforts to collect such material and put it into writing. Thus in our modern time we have had Ndawo's *Inxenye Yentsomi Zase-Zweni* (Selections of Folk-tales) and other smaller collections. When numerous African writers, trained and qualified by linguistic knowledge and literary gift to interpret and express this phase of African life, take up the task, a contribution of no little moment will be made to literature as a whole.

In like manner, the richness of African proverb-lore will yet come as a gift to mankind. The samples given in Rubusana's *Zemk' Inkomo*, Kuhn's *Sotho-Sprichwörter* and Junod and Jaques' *The Wisdom of the Tonga-Shangaun People* are an indication of what the future may reveal.

¹ See page 109

(4) WORSHIP LITERATURE

It is the experience of the Christian Church in many lands that in process of time as the Faith becomes woven into the life of any people, new and original worship forms spring into use. An early day revealed possibilities of this among the Xhosa. Ntsikana, one of the first Bantu converts in Southern Africa, taught (he and his people could not write) a hymn which has been rightly described as one of the great hymns of the Christian Church. Even in translation it is strikingly original.¹

It is to be regretted that later days did not see this high promise fulfilled in others and that in consequence, in Southern Africa, so much religious expression is mere imitation of European forms. This, it is to be hoped, time will modify and Bantu modes come into their own. When these are embodied in worship literature, the heritage of the Universal Church will be enriched by tribute from Africa.

(5) LITERATURE SPRINGING FROM CULTURE CONTACTS

In our day no phase of life on the African continent is receiving more attention in many circles than the modifications in ancestral ways which contacts with Western civilization are effecting. These are being constantly studied and described in their social,

¹ Translation by Professor D. J. Darlow :

He the great God, high in Heaven,
 Great "I am", of truth the Buckler,
 Great "I am", of truth the Stronghold,
 Great "I am", in whom truth shelters.
 What art Thou in highest Heaven,
 Who created life around us,
 Who created Heaven above us,
 And the stars, *No-Zilimela* (The Pleiades).
 We were blind until He taught us.
 (Thou mad'st us blind, it was Thy purpose.)
 With a trumpet gave the message,
 As He hunted for our spirits.
 Toiled to make our foes our brothers.
 (Thou our leader who dost guide us.)
 Then He cast His cloak about us,
 Cloak of Him whose hands are wounded,
 Cloak of Him whose feet are bleeding,
 See the blood that streameth for us;
 Flows it, though we have not asked it.
 Is it paid without our praying?
 Heaven our Home with no beseeching.

economic, religious and other aspects. So far, the expression has come almost exclusively from Europeans. Here again the African has been largely inarticulate, but the future is bound to see him pass beyond such a stage and become vocal, not merely in the literature of propaganda, passion and protest, but in truly creative work. That work will no doubt take many forms,—in poetry, fiction, biography, drama and much else. The soul of the African as he thought and felt and aspired under the contact of alien cultures will stand revealed. This is no work with which a stranger can inter-meddle. It must come fresh and living and authentic from the African mind and heart. And when it comes it is likely that once again the verdict will be pronounced, “Out of Africa ever something new.”

APPENDIX I

LOVEDALE PRESS PUBLICATIONS

(The following is a list of the books for the publication of which the Lovedale Press has been responsible, and which are still in use.)

I. XHOSA

(a) GRAMMAR

- Bennie, W. G. *A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-Speaking.* 1939. Pages V + 169.
A book revealing insight and penetration in its presentation of the subject.

(b) LEXICOGRAPHY

- Kropf, A. and R. Godfrey *A Kafir-English Dictionary.*
Dr. Kropf's monumental work (published in 1900) revised and enlarged by R. Godfrey and published in 1915. The standard work. Pages XXXII + 525.
- Macvicar, Neil *English-Xhosa Dictionary for Nurses.*
(2nd edition, 1935, in the new orthography.) A book giving as far as possible Xhosa equivalents for medical terms, pp. 107.
- Stewart, James *English-Xosa Phrase-Book, with Vocabulary.*
Intended for the use of Europeans. A useful compendium. Pages 94.

