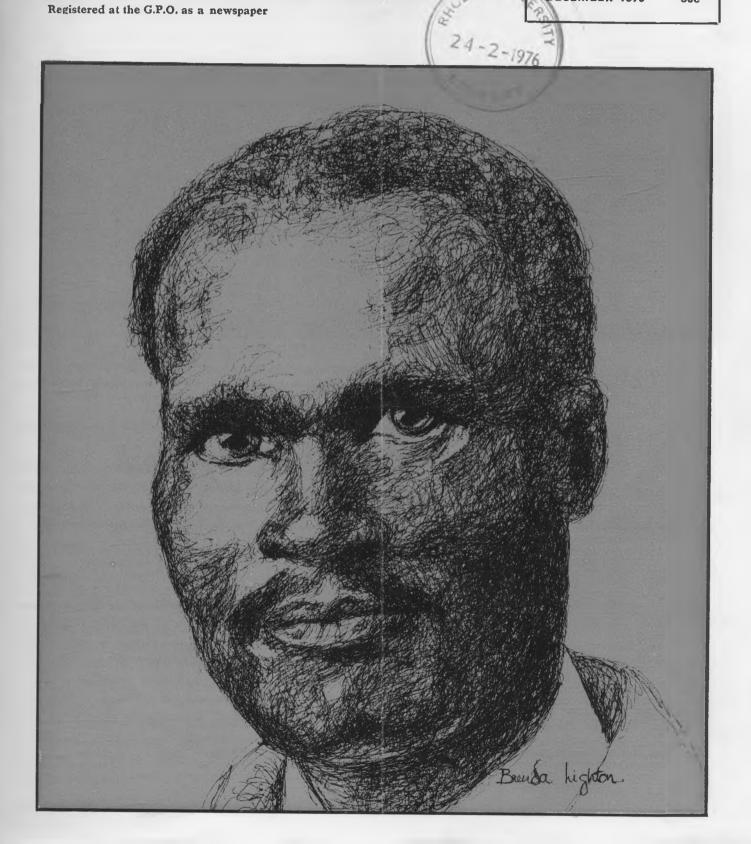
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S. E. K. Mqhayi (100 years)

DECEMBER 1975

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OUTLOOK

Vol. 109

No. 1255

Editor Assistant Editor Francis Wilson Glyn Hewson



DECEMBER, 1975

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CREDITS:

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We should also like to express our warmests thanks and appreciation to Brenda Lighton for the superb pen and ink cover portrait of S. E. K. Mqhayi done specially for this commemorative issue.

South African Outlook is an independent journal dealing with ecumenical and racial affairs which, un-interruptedly since 1870, has sought to place its readers in possession of facts and opinion which bear upon the lives of all the people of the sub-continent Without allegiance to any political party, but according to what it believes to be Christian standards, it seeks to give information and comment on measures suggested either for the regulation or the advancement of any section of the population, by whomsoever proposed

The editorial board welcomes articles, letters, and criticism All correspondence, including orders for subscriptions, should be addressed to the Editor, South African Outlook, 1 Long St, Mowbray 7700.

Published by Outlook Publications (Pty) Ltd., Ecumenical Centre, 1 Long Street, Mowbray 7700, Cape.

Annual Subscription:-

South Africa R3.50 Elsewhere R5.00

Political comment in this issue is written to express the views of South African Outlook by F. Wilson and G. Hewson, 1 Long Street, Mowbray 7700.

Printed by The Lovedale Press

Outlook on the Month

Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi

Mqhayi is the first, or among the first, in the field of Xhosa Literature. To generations of black pupils and students, Xhosa poetry is synonymous with 'S. E. K. Mqhayi'. I make bold to say there is not one child who has gone through primary school education without having encountered at least one of his works.

Symbolic in more than one respect of his time, his works reflect his nationalistic sentiments, his religious inclinations, his status as a black British subject. However, to me, Mqhayi was a visionary: His loyalty to his sovereign, expressed beautifully in 'The Prince of Britain', is subtly underlined with scorching irony.......

'Hayi, the Mighty Britain!

Here she comes with bible and bottle,

Here she comes, a missionary escorted by a soldier,

with gunpowder and guns,

with canons and breachloader.

Forgive me, O Father, but which of these must we accept?

eater of our country's inheritance.

Long live the King!

That he realised that the political situation would, and indeed had to change we get from the novel *uDon Jadu*.

Like any good writer, Mqhayi reflects the spirit of his age and if the reflection we see appears complex, that is a result of the complex nature of the time in which he lived. He has written prolifically, prose and poetry, but it is in the latter genre that he excels and for which he is tremendously admired.

Accepted and acknowledged Poet Laureate (*Imbongi yeSizwe*), Mqhayi excelled in that form of poetry known as Praise Poems (*Izibongo*).

It is perhaps in times of stress that human nature reveals itself at its purest. We are apt to feel keenly during times of disaster. Mqhayi's nationalist sentiments are very well portrayed in the praise poem *Ukutshona kukaMendi*, written after the *Mendi*, carrying black troops to France during World War I, was sunk. At one and the same time, he pays tribute to the black men who died for their fatherland and consoles (in true African style) the nation for the loss it has suffered.

In his praise poems about some of his contemporaries, there is one on Ms Minah Thembeka Soga, one of the founders of the National Council of African Women. Taking into consideration that women in this country are still fighting for recognition of their worth as people, it is worth noting that Mqhayi, in acknowledging the work and involvement of this woman, was commendably free of sexist attitudes. The real greatness of Mqhayi however, it to be found in his wholeness of view: as an artist of stature he praised, spoke and wrote of his Africaness with pride and eloquence. But more than that he claimed the heritage of all South Africa as his own. In so doing, he articulated prophetically, the vision of a new oneness—a vision caught held and cherished. As the works of Nakasa, of Mpahlele, of Fugard, of Brink and others have shown. And will continue to show.



A translation of this inscription reads: Here lies SAMUEL KRUNE MQHAYI | He was born on 1st December, 1875 and died on 29th July, 1945 | A praise singer of the nation | of national acclaim, a writer of books, | A counsellor of the whole Xhosa Kingdom, | A leader and a true Christian. | Let him rest in peace. | Let his spirit remain for ever leading us. This stone was laid by his nation and family under the auspices of the Memorial to the revered Ntsikana.

Mqhayi: Oral Bard and Author

Wandile Kuse

Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi was born on December 1, 1875 and died on July 29, 1945. As a socially committed writer who desired to push South African history in a certain direction, his significance lies in the fact that he bridges nineteenth and twentieth century Xhosa literature; that he was an oral bard in a literary age, and that he was a literatus carrying an oral tradition. Beyond that he was a creative artist as well as a performer reciting his own poems. In this article, Fr. Kuse, currently engaged in doctoral research on Mqhayi at the University of Wisconsin, gives an overview of the poet's life and work.

WHEN MQHAYI wrote his first two poems for *Izwi LabaNtu* (The Voice of the People) in 1897, he was immediately acclaimed as *Imbongi yakwaGompo neyeSizwe Jikelele*. In these two poems the two main themes of Mghayi's life's work are delineated, viz:

(a) In 'Izwe lakwaNdlambe' (The Domain of the Ndlambe People), he declared his unshakeable loyalty and fidelity to the polity and traditions of his people.

(b) In 'UNtsikane' he portrayed his quest to transcend local and ethnic considerations by heroising the first notable Xhosa convert to Christianity. Christianity and the values of Western European civilization had become the vehicles of 'progress' in the eyes of Mqhayi's generation of writers. They were, however, not uncritical of proselytizers to the new ways of the alien civilization. (See also *Imibengo*: 'Inkokeli' and Tiyo Soga's essays.)

The evolutionary development of Mqhayi's attitudes is reflected in his contributions to two publications in particular: Izwi IabaNtu and Imvo zabaNtsundu. He became editor of the former within the first year of it's existence, but funding dried up and the journal collapsed in 1910. Mqhayi then became editor of Imvo zabaNtsundu which was being produced in King William's Town. The various columns to which he contributed included 'Abantu' (People), 'E ZaKomkhulu' (News from the Court) and 'Incoko' (Conversation). A selection of his articles appear in W. G. Bennie's (ed.) anthology Imibengo (1935).

During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and World War I (1914-1918), Mqhayi wrote poetry which alluded to the hostilities between the

Europeans in South Africa and in Europe. The significance of these wars for the 'natives', his countrymen, is elaborated upon in the body of the poems. His ideas were further elaborated in his prose fiction. His first novel, an adaptation of the Biblical story of 'Samson and Delilah', entitled *USamson* (1905), offered a critique of South African society in the years following the Anglo-Boer War. He conceived of the 'natives' as the impotent 'sleeping giant' who, in the words of Shakespeare's Mercutio, willed and wished 'a plague on both your houses'. The image was sustained by the Titan's act which brought to ruin the edifice constructed by the collusion of liberal white men and reactionary racists at the expense of the indigenous peoples of South Africa. Mqhayi was always aware that the intrusion of Europeans into the patterns of behaviour and politics of Africans was not always gentle and altruistic.

Mqhayi's name is, of course, pre-eminently associated with his epochmaking classic *Ityala Lamawele* (The Law Suit of the Twins) (1914). *Imvo* (10/14/61) quotes Professor Z. K. Matthews as saying that Mqhayi 'sprang into fame at once as one of the best Xhosa writers, to be classed with men like Soga and Rubusana'. The negative posture of *USamson* led Mqhayi, in dialectical fashion, to the positive assertion of indigenous values in *Ityala Lamawele*. This book is a compendium of various styles: the opening is dramatic and thereafter the prose is punctuated by heroic poetry, historical and biographical sketches as well as legend and mythology. Here Mqhayi projected his image of men and women of culture who propagated the best ideas of their time. His hereos and heroines encompassed the representatives of tradition as well as men and women educated in the ways of the West. The first part of the work is an exciting portrayal of the ways of tradition while the latter part is a series of biographical sketches and historical situations.

