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William Wellington Gqoba

Isizwe esinembali

Xhosa histories and poetry (1873–1888)

edited and translated by

Jeff Opland, Wandile Kuse and Pamela Maseko



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(photo: Jeff Opland)



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*Imbali yakowetu asikuko nokuba ndinga ingaziwa kakuhle
ishicilelwe kuba zonke izizwe ezinembali ziba zihleli azifile
noko sukuba zezicitakele.*

My fervent desire is that our history should be well known and brought into print because all nations who possess a history, even if they are scattered far and wide, continue to live and do not die.

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Isizatu sokuxelwa kwe nkomo ngo Nongqause

Kwati kwa Gcaleka, ezitenjini, kwesika Mnzabele ngomnyaka we 1856, ati amantombazana emabini, eye kulinda intaka emasimini, enye igama ngu Nongqause intokazi ka Mhlakaza nenye ingumtshana, emlanjeni ekutiwa kuse Kamangeni, abona kufika amadoda amabini, afike ati lamadoda kula mantombazana. – “Maze nisibulisele emakaya, nixele ukuba singo Nantsi (awaxela amagama andikohlile) atsho azibiza ngamagama ke wona. Abafa kudala. Ze nixele ukuba umzi uza kuvuka wonke ekufeni, nenkomo mazixelwe zonke ezi zikoyo kuba zifuywe ngezandla ezincolileyo, kuba kuko nabantu abapete ubuti.

Makungalinywa, makumbiwe izisele ezikulu ezitsha, kwakiwe ne zindlu ezikwa ntsha, kubiywe nenqili ezinkulu ze ntlanti kusikwe intsuba, kulukwe nengcango zobuka zibe ninzi. Zitsho inkosi u Napakade into ka Sifubasibanzi. Abantu mababulahle ngokwabo ubuti, bungade bumbululwe ngamagqira. Efike ekaya afike awa ngazo, kuloko engapulapulwanga mntu, kusuke kwahlekiswa ngawo.

Kuse epangela kwa intaka, kwati kungasenini, babuye bafika ababantu, babuza kumantombazana ukuba afike axela na ekaya, nokuba kufike kwatiwa nina? Axelile amantombazana ukuba, lonto

Should be translated as the
motives that were told — xelwa

The motive for the Nongqawuse cattle-killing (1888)

In Gcalekaland, which practised polygamy, at the home of Mnzabele in 1856, two girls went to chase birds from the fields. One was Nongqawuse, the daughter¹ of Mhlakaza, and the other was a niece. At the river called Kamanga, they saw two men approaching, and when they reached them these men said to these girls, "Please give our greetings to those at home, and tell them that we are So-and-So", naming themselves (they gave their names, but I've forgotten them). They had died a long time before. "Tell them that all the dead will arise, and all their cattle must be slaughtered because they have been reared by tainted hands, since there are people who handle enchantments.

"All cultivation must stop and large new storage pits must be dug, new houses built, extensive areas fenced for kraals, skin bags must be fashioned and many doors woven from creepers. King Eternal son of Broadbreast so commands.² Of their own will, people must cast aside enchantments, and not leave diviners to seek them out."¹ When they reached home, they announced these things, but no one paid them any attention, and they became objects of ridicule.

In the morning they woke up to chase birds from the fields and, after a long time, those people returned and asked the girls if they had made a report at home, and what had been said. The girls told them that

1. Nongqawuse was the niece of Mhlakaza: according to W.R.D. Fynn, who knew Ngqula, Nongqawuse was the daughter of Ngqula the brother of Mhlakaza: see Berning (1989: 41). Nongqawuse herself claimed to be the daughter of Mhlanhla: see Peires (1989: 44).

2. On Nongqawuse's use of these two Christian names, see Peires (1989: 136-8).

ifike yayinto yokuhlekisa, ayipulapulwanga mntu. Kusuke kwatiwa siteta intsomi. Lo nto yayisenzeka ecwebeni le Gxara kwa Gcaleka. Bate aba bantu kula mantombazana, ze niti kubantu abakulu, mababize zonke inkosi ezakwa Gcaleka, ezakwa Tato, ezakwa Ngqika, kude kuse ema Gqunukwebeni. Umhlakaza uke waya ehamba neqela lamanye amadoda, asuke la madoda akavela. amane eteta no Nongqause eviwa nguye nenye intombazana, bemane betolika kwa le nteto iti. – Makuye kubizwa inkosi zonke ukuze bavele. Kuqaliwe ke ukuyiwa komkulu kwa Rili e Hohita, kulo Gojela, kwafike kwawiswa esi simanga sitetwa yile ntombazana ka Mhlakaza. U Rili ususe abantu kwa oko, wababáza kulo lonke ilizwe. Gxebe pambi kokwenjenjalo wesusa u Botomane inkosana kwa yakwa Gcaleka, lowa waye no Mapasa e Zipunzana ngo Ncáyecibi, ukuke aye kuqonda ngokwake, aye kwa Mhlakaza, abavuma ukucela nakuye. Kukuze kutiwe, makuze zonke inkosi kuqala, pambi kokuba bavele, kuba bengamanyange, besiza nenkosi yabo u Napakade into ka Sifubasibanzi. Wasusa abantu ke u Rili, baya kuwo onke amaziko.

Kwa Tato, kwesuswa u Maramnco into ka Fadana yecala lase kunene ihamba nomtshana wakona u Shwele, into ka Zozi. Kwesama Ndongwana kwesuka u Dlulaze, into ka Qweshu ezalana no Ndarala. Kuma Tshatshu kwesuswa u Mpeke into yase Mfeneni.

Kwa Ngqika kwesuka u Namba into enkulu ka Maqoma. Kwa Gcaleka ngu Rili no Lindinxiwa into zika Hintsa, no Ngubo into ka Malashe, no Nxíto into ka Lutshaba. Kwa Ndlambe kwesuswa u Nowawe into ka Ndlambe. Ema Gqunukwebeni kwesuswa u Dilima into ka Pato.