(c) FOLK-LORE

- Agar-O'Connel, R. M. *Intsomi. Bantu Folk Stories.*
A diglot in Xhosa and English, illustrated by G. M. Pemba and others. A popular children's book. 2nd edition, 1941. Pages 47.

(d) ETHNOLOGY, HISTORY, CUSTOMS, in Xhosa

- Kawa, Richard T. and D. D. T. Jabavu *Ibali Lama Mfengu.* A history of the Fingo people from their point of view. 1929. Pages 116.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. *Ityala Lama-Wele (The Lawsuit of the Twins.)*
This book contains much valuable information regarding legal procedure among the Xhosa, and much historical matter from the Xhosa point of view. (New and old orthographies in full and abridged editions.)
- Ndawo, H. M. *Iziduko Zama Hlubi.* The Hlubi Clans. 1939. Pages 39. New orthography.

- Ndamase, Victor Poto *Ama-Mpondo Ibali NenTlalo.*
Pondo History from the viewpoint of the Western Pondo by their present Paramount Chief.
1927. Pages XIV + 160.
- Ngani, A. Z. *Ibali Lama Gqunukhwebe.*
Brief History of the Gqunukhwebe tribe.
1938. Pages 38. New Orthography.
- Ross, Brownlee J. *Amabali Em-Faxwe Zakwa-Xosa*
Stories of the Border Wars as told chiefly by Natives.
2nd edition, 1925. Pages 83.
- Ross, Brownlee J. *U-Tshaka.*
A short history of Tshaka.
1925. Pages 41.
- Soga, T. B. *Intlalo Ka-Xosa*
An account of Xhosa customs. Published originally by the *Gazette* office in Butterworth in 1917. Revised and enlarged edition published by Lovedale in 1936. Pages 250.
- (e) BIOGRAPHY
- Bokwe, J. K. *U-Ntsikana*
Life of Ntsikana, an early convert.
In Xosa and English.
2nd edition, 1914. Pages 67.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. *U-Bomi Bom-Fundisi J. K. Bokwe*
A Life of the Rev. J. Knox Bokwe.
A good biography of an outstanding man.
1925. Pages 92.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. *U-Mhlelazi U-Hintsa*
A brief account of the famous Chief Hintsa.
1937. Pages 15. New orthography.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. *U-Mqhayi Wase-Ntabozuko*
The author's autobiography. Written with considerable charm.
1939. Pages 87.
- Mzimba, L. N. *Ubom Bomfi Rev. P. J. Mzimba*
Life of Rev. P. J. Mzimba.
1923, pages 93.
- Soga., T. B. *U-Tiyo Soga, Incwadi Yobom Bake*
A free and abridged translation of J. A. Chalmers Life of Tiyo Soga.
1923. Pages XVI + 158.

(f) FICTION

- Bangeni, B. A. *Kuphilwa Phi?*
A vivid story, full of incident.
1934. Pages 168. In both old and new orthographies.
- Futshane, Zora *UJujuju*
A short novel of merit by a woman writer.
1939. Pages 76. New orthography.
- Jordan, A. C. *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*
(The Anger of the Ancestors)
A novel of power on a larger scale than anything previously attempted. A book of outstanding merit.
1939. Pages 250. New orthography.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. *U-Don Jadu*
A new and enlarged edition of a book first published in 1929. A picture of an ideal Native State with freedom to develop.
1941. Pages 105. New orthography.
- Ndawo, H. M. *Uhambo Luka Gqoboka*
The story of an African's struggle as he gives up heathenism and makes progress in the Christian faith.
1929. Pages 93.
- Ndawo, H. M. *U-Nolishwa*
A novel of Native life. Illustrated by a Native artist, G. M. Pemba.
1931. Pages 126.
- Ndawo, H. M. *U-Nomathamsanqa no Sigebenga*
An allegorical story of mankind led astray but rescued by the eldest son of the chief.
1937. Pages 70. New orthography.
- Sinxo, G. B. *Umfundisi Wase-Mtuqwasi*
1927. Pages 89.
- Sinxo, G. B. *U-Nomsa*
1939. New edition in new orthography.
Pages 85.
- Sinxo, G. B. *Umxali Wolahleko*
(The Prodigal Parent)
1939. New edition in new orthography.
Pages 104.
All Sinxo's work is of merit, but he has a tendency to depict town life with its undesirable features.
- Swaartbooi, V. M. *U-Mandisa*
A short story.
1933. Pages 63.