Mqhayi's next work of fiction *uDon Jadu* appeared in 1929. This book is both a utopia and an allegory. Its themes are parallel to two other books by Mqhayi and demonstrate the dynamic relationship between fiction and social reality. The *persona* (the narrative is in the first person singular) is an amalgam of the hero of the autobiography, *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1939) and the author's free translation of C. Kingsley Williams' *Aggrey of Africa—uAggrey umAfrika* (1935), a work inspired by the visit to South Africa of Aggrey, the Ghanaian as a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education in Africa.

Excepting the autobiography, Mqhayi's last two books underline the fact that he was pre-eminently a poet—a veritable traditional oral bard whose awareness and sensitivity to the great issues of his times as well as his responsiveness to the creative impulse led him to experiment often with European modes of rhyme and rhythm—not altogether successfully. In 1937, Mqhayi wrote *UMhlekazi uHintsa*, (a poem in eight cantos). On the hundredth anniversary of the assassination of the Paramount Chief of the Xhosa, he felt the urge to reassert his credentials as the royal bard of old times. His composition won the May Esther Bedford Competition First Prize. It is a poem that sustains the viability of the oral techniques of praise poetry in the written format. Mqhayi's last book of peoms, *Inzuzo* (1942), suggests that he was both an oral and literate poet who was socially aware and was well steeped in the techniques and content of the oral culture of his people while experimenting with English Romantic forms.

Mqhayi was at his best when he wrote or recited poetry in the oral tradition. My favorite poem by Mqhayi is his praise of a Ndlambe chief entitled 'Aa! Silimela!' It is not included in any volume of Mqhayi's corpus of written works. The music of his poetry communicates even if one does not understand the words. However, there is a translation of the first paragraph of the poem Mqhayi wrote on the occasion of the recruitment of the 'Black Brigade', a black South African contingent in the First World War. If one has seen the film 'Patton', one can sympathize with Mqhayi's sentiments in response as it were to Patton's saying, 'When your grandchildren expectantly ask you what you did in the great world war, you would not like to have to say 'you were shovelling shit in Louisiana'.' Mqhayi introduces the poem 'Umkhosi WemiDaka' in this manner:

Awu! Ewe kambe siyabulela Lakuth' ikokwethu lisicinge Ngokuya kusebenz' emazibukweni Ngexesha lalo lokuxakeka. Be singobani na thina boomthina? Ukuba singanced' ukumkani weBritain Ingangalale' engatshonelwa langa Int' elawul' umhlaba nolwandle! Kungoku nesibhakabhak' isingxamele!

Niyeva ke, madodana, niphakamile Isizwe senu sisemqulwini wezizwe. Ze niguye, ze niqambe; Nenje nje, nenje nje! Nenje nje, nenje nje! Nenje nje, nenje nje! Nenje nje, nenje njeya.

We are indeed grateful and impressed
That His Britannic Majesty
Should think of asking us to come
And work as stevedores
At a time when he is under pressure.
Who were we?
To even think of lending a hand
To the King of Britain
On whose empire the sun never sets.
His dominions extend over land and sea
As things now stand
He is ready to colonize the heavens.

Listen now fellows!
Your people now belong to the Commonwealth of Nations.
You should celebrate and dance
And act like this and this and that!

This bitterly satirical poem goes on to say that some good is bound to come out of the sacrifice by Africans for others.

P.S. TO NOVEMBER ISSUE

We much regret that the last typescript page of Martin Conway's review of Margaret Nash's book Ecumenical Movement in the 1960s, was inadvertently omitted in last months issue. We print it below.

Margaret Nash looks more fully into the position of the persons who, by their attendance at conferences and assemblies, make or confirm the policies and programmes of world bodies. 'There is little to suggest that bishops, moderators and chairmen of synods went back to their ecclesiastical constituencies, challenged them to ratify or reject such assembly reports and resigned when ratification was not forthcoming' (p.239). All the more striking, therefore, the example of Beyers Naude after the rejection by his church of the agreements of Cottesloe 1960. Does this suggest that some of our churches ought to be drawing up, in the first instance for themselves but in the hope of building models for wider use, some sort of regular procedures for receiving, translating and testing out the findings of ecumenical conferences—or is that to go too far in the now inappropriate direction of a legalism that will be merely its own undoing? Recent developments in the Roman Catholic Church are perhaps offering us pointers.

Meanwhile we are thrust back, for the all-essential process of traditioning, on the apparently feeble media of print and personal contact. I say apparently because we know—with the ripples of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation still spreading—how worried some autocracies become at the thought of letting these have free run. Margaret Nash has shown how much one individual can draw from what is by now the rich vein of world-level documents. Can her book provide many others with a basis for sermons, study groups and seminars, leading on the one hand to more informed and intelligent reception of the ideas she transmits—yes, with controversy, by all means, providing it is subject to respect for the facts—and on the other to more imaginative and more faithful translation of them into daily, secular practice?

Martin Conway*

^{*(}Study Secretary, World Student Christian Federation, 1961-7; Publications Secretary, World Council of Churches, 1970-4; now Secretary of Division of Ecumenical Affairs, British Council, of Churches).

Mqhayi Through The Eyes of His Contemporaries

Wandile Kuse

In this second article, Fr. Kuse presents a view of the achievements and impact of Mqhayi on those inspired to continue the literary tradition to which he gave such vibrant expression and development.

AN OVERVIEW of the life and works of Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi begins appropriately with a few lines of poetry from the last page of his most notable work, *Ityala Lamawele* (Lovedale, 1914):

Ndiya kuhlala ndinani phi na, ndingumntu nje; Ndingumntu nj' int' ehlal' ihambele? Ndingumntu nj' int' ehlal' ihlal' ifuduke? Ndingumntu nj' int' ehlal' ihlal' igoduke?¹

Impossible for me to be always with you, since I'm only human (and mortal);

Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later takes a trip? Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later shifts residence? Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later departs for home?

Unveiling of Mqhayi's Tombstone

S. E. K. Mqhayi died on July 29, 1945 and was buried two days later at Ntab'ozuko (near Berlin, Cape Province, South Africa).² The obsequies were then expanded to include the participation of Mqhayi's illustrious contemporaries. On March 26, 1951, there assembled at Ntab'ozuko, Mqhayi's homestead, masses of people, for the unveiling of the memorial to him. South Africa's men and women of distinction were there. And so were the contemporary bards on whose shoulders fell the mantle which had graced Mqhayi's life. The tradition of literary Xhosa which he had helped develop and stabilize, refine and display would now be theirs to sustain and expand. They would be called upon to carry it forward in all its richness and integrity.

In a prose introduction to a poem celebrating the unveiling of Mqhayi's tombstone, the Rev. St. J. Page Yako cites only a few of the distinguished guests and officiants at the ceremony. He mentions the Rev. J. A. Calata—president of the Ntsikana Memorial Cultural Society, Mr. J. T. Arosi—secretary general of the society, who also acted as M.C.. Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, Dr. A. B. Xuma, and Mr. A. W. Champion (a former president of the African National Congress) delivered speeches which eulogised Mqhayi. These men also represented various ethnic groups. They were thus visible testimony that Mqhayi's art belonged to the national heritage. Mqhayi's beautiful prose and poetry was not dedicated merely to the local chiefs of his extended family and clan. He belonged to the nation as a whole. He was indeed *Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele*.

Poetry Inspired by the Occasion

The poetry written and recorded to commemorate Mqhayi commands attention because of the numerous allusions to his life, works and times. Two of the poets are especially significant, not only because of the poems they wrote but also because of the titles attached to their names. D. L. P. Yali-Manisi styles himself *Imbongi Entsha* (The New Bard).³ James J. R. Jolobe is frequently referred to as *Imbongi Yomnqamlezo* (The Bard of the Cross). The titular designation of these two poets suggests that they may be regarded as pre-eminently developing for and transmitting to the succeeding generation two stylistic themes of Mqhayi's poetry viz. the oral declamation and the contemplative and lyrical written poem. These two modes of expression reflect in turn the interaction of indigenous Xhosa forms with the European literature learned in the schools and the church institutions.

J. J. R. JOLOBE

Jolobe's work is important not only because of the theological tendencies of his poetry, a trait also prominent in Mqhayi—but also because of his strikingly literary style. In most of his work he is demonstrably not an oral declaimer addressing his assembled countrymen. He is a writer who communicates with his audience through the medium of the written page.

In the poem Imbongi YeSizwe,4 composed as a tribute to Mqhayi in 1945, Jolobe contextualizes the life and work of the subject. The poem opens by calling attention to the shocking news of the death of the poet laureate and says a word-following the formula on such occasions—on behalf of writers of books. He notes Mghayi's distinguished place in Xhosa literature by invoking the image of a blood transfusion. In another place he advocates that the first half of the twentieth century should be regarded as the 'age Mghayi' by those interested in South African iiterature in the Nguni languages. This suggestion is in deference to Mqhayi's unique contribution to literary Xhosa both as linguist and author. The burst of creativity, observed Jolobe, represented by such writers as Tiyo Soga, Gqoba and Rubusana seemed to have abated. Then Mghayi appeared on the literary scene, with his classic Ityala Lamawele (1914). Jolobe notes that written literature lacked vigor and elan at the beginning of the century. It was disappointing to observe that the Xhosa spoken by many of the 'schooled people' left much to be desired. The syntax and idiom was halting. It lacked the pristine elegance of spoken Xhosa: kwisininzi sabafundisiweyo khona nokuyithetha ngomlomo kwakuqhwalela.

Eulogies

It is clear that *Imbongi Yesizwe* was composed by Jolobe with the lines quoted at the beginning of this chapter in mind. Certain phrases are reminiscent of the paragraph of poetry with which Mqhayi closed his *Ityala LamaWele*: The structure of Jolobe's poem is built around Mqhayi's lines. The evidence emanates from the following phrases:

...ihambile iMbongi yeSizwe (...the Poet Laureate has taken a trip)

Ufudukile umphakathi enxuweni elidala...

(The councillor has moved his residence from the old site)...

Imkile intw' enkulu yasemaZimeni...