Yonke lo nto yasinga ecwebeni le Gxara, e Kamangeni, kwa Mhlakaza. Inteto yayite kwa mhla mnene, maze bahlelwe abantu abayakuya kwa Mhlakaza. Kute ke kufikiwe kona kwatiwa uti u Nongqausi – Mayihlelwe kwakona impi eyakuya e cwebeni, ikolise ngenkosi. Kwenjiwanjalo ke okunene. Kute kuba abantu sebe nendawo eyoyikayo, noko kwati xa kuyiwa kulomfula uli Kamanga babaninzi

it had been ridiculed, and no one paid them any attention. They were believed to be telling a tall story. This happened at the mouth of the River Gxarha in Gcalekaland. These people told the girls that they must tell the senior people to summon all the chiefs of Gcalekaland, of Tato's territory, and Ngqika's, up to the land of the Gqunukhwebe. Mhlakaza went out with another group of men, but those men did not appear. They continued to speak to Nongqawuse, and were heard only by her and the other girl, and they transmitted this statement: all the chiefs must be summoned before they would appear. Initially messengers were sent to the Gojela Great Place of Sarhili at Hohita, and this marvel reported by Mhlakaza's daughter was announced. Sarhili immediately dispatched people to hear on behalf of the entire country. By the way, before doing so he dispatched Bhotomane, a minor Gcaleka chief who was with Maphasa at Zipunzana during Ngcayechibi's war, to go and learn the story at first hand from the girls at Mhlakaza's place, but they refused to appear even before him. And so it was said that all the chiefs must first come before they would appear, because they were ancestors, sent by their king Eternal son of Broadbreast. Then Sarhili dispatched people to every hearth.

From Tato's territory Maramnco was sent, the son of Fadana in the Right Hand House, together with his nephew Shwele son of Zozi. From the Ndungwana Dzulaze went, the son of Qwasha who was related to Ndarhala. From the Tshatshu Mpeke, a member of the Mfene clan, was sent.

From the land of Ngqika Namba went, the eldest son of Maqoma. From Gcalekaland it was Sarhili and Lindinxiwa, the sons of Hintsa, Ngubo son of Malashe, and Nxito son of Lutshaba. From the land of Ndlambe Nowawe son of Ndlambe was sent. From the Gqunukhwebe Dilima son of Pato was sent.

All these made their way to the mouth of the Gxarha at Kamanga, Mhlakaza's place. From the start it was announced that those going to Mhlakaza's place must be sorted. After their arrival Nongqawuse said that the crowd going to the river mouth must be sorted again, according to the chiefs' wishes. That was done. Because people were apprehensive about the place, many of their mouths ran dry as they were led through the Kamanga valley, and they were thirsty. They were

abate kôte imiqala, abanxanwayo. Kwaye bekokelwe ngu Nongqause, intokazi eyenze izazobe zembola, intwazana engenaninani. Bavakele abanxaniweyo besiti – Angaselana umntu onxaniweyo? Ute u Nongqause – Osukuba engenabo ubuti angasela angoyikeli nto.

Yesuk'apo into ka Pato u Dilima, igora elikulu, wayiti tyá paya ingubo yake wanqwila wasela. Amane esiwa ngo kuwa amabandla ka Nomagwayi wase Mbo.



Umbono owehlayo

Kute xa kunjalo, kwavakala kudilika amatye amakulu kunene eweni elise mantloko e Kamanga, into leyo eyabeta abantu bafakana amehlo, zako nendawo zokundwebela ukungati kuko nto iza kuququmba kweli liwa, kwabako isizotongo sobunzima obunjalo.

Kute kunjalo yati intombazana kanibekise amehlo enu elwandle. Bate bakuqwalasela emazeni olwandle kwanga kuko abantu okunene, kwanga kukonya nenkunzi zenkomo, kwa nenkabi, yasisibiba esimnyama esimane sibuyabuya, sade sabuyasemka sayakutshonela kwase lundini paya emazeni olwandle, baqala bakolwa ke bonke abantu.



Inteto yesi sibiba

Lo mkosi uselwandle awuzange wapuma usondele ezinkosini apa. Nenteto yawo ayiviwanga yiyo yonke lonto ngapandle ko Nongqause. Ute ke yakumka yakuya kutshonela lo mpi wati – Ziti inkosi godukani niye kuxéla zonke inkomo kungabiko nto niyifuyileyo, ukuze uvuko lukauleze. Maze ningalimi, yimbani izisele ezikulu ezitsha, niyakubona sezizele kukudla okutsha. Dimbazani neninako eziseleni niye kukulahla. Yakani izindlu ezintsha, nenze nengcango ezininzi nizenze ngobuka, nize nizivalele ezindlwini, namhla ngovuko kuba kuyakuti ngosuku lwesibozo xa upumayo umzi omhle usiza nenkosi yawo u Napakade into ka Sifubasibanzi, zonke izilo zehlabati nezemilambo, nenyoka, ziyakuba zizibadubadu kulo lonke ilizwe. Ukuze nisinde zenivale nengcango ezininzi, niqamangele ukubopelela, nilahle bonke ubuti.

guided by Nongqawuse, a girl daubed with ochre, a maid who owned nothing. Those assailed by thirst spoke: Can a thirsty man not drink? Nongqawuse replied: Those without enchantments may drink without fear.

Then Dilima son of Pato, the great hero, laid his robe down there and stooped to drink. They kept on bending down to drink, one by one, the tribes of Nomagwayi of the East.³

What they saw

At that point giant boulders were heard tumbling down the cliffs in the upper reaches of the Kamanga, which made the people look at each other for fear of the cliffs exploding as they stood, and they felt sickened by a profound terror.

Then the girl said, "Cast your eyes upon the sea." When they gazed intently at the ocean waves, they seemed to see actual people, with bulls bellowing, and oxen, a shadowy concourse constantly moving in and out of sight, then disappearing under the towering ocean waves, and everyone then began to believe.

What this shadowy concourse said

digant hank mas

This army in the sea did not emerge to approach the chiefs. And what it said was heard by no one but Nongqawuse. When the army had made off and disappeared, she said, "The chiefs say go home and slaughter all your cattle leaving nothing that you have reared, to hasten the resurrection. Do not cultivate, dig large new storage pits, and you will see them filled with fresh food. Retrieve what is left in your cornpits and throw it away. Build new houses and make many doors from creepers, and shut yourselves up in your houses on the resurrection day, because on the eighth day when the resplendent nation emerges with its king Eternal son of Broadbreast, all the creatures of forest and stream, and snakes, will roam the entire land. To protect yourselves, you must shut the many doors and bind them tight, and cast aside all enchantments."