(g) RELIGIOUS BOOKS

(1) BIBLICAL

- Carrick, M. *Um-Endo Ka Kristu*
A book on Christian belief and practices. Specially suitable for catechumens' classes. 1939. Pages 100. New orthography.
- Grant, E. W. *Isikokelo Sabashumayeli*
(The Preachers' Help). 1937. Pages 142.
- Grant, E. W. *U-Yesu Nemfundiso Yake*
(Jesus and His Teaching) 1939. Pages 142.
- Ross, B. J. *Aba-Polofeti Bakwa-Sirayeli*
(The Prophets of Israel) 1925. Pages 105.
- Rainy, C. *Incwadi Yemibuzo ka-Harry*
A Xosa Catechism 1910. Pages 37.
- Anon *Eyesikolo Incwadi Yemibuzo*
A Xhosa Catechism for Catechumens. 1941. Pages 16. New orthography.

(2) TRANSLATIONS

- Anon. *Izibalo Ezingcwele Zabantwana*
Children's Xosa Bible (Selections) 1935. Pages 129.
- Bennie, W. G. *Ivangeli Ngokubalwe Ngu-Marko*
(St. Mark's Gospel in the new orthography.) 1934. Pages 56.
- Anon. *Isikanyiso Semiso Ngemiso*
(Daily Light in Xosa) Pages 375.
- Owen, J. W. W. *UBomi Buka Yesu Kristu*
A translation of Professor Stalker's famous *Life of Christ*. 1920. Pages 118.
- Soga, Tiyo *Uhambo lo Mhambi, Part I.*
The first part of Bunyan's great classic, *The Pilgrim's Progress*. An excellent translation in idiomatic Xhosa. 1867. and many later editions. Pages 211.
- Soga, J. H. *Uhambo lo Mhambi, Part II.*
This part is published by the S.P.C.K. but is bound up by Lovedale with Tiyo Soga's translation of book I. 1929. Pages 190.

Soga, J. H. *Inkokeli Yomhambi*
(The Traveller's Guide from Death to Life.)
1925. Pages 227.

(3) CHURCH SERVICE BOOKS

Soga, J. H. *Inkonzo Zamabandla*
(Church Service Book in Xosa)
1936. Pages 104.

Anon. *Amaculo Ase-Robe*
Presbyterian and Congregational Hymn Book.
Words only. Pages 416 Music—sol-fa.
Pages 405.

Anon. *Amaculo Esikolo Secawa*
A Sunday School Hymn-Book.
1941. Pages 32.

(4) PLAYS

Oules, E. J. *Isiganeko Zom-Kristu*
A Play founded on *The Pilgrim's Progress*.
1929. Pages 36.

(h) GENERAL

Jabavu, D. D. T. *E-Jerusalem*
An account of the author's visit to Palestine for
the Jerusalem Meeting of the International
Missionary Council in 1928.
First published in 1928. Revised edition in
new orthography 1940. Pages 92.

Jabavu, D. D. T. *E-Amerika*
An account of the author's visit to America.
1932. Pages 52.

Ross, B. J. *Imiteto Nezinye Inxoxo*
Papers of general interest on a variety of subjects.
1929. Pages VII + 60.