(The great fellow of the Zima clan has departed (i.e. gone home))

The structure and theme of the poem seeks to capture the spirit of Mqhayi's work and life. Jolobe devotes a substantial portion of the poem to a series of eulogies. This is a stylistic feature which characterized much of Mqhayi's 'oral' declamations. The use of the eulogistic flashings contrasts much with the religious, reflective, and narrative poetry of which Jolobe is a distinguished exponent. It is no accident that Jolobe is known by the title *Imbongi Yomnqamlezo* (the bard of the Cross). Even when Jolobe relies heavily on the traditional format, he impresses it into service of the Christian themes dear to his heart. In his portrayal of an *imbongi*—his poetic gestures, his garb and insignia—Jolobe⁵ envisages the deceased Mqhayi, a man of the Christian persuasion, as now performing in the realms above, where his eulogistic namings are used to praise Jesus the Christ.

Seminal ideas

In the final section of the poem Jolobe alludes briefly to the high lights of Mqhayi's life—his youth and the early conception of the seminal

ideas which became Ityala Lamawele, his formal education at Lovedale, the influence W. B. Rubusana had on his career, his services to the Ndlambe tribal chiefs, his editorship of Izwi LabaNtu (The Voice of the People) and Imvo zabaNtsundu (Black (or Brown) People's Opinion), linguistic work in co-operation with W. G. Bennie in standardising Xhosa orthography and grammar, disagreements with his superiors at Lovedale, and finally his literary works.

YALI-MANISI

Other poets deal at some length with the various aspects of Mqhayi's life. Yali-Manisi, however, should be singled out as a modern poet whose oral style contrasts sharply to Jolobe's literary style. With him immediacy and concreteness of imagery is not a literary device that is resorted to only occasionally. It is of the very substance and spirit of the performance; and carries over even to the written page. Where Jolobe clearly intends to be read and thought about, Yali-Manisi's purpose, in his works, is to be heard, seen and sensed.

Yali-Manisi devotes two poems to the declamation of Mqhayi. His nuances and allusions are based on and are steeped in the Xhosa culture. He sings about the same things as Jolobe. But he goes into greater depth and detail. The genealogical origins of Mqhayi occupy the introductory prose to the poem composed while Mqhayi lived and was at the height of his career. A quick reference is made to his literary exploits and the outstanding quality of his prose and poetry. To capture its flavour, an idiom is invoked:

Asimnandi (isiXhosa sakhe) simyoli inqweme lentulo kubaThwa.

(So elegent (is his Xhosa) it is to be compared to the taste of a monitor's tripe to the San people)

Pictorial representations

Yali-Manisi's poem is in the modern format borrowed from European versification. The poem is divided into verses of eight lines each. Yet the traditional heroic poetry techniques sustain the movement within and between the verses. The opening verse is a mosaic of pictorial representations of the man, Mqhayi. It consists entirely of a series of eulogies. In the rest of the verses, the narrative elements and other literary devices are subjugated to the strong beat of the elaborate eulogistic namings which fall over each other like a torrent. In the process the actions and the accountings by which Mqhayi earned the status of being a hero are flashed forth. The enumeration includes some aspects neglected by Jolobe.

The main thrust of the first poem is Mqhayi's fame. Hence the eulogy 'So-Dumangashe' (One—like-a-famous-(race)-horse). Images of power and alacrity are invoked by this eulogy. Mqhayi's base of operations was the domain of the Ngqika sub-group of the Xhosa-speaking peoples. Yet it is claimed that he had an impact beyond the Orange river, the Vaal river, and throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. His political wisdom and service to the various Xhosa clans is lauded. He performed at the court of the paramount chief of amaNgqika as well as in the high places of the splinter group, ama-Ndlambe (see his poem Aa! Silimela!), while he worked for the unity of the tribes against a common enemy. Being of Thembu origin himself, he performed at Qamata, the Great Place of Kaiser Matanzima (Aa! Daliwonga!). At the end, the poem which began with the phrase:

Ithi ke imbongi entsha ngaye...(Thus speaks the New Bard of Him...) ends with:

Iyatshonel' imbong' entsha, Ngelizw' elingenabutsha. Nci-ncincilili

(The New Bard makes his exit With a statement that lacks newness Ncincilili: a typical Mqhayi concluding formula)

Call to Customary Observances

Yali-Manisi's second poem⁷ performed on the occasion of the death of Mqhayi shares the structural features of the earlier poem. Its theme is similar to the one by Jolobe. Towards the climax, the bard calls upon the various sub-kingdoms of the Xhosa territories to perform the customary observances on the demise of a heroic figure:

Namhla wisan' inkabi yenkomo, Nizilel' imBongi yakwaGompo; Yipheleken' imBongi yeSizwe, Igoduk' iye kweleminyanya, Apho kuhlel' abahle bezizwe.

Today strike down an ox,

And mourn (fast) for the Bard of the Gompo (Border) area; Perform the obsequies for the Bard of the People (the Nation) That he should go home to the land of the ancestors, Where live the blessed (beautiful) ones of the nations.

Yali-Manisi then attempts to dull the pain and anguish over the loss by way of a contemplative verse as he exhorts his listeners not to be sorrowful unto death or fear of death:

Le nt' ikukuf' asiyoNgqawule, Yint' eyasekwa kwa sendalweni; Kwath' ukufa oku kwagosiswa, Kambe nathi sisaya kwa lapho.

This thing which is death is not at all like the Nongqawuse debacle, It is something that was instituted at the very creation;
Right back there death was dignified and hallowed
Indeed we too are bound that way



The grave of Mqhayi at Ntabozuko near Berlin, some twelve miles from King William's Town. The monument was unveiled on Easter Monday, 26th March, 1951. According to one chronicler, a great thunderstorm broke over the thousands of people assembled. So violent was the lightning and rain, that the ceremony had to be curtailed. The hill is now (1975) considerably more afforested than when this photograph was taken.

The tensions of the poem are resolved in the final verse. Mqhayi is perceived as going from glory to greater glory. He has graduated to the status of an ancestral spirit and mediator between the living and the dead. In Jolobe's words, Mqhayi still lives in the hearts of readers:

Ugama lifukanyw' ezintliziyweni zeemfundi.

He-whose-name-is enshrined in the hearts of educated-ones.

ADOLPHOUS Z. T. MBEBE and St. J. PAGE YAKO

A fuller impression of Mqhayi's life and times is gained by a review of the poems written in *Indyebo kaXhosa* (edited by G. Soya Mama⁷) by Adolphous Z. T. Mbebe and the Rev. St. J. Page Yako.

There is also a longer poem published in *African Studies* (September, 1951) written by Lettie G. N. Tayedzerhwa and translated by F. S. M. Mncube. Tayedzerhwa seems to be a Xhosa speaker domiciled in Rhodesia.

Adolphous Z. T. Mbebe's poem is entitled 'Ngomfi S. E. Krune Mqhayi'.⁸ The influence of English poetic forms—such as were learned in Church schools⁹—is evident in Mbebe's poem. The poem is divided into stanzas consisting of eight lines each. Mbebe experiments with rhyme. However, the rhyme scheme ab, ab, cc, dd set up in the first stanza is abandoned in the rest of the stanzas. In this modern poem, Mbebe cites some modern topics which Mqhayi treated in his inimitable prose and poetic style.

Concerning the first World War, Mbebe says

Kuba imigewu ib' igquba phezolo, Waphum' umlisela ucima loo mlilo.

For (only) the night before the strangers were raising dust And so the flower of our youth went out to put out the fire.

Walimal' uMendi wakrun' iintliziyo' Seva kwaloo Krune eboph' iintliziyo.

Then the (troopship) Mendi came to grief and broke our hearts; And we listened to that same Krune uttering words of comfort.

This is a reference to two well known poems by Mqhayi, 'Umkhosi wemiDaka' and 'uMendi'—one a hortatory and bitterly satiric poem; the other a dirge mourning the tragedy of the Mendi's sinking during a fog in the English Channel. Mbebe praises Mqhayi not only for his books of prose and poetry but also for his translations into Xhosa of books written in English and Afrikaans viz. *Incwadi Yolimo, UAggrey umAfrika* and *UAdonisi waseNtlango*.

The sixth anniversary of Mghayi's death was celebrated by St. J. Page Yako with a long poem in blank verse. The celebration is linked, in the poet's mind, with the memorial service for 'the prophet' Ntsikana which had been held a few months before the composition of the poem. The memorial to the first notable Xhosa convert to Christianity and composer of the first Xhosa literary piece attributed to an individual—a hymn—was an event observed year by year in much of Mghayi's adult life. Mghayi's own first literary pieces, 'UNtsikana' and 'Izwe lakwaNdlambe', published in 1897, were poems which earned for this author the title 'Imbongi yakwaGompo' (The pre-eminent Bard of the Gompo area). The title given to him by W. B. Rubusana in East London was altered and made more comprehensive by an editor of a Johannesburg paper, 10 Selope-Tema. Soon afterwards Mqhayi became known as 'Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele' (The Bard of the Whole Nation). When the memorial to Ntsikana became an institution dear to the leaders in cultural affairs, Mghayi wrote a monograph on it viz. 'Isikhumbuzo sikaNtsikana' (The Ntsikana Memorial).

The linking of the Ntsikana memorial to the Mqhayi memorial is important to Yako because, among other things, a young poet by the name of Yali-Manisi distinguished himself as an oral performer on both these occasions which were observed in 1951. Yako draws attention to Yali-Manisi in the first two stanzas as well as two other stanzas in the body of the poem. There had been keen competition among the budding poets during the Ntsikana memorial held at Grahamstown:

Ingamahali-hali iimbongi zifun' ukugwazana loo mhla...

There were anxious moments that day as the bards seemed aggressive towards each other...