3. That is, the Rharhabe, named for Nomagwayi, Rharhabe's mother-in-law, who came from eastern Thembuland.

Enye inkosi kwakona

Utsho wati – Kuko nenye inkosi, ikwela kwahashe elingwevu, igama layo ngu Ngwevu, elinye ke ngu Satana. Wonke ke umntu ongazixélanga inkomo zake uyakuba ngoka Satana, akayi kububona ubungcwalisa beyetu inkosi u Napakade into ka Sifuba-sibanzi.

Nantso ke imbangeli yokuze kuxélwe inkomo kususela ku 1856 kucitakalwe nge 1857.

**Ukuvela kuka Nonkosi**

Kute kusenjalo kwavela enye intombazana kwa Nkwitshi into yasema Kwemteni, yakwa Ndlambe. Yona ivele e Mpongo apa (Macleantown). Inteto yona ikwanye neka Nongqause. Apo kubehle kwabonwa nabakweta abatshila ecibini elise Mpongo apo. Izizwe bezibutelana kona kube yinto ebomvu, zisombela kona intokazi, zivuma imiyeyezelo, ide ingqongqo irazukele kona, kusombelelwa abakweta abatshila ecibini apo.

Nayo leyo ibiteta kwa inteto ka Nongqause, eteta ngovuko lwabantu nenkomo kupela.

Ukuvela kwe mpondo zenkomo

Kwezinye indawo bekude kubonwe nempondo zenkomo sezivelile, kuviwe nokunxakama kwendlezana, kuviwe nokukonkonta kwezinja, nokumemelela kwabasengi njalo-njalo.

Umteto wamakosi

Zite ke inkosi zakuba zibuyele ngendawo zazo, zafika zabuta izipakati zonke yashunyayelwa namhla lento yokuvuka kwamanyange, namhla selematsha, nokuvuka kwazo zonke inkomo eziyakuxélwa nezafa kudala. Wayete u Nongqause, ze kuti nokuba umntu uye kuyenza isimausi inkomo yake, nokuba uyitengisile, awuqashe umpfumlo ukuze ivukele yena mhla ngovuko. Baye, bonke abangaxélanga beya kupepeteka sisaqwiti esikulu baye kweyela elwandle.

Another chief

She continued: "There is another chief, who rides a grey horse, whose name is Grey, otherwise known as Satan.⁴ All who have not slaughtered their cattle will belong to Satan, and will not see our sanctifying king Eternal son of Broadbreast."

That then is the source of the cattle-killing from 1856 until the devastation of 1857.

The appearance of Nonkosi

At that time another girl appeared, a daughter of the home of Nkwitshi of the Kwemte clan in Ndlambe territory. She appeared here at Macleantown. She said the same thing as Nongqawuse down there where initiates were seen dancing at the Macleantown lake. Nations gathered there and the whole place would be red, when women would dance, sing circumcision songs, beating their drums to shreds for the initiates dancing their circumcision dances there.

And she repeated the pronouncements of Nongqawuse, just about the resurrection of people and cattle.

The appearance of cattle horns

In other places the horns of cattle were seen to appear, cows were heard lowing for their newborn calves, dogs were heard barking, milkers were heard humming to the calves they were milking, and so on.

The proclamation of the chiefs

When the chiefs returned home, they assembled all their councillors, and the resurrection of the ancestors as young people was announced, and also the resurrection of all the slaughtered cattle that had died long ago. Nongqawuse said that even if someone sold his cattle, even if the deal had gone through, he should claim its spirit, so that it would be raised for him on the resurrection day. And all those who did not slaughter would be blown by a great hurricane into the sea.

4. Sir George Grey was governor at the time of the cattle-killing.

Ukwahlulelana komzi

Umzi wasema Xoseni wafika we qwenge kubini, omnye awake uvume ukuxéla inkomo zawo, pofu usazi ukolwa eluvukweni lwabafileyo ukuba loze lubeko olwabantu, lungelulo olwenkomo.

Kwabonakala kusahlukana uyise nonyana, nonyana bamntu mnye, inkosi nabantu bayo nemizalwana njalo-njalo, kulo lonke elasema Xoseni. Kwavela amagama amabini ala macala mabini. Elinye kwatiwa nga Matamba, oko kukuti ngamagqobóka ka Nongqause. Elinye ngamagogyta. Ukugogotyta kukuhlala ungayenzi into, ume nganeno kwayo, kutiwe ke – U Nantsi ugogotyile.

Usuku lwesibozo

Kute kaloku zakuba zikolisiwe ukuxéla inkomo kuba elikulu omninzi umzi wawungokolwa kule nto, uninzi lukolise abanye inxenye ngokoyika ukubulawa ade akolise ukusaba amagogotyta kaloku xa indlala sel'ibungena xa sekujongwe usuku lwesibózo, sekubu mamaniseka kuninzi, inxenye sel'ilamba kanye, sel'ipila kudla impotsha kupela.

Kute ke kuba kwaku sekujongwe usuku lwesibozo, usuku ekwakutiwe, loze ilanga lanele ukupuma libomvu lize libuye litshone kwasesibakabakeni, kuzekubeko umnyama omkulu lelo xeshake kwatiwa maze abantu bazivalele ezindlwini ukuze banga dliwa ngama ramnco. Enye yendawo ekwakutiwe maze kuhlanguaniswa kweli linganeno kwe Nciba ukulindwa usuku lwesibozo, sekukangelwe kulo lonke, nelamatamba kwane lamagogotyta. Lapuma ilanga lifana namanye, amatamba agoxa ngezindlu yonke lomini avala aqilingela ngengcango ezininzi, selemane enyondla ngezituba ukutshona kwelanga aye amanye abe ngakolwa kade engazenzanga zonke ezinye izinto ngapandle kokuxela inkomo, ayesebenza into zawo nangalomini.¹

Amaxegokazi ase Ngxwangu

Kutiwa ke kute kwakusa kungabangako nto ngolo lwesibozo, lwati ulutsha – Sisaya kuhlola ukuba kuteni na. Hlalani apa, soza kunixelela into ekude kwayiyo. Kwemka kwati bé tu bonke abasenamandla kweli

1. Rubusana considerably rewrites these two paragraphs, ending his selection here, at the conclusion of Gqoba's first instalment.

Division within the nation

The Xhosa nation was split in two, some refused to slaughter their cattle, though they knew of and believed in the resurrection of the dead as something that would happen to people, but not to cattle.