(i) SCHOOL READERS

Bennie, W. G. *The Stewart Xhosa Readers*
The Primer pp. 40. Illustrations 40
The Infant Reader Pp. 64 Illustrations 34
The Std. I Reader Pp. 84. Illustrations 28
The Std. II Reader Pp. 112 „ 23
The Std. III „ Pp. 136 „ 32
The Std. IV „ Pp. 150 „ 24
The Std. V „ Pp. 160 „ 21
The Std. VI „ Pp. 176 „ 29
The Senior „ Pp. 250 „ 19

These Readers contain much new material contributed by Bantu writers, good idiomatic translations of well-known stories from Europe,

and a number of Bantu folk tales and typical poems. They are well graded, calculated to sustain the interest of the children, and contain only the best Xhosa.

Imibengo : An anthology of Xhosa Prose and Poetry, History, Biography, Allegory, the Essay, the Novel and *izibongo* on the old tribal model. Twenty-three African authors are represented in it. Pages 286.

Macvicar, N.

Izifundo Zempilo Zabantuwana
A Health Reader for Schools.
1928. Pages 100

II. TSWANA

Kgasi, M.

Thuto Ke Eng? (What is Education?)
In the new Tswana orthography.
1939. Pages 66.

Schapera, I.

Ditirafalo tsa Merafe ya Batswana
(History of the Bechuanaland Tribes.)
In the new Tswana orthography.
1940. Pages 240.

Schapera, I.

Mekgwa le Melao ya Batswana (Tswana Law and Custom.) A compilation of vernacular texts.
In the new Tswana orthography.
1939. Pages 202.

This book and the foregoing are said to "mark a turning-point in Tswana literature" as formerly books in Tswana were mainly Biblical.

Macvicar, N. and
Shepherd, P. M.

Lokwalo lwa go Tshela Sentle (Tswana Health Reader.)
In Tswana and English.
1941. Pages 181.

III. ZULU

Bennie, W. G.

The Stewart Zulu Readers

<i>Eyabaqalayo</i>	(The Primer)	Pp. 60	Illus. 53
<i>Elandela Eyokuqala</i>	(The Infant Reader)	Pp. 63	„ 34
<i>Eyendima Yokuqala</i>	(The Std. I „)	Pp. 88	„ 26
<i>Eyendima Yesibili</i>	(The Std. II „)	Pp. 117	„ 26
<i>Eyendima Yesithathu</i>	(The Std. III „)	Pp. 138	„ 32
<i>Eyendima Yesine</i>	(The Std. IV „)	Pp. 151	„ 24

Doke, C. M. and
Grant, E. W.

Graded Zulu Exercises
1932. Pages 56.

Mpanza, J. S.

Isimpi Zendlela Yom-Krestu
A remarkable devotional book written by a prisoner in Pretoria Gaol.
1937. Pages 55.

MUSIC

Lovedale has also been responsible for the publication of large quantities of tonic sol-fa music, in sheet form for four voices, in various Bantu languages. The items are over thirty in number.

**A SELECTION OF BOOKS IN ENGLISH PUBLISHED
BY THE LOVEDALE PRESS**

(a) ETHNOLOGY, HISTORY, CUSTOMS etc.

- Aitken, R. D. *Who is My Neighbour? The Story of a Mission Hospital in South Africa* 1944. Pages 76. Illustrations 4.
- Brownlee, C. *Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History* 2nd edition. 1916. Pages 384.
- Brownlee, F. *The Transkeian Native Territories Historical Records*. 1923. Pages 136.
- Brownlee, W. T. *The Progress of the Bantu*. 1928. Pages 14.
- Callaway, G. *Pioneers in Pondoland*. 1938. Pages 199.
- Dodd, A. D. *Native Vocational Training in South Africa*. 1938. Pages 155.
- Doke, C. M. and Jones, J. D. R. *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari* 1937. Pages 283. Illustrations 109.
- Macvicar, N. *Sidelights on Superstition*. 1939. Pages 64.
- Pim, Howard *A Transkei Enquiry*, 1933. Pages XIII + 82.
- Shepherd, R. H. W. *Lovedale, South Africa. The Story of a Century, 1841-1941*. 1940. Pages XVI + 531. Illustrations 31.
- Soga, J. H. *AmaXosa : Life and Customs*. 1931. Pages XVII + 431. Illustrations 32.
- Uys, C. J. *In the Era of Shepstone. British Expansion in South Africa 1842-1877*. 1933. Pages 469.