Zimiswe kubi yimbongi kaDaliwonga Kwada kwalaml' eyomnqamlezo xa ziza kukrazulana

Being outshone by Daliwonga's bard (i.e., Kaiser Matanzima's)
Then the-one-of-the-cross intervened just before they tore each other
up

Jolobe, the 'bard of the cross', then announced that there would be another occasion for such fierce competition—at Mqhayi's homestead. When the appointed day came some notables were conspicious by their absence. Among those who declined the formal invitations were such distinguished persons as Mr. Honono of Nqabara, Mr. Mahlasela of Grahamstown, Mr. Jordan of *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* fame, as well as Mr. Cingo from the Boer territory of the Free State, and Mr. Mkize, head of the Langa high school in Cape Town. These names are mentioned in the poem because these men would have graced the occasion even more by their presence. Says Yako:

lingqonyela zezikolo ezikhulu zaba zizigogo
Nomdaka kaHonono eNqabara wazilandulela,
Wathi yena akanamfazi usaziphekela,
Nenxele likaMahlasela eRini labhebheta,
Lathi lisaya phi na limvile nje uManisi,
Kuba ngomhla waseRhini walibamba lema nelanga;
NoCingo kumaDlagusha wazilandulela;
Esithi nge yeThupha uza kuthi gxada eOxford phesheya kwamaza,
Kwingqungquthela yosapho lukaDyan Wesile.
Zonke zase zithumel' okaJolobe,
Kuba yena ulixhwele lesibhaio esitsha sesiXhosa.

The principals of the great schools became coy; Even the dark-one, son of Honono at Napabara excused himself, Pleading that he had no wife and still cooks for himself, The south-paw, son of Mahlasela of Grahamstown, too, declined vigorously,

And said there is no need to hear Manisi again,
Because he performed so well at Grahamstown that he stopped the
sun.

Even Cingo in the land of the Sheep-Eaters declined; Saying he would go to Oxford, overseas, in August, For a Conference of the Wesleyan denomination. All sent (the son of) Jolobe to represent them Because he is an expert in the new orthography.

Yako goes on to say:

Yiyo le mbongi eyoyikwa nguMkize eKapa. Be ndimmemile aze kubon' umzi utyityimba.

NoJodani weNgqumbo Yeminyanya akabonanga nto Oko angalubonang' udini lukaYali-Manisi, Elekuza efun' ukuhlaba nezulu lamazulu.
NoMdledle wazifihla kwaSomgxada, Esoyikela loo mpandla yakhe!
Ingaqhunyiselwa luthuli lukaManisi.

It is this same bard who is feared by Mkize of Cape Town. I had invited him to come and witness a festive social occasion

Even Jordan of 'The Wrath of the Ancestors' has seen nothing Since he has not seen the edge of Yali-Manisi's hair, As he gestured and acted up as if to stab the heaven of heavens. Even Mdledle hid himself at Lovedale Fearing for his egg-head Lest Manisi's dust should fall on and soil it.

It is quite evident from the above passages that Yali-Manisi was and is an extra-ordinary performer of *izibongo* and deserves to be designated 'Imbongi Entsha' now that Mqhayi is gone. The latter part of the poem focusses at length on the imaginative description of Mqhayi's tombstone and the hill, Ntabozuko (Mount Glory), on which he pitched his tent and then established his residence. The poem is sustained by concrete images and a great amount of detail is lavished on the depiction of people and places as a means of identifying them.

LETTIE G. N. TAYEDZERHWA

The September 1951 issue of the Journal, *African Studies*, contains a long poem (nine verses of twenty lines each). It was evidently inspired by the news of the obsequies observed on March 26, 1951. Running right through the poem is a mournful refrain. Introduced in the

first verse as 'Imbongi yesizwe itshabile' (The National Bard is no more), the refrain is slightly altered whenever it is repeated by one persona or another. There are romantic elements in the poem as Mghayi's death is mourned in turn by:

the Rhodesians (i.e., Zimbabweans) who claim Mghayi as their own:

Uyabangwa sithi eMbembesi

We of the Zambesi valley claim you;

The animals of forest and veld:

the owl and umcelu representing the birds of the sky;

the fish and monsters of the deep.

The script for the spokesmen of each of these groups reads:

Imbongi yakwaNtu itshabile

The Bard of the Bantu peoples is deceased;

Imbongi yesizw' iphuthunyiwe!

The national bard has been fetched;

Yhu- imbongi yesizw' itshabile

Yhu! the national bard is deceased

Imbongi yesizw' ibiziwe!

The national bard has been recalled; and finally

'Kutshaba kwembongi kuyimasi!

The death of a bard stuns!

The poetess asserts that the impact of Mqhayi's work transcended the natural boundaries of geography and species. The Zimbabweans figuratively request that Mghayi's head should be brought across the South African border and be buried on the Mattopo Hills where the remains of Cecil John Rhodes (the empire builder) rest with much less moral justification. The Zimbabweans, claims Tayedzerhwa, would even like to deify and worship Mqhayi on the ground thus re-consecrated:

Ngabula nina nathetha nave! Thina sifun' ukumbhedesha. Mshologundini wabaNtsundu!

We envy you who spoke with him! In our part we would fain worship him. Thou Revered Spirit of the Brown people!

The final claim in the final verse is that as a bard Mghayi has no peer in the past, the present as well as the future.

¹S. E. K. Mqhayi, Ityala Lamawele. (Lovedale, 1931 edition), p.143.

pp.21-7. 8ibid., pp.121-123, 'Umfi u-Samuel Edward Krune Mghayi'.

10see S. E. K. Mqhayi: Umqhayi waseNtabozuko, (Lovedale, 1939), p.65/66.

JANUARY

SPECIAL ISSUE ON LUSAKA

by Margaret Nash

FEBRUARY

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONVENTION

compiled by Shirley Moulder

SOON

MISSIONARIES: CONQUERORS OR SERVANTS OF GOD

by Monica Wilson

LITANY ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

All sing: Someone's crying Lord, Kumba yah

Leader: Someone's crying Lord, somewhere

Some is millions, somewhere in many places

There are tears of suffering

There are tears of weakness and disappointment

There are tears of strength and resistence

There are tears of the rich, and the tears of the poor

Someone's crying Lord, redeem the times.

All sing: Someone's dying Lord, Kumba yah

Some are dying of hunger and thirst Leader:

Someone is dying because somebody else is

enjoying

Too many unnecessary and superfluous things Someone is dying because people go on exploiting

Some are dying because there are structures and

systems

Which crush the poor and alienate the rich

Someone's dying Lord

Because we are still not prepared to take sides

To make a choice, to be a witness Someone's dying Lord, redeem the times.

All sing: Someone's shouting Lord, Kumba yah

Someone's shouting out loudly and clearly Leader:

Someone has made a choice

Someone is ready to stand up against the times

Someone is shouting out

Offering his very existence in love and anger

To fight death surrounding us

To wrestle with the evils with which we crucify

each other

Someone's shouting Lord, redeem the times.

All sing: Someone's praying Lord, Kumba yah

Someone's praying Lord Leader:

We are praying in tears and anger

In frustration and weakness

In strength and endurance

We are shouting and wrestling

As Jacob wrestled with the angel

And was touched

And was marked

And became a blessing.

We are praying Lord

Spur our imagination

Sharpen our political will.

Through Jesus Christ you have let us know where

you want us to be

Help us to be there now

Be with us, touch us, mark us, let us be a blessing Let your power be present in our weakness

Someone's praying Lord, redeem the time.

All sing: Someone's praying Lord, Kumba yah

South African Outlook

²A. C. Jordan, Towards an African Literature; The Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa, (Los Angeles, 1973), pp.104-5.

³see the title page of his book, Izibongo Zeenkosi zamaXhosa, (Lovedale, 1952).

⁴James J. R. Jolobe, Umyezo, (Witwatersrand University Press, 1965), pp.86-7.

⁶A photograph of Mqhayi shows him appropriately accoutred: facing p.5 of ITyala. ⁶see *Izibongo zeenkosi zamaXhosa*, pp.106-109.

⁷G. Soya Mama (ed.), Indyebo kaXhosa (Die Afrikanse Pers Beperk, Jhb., 1951)

⁹Until the passage of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, 95% of African education was church controlled, though the Government paid the teachers' salaries. Ministers of Religion acted as managers of schools.

Interview with Herbert Mqhayi

R. G. S. Makalima

In this interview, specially undertaken for Outlook, Mr. R. G. S. Makalima of the University of Fort Hare was able to make contact with the one surviving son of Mqhayi.

THE AFTERNOON of Wednesday, 8 October 1975 found Prof. Clive Millar and myself heading for Zwelitsha near King William's Town. Our mission was to find a certain Herbert Mqhayi, son of the one and only **Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi**, Xhosa poet and writer. 1975 being the centenary year of the birth of the famous poet, we were trying to find out from his sole surviving son information which might be of interest to readers of *Outlook*.

Finding Herbert's home was easy. Everyone, young and old, seemed to know house No. 572 in Zone 4 and to know the teacher living there. The pleasant lady who met us at the door might be Herbert's wife, she might even be his daughter.

Are you looking for Mr. Mqhayi? He is not at home, is always away during the week. He is teaching at Tamara; comes back every Friday and goes back on Sundays.

What is the name of the school where he is teaching?

Gold Secondary School. It is only about twelve miles away.

Well, seeing it is only that far, we might as well try to find him there.

Ask anyone in the village; they are sure to direct you.

Off we went in the direction of Peddie and Grahamstown. Exactly twenty-five minutes and 20 kilometres later, a turn-off to the right took us to a beautifully situated school and the end of our search. Notwithstanding that it was five o'clock in the afternoon, quite a few teachers (and not a few classes) were only then dispersing, a phenomenon common to all black secondary schools—such is the shortage of teachers. Nevertheless, for our purpose, it made it easy to find Herbert. Herbert Mqhayi was glad to see us after so many years. He was still the same friendly person. The firm hand-shake was still there. Looking at his spare figure and his smooth face one would hardly guess that he had been around for all of sixty-five years, a fact which we knew without being told, because his topical names **Comet Zatshoba** (Halley's comet) gave him away.

As soon as we were seated, the interview began.

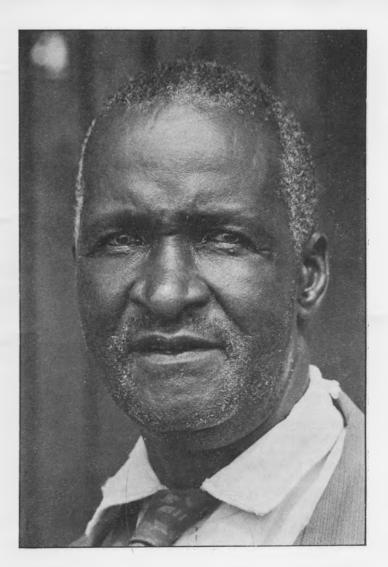
How many children of the poet are still alive?