Fathers were openly at odds with sons, and sons of the same father were at odds, chiefs were at odds with their people and kinsmen, and so on, throughout the land of the Xhosa. Two names arose for the two sides. One was known as *amaTamba*, Believers, those who were convinced by Nongqawuse. The others were *amaGogotya*, Unbelievers. *Ukugogotya* is to resist doing something, to stand to one side, so that it's said So-and-So doesn't do as he's told.

The eighth day

So now the cattle were slaughtered, with a large proportion of the community unconvinced by this, but some were afraid of being killed, and the Unbelievers were prompted to flee as hunger was setting in. As they awaited the eighth day many were dismayed; some, starving, survived only by stealing and killing animals.

So the eighth day was anticipated, the day that had been indicated, on which the sun would simply rise red and go backwards and set in the sky, and there would be a great darkness at that time, when it was said people must shut their doors to avoid being eaten by wild animals. One place identified for people to assemble to watch for the eighth day was in the Ciskei, but everyone was watching all over, both Believers and Unbelievers. The sun rose as usual. The Believers withdrew into their houses the whole day and shut and fastened the many doors tightly, continually peeping through the gaps at the setting sun, while others who did not believe performed none of the actions apart from killing the cattle and went about their work throughout the day.

PART I

The old women of Ngxwangu

On the next day, when nothing occurred on the eighth day, we are told that the young people said, "We're going to scout the country to see what's happening. Stay here, we'll tell you what the situation is." All those who had the strength throughout this pitiful land went off, leaving

zwana lonke, bati abafayo, nentsapo kwezinye indawo, basala, ezinye indawo zahlala wapolazeka ke umzi ukucitakala. Ahlala ntsukwana lo maxégokazi ase Ngxwangu, kwasa ngomnye umhla, elo liqubula umkuba walo, esimelela eti asingisa e Ncemera esikolweni. Ashiyisana ngamendu, amanye ahamba esiwa, limbi likohlwe nakuvuka, lifike elingasemva ligalele lidlule lingalincedi elo selisadalele. Imini elusizi embi. I-Ngxwangu le yenye yendawo ekwakutiwe maze kulindwe kuyo ngaba kufupi nayo.

Amajeke endlela

Kutiwa ati akuba kulo mmango upakati kwe Dywarana no Crouch, lavakala elipambili kwamanye lisiti – “Namhla singamajeke endlela, usuku lwesibózo ludlule, sishiyiwe ngabase nemitsi, kade sixela!”

Impau ze mfazwe

Ukuba kunje ngoko kutiwa inkomo zixéliwe nje kwakusenzelwa imfazwe, ngubani na ongaze avele ati imfazwe etile yati ukuze ibeko ema-Xoseni yenzelwa amacebo yinkazana etile, eyayiligogo, kunjalo nje iyintombazana? Ngubani na ongayipikisayo indawo yokuba mpau zemfazwe, kukugungqa kwa madoda, kukusizilwa kwamakáka, kukandwa kwezikáli, kupiselwa, kushwanyiswa kwa madoda xa kuko igqira lomkosi. Kuqúba kuqúbe kuvuke ulubo olungumangaliso pakati kwezizwe ezizungulayo kude kupume imikosana engamatútù, engeyiyo eyendlala, eyenza ucekwa, ukuba makude kuliwe, ekunje ngokuba ngeka Hintsa ucekwa kwatinjwa inkomo zase Mngcangatelweni zakwa Tyáli, kwa Mankazana, zino Xabakoxunge (u Xoxo), kwaliwa kwalapo. Ngulo mhla u Xoxo wenziwa umqela entloko, kwaba kupela oko. Kwavakala sekusitsha e Zikuni, kwatsha e Canci. Kumhla kwasala impahla eninzi kunene, kuba kwasa kungaseko mntu ekampini yasem-Lungwini. Ngu lo nyaka iti inxenye ukuwubiza ngowesiyikili kuba kwasala swekile na kofu namqatane nani. Nanzo ke zona impau zemfazwe ezazekayo²

2. ezezakayo

not a single individual behind, and the infirm and children stayed behind in some places, and other places stayed put and the nation poured out and scattered. The old women of Ngxwangu waited for a few days, and then one day they grabbed their staffs and leaning on them headed for the school at Peulton. Depending on their speed, they passed each other, some collapsed as they walked, some of them struggling to rise, and the one coming from behind rushed past without offering assistance to the one on the ground. It was a day of grief. Ngxwangu was one of the places where those nearby were told to keep watch.

The exhausted on the road

On the mountain slope between Dywarhana and Crouch, the one in front was heard to say, "Today we are the exhausted on the road, the eighth day has passed, we have been left behind by those still bounding along, as we said long ago!"

Signs of war

If it is argued that the cattle were slaughtered to provoke a war,⁵ who can come forward to say that any war involving the Xhosa was ever inspired by the advice of any one female, an enchantress, least of all a girl? Who can deny that preparations for war are restless men, the dressing of shields, the forging and honing of weapons, the strengthening ceremonies for men in the presence of a wardoctor? This escalates into unaccustomed theft between predatory factions until marauding bands emerge, by no means driven by hunger, who rouse provocation, so that hostilities commence, as in Hintsas's War, when the theft of Ngcangatela cattle in Tyali's territory at Mankazana, with Xabakoxunge (Xhoxho) involved, was a provocation, and fighting broke out there. On that day Xhoxho received a gash on the head, and that was that.⁶ And there was a flare-up at Zikhuni, and at Canci. On that day a considerable quantity of possessions were abandoned, because in the morning there was no one in the white camp. This is the year that most people refer to as the year of scattering time because sugar, coffee, hard bread and such like were left behind. Those are intimations of the approach of war

5. Peires argues that the source of this interpretation of the cattle-killing, which Gqoba is at pains to refute, was Sir George Grey (Peires 1989: 218–21).

6. Ngqika's son Xhoxho suffered a head wound during an engagement with a white patrol: see Mostert (1992: 652–3).

ema-Xoseni. Zinjalo zonke imfazwe, zinabo ocekwa bazo. Ezo ndawo zitshoyo kwezo ncwadi asikuko nokuba ziyalulahlekisa ulutsha olufundiswayo. Baninzi nanamhla nje abantu ababeziyele ngokwabo kwa Gcaleka kwa Mhlakaza, nababe ngamatamba ngezo mini. Lo nteto bayayipikisa mpela. Bati abo bantu babála ukuti kwakufun' ukuze kuliwe ngomsindo nom-Lungu agxotwe kweli lizwe ngelo qinga lokuxélwa kwe nkomo, bati ezo ncwadi zinjalo azinamsebenzi, zifane zaxela izinto ezingazange zibeko, ngokulahlekiswa kwe mbali.