(b) RACE RELATIONS

- Brookes, E. H. *Colour Problems of South Africa*. 1934. Pages 237.
- Jabavu, D. D. T. *Native Disabilities in South Africa*. 1932. Pages 26.
- Phillips, R. E. *The Bantu in The City*, 1938. Pages XXIX + 452.

(c) NOVELS

- Dhlomo, R. R. R. *An African Tragedy*. 1928. Pages 40.
- Phatje, Sol. T. *Mhudi*. 1930. Pages 225.

(d) DRAMA

- Dhlomo, H. I. E. *The Girl Who Killed to Save* (Nongqause).
1936. Pages 46.

(e) POETRY

- Darlow, D. J. *African Heroes*. 1937. Pages 75.

(f) RELIGIOUS

- Grant, E. W. and Jolobe, J. J. R. *The African Sunday School*. A series of lessons for Sunday Schools with an Introduction on methods.
- Imray, G. E. M. *The Message of the Old Testament*.
1933. Pages 115.
- Shepherd, R. H. W. *Under the Oaks*. Lovedale Sermons.
1933. Pages 200.
- Shropshire, D. W. F. *Concerning Christian Prayer*.
1941. Pages 68.

(g) SCHOOL READERS

- Greenland, F. A. *The Govan English Readers for Bantu Schools*.
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------|---------------|----|
| <i>Introductory Reader</i> | Pp. 40 | Illustrations | 28 |
| <i>Standard I</i> | „ Pp. 56 | „ | 30 |
| „ <i>II</i> | „ Pp. 78 | „ | 30 |
| „ <i>III</i> | „ Pp. 63 | „ | 14 |
| „ <i>IV</i> | „ Pp. 93 | „ | 8 |
| „ <i>V</i> | „ Pp. 64 | „ | 9 |
| „ <i>VI</i> | „ Pp. 88 | „ | 13 |

Handbook : "How to use the Govan English Readers." pages 8
Tšwana edition of "How to use" etc. pages 8

(h) GENERAL SCHOOL BOOKS

- Beal, C. *Junior Song Book for Native Schools*.
1937. Pages 32.
- Beal, C. *Scheme of Physical Training for Native Schools*.
Adapted from Board of Education Syllabus of Physical Training. 1933. Pages 49.
- Hubback, J. C. *Teaching of English in Native Schools*.
1939. Pages 111.
- Macvicar, N. *Outline of Anatomy and Physiology for Nurses*.
1928. Pages 90.
- Parker, H. M. *Teaching of Class Singing*. 1931. 4th edition.
Pages 124.
- Rogers, J. L. *Laundry and Housewifery Primer*.
1939. Pages 36.

(i) DIETETICS

- Macvicar, N. *What to Eat and Why*.
1939. Pages 64. 9 illustrations.
- Rogers, J. L. *Lovedale Cookery Primer*.
1937, Pages 36.

APPENDIX II

IMPOPHOMA YE-VICTORIA

VICTORIA FALLS

A Zulu Poem By B. Wallet Vilakazi, M.A.

(Translated into English by Dr. J. Dexter Taylor, who has followed the original poem line by line, used the same metre, and has not introduced an idea or an observation that is not in the original.)

Flow on, flow on forever, O ye waters
O wildly tossing cataract of terror
And of beauty. Yea, brook no interruption.
Flow on in depth unsounded and unmeasured.
'Tis God who hath with grace thy brow anointed,
And crowned thy head with circlet of the rainbow,
And with eternal mists thy feet enshrouded.
He giveth thee the voice of mighty thunders,
And audience gives in solitary grandeur,
There where thou silenceth the mouths of mortals
Upon the mighty cliffs of Isibungu.