I am the sole surviving child. Both my sister *Beulah Nohle* (later the wife of the writer Guybon Sinxo) and my brother *Bomoyi* died long ago. My other sister, *Valencia Zinziswa* (wife of Mr. A. M. Lesoli of Qacha's Nek, Lesotho) died in 1973.

Were you four children of the same mother?

No. Actually, my father was twice married. His first wife, Notayi Cukudu of the Tshawe clan was the mother of Beulah, Bomoyi and myself. When she died, Mqhayi married *Nongamile*, daughter of chief Silimela Makinana of the Ndlambe. Valencia was the only issue of this marriage.

We notice that Mqhayi was buried at Ntabozuko near Berlin. Who was responsible for the erection of the tombstone we see there?



Herbert Mqhayi, sole surviving son of Samuel Krune Mqhayi

Contributions came from his family, from members of the public and from the Ntsikana Memorial Society of which he was a leading member since its inception. While on that point, I would like to express the gratitude of the Mqhayi family to all these people and to my late sister Valencia who secured the grave and tombstone against damage.

What has happened to the monument now? Is Ntabozuko still your property?

No, we were obliged, in the face of new developments, to sell the property; but I must say that the farmer who bought it pledged that the monument would not be interfered with and that free access would be granted to anyone who desired to see it.

Were you present when your father Mqhayi died?

It was fortunate that when he died, in July 1945, it was just two months after I had been demobilised from the army and I was already back in the classroom at Queenstown.

Were there any other organisations, besides the Ntsikana Memorial Society of which he was a leading member?

The only other organisation in which he took a leading part was the Eastern Cape branch of the I.O.T.T. He was never greatly involved in serious organizations, although he attended many of their meetings. He always said that not being deeply involved in any movement enabled him to comment impartially on them in his praise songs.

Many black writers of the first decades of the twentieth century complained about lack of reader support for their works and that printing and publishing firms, fearing lest the books should not sell well, often paid the writer a nominal sum for his manuscript and then took over the publishing rights for themselves. Did Mqhayi experience this in connection with any of his works?

Not as far as I am aware. I would go so far as to say that royalties are still paid annually to my step-mother, Nongamile, now living near the Ndlambe Great Place.

A final question: To what would you attribute Mqhayi's tremendous success as a writer?

I think my father was an inspired man. He drew his inspiration from his faith in Christ, his admiration for the customs and traditions of his people, his hope for the betterment of the lot of his people and his love for humanity. These were the driving forces behind many of his most spontaneous utterances...

It was dark when Herbert accompanied us to the nearest road junction ('so that you should not take a wrong turning') and we left him feeling that our trip had been worthwhile.

Rambling thoughts about Mqhayi the Writer

R. G. S. Makalima

In this vivid reminiscence, Mr Makalima places Mqhayi in context as one of the greatest Xhosa literary figures.

THE MEETING with Herbert (who incidentally is the very image of his father) brought back vivid memories of the man who, more than anyone else, inspired men and women to devote themselves to the writing of books in Xhosa. I first came to know Mqhayi through his annual visits to the Boys' Boarding Department at Lovedale, which was his Alma Mater. Whether by accident or by design, his visits were always at the time when the students were just back from classes after one o'clock. By the time they poured out of the dining hall, he would be singing praises from the window of dormitory 2 upstairs. Word would pass round that the national poet was around and meals would be polished off in indecent haste. 'Au! Au!' the enthusiastic response of the audience would spur him on and the flood gates of his eloquence would burst open. He would declaim about the sharing of the stars. The insignificant stars were allotted to all the other nations of South Africa, but what was allotted to the Xhosa nation was always kept back for the end and loud applause would follow his last lines:

Thina maXhosa sobelana ngeSilimela, Kuba yiy' inkwenkwezi yokubal' iminyaka yobudoda.

We Xhosas will have the Pleiades
The stars that count the years of manhood.

This, then, was the man who is counted amongst the greatest Xhosa writers in South Africa. This was the man who was the first writer to bare the soul of the Xhosa people. The appearance of this new star in the firmament highlighted the shortcomings in the Xhosa literature of the era that had gone before him. What books there had been were the work of foreign writers who had no insight into the deeper thoughts, beliefs, hopes and fears of the people. It needed a Xhosa man to penetrate into the depths of the minds of his people and bring their ideas to the surface. Mqhayi did just that.

Secondly, Mqhayi was remarkable for the versatile nature of his works. He tried his hand at novels, poems, history, biography and translation. It was because of his poetic skill that his praise poems were on a higher level than those of other praise poets who were noted for their declamations on ceremonial occasions. Their poems often lacked unity, contained long passages without matter and had no logical sequence. Not so Mqhayi! In both his praise songs and in his serious poems, he usually had one central theme with a new thought in every line or group of lines. Even his praise poems were devoid of meaningless repetitions. An illustration of this can be found in his two poems on the Mendi disaster. In the first poem *UMendi* he bade farewell, on behalf

of the nation, to the volunteers who had enlisted in the First World War and gave them advice on how to tackle the many tasks to be performed in the war theatre. In the second poem, *Ukutshona kukaMendi* (The Sinking of the Mendi), he expressed the nations's condolence with the families of the victims of the disaster. Even there, the poem was singularly free from digressions.

It has often been said of Shakespeare that he was a 'mirror of life'. Likewise, Mqhayi reflected the prevailing attitudes and beliefs of the people of his times. Nowhere is this clearer than in the sentiments frequently expressed in the *Mendi* poems. Cynics had often expressed the opinion that in both these poems Mqhayi was pandering to British imperialistic sentiments, but all he did was to bring out the prevailing attitudes towards Britain of the black people, many of whom were bedazzled by the power of its empire. It mattered not to them that their forefathers had laid down their lives to prevent the spread of that very empire: they were carried away by the image of Queen Victoria. Mqhayi, therefore, was only giving expression to their admiration when he cried out:

Besingobani na thina bomthina, Ukuba singanced' ukumkani waseBritani, Ingangalala engatshonelwa langa, Int' elawul' umhlaba nolwandle, Kungoku nesibhakabhak' isingxamele?

Who are we to come to the help of the King of Britain, A Colossus on whose domains the sun never sets, He who rules the earth and the waves, Who even has designs on the skies?

Another striking characteristic of Mqhayi's was his use of metaphor and subtle innuendo as a means of expressing protest. He was never one to set the Thames on fire over any issue. Instead, when he noticed the slightest signs of injustice to his people, he set out their resentment in verse. The poem, *UMbambushe* is an excellent example of this. Read literally, the poem deals with a dog that was pampered by its owner, King Mlawu. He even threatened to put to death any of his subjects who would dare to punish Mbambushe for biting him. But one day the king himself was attacked by the dog, and great was the commotion that followed. This time the dog was destroyed.

The fact of the matter was that Mqhayi was aiming a broadside at the British authority for giving in, in 1910, to the demands of the Northern colonies for the total exclusion of the black people from the major citizenship rights of their country. In terms of the poem, Mlawu is the British authority, Mbambushe represents the Northern colonies and Mlawu's subjects (who were at the mercy of Mbambushe) were the

black population of the country. At the same time, Mqhayi makes an innocent prediction that one day the master who pampers the dog will have occasion to regret his actions. (How about that I)

One of Mqhayi's works has come under the spotlight as a result of the most recent developments in the political and constitutional field. This is the travel novel 'UDon Jadu' which is presumed by some to have been inspired by the educational tours of Don Tengo Jabavu, one of the first two men to teach at Fort Hare. Part II of the book outlines a Xhosa nation which has become a self-governing territory under a superior power (like the Union or Great Britain) as supervisor. The details of the constitution, the laws and the practices in the self-governing state of Mnandi (Land of Delight) seem to be a blue-print for the experimental states that are coming into being now, some forty years after Mqhayi made his seemingly far-fetched proposals. Whether the proposals were original or a result of contact with some fancy idealist of that time, we do not know. What we do know is that the autobiography UMghayi

waseNtabozuko was written after the author was approached by Professor Westermann, a German linguistics expert working in West Africa at that time.

In conclusion, an appreciation of Mqhayi's work cannot be complete without a remark on his masterly skill in translation. In *UAdonisi wase-Ntlango* (translated from Hobson's animal story in Afrikaans) the reader is so carried away by Mqhayi's graceful Xhosa that he soon forgets that the story was not written in Xhosa in the first place, but in Afrikaans. So natural is the Xhosa used, and so appropriate is it to the situations described that the reader experiences the situations in which the animals found themselves. The book puts Mqhayi in a class of his own as a translator.

The above are only random impressions we have of a man about whom Jordan observed that 'his contribution to Southern Bantu Literature is easily the largest and most valuable that has hitherto been made by any single writer.'

S. E. K. Mqhayi: his Life

R. H. W. Shepherd

We reprint here a short biography of S. E. K. Mqhayi from the late Dr. Shepherd's book, Bantu Literature and Life (Lovedale Press).

FEW MEN have been more honoured among the African people than was S. E. K. Mqhayi, whom Xhosa-speaking men loved to call 'ImBongi yesiZwe Jikelele.' His contributions to Xhosa literature as poet, historian, biographer and translater were abundant and outstanding in quality, and by them and in other ways he helped in no small measure to stabilise and purify the Xhosa language.

Fortunately, among his many books, he wrote the story of his own life, *UMqhayi waseNtab'ozuko*. It is an entrancing story, tracing his descent from notable forbears, recording his own mental and spiritual development, and giving vivid pen-pictures of African life in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

His forbears fled from the north and settled at Sheshegu in the Ciskei. An ancestor, Mqhayi, was taken by Chief Ngqika to be a councillor of the great place. Members of the family accepted the Gospel and were, helpers of the missionaries. This was particularly the case with Ziwani the father of the poet.