Isizatu salo nteto

Bati bona ukuyazi kwabo inteto enjalo ivele xa bahamba bekonza becitakele, behamba benyúkutywa ngamagogotya, ecenga ngabo ezitandisa ku Belungu, esiti xa ahlekisayo – Kaloku bati xa baxela inkomo zabo bati bafun'ukuze bamgxote um-Lungu, alwe onke ama-Xosa, enomsindo, kuba kungeko uyakulibala zinkomo namhla. Kwaba njalo ukuqaleka kweso sigxeko emva kokuba sezixélwe kade inkomo, kwade kwacitakalwa. Fanukuba aba babalisi babále ezi ncwadi zinesi silahlekiso babaliselwa ngamagogotya, abantu abebe nekwele ngamatamba. Kufana nokuba kute kule mfazwe ka Ncáyec'ibi ahlulelana ama-Ngqika, bati abaye ngasem-Lungwini kwatiwa igama labo ngama Gxabuza, suke nabo balibekisa kwa elo gama kwabaye emahlatini, kwade kwasuke kwatyeba elo lokuba ama Gxabuza ngabebeye ehlatini.

Kwakona. Into enje ngale yehlela esi sizwe kutiwa ngama-Mfengu namhla nje. Eli gama mhla lafika, lafika no Goceni i Dladla, ehamba nomnye. Bati bakubuzwa apo bavela kona bati – Siyamfenguza, kwase kusuleleka izizwe ngezizwe, nezo bezicita ezinye ukuze zimfenguze, ndawonye nezazingatshongo kwa nezingamfenguzanga kweli lasema-Xoseni. Naleyo into seli jikiwe. Iti enye incwadi yababalisi, eli

among the Xhosa. All wars have points of provocation. Those sections in books that say so are not misleading youngsters in school. There are many people today who went of their own accord to Mhlakaza's place in Gcalekaland, and who were Believers at the time. They flatly contradict this version of events. They say those people wrote that there was a desire to fall on the whites in anger so that they would be driven from the land under the guise of slaughtering the cattle, they say those books are worthless, they're like tales of fantasy, because the history has been so distorted.

The reason for that version

They say they know such a version appeared as they travelled as Believers into dispersal, with the Unbelievers jostling them as they travelled, in an effort to ingratiate themselves with the whites, saying to amuse them, "By the way, when they slaughtered their cattle they said they wanted to drive the white man away, and all the Xhosa would fight, in anger, because there would be no thought of cattle on that day." That was the origin of this scorn after the cattle-killing, as they were dispersing. It seems that those who compose books containing this misleading version acquired the stories from Unbelievers, who were jealous of the Believers. The same thing happened during Ngcayechibi's War when the Ngqika were divided among themselves, and those who supported the whites were called Traitors, and they in turn called those who took to the forests by the same name, and in the end it came to be said that the Traitors were those who took to the forests.

Another example. Something similar happened to the people known today as Mfengu. This name arose with the arrival of Goceni, a Dladla, who was travelling with someone. When they were asked where they came from, they said, "*Siyamfenguza*, we're wandering about," and that name was applied to various groups of people, even those who scattered others so that they wandered about, including those who did not refer to themselves as such or did not wander about in the land of the Xhosa. Even that has been twisted. Some history books

gama liti Mfengu liteta ukuti yinja, into ke naleyo engekoyo kanye. Ukumfenguza kukucitakala, kukuswela ikaya, nento yokuzinceda. Nanko ukumfenguza. Akuzange kube kukuba yinja napakade. Incwadi ezinjalo zingenisa umoya ombi kanjalo ziyalahlekisa, kuba aziteti yona inyaniso, ziyazigqweta izinto ukuzixela. Ukuba eli lizwi liti mfengu beliteta ukuti yi nja, kunjani na le nto lingaziwayo ngabanini nteto ukuba liteta lo nto? Lo nto ibonisa ukuba ligqwetwa ngabom ukuze lidale umoya ombi pakati kwama-Mfengu nama-Xosa kuba kusitiwa elo gama lavela kuma-Xosa.

Imfazwe eyake yako

Into kambe esingade siti yayibumfazwana ukukolisa abatanda ukuyibiza njalo, ngu Pato obeti ngenxa kwa yokulamba amane ezitintela inqwelo ezivela e Monti zisiya e Qonce, kwade kwa ngulo nyaka wokufika kwa ma-Jelimeni. Kanjalo belifile mpela pakati komntu wonke olambileyo notyayo, nokuba baluhlanga lunye kungeko sahluko. Imikosana ebihlal' ihlatywa kule milanjana yonke, ibimininzi, ngenxa yamatutú amatamba, kwaye kunjalo nasemasimini, nase zintlanti emakaya.

Injalo ke into eyake yabako ngencitakalo ka Nongqause. Enye into ekwayimposiso yile kutiwa – Oyena ubeteta ezi zinto ngu Mhlakaza, u Nongqause ngowavela yena ngokuncedisa u Mhlakaza lowo. Akuko nto yake yanjalo.

Yimfazwe yapi na ema-Xoseni apa eyake yakelwa imizi, yambelwa izisele, yahlatyelwa izindlu, yasikelwa intsuba, yanyátyelwa inkomo, zaqashwa imipefumlo?

Ezona mpau zemfazwe

Ukuba zazixélwa nje inkomo kwakusenzelwa imfazwe kunge kuhlatywe inkabi zodwa, kwasizilwa amakaka, kwakandwa kunene izikali kulo lonke elasema Xoseni, kwapiselwa. Kunge kubeko amagogo anje ngo

say that this name *Mfengu* refers to a dog, but this is quite untrue.⁷ *Ukumfenguza*, to wander about, means to be scattered, to lack a home, to lack anything to sustain oneself. That's *ukumfenguza*. It never meant a dog. Such misleading books engender bad feeling, because they don't tell the truth, their accounts twist the facts. If this word *mfengu* means a dog, why is this unknown to those who speak the language? It's clear that this fact was twisted deliberately to create ill feeling between the *Mfengu* and the *Xhosa*, because it is claimed that the term originated with the *Xhosa*.