Who then shall dare arise in mood audacious,
With pipings shrill of grasshopper and cricket,
From out the dust the milliped inhabits
To vie with thee, Dumase, Smoke that thunders?
By what emotions stirred or what desire
With feeble words and voice to fret the air?
The sea itself, outranked, plays second fiddle
Like second string of maidens in the dancing,
Nor ranks with thine her voice of many waters.
At times she sleeps, her waves but gently lapping;
Is like a man fatigued, o'ercome and languid,
With heat of sun borne down and heavy labour.

So doth the Sea, with her own tossings weary
Her boistrous billows hush to soothéd silence,
Enfolding them like sheep without a shepherd.

To-day they dance with restlessness unceasing ;
 Tomorrow lies the Sea in glassy stillness,
 And drains the very azure of the heavens.
 But thou, of mood and temper never changing,
 Nor waxing old with all thy ceaseless flowing,
 Pour'st ever down thy torrents, O Victoria,
 No single day thy ceaseless flow abating,
 By day and night its volume never wanting.
 Example thou of diligence surpassing ?

How often has the morning star, *Ikwezi*,
 Since first it oped its eyes above in heaven,
 Heard your bemoaning like the night hyena ;
 And all the stars of heaven's dome expansive—
 The while they wait in glittering glory shining
 * The angel's word, at which with mighty shouting
 The earth shall melt with fervent heat consumed,
 And open all its frame to God Almighty,
 Whose eyes like keenest blade of assegai are piercing—
 Give ear to thee, and to thy voice they listen.
 To thee they seem to say, Go on forever ;
 To thee who ever bids't farewell but ne'er departest.

Each branch whose leafy burden waveth o'er you
 Leaning its head above your pools abundant,
 Draws all the verdant current in its veinlets,
 Its coursing blood, from out the bubbling fountains,
 Where wave the rushes and the vines' long tendrils
 Moved gently by the stirring of the north wind.
 Behold, the birds courageous flying o'er thee
 Skim boldly down, and blithely bathe their feathers
 Within the dripping moisture of the mist veil,
 Which thou, Dumase, ever breathest upward.
 No fear have they of all thy sound tumultuous.

A joy it is to touch with reverent finger
 The fringe upon the borders of the loin-dress,
 Which girds the loins of beautiful Victoria.
 The strings of falling rain which make her girdle