Samuel was born in the Tyumie Valley, at Gqumahashe, on 1st December, 1875. He came under the influence of such ministers as Rev. E. Makiwane and Rev. P. J. Mzimba, and of notable men like Mr. Tengo Jabavu and Mr. Joseph Fondini. The last mentioned was an outstanding teacher, who bestowed on Samuel the additional name Edward. Samuel was a boy of independent mind, lonely observant, hard-working. He was also playful and mischievous, and on occasion got into serious scrapes, and sometimes led his companions into similar difficulties...

When he was nine years of age his father removed to Centane, to be near an uncle, Ngonzana. In the six years Samuel spent in the Centane district he learned much respecting Xhosa life and customs, as well as the refinements of the Xhosa language. He became specially interested in lawsuits at the Great Place. These experiences gave him the material for his classic book, *Ityala LamaWele*. In later life he declared, 'I thank my father for taking me to Centane, for it was the means of my getting an insight into the national life of my people. I attended school in that country, but my schooling was often broken by my having to herd stock.' His desire to learn, however, was such that he left no stone unturned to obtain education; any book or even paper tossed about by the wind, he would pick up and study carefully, whether it was in English or Xhosa. He aimed specially at a good knowledge of the Scriptures.

His father left Centane for Grahamstown, where he was prominent in church affairs. But Samuel's sisters came to Centane and took him away. At King William's Town a pair of trousers and a jacket were bought for him. The following day he reached Lovedale. Here he was put to school, and in time entered on a course of training that would fit

him to be a teacher. He was admitted to church membership, and came under the influence of various prominent men, including his grandfather Krune, who lived in the Tyumie Valley.

When he left Lovedale, he accepted a post as a teacher in East London, but his interests were not wholly in teaching. He became secretary of the congregation of Rev. W. B. Rubusana and of the Vigilance Association. This gave him an introduction to social questions and matters of race relations, particularly as they affected black and white. He began to contribute to the Xhosa paper, *Izwi Labantu*. His first contributions were 'The Country of the Ndlambe's' and 'Ntsikana.' Soon he was known as 'The Gompo Poet', and later, 'The Poet of the Race'.

A few years afterwards he published a pamphlet entitled Samson. The edition was soon sold out, and people spoke in high terms of it.

He settled as a teacher among the Ndlambe tribe, and later moved to Macleantown. Of his stay at the latter he makes the significant remark, 'I had many enemies here, but because I was always busy and did not treat them as enemies they were powerless.'

For a time he assisted in editing *Imvo ZabaNtsundu*. This was followed by a period as a teacher at Lovedale.* A new interest arose when Mr. W. G. Bennie, the Chief Inspector for Native Education in the Cape, sought his collaboration in regard to points of Xhosa usage, grammar and vocabulary. He also became a member of the Board entrusted with the revision of the Xhosa Bible.

A turning-point was the publication of *Ityala Lamawele*, which appeared ultimately in two editions, a longer and a shorter one. This book made him renowned among his people.

In later life Mr. Mqhayi settled at Tilana's Hill, on the main road between King William's Town and East London. This he named 'Ntab' ozuko' (Mount of Glory). From this as centre he travelled widely among his people, of whom, both illiterate and educated, he had deep knowledge. He attended innumerable gatherings and was always welcome, especially in the role of *Imbongi*.

At 'Ntab'ozuko' he died on 29th July, 1945, and was buried there two days later. Some time afterwards a great gathering was held at his grave, for the unveiling of a memorial to his memory. Thus it is now customary for many, when they pass the village of Berlin on their way to East London, to look for the monument that marks the resting-place of one of the most noted African men of letters.

^{*}In a tribute to Mqhayi, (S.A. Outlook. June 1973 p.99) A. C. Jordan says of his leaving Lovedale that 'during the few years in the world Mqhayi's views on South African History and how it should be taught in African Schools had undergone such modification that he found himself compelled either to be false to his own convictions and teach history as the authorities would have him teach it, or to give up teaching altogether. He decided on the latter.'

We reproduce here with acknowledgement to the Lovedale Press, a note written by the late Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, about the origin of the African National Anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and of S. E. K. Mqhayi's part in its composition. The spelling and terms used were those acceptable in 1934 when it was written. The music is obtainable in tonic solfa and staff notation from the Lovedale Press.

WHEN THE BANTU township of Nancefield or Klipspruit (eleven miles west of Johannesburg) was first settled as a suburb of the Rand Municipality, the late Enoch Sontonga (of the Mpinga clan among the Tembu tribes) was a teacher in one of the Methodist Mission Schools. He had a gift for song, and constantly composed pieces, words and music, for the use of his pupils' entertainments. He wrote these down by hand in Tonic Sol-fa on odd sheets of paper, including *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, and eventually collected them into an exercise book, with a view to printing them. This was in and around the years of the Boer War (1899-1902). But he died before his ambition to print was realised. Since then various teachers and choir conductors came to the widow and borrowed the manuscripts, till one friend disappeared with the book collection itself.

Wkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was composed in 1897 and first publicly sung in 1899 at the ordination of the Rev. M. Boweni, a Shangaan Methodist Minister. The occasion was one of wide joy over the fact that a member of the more backward African tribes had attained to the honour of being a clergyman. The composition was inspired by a depressed heart, and the refrain testifies to a somewhat melancholy strain. The black folk around Johannesburg were, at the time, far from happy, by reasons of straitened circumstances and because they felt they were not getting a square deal from the powers that be. The piece was commonly sung in Native Day Schools and further popularised by the Ohlange Zulu Choir of the Secondary School founded by the Rev. J. L. Dube, a choir that visited the Rand giving concerts.

When the African National Congress flourished, its leaders adopted this piece as a closing anthem for their meetings and this soon became a custom in the other provinces in connection with all types of Bantu organisations. Of late the black races of the Union and the Protectorates have somehow by tacit assent adopted it as their recognised national anthem, sung before Royalty and on big public occasions.

Only the first stanza was originally composed by the author, but S. E. K. Mqhayi has, with true poetic ability, made up seven additional stanzas, of which I have here given a free English translation.

The complete words were published in the *Umteteli waBantu* in 1927 (issue June 11th) and during the same year in the book *ImiHobe nemiBongo* (Sheldon Press), and the hymn, two years later, in the Presbyterian Xhosa Hymn Book *Incwadi yamaCulo aseRhabe kunye neNgoma* (Lovedale Press).

The above information has been gathered from a number of old Nancefield residents interviewed separately: William Mbambisa, T. B. Ntlebi, Solomon Govo (men of over seventy years), and Levi Mvabaza, C. S. Mabaso, Mrs. Enoch Sontonga and Mrs. S. Majombozi (nee Makiwane), people of well over fifty, while the clue to these sources was obtained through Samuel E. Mqhayi, the Xhosa National poet.

GOD BLESS AFRICA

Lord, bless Africa May her horn rise high up; Hear Thou our prayers And bless us.

Descend, O Spirit; Descend, O Holy Spirit.

Bless our chiefs; May they remember their Creator, Fear Him and revere Him, That He may bless them.

Bless the public men,
Bless also the youth
That they may carry the land with patience
And that Thou mayst bless them.

Bless the wives And also all young women Lift up all the young girls And bless them.

Bless the ministers Of all the churches of this land; Endue them with Thy Spirit And bless them.

Bless agriculture and stock raising; Banish all famine and diseases; Fill the land with good health And bless it.

Bless our efforts
Of union and self-uplift,
Of education and mutual understanding
And bless them.

Lord, bless Africa; Blot out all its wickedness And its transgressions and sins, And bless it.

Mqhayi: his work - - a bibliography

Patricia E. Scott

This bibliography of Mqhayi's main works was solicited from Patricia E. Scott, who extracted the information from her recently compiled bibliographic work on Mqhayi. This fuller work is to be published early in 1976 by the Department of African Languages, Rhodes University, Grahamstown as Communication No. 5, under the title Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi, 1875-1945: a bibliographic survey.

Miss Scott's bibliography has been compiled from works personally examined by her, from library catalogues, and from various other bibliographic sources. She has pointed out that copies of some of Mqhayi's works are not easily obtainable, and she regrets that not all of the works could be located and examined personally. This appears to be major problem facing any bibliographer of Mqhayi and the early Xhosa literary period. She would appreciate any further detailed bibliographical information.

1907 Biography

U-Samson. Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press. 25p.

(Publication date cited by Wandile Kuse in "Mqhayi: oral bard and author", in this issue of *South African Outlook*, as 1905. Bibliographic information which gives 1907 as the date of publication was drawn from D. D. T. Jabavu's *Bantu literature: classification and reviews*, Lovedale, 1921, p.12.)

1914 Prose work

Ityala lamawele: ngamazwembezwembe akwaGxuluwe. Ushicilelo lwesi-hlanu. Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press. vii, 136p., ports. (The court case of the twins, and other Xhosa stories.).

1921. Biography

U-Sogqumahashe (N.C. Umhalla). Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press. 24p., ill.

(A biography of Chief Nathaniel Cyril Mhala, first editor of Izwi Labantu),

1922 Translation

DOWSLEY, William George

Ulimo, lucazelwe izikolo zase-Afrika eseZantsi. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers. 74p.

(Farming explained for the Southern African schools.)

1923 *Poetry*

I-Bandla IaBantu (Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa). Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press. 15p.

1925 Biography

U-bomi bom-fundisi uJohn Knox Bokwe, ngu S. E. Rune Mqayi. Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press. 92p., ill.

(Life of the Rev. John Knox Bokwe.)

1926 Biography

Isikumbuzo zomPolofiti u-Ntsikana. Johannesburg: Caluza. 33p., ill. (In memory of the prophet Ntsikana.)

1927 National Anthem

"Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika."