The war that did erupt

To satisfy those who like to claim a minor war did occur: as a consequence of the starvation Pato took to intercepting wagons travelling from East London to King William's Town, until the year the Germans arrived.⁸ There are always clashes like this between the hungry and the well-fed, even within a section of the same nation. Many bands were involved in skirmishes at every little stream, because of the marauding Believers, and this happened also in the fields and the cattle kraals at home.

That was a result of the dispersal brought about by *Nongqawuse*. Another error is to say that *Mhlakaza* was the one who uttered these things, and *Nongqawuse* appeared merely as *Mhlakaza*'s assistant. No such thing.

Which war among the *Xhosa* ever had villages built for it, grainpits dug, the sites of houses marked out, pelts trimmed, people indifferent to cattle and the souls of cattle claimed?

The true signs of war

If cattle were killed just for a war, only the oxen would have been slaughtered, shields would have been dressed and weapons finely honed throughout the land of the *Xhosa*, and ceremonies would have

7. John Ayliff, WMS missionary at Butterworth, who perceived the *Mfengu* as oppressed by their *Gcaleka* hosts, recorded *Hintsa*'s references to the *Mfengu* as dogs (Ayliff and Whiteside [1912] 1962: 20-1). Mostert observes that "[those] living under the control of chiefs were commonly called his 'dogs'" (Mostert 1992: 607).

8. The first German settlers arrived in East London in January 1857: see Schnell (1954).

Mlanjeni, no Nxito, okulungisa amadoda ayakulwa imfazwe. Ukuba yayi licebo le mfazwe, kuteni na ukuze zingabiko ezo zinto? Lo nto ibonisa mhlope ukuba akuko nyaniso kulo nteto isel'isezincwadini ezishicilelweyo esingazibiza ngamagama eziti – Ama-Xosa ayesenza icebo lokwenza imfazwe yokugxota a-Belungu kulo mhlaba.

Ubunqina benkosi zama-Xosa

Zininzi inkosi ezabanjwayo ngalo nto ka Nongqause, kwa ne bezinxányelwe ukubanjwa kuba zigqibise abantu wacitakala umhlaba ngenxa yeli cebo kutiwa yayilele mfazwe.

Zonke bezizibuzela ngamazwi ati – Sinatyala lani na kubani na, sixéle inkomo zetu nje, emhlabeni wakowetu, saye silinde uvuko lwe zihlobo zetu nezafa kudala emanyangeni, kwaye okunye silindele kwa novuko lwezi nkomo sizixélayo, kuba kutiwa ziti inkosi ezo zizakuvuka masizixéle, kuba sizifuye ngezandla ezimdaka ezipata ubufi nezinye izinto ezinje ngemibulo nokurexeza? Yini na ukuze zitsho ukuzipendulela kwazo xa kanti bezixela inkomo zifuna ukwenza imfazwe, enkulu kangaka.

Ukuzilwela kuka Tola

Imi Dange ibimacala mabini, ibiko eka Botomane, ikwako neka Tola, nantso imbali yawo kwi *Zigidimi* zeminyaka edluleyo.

Ke u Tola watimbisa walwa no Gola inkosi yom-Lungu efunelwa kwa ukubanjwa naye kwa ngenxa yesi sizatu sabanjelwa ezinye inkosi. Watimba wada waya kufela kufupi, ne lenyati walwa nje nge gora kunye no nyana bake, waye xolele ukufa kunokuba abanjelwe inkolo awayenayo kunye namakwabo kuvuko ekufeni obe lulindelekile. Wafa

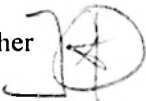
been performed to prepare for the war. Doctors like Mlanjeni and Nxito would have prepared men for battle. If the whole thing was a plot to provoke war, why were these things not done? That shows clearly that there is no truth in the accounts found in published books, which we can name, that say: The Xhosa contrived a plot to provoke war in order to drive the whites from the land.

The evidence of the Xhosa chiefs

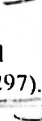
Many chiefs were arrested as a result of this Nongqawuse affair,⁹ as well as those who handed themselves in because they caused the death of people and scattered the nation because of the plot that was supposed to have resulted in this war.

They all questioned themselves in these terms: Who have we wronged, to what end? We slaughtered our own cattle, in our own land, and we waited for the resurrection of our relatives and those among the ancestors who died long ago, and we also waited for the resurrection of the cattle we slaughtered, because it was said the chiefs announced we must kill them and they would rise again, because we raised them with hands tainted from handling enchantments, as well as other things like incest and adultery. Why would they repond in these terms if they slaughtered their cattle because they wanted to wage so massive a war?

Tola defends himself

The Dange were divided in two, one section Bhotomane's, the other Tola's. Their history is recorded in issues of *Isigidimi* in past years. 

So Tola was involved in taking spoils in the fight against Gawler,¹⁰ the white commander, and there was a warrant for his arrest for the same reason the other chiefs were taken into custody. He took spoils and died near the Buffalo, he fought like a hero alongside his sons, he was content to die rather than be arrested for his belief and that of his

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9. Among those arrested and tried were Maqoma, Mhala, Pato, Xhoxho, Tola, Stokwe and Delima (Mostert 1992: 1229). Tola, Qasana and Xhoxho escaped from prison in King William's Town; Xhoxho was recaptured (Peires 1989: 297). 
10. John Cox Gawler, born in 1830, was installed as magistrate with Mhala in January 1856. On his role in the cattle-killing, see Peires (1989: 187-214 *et passim*).

u Tola nje nge nkosi, wafa nje nge gora kunye no nyana bake wafa nje nge kolwa enamatele elunqulweni lwake.

Zezo ndawana ke ezi kutiwa yayi yimfazwe? Yayi yimikwa yendhlala leyo kuba kakade nanamhla nje ngexa le ndlala³ wambi amasela ayatimba alwe kuf' abantu, ati ukuba oyisile abasukele abanini mpahla- Maninzi amatútú abeko ngo Nongqause, nje ngokuba ehlala ebako, kwa nezigebenga ngamaxsha endlala kwakudala. Baninzi nabafele emasimini abo kwi ndawo ngendawo kwa namasela ngamanye amaxa. Yilomfazwe na ke leyo?

Ukundululwa kwezizwe

Kute ke kuba ibisipitipiti, engonwabile amagogotya ngamatamba aqútywa yindlala, kwaba bupitizela kwade kwabako imikosana epumayo ukuya kundulula abantu abebesahleli kwa semanxiweni. Kwaba njalo, wade umhlaba omninzi wakolisa ukuba yintlango ngenxa yemikosi enjalo, ukuze emva koko kusuke kutiwe umhlaba bawuwele bawushiya.