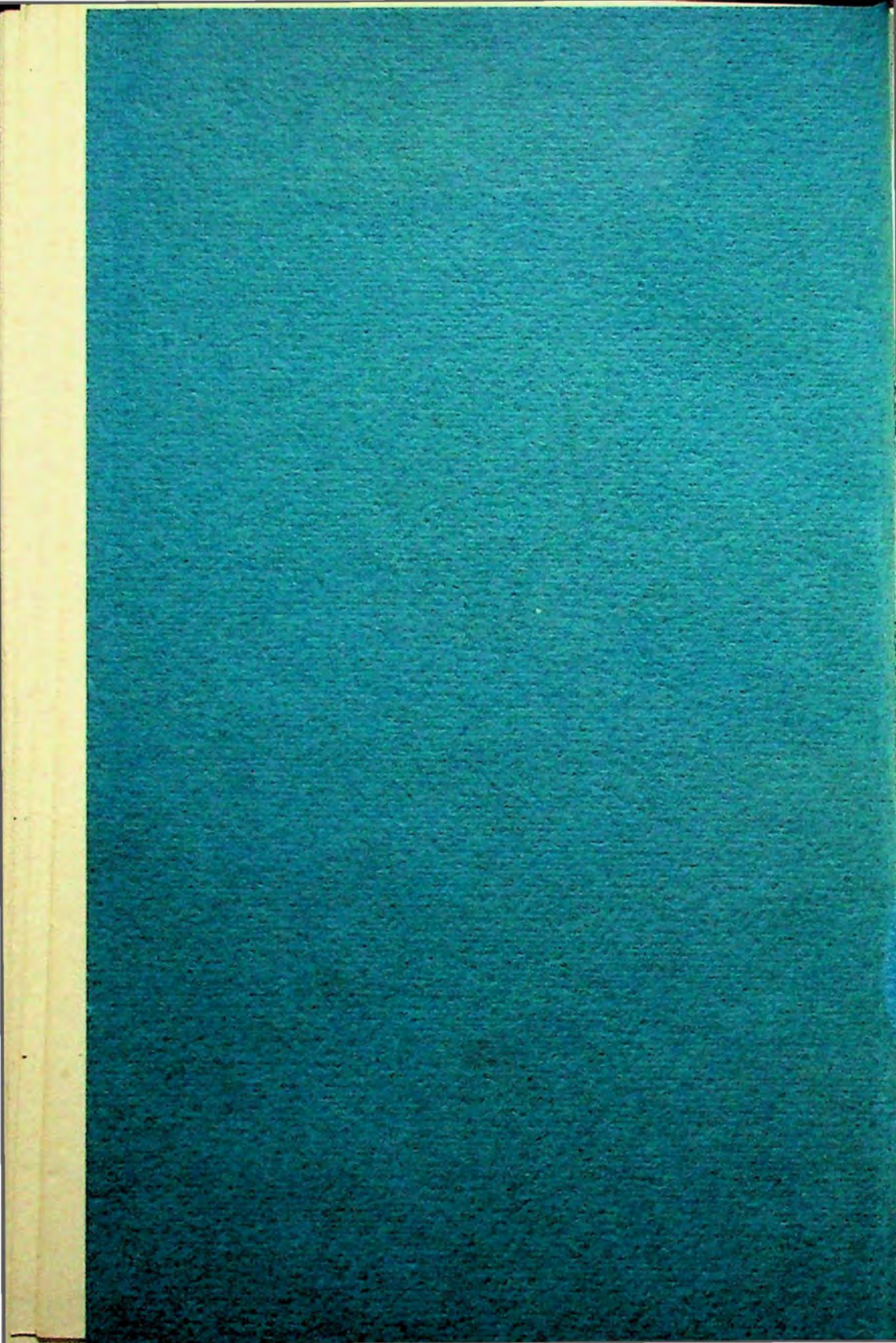
Run races down and crash upon the boulders,
 And spurts of foam burst forth in fairy circlets,
 And water-smoke flares upward like to fire.
 It hides the stately pillars of the rapids
 And shows the gleaming colours of the rainbow,
 'The Sun's tiara proudly worn at noon-day.
 'The night a milky way it spreads, of whiteness,
 And sprinkles it with tiny twinkling starlets. ,

For me, who have no voice like thine resounding,
 Forever pouring forth its wealth of music,
 'Tis like the silly babbling of the foolish
 If I essay, in syllables impotent,
 With this, my pen, which drips but feeble fluid
 'To tell thy wealth of majesty and beauty,
 And seek to stir the hearts of those less happy
 Whose eyes have never feasted on thy glory.
 'Thou retest those by darkness overtaken,
 Who wander restless seeking for a refuge,
 And have no place their weary heads to pillow,
 Who in their stumblings hear thy voice inviting.

'Their faces light with smiles of simple pleasure.
 'They sit them down and slowly fill the hemp pipe,
 And take their snuff, the while they gaze upon thee.
 They sate their eyes and sate their hearts with gazing,
 Till soothing sleep comes down and drowns thy tumult.
 Thy sound is like the honey of the bee-hives ;
 Like hand of tender nurse upon the forehead,
 With fingers spread, now smoothing and now ruffling
 The hair ; and sweet sleep gently wooing.
 And wand'ers find a refuge from their journeys
 Beneath the magic wings of thy white waters,
 Which break from off thy cataract in spray-mist.
 So let them fall, their message ever telling
 To all of Africa's coming generations.



15 DEC 1948







30 APR 1975