The first stanza of the African National Anthem was composed by Enoch Sontonga, but in 1927 Mqhayi published an additional seven stanzas in *Umteteli waBantu*, issue of June 11. This information was supplied by D. D. T. Jabavu in his article "The origin of 'Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika'," which has been reprinted in this number of *South African Outlook*. Jabavu's article originally appeared in 1934 in the Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet No. 17. Further information is given in this Leaflet concerning reprints of Mqhayi's original seven stanzas, as well as the free translation by Jabavu into English of these verses. It should be noted, however, that Mqhayi's stanzas did not appear in the 1929 Presbyterian Xhosa Hymn Book *Incwadi yamaCulo aseRabe kunye ne-Ngoma*, as Jabavu would appear to suggest. The full anthem has been

printed in the most recent edition of the Presbyterian Hymn Book, Incwadi yamaculo amaXhosa (ehlaziyiweyo); egunyaziswe ngamabandla aseRhabe. Ishicilelwe kwilitye lokushicilela lase-Lovedale, 1975. vi, 240p. Hymn no. 370 (A Xhosa hymn book (revised); authorised by the Presbyterian Church.)

1927 Poetry

Imihobe nemibongo yokufundwa ezikolweni. (Xhosa poetry for schools.) London: The Sheldon Press. viii, 116p.

(Songs of exaltation and Iullabies to be learnt at school)

1929 Novel

U-Don Jadu: "ukuhamba yimfundo", imbali yokukhuthaza umanyano nenkqubela phambili. (Lovedale): Lovedale Institution Press. 77p., port.

193? Praise Poem

Ama-gora e-Mendi. Words and music by S. E. K. Mqhayi and A. M. Jonas. Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1p. (Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets No. 20) (Heroes of the Mendi.)

1935 Translation

WILLIAMS, Charles Kingsley

U-Aggrey um-Afrika, ibalwe ngesiNgesi ngu-Mfun. uC. Kingsley Williams; yaza yaguqulelwa esiXhoseni ngu-S. E. K. Mqhayi. London: Sheldon Press. viii, 147p. (Aggrey of Africa.)

1937 Praise Poem

U-Mhlekazi u-Hintsa: um-bongo owashiya izibongo zamadoda ngomnyaka we-1937. Lovedale: Printed by the Lovedale Press. 15p., port. (Praises of Paramount Chief Hintsa.)

1938 Autobiography

Mqhayi's autobiography was published in an abridged form in German before it appeared in Xhosa in 1939. It was included in a volume edited by Dietrich Westermann, Afrikaner erzahlen ihr Leben: Elf Selbstdarstellungen afrikanischer Eingeborener aller Bildungsgrade und Berufe und aus allen Teilen Afrikas. Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt. 407p., ill. "Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi, ein Sudafrikanischer Dichter", p..292-315. A portrait of Mqhayi appears on plate 13.

1939 U-Mqhayi wase-Ntab'ozuko. Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 87p. (Mqhayi of the Mount of Glory.)

1943 Poetry

I-nzuzo. Amazwi okugabula izigcawu enziwe nguRev. R. Godfrey. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press. viii, 96p. (Bantu Treasury 7) (Reward. Things rare and profitable.)

1949 Translation

HOBSON, G. C. and S. B.

U-Adonisi wasentlango: ixulwe kumabali adumileyo, ibhalwe ngu-G. C. no S. B. Hobson; iguqulelwe esiXhoseni ngu-S. E. Krune Mqhayi. (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, pref. 1945, printer's date 1949). 85p., ill. (Translation of *Kees van die Kalahari*, originally published in Afrikaans.)

1975 Praise poems

Two praise poems, originally recorded on a Columbia disc AE 61, by Mqhayi in c. 1932 or 1933, have been transcribed by Professor Jeff Opland. The poems are "A Velile", (Disc label WEA 1833) and "A! Silimela", (Disc label WEA 1826). The transcriptions appear in a paper entitled "Two unpublished poems by S. E. K. Mqhayi," 22p. The paper was read at the Symposium on Contemporary South African Literature, Austin, Texas in March 1975. A revised version is to be published.

It should be borne in mind that the works listed above do not reflect Mqhayi's considerable literary contribution to newspapers and anthologies. Details concerning the newspapers to which he contributed, and those works which appear in anthologies will be found in Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi, 1875-1945: a bibliographic survey.

FOR THE RECORD

CHURCH TARGET TO SET MEN FREE'

It is the function of the state to change economic and political structures, but the Church has an obligation to 'set men free from being either the oppressed or the oppressor', the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Bill Burnett, has said in his monthly letter to Anglicans.

The Archbishop said the desire to 'press for changes needed to bring about a removal of discrimination against people who are not White' was not only a matter of politics.

'Unless, for example, Coloured people are given a proper share in political power and economic opportunity, one may question the wisdom and political realism of our Government's policies.

Failure

'But the failure of White Christians to share opportunities for a full life with fellow Christians who are Black must be a matter of great concern to the Church, What is required is repentance, and the determination to do what is in our power to put right what is wrong.'

Archbishop Burnett said unless the Church used Jesus's

power to set men free it forfeited its reason to exist.

The Argus, 19.12.75.

LET ARMY HAVE FULL SUPPORT-BOTHA

The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, said today it was not in South Africa's interests to 'blurt out' in public all details of the country's military situation.

In a telephone interview from his holiday home at the Wilderness, Mr. Botha said that every right-thinking person would agree with this and he maintained he had so far made statements 'at the right time.'

'What is really needed is that we should make the Defence Force feel that it has the support of the whole nation in its efforts to safeguard the country's territorial integrity.'

Mr Botha said that the situation in Angola gave no reason for panic in South Africa.

'Much as they are regretted, our losses there so far have been quite limited and this has to be taken into account in an assessment of the situation in Angola.'

Kept Informed

Mr Botha said he was being kept informed of the situation in Angola on virtually an hourly basis while he was staying at the Wilderness.

He would not comment on overseas reports that the four South African soldiers being held by the MPLA had been captured north of Cela, near Quibala, which is hundreds of kilometres inside Angola.

He referred back to his statement yesterday in which he said the men were on logistical duties only and that it was assumed they had lost their way while fetching an unserviceable vehicle and were then taken prisoner by the MPLA.

In a broadcast by Radio Luanda which was monitored and broadcast by the SABC last night, one of the captured men said he had gone in to repair a vehicle.

Mr Botha said that services needed to keep an army in the field such as transport and food were understood as logistic help.

He paid a warm tribute to the high morale of South African troops in the operational zone on the border which he visited recently.

He emphasised that there had been no general mobilisation of South Africa's defence resources and that a lot, therefore, depended on the organisational ability of the men on the border.

Lifelines

Mr Botha said that the whole of the Western world would need to take note of the Angolan situation. One of the most important lifelines of the Western world, the sea route round the Cape, could be endangered.

All South Africa desired was to have order in Angola. On the other hand South Africa was not prepared to fight the cause of the West there to the last South African.

Mr Botha dismissed reported statements by Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita that South African troops in Angola were his enemies.

In his statement yesterday he said South Africa had taken protective steps on the northern border of South West Africa and at the hydro-electric power station at Calueque.

The Argus, 18.12.75.

NATAL MEDICAL FACULTY IS INSTRUCTED TO REFUSE BLACKS

The University of Natal's medical faculty has been instructed by the Cabinet to refuse to admit any first-year African medical students next year. This spells the beginning of the end of the medical school in its present form.

The Cabinet's instruction to refuse to admit any first-year African medical students next year, means that between 40 and 60 would-be medical students who would have been accepted by the medical school will now be turned down.

According to the Cabinet instruction, the medical school may admit second-year African students up until 1978 This means that the first-year African students who would have been admitted next year will now have to go to non-White colleges for their first-year medical training

Take Over

They may then apply to be admitted as second-year students at the medical school in 1977 and 1978, after which no more African medical students may be admitted.

It is understood that by 1978 the Medical University of South Africa is expected to be able to take over the training of African doctors in South Africa.

However, with a desperate shortage of African doctors in South Africa there are strong feelings that the medical school in Durban should be allowed to continue its work. It is felt that both the medical school and the Medical University of South Africa should be able to undertake the training of African doctors.

Phase Out

It is expected that the university council in Durban will make every effort to negotiate with the Minister of National Education to have the Cabinet's decision revoked.

Already the board of the medical faculty has announced its total opposition to the decision to phase out the admission of African, Indian and Coloured students.

A statement issued by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine Professor P. M. Smythe says the decision will in effect mean the destruction of the medical school in its present form.

He said the board was totally opposed to the Cabinet's decision because its most important function was to contribute to the training of the maximum number of Black doctors.

It urges that it should be allowed to continue to do so in addition to the training of Black doctors which is to take place at the Medical University of South Africa near Pretoria.

The board also believes that the standards it has achieved, have made a significant contribution to the international recognition given to the South African medical profession. The board reiterates its opposition in principle to any form of racial discrimination within the medical profession,' Professor Smythe's statement says.

Decision

The cabinet's decision is being interpreted as a move to phase in White medical students to the medical school in Durban.

There have already been hints that medical schools for the Indian and Coloured groups are to be established at the universities of Durban Westville and Western Cape.

It is felt that the logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that when the admission of African, Indian and Coloured students has been phased out at Durban. White medical students will take their place.

There have been repeated and increasingly urgent calls for the establishment of a White medical school in Natal.

The Argus, 17.12.75.

ANGER AT CLOSURE

Blacks angrily criticised the Government's decision to phase out the medical college for Blacks at the University of Natal as a 'retrogressive step' and as not in the interests of the Black people.

Dr Farook Meer, a leading medical practitioner, said that although the new situation was completely unjustified it was, however, typical of the type of situation Blacks had become used to.

He said the medical college at the University of Natal had after many years reached a stage of respectability not only in South Africa but also in the outside world.

It is said that they must now take away this college at a time when it has been put on the map.

While the Blacks will move into the wilderness. Whites will take over a college that has already achieved recognition and has been built into a topclass institution.

Mr Norman Middleton, Natal leader of the Labour Party said he saw the Government decision as another means of discrimination.

The Argus, 17.12.75.

DANGER WARNING ON CUTS IN BLACK EDUCATION

The South African Progressive Reform Party's chief spokesman on Bantu education, Dr A. L. Boraine, said today the Government's decision to reduce funds available for Black education was 'not only short-sighted but also dangerous.'

Dr Boraine, MP for Pinelands, described Mr K. B Hartshorne's criticism of the Government's decision as 'very courageous.'