No Sarili wandululwa kwa yimikosi enjalo ukuze alishiye elakowabo asinge kwela ma-Mpondomise ukuze kutiwe naye umhlaba wake uwuwele wawushiya, ukuze aseleba ngumntu osikelwe ngu Rulumente nje utatyatwe omninzi unikwe ezinye izizwe. Naye nanamhla uwubanga kwa ngezwi eliti – Lomhlaba ka Gcaleka ndiwuwele ngani na kubani na? “Ndihlabe inkomo zakowetu zodwa, akuko zam-Lungu, utatyatwa ngasizatu sini na lo mhlaba ka Kauta? Kunani na ukuba zonke inkosi ezisekoyo nezingasekoyo zitete elilizwi xa zikalazela ukubanjwa kwazo (ezabanjwayo) nezisekoyo, kunye noninzi olwa lungamatamba kwa nababe ngamagogotya ngezo mini abatanda ukucuba ukozo lwe nyaniso malunga nembangeli yokuxélwa kwe nkomo ngo Nongqause?

Inyaniso yayingeko oko

Ukubonisa ukuba le nto iyinyaniso yayishiywa ngezo mini, encetazwa amatamba ku-Belungu, into eninzi kunene yabantu ababe ngaxélanga,

nation in the anticipated resurrection of the dead. Tola died like a chief, he died like a hero with his sons, he died as a believer clinging to his system of worship.¹¹

Are these the incidents that are referred to as a war? This is the way people behave in times of famine because, from ancient times to the present, when driven by hunger, thieves of a different persuasion plunder and fight and people die, and if they could get the upper hand they would chase off the owners of the property. There were many robbers and bandits during the cattle-killing, as there always have been in times of hunger from ancient times. And many died in the fields all over the place, including the thieves sometimes. Is this what's referred to as a war?

The expulsion of the nations

So in the state of confusion, with the Unbelievers harassed by the starving Believers, there was disruption until small gangs emerged to expel those still living in ruined villages. That continued until many areas were reduced to wasteland because of these armies, and after the expulsion it was claimed they crossed the land and abandoned it.

Even Sarhili was expelled by these armies, and he left his own land and went to Mpondomiseland, so that it was claimed that even he had crossed his land and abandoned it, and the Government distributed it and a large portion was transferred to other nations. And to this day he himself lays claim to it in these terms: "How did I cross this land of Gcaleka and why? I killed the cattle of my own people alone, not those of the whites: for what reason has this land of Khawuta been seized?" Why do all the chiefs past or present say exactly the same thing when they protest their arrest (those who were arrested), those living as well as many of those who were Believers and Unbelievers in those days, when they seek to examine the essential truth about the originator of the Nongqawuse cattle-killing?

There was no truth then

To demonstrate that truth was dispensed with at that time: information about the Believers was given to the whites. There were actually

11. On Tola's heroic death, see Peires (1989: 297-8).

inxenye baxéla inxenye ye nkomo kuba le nto ibingangeni kakuhle, koko sebesoyika inkosi zabo ezixelileyo, inxenye ijanyelwa ngamarele yimizalwana yayo kwade kwasuke kwafika imofu, zati ke zakufa yimofu inkomo zabo zincwatywa bekangele bonke (kuba imofu le ike yoyikwa ema-Xoseni kakulu ayandulanga ityiwe kwanase zikolweni ke kona) zati zakupela kwezipele kubo, bayakuvukela kubazalwana babo, basuka nabo batukwa kwa ngobutamba kwatiwa ukuvinjwa kwabo – “Bénizixela nje ezenu nisiti namhla nje um-Lungu niyakumweza ulwandle, hleli nje beninyeke ukuze nize kukataza tina?” Azikavukina kaloku, benite ziyakuvuka nje?

Oyipikisayo le ngxelo makavele

Le ngxelo yale mbali yo Nongqause ise nawo amawaka – waka amanqina asapilileyo angati ose necwenene lokupikela ukuti – “Inkomo zaxelwayo nje kwakufunwa icebo elindoqo lokoyisa um-Lungu, avele mhlope nezake izizatu, bese ko nje, kwakunye nabantu ababe kulo nto, bengevi nga kutyelwa bona, kuba le ndawo asikuko nokuba iyalahlekisa kulutsha olufundiswa le mbali, kungoko sisalatayo esi siposo sikulu kangaka. Asingaba bodwa abalahliweyo kuyo le ndawo yale mbali. Yonke into nenga Belungu nabapesheya kwa manzi abatenge ezi ncwadi zinayo le mbali, kwa nababaliselwayo, yonke lo nto ibambe isisila se hobe kuba ayizange ibeko lonto.

Ukugqwetwa kwembangi kuxelwa inkomo

Namhla nje eyona nto sekudume yona nede yabalwa ezincwadini zababalisi abatile kutiwa – Eyona mbangeli yokuxelwa kwenkomo ngumzi ka-Xosa, yayilicebo le nkosi zama-Xosa ukuba mazixelwe inkomo, ukuze bonke abantu balwe nom-Lungu benemisindo, kungeko uyakulibala zinkomo, ukuze namhla um-Lungu aye kugalelwa elwandle ancanyiswe umxelo.

many people who did not slaughter, some, fearing their chiefs who slaughtered, killed only a few cattle because the whole thing was not entirely embraced, some were threatened with swords by their relatives until the lung sickness broke out, and after the outbreak their cattle were buried in the sight of all (because the lung sickness was greatly feared by the Xhosa and they immediately stopped eating meat in the schools), and when their cattle were finished they approached their relatives, but were insulted for being Believers and denied in these terms: "When you slaughtered your cattle, saying today the whites would be driven across the sea, did you intend to trouble us? Have they not risen? You said they would arise."

Let anyone who disputes this version step forward

This version of the story of Nongqawuse is still told by thousands of living witnesses – and anyone who has any shred of doubt that "The cattle were slaughtered in pursuit of an effective plan to overcome the white man", anyone who has a shadow of doubt should produce his own motives, since these thousands are still there, together with the people who were involved in that event who don't depend on hearsay for their information, because this position is misleading to the young people who are taught this history, and so we have made a particular point of drawing attention to this crucial error. They are not the only people misled on this aspect of this history. Everybody, including whites and those from overseas who bought the books containing this story and those who are told about it, all of them clutch a dove's tail,¹² because nothing of the kind occurred.

baba bese wayo

Perverting the cause of the cattle-killing

Today the most widespread claim that has found its way into books by certain authors is: The principal cause of the cattle-killing among the Xhosa is the plot of the Xhosa chiefs to slaughter the cattle so that everyone would fight the whites in anger, rather than frittering time away with cattle, so that on that day the white man would be tipped into the sea, utterly vanquished.