Mr Hartshorne, director of education planning in the Department of Bantu Education, voiced his criticism at the graduation ceremony of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Resentment

Dr Boraine said in a statement: 'The majority of Blacks in South Africa have for a long time expressed their resentment at the disparity between the standards and opportunities for White children on the one hand and Black children on the other.

'As recently as the last session of Parliament, I strongly urged the Government to increase spending on Black education.'

His argument had been that it was not only the birthright of every child to have the opportunity of a formal education. but free and compulsory education for Blacks, as in the case of Whites, was necessary because of South Africa's situation.

Unbelievable

'It is unbelievable that the Government should make this decision at this time in our history. I urge the Minister to think again and to find the necessary money and resources to implement free and compusiory education for Black children'. Dr Boraine said.

Mr Hartshorne described the cuts in the funds available for Black education as being a 'false economy.'

He said, morally and practically there was no higher national priority.

'There are some areas in which we cannot afford to save, and Black education is one of them', Mr Hartshorne said.

Imagination

'This is false economy and reveals a lack of courage and imagination. It is not the way to fight inflation.

'We in Black education certainly cannot be charged with wasting money. We have learned to be good house-keepers by hard experience.

'To slow-down the promising developments of the last three years will be short-sighted and dangerous to the country's economic future.'

The Argus, 15.12.75.

JEWISH GRADUATES URGED TO STAY

The Vice-Principal of the University of Cape Town, Professor M. F. Kaplan, yesterday urged Jewish graduates to consider their 'moral obligation' to South Africa before thinking of emigrating to Israel.

Addressing graduates after a graduates' thanksgiving

service at the Great Synagogue, Cape Town. Professor Kaplan said South Africa was in great need of educated people and could not afford to lose university graduates. We have many problems in South Africa and much is going to depend on those with a university education for their solution.

It is the duty of universities to contribute to the highest development of the national community and it is not unreasonable for a country to expect some service from those who have received a university education largely at the expense of their fellow citizens.'

They had a 'moral obligation' in this regard.

Professor Kaplan said that although university graduates might have strong ideological reasons for wanting to emigrate to Israel, they should rather contribute towards solving the difficult problems facing South Africa or give some service to under-privileged or unjustly treated sections of the population.

Cape Times, 13.12.75.

CENSORSHIP HAS BROUGHT GULF, SAYS ACADEMIC

A leading Afrikaans poet, writer and academic, Professor W. E. G. Louw of the University of Stellenbosch, says South Africa's new censorship system has created 'a virtually unbridgeable gulf' between most Afrikaans writers and the country's legislative and executive authorities.

Writing in the latest issue of the literary journal Standpunte, he says he does not know of any writer of creative work who would have 'rest for his soul' until certain objectionable clauses of the Publications Act have been removed.

Professor Louw's article appeared in the journal after a recent appeal by the Minister of the Interior, Dr C. P. Mulder, for more people to make themselves available to serve on censorship committees.

Professor Louw disclosed in the article that he had been the compiler of a memorandum submitted to Dr Mulder by a deputation of seven influential Afrikaners before the present law was introduced in Parliament.

The memorandum was 'in all sincerity an attempt to stop matters at the eleventh hour.'

Reality

In it a warning was given that if the legislation were allowed to pass without changes it could create a virtually unbridgeable gulf between most Afrikaans writers and the legislative and executive authorities.

Professor Louw said the attempt failed and the 'virtually unbridgeable gulf' had now become reality.

His article in Standpunte, now published for the first time, was based on a paper presented by Professor Louw to the Cape branch of the S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

Professor Louw said the main objection to the publications Act was its abolition of the right of appeal to the courts against censorship decisions. He asked whether, this was not perhaps a case of 'political breach of faith' towards writers and the public.

Promise

A promise had been made in 1963 by former Senator Jan de Klerk when he, as Minister, had piloted the old Publications and Entertainments Act through the Assembly. He had spoken disapprovingly of a system of censorship that took away the right of appeal to the highest court.

Professor Louw said the abolition of the right of appeal was probably the main reason why writers were worried.

The Argus, 1,12.75

NO SPLIT FOR US-BLACK NGK

The African, Coloured and Indian representatives in the multiracial Ned Geref Kerk delegation to Holland have spoken out strongly against its White counterpart's avowed intention to split irrevocably with the mother church in the Netherlands.

This joint opposition to the Ned Geref Kerk's White

hierarchy poses a renewed threat in South African church politics—a bitter polarisation and eventual split between the White and Black churches.

The Black churchmen unanimously expressed the opinion that the quarrel over the Dutch church's contributions to the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism was 'between the Afrikaans church and the Dutch'

In effect the Black churches want no part in the split, and would continue their ties with the mother church independently of the White church.

Opposed

Speaking openly of their disagreement at the mission centre at Baarn, near here, all the Black churchmen in the eightman South African delegation made it clear that they too were opposed to the church in Holland supporting terrorism in Southern Africa.

But they were not convinced that the money donated to the WCC's programme was spent on aiding terrorists but rather that it was used for humanitarian purposes. It has become clear that the White Ned Geref is intent on breaking its ties with the Dutch church at all costs and is not prepared to negotiate an understanding.

Unsympathetic

This emerged when it was learned that the scheduled three-day talks between the delegation and the ad hoc committee of the Dutch church were 'prematurely suspended' when it became clear to the White delegates that the Dutch churchmen were unsympathetic to all the South African appeals.

The Moderator of the South African church, the Rev. Ds. P. M. Beukes, and the director of ecumenical affairs. Dr E. E. O. Geldenhuys, had presented the mother church with an ultimatum: either it suspended its contributions to the WCC's programme or it would have no hesitation but break off its ties with the Dutch church.

The Moderator of the African Ned Geref Kerk, the Rev. E. T. S. Buti, said that the Black church did not want to be associated with the quarrel between the White South African church and the Dutch mother church.

He said a split would not affect the Black church which would maintain its ties with Holland—possibly closer than before.

'It would be a pity if the split took place because continued discussion between the Black churches and the Dutch would cause friction between the Black and White churches in South Africa.' Rev. Buti said.

'I am only sorry that these discussions did not take place in South Africa before we left. We were not told of the quarrel which existed between the Afrikaans church and the Dutch.'

The Argus, 18.12.75.

SQUATTER WIVES JUMP TRAIN

Many women squatters from the Crossroads camp who were sent back to the Transkei left the train at Paarl and returned to Crossroads to find out what had happened to their husbands and to children left behind, the Rev. David Russell said vesterday.

The removals are the result of recent court orders. Ten women were arrested on Tuesday and issued with train tickets to the Transkei. They boarded the trains under supervision from Bantu Affairs Administration Board officials, who had also supplied them with rations.

Mr Russell said that three of the women who disembarked at Paarl told him they had done so because one or more of their children had been left behind.

One woman's child had gone to hospital with an aunt the day her mother was arrested. The mother's pleas to be allowed to wait for her child's return before she was put on the train were ignored. Mr Russell said.

Mrs R. N. Robb, who runs the Athlone Advice Office, said yesterday that the office had been chaotic for the past few days, with husbands and children wanting to know what had become to their wives and mothers

A woman who got off the train at Paerl on Tuesday told her that all the arrested women had been forced to sign a document by BAAB officials agreeing that their possessions should be removed to the Transkei.

Homes Demolished

Another woman had been forced to leave her invalid husband and child when she was put on the train. Many husbands had returned from work on Tuesday and Thursday to find their wives gone and their wood and iron homes reduced to a heap of rubble, Mrs Robb said. More than 300 court orders have been issued this year requiring women living with their husbands in squatter areas to go back to the homelands. Their husbands have had to go back to the bachelor quarters in Langa.

Cape Times, 15.11.75.

AUTHOR'S LETTER TO U.S.A. ATTACKED

The Afrikaans writer Professor Andre Brink has come under heavy fire from the Nationalist press and Government spokesmen over a letter to the *New York Times* in which he accused South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Pik Botha, of 'distortions'.

Professor Brink's letter referred to a statement by Mr Botha, made during a radio interview in the United States, in which the Ambassador said that separate development was not really apartheid in the sense that the Government went out of its way to keep people apart. Mr Botha said in the interview that people who wanted to come together were free to do so.

In his letter, Professor Brink said he did not contest the Ambassador's right to defend his country 'but I do dispute his assumption that it can be done by distortions'. As far as individuals are concerned, people of different colours are in point of fact allowed to communicate and to come together on condition that they do not pray in the same churches, attend the same schools and universities or use the same toilet or public transport facilities. Yesterday the Nationalist newspaper Rapport accused Professor Brink of doing precisely what he had charged Mr Botha with doing by placing emphasis on negative factors.

The newspaper asked whether the Afrikaans author had ever felt 'the same pressing need' to attack falsehoods about South Africa in American newspapers.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, has said that the letter was regrettable and could only serve to undermine South Africa overseas and to sow suspicion against Mr Botha.

The letter has also been attacked as unpatriotic and damaging to South Africa by a Nationalist MP. Mr Louis Net, who is a member of his party's foreign affairs study group.

Cape Times, 17.11.75.

BOTHA DENIES S.A. WAR INVOLVEMENT

The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, has reacted to allegations by Russia that South Africa was interfering in Angola.

In a statement, he said that as far as South Africa was concerned, it was defending those borders for which it was responsible.

He could see no reason why he should reply to 'the accusations of the self-convicted.'

Attack

The Minister said: 'Russia itself has said that it is interfering in Angola by recognising one of the combatant groups. It is therefore certainly not necessary for me to reply to the accusations of the self-convicted.'

The Minister said communism was making a military attack on Southern Africa in a bid to enslave the territory, and added: 'If the countries of Southern Africa wish to remain free, they, collectively and separately, will have to ward off this danger.

'As far as the Republic of South Africa is concerned, we are busy defending the borders for which we are responsible'. Sapa reports.

The office of the Angolan Liberation Movement, Unita, issued a statement here denying that White South African soldiers were fighting with Unita forces in Southern Angola, according to Sapa-Reuter.

The Whites who had been seen were Portuguese born in Angola who were fighting with Unita, the statement said.

The Argus, 17.11.75.