12. Kropf glosses the phrase *ukubamba isisila sehobe*, "lit. to grasp the tail of a dove", as "to be disappointed; not to have one's hopes fulfilled" (1915: 389).

Ukulungisa eso siposo

Lo nteto itshoyo asikuko nokuba iposisile, ayinalo nesuntswana elincinane le nyaniso, kunjalo nje isisintompoti esingafani nanto. Nomntu ongqondo ilingeneyo nje kodwa ebengayifuzisa nezinye izinto le nto ayibone ukuba inteto enjalo xa ebewazi ama-Xosa, nokutanda kwawo inkomo ne nkolo yawo kuvuko lwa bafuleyo ukuba ayingeze yaba yinyaniso ngapandle kobuntsomi.

Correcting this error

There is no truth in this statement because it is wide of the mark, it lacks even the tiniest shred of truth, on top of which it is ambiguous and ridiculous. Anyone with only average intelligence could draw comparisons with other situations and conclude that this kind of statement, if they know the Xhosa, and their love of cattle and their belief in the resurrection of the dead, holds no more truth than a fairytale.

*Irony, because Gqoba's own account
has been described as
fantastical.*

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8. William Gqoba, “The native tribes, their laws, customs and beliefs”, *The Christian Express* (1 June 1885: 93–4; 1 July 1885: 109–10; 1 September 1885: 141–2). Paper read at the Lovedale Literary Society, April 1885.
9. W.W.G., “*Ukububa ko Mfundisi wakwa Nondyola*”, *Isigidimi* (1 August 1885: 61).
10. W.W.G., “*Ukububa kuka Mr. Philip Koti*”, *Isigidimi* (1 September 1885: 66–7).
11. W.W.G., [“*Ukububa kuka Rev. S. Mtimkulu*”], *Isigidimi* (1 September 1885: 70).

12. W.W. Gqoba, "*Ilitye lesikumbuzo lika-John A. Bennie, wase-Lovedale*" in S.E. Mqâyi, *Imihobe nemibongo yokufundwa ezikolweni* (London: Sheldon Press, 1927: 55–7).
13. W.W.G., "*Icebetshu lokusinda*", *Isigidimi* (1 October 1885: 76), reprinted in *Rubusana* ([1906] 1911: 24–6) with minor alterations.
14. W.W.G., "*Ukububa kuka Miss Catherine Tukani*", *Isigidimi* (1 October 1885: 77).
15. "*Isikalazo sika Tixo*", *Isigidimi* (2 November 1885: 85), anonymous, but ascribed to W.W.G. in the index.
16. W.W.G., "*Imbali yama Xosa*", *Isigidimi* (1 January 1887: 5–7; 1 October 1887: 78–9). Reprinted in *Rubusana* ([1906] 1911: 205–18), with considerable cuts and alterations; also reprinted in Bennie ([1935] 1948: 174–86).
17. W.W.G. "*Imbali yase Mbo*", *Isigidimi* (1 April 1887: 30–1; May 1887: 37–8; June 1887: 46–7; 1 July 1887: 53–4; August 1887: 61–3).
18. W.W.G., "*Intsingiselo zama qalo esi-Xosa*", *Isigidimi* (1 April 1887: 31; 1 June 1887: 47; 1 August 1887: 63–4; September 1887: 71–2; December 1887: 93–4).
19. "*Ukububa komka Ntibane Mzimba*", *Isigidimi* (1 October 1887: 77), anonymous, but the poem is ascribed to W.W. Gqoba in the index.
20. "*Ingxoxo enkulu yomGinwa nom-Kristu*", *Isigidimi* (1 December 1887: 92; 2 January 1888: 4–5; 1 February 1888: 15–6; 1 March 1888: 23–4; 2 April 1888: 27–9), anonymous, but attributed to Rev. W.W.G. in the annual index for 1887; reprinted in *Rubusana* ([1906] 1911: 27–62).
21. W.W.G., "*Isizatu sokuxelwa kwe nkomo ngo Nongqause*", *Isigidimi* (1 March 1888: 22–3; 2 April 1888: 29–31), first instalment reprinted in *Rubusana* ([1906] 1911: 219–25).
22. BC 106 C252.9 The Stewart Papers reprinted with permission from University of Cape Town, Special Collections and Archives.
23. "*Ibandla le Mfundo*", *Imvo* (13 January 1886: 2–3; 20 January 1886: 3).

The following report on the same meeting appeared in *Imvo*:

The Native Educational Association held its half-yearly meeting on Tuesday and Wednesday last week. Upwards of forty members attended. In the absence of the President, the Rev. E. Makiwane, the chair was occupied by the Rev. B. Mama, who vacated it on the arrival of the Vice-President. The meetings were very

enjoyable. Among the business of public interest transacted may be mentioned the re-appointment of the committee, consisting of the Rev. P.J. Mzimba (Lovedale), Messrs. W. Gqoba (Lovedale), W.K. Ntsikana (Pirie), to write a history of the Natives of South Africa. After some discussion a resolution was carried to the effect that the Superintendent-General of Education be respectfully asked to re-issue the Blue Book containing the Reports of the Inspectors of Schools, which has not been published for some time past. The discussion revealed the fact that the reports were a means of urging the teachers to greater exertion, and were valuable to managers and to the public in estimating the progress and the tone of the schools. A committee was also appointed to go into the matter of securing titles for Native reserves. The next meeting is to be held at Macfarlane on the Tyumie. (*Imvo*, 13 January 1886: 4)

24. "Gqoba, William", in *Lovedale: Past and Present* ed. James Stewart (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1887: 82-3).
25. "Rev. William W. Gqoba", *Isigidimi* (1 May 1888: 34-5).
26. "In memoriam: Govan Koboka and William W. Gqoba", *The Christian Express* (1 May 1888: 65-6).
27. M.K. Mtakati, "William Gqoba", *Imvo* (16 May 1888: 2).
28. S.E. Rune Mqayi, *Ityala lama wele*, 5th edition (Lovedale: Lovedale Press 1922: 117-8).

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