

**TRANSCRIPTION, EDITION, TRANSLATION AND
CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF BIOGRAPHICAL POEMS
CONTRIBUTED BY S.E.K. MQHAYI TO EARLY
ISIXHOSA NEWSPAPERS**

THESIS

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Ntombomzi R. Mazwi

School of Languages & Literatures: African Language Studies

Section

Rhodes University

Grahamstown

2017

Supervisor: Professor Pamela Maseko

Co-supervisor: Professor Russell H Kaschula

Declaration

I, the undersigned, Ntombomzi Mazwi declare that this thesis is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. This work has not been submitted previously in its entirety, or in any part, at any other higher education institution for degree purposes.

.....

N. R. Mazwi

.....

Date

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my late mother Nonzame R. Mazwi, who died persuading me to pursue my PhD. I hope that wherever you are *Nxasana, Skhonza*, you are delighted that your wishes have come true.

Acknowledgements

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Prof Pamela Maseko for her unreserved assistance, far-seeing advice and consistent encouragement in every step of this bittersweet research journey. I will always be indebted to her for as long as I live, for nurturing me, her wise guidance, her patience in having a listening ear to my sometimes desolate point of view, and her ability to select what matters most, her meticulous criticism and feedback. It has not been an easy journey, hence bitter and sweet, and I know I haven't been the easiest of students to work with, but she persevered and held my hand since day one up until the end. She was more than a supervisor to me, but a mentor and a role model. I can confidently say that I have grown personally and professionally, and for all this thanks to her teachings and influences on me. To you, *Madeyi I say, "Maz'enehole, ukwanda kwaliwa ngumthakathi"*.

I am also indebted to my colleagues, the staff of African Languages Section at Rhodes University, who have supported me in many ways. I would like to sincerely express my appreciation to all of them. Not only were they helpful and encouraging since I started this journey four years ago, they were also sympathetic when seeing me struggling. I might be the one holding the crown, but I know for a fact that it is only when one is surrounded by good people that one can do well. To all of you, Prof Kaschula, *Chizama*, Prof "D", *Mam Nosi, ndibala ntoni na, "Ningadinwa nangomso"*. My sincere appreciation also goes to the following for their help and moral support: Dr Mona, Thulani Nxasana, Hleze Kunju and *Mama Ganiso* for her inspirational words that, *"Sis Ntosh uThixo uza kusinceda"*. I am also eternally thankful to Sisonke Mawonga for her willing and enthusiastic assistance in getting this work formatted the professional way. She has been my specialist in computer related issues. To you Sisonke I say, *"Amaqobokazana angalal'emzini alahlekile"*. I thank you sincerely for your expertise and active interest in my work.

Many thanks also go to Dr Sydney Zotwana, Rev. Sox Leleki and Bishop Andile Mbete for their prompt reactions in answering all my questions and their fruitful discussions and sharing my interest in this research. They have been more than I expected.

I am deeply indebted to the Research Committee (RC) of Rhodes University for funding my research trips to the libraries especially during the preliminary stages of the research. To the National Research Foundation (NRF), your financial assistance for affording me the freedom from my work commitments and concentrate on this research is highly acknowledged. The freedom you provided enabled me to complete my project of thesis writing. However, I wish to emphasize that all the arguments, findings and recommendations expressed in this work are mine and therefore cannot be attributed to either the Rhodes RC or the NRF.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof Jeff Opland, a former professor from University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), for assisting me in selecting poems which form the data of this study. He did not just assist me in the selection but also provided me copies of newspapers that are held in The Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature. I thank him from the bottom of my heart for sharing his personal collections with me, his help and support is greatly acknowledged. *Ndibamba ngazibini kuwe Mangangendlovu.*

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my family for their interest, patience, moral support and wholehearted encouragement throughout the duration of this study. If it was not for their understanding when I devoted all my time to research, I would not have gone this far. I thank them genuinely.

I would also like to thank all the informants who supplied me with the information which forms part of this study. My sincere gratitude also goes to the library staff of Rhodes University, for their assistance in finding relevant resources, and more especially to the Inter-Library Loan Librarian. To all those I did not mention, for your tirelessness, engagement and support, with the fullness of my heart and mind, I also thank you.

My final gratitude is due to the Almighty for giving me strength and perseverance to pull this through to the end. There were many challenges along the way but when I called for help He showed his presence. Glory be to God!!!

Abstract

During the nineteenth century secular creative literature produced by missionaries and publishers was designed for the educational market and for school children and there was nothing for adults. Works of isiXhosa literature was controlled in content and freely edited by the missionaries to satisfy the demands of educational syllabuses. As a result, students at universities, scholars of literature and academics in higher education are lacking primary documents on this literature and therefore are forced to study the limited and unavailable literature books. This thesis concentrates on the work of a particular isiXhosa writer, namely that of S.E.K. Mqhayi.

The earlier writers like S.E.K. Mqhayi, J.J.R. Jolobe, G.B. Sinxo and others made their mark in South African literature and culture. Their works were published in journals and newspapers in isiXhosa by the missionaries. This means isiXhosa literature can be found in abundance in the earlier newspapers. What needs to be addressed is how the South African community and literature scholars mentioned above could have access to that work. Mqhayi is well known as the father of the isiXhosa language because of his substantial literary and linguistic contribution to the development of the language. As already mentioned he made his contribution through written work which was published in various newspapers of his time and unfortunately most people are unable to access this material, hence the focus of this thesis. The vast majority of his journalism remains as yet uncollected. However, scholars like Opland (1983) and Saule (1989) made some effort to bring this information to the public through their extensive research. S.E.K. Mqhayi's popular poems have been published and analyzed over the last century and more recently (Qangule 1979; Kuse 1979; Opland 1983; Saule 1989 & 1996; Ntuli & Swanepoel 1993 and Opland 2009). However, in terms of quantity and value, these are negligible compared to what Mqhayi has published. There are still numerous of Mqhayi's poems that would add value to the study and history of isiXhosa literature.

The main aim of this research is to carry on from where these scholars left off and to bring to the fore the legacy Mqhayi left to the South African people. Hence, thirty (30) poems on people by S.E.K. Mqhayi have been transcribed from the old newspapers, re-typed, translated into English and analysed. These poems are largely published in newspapers but have never been subsequently republished, and hence they are almost completely unknown. The thirty (30) poems have been selected with the assistance of Professor Jeff Opland, a retired Professor from the

University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). The poems are from his Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature housed in Godalming, United Kingdom. They are presented in the manner in which they appeared originally, that is, in terms of isiXhosa orthography during the times of Mqhayi's writing (Diplomatic Presentation). The data is analysed and discussed in relation to how Mqhayi's biographical poems can give insight not only to Mqhayi's subjects of praise, but into how he uses historical, political and sociocultural contexts in the praises of his subjects, meaning that the discussion revolves around the practice of the Historical-Biographical Criticism. The poems are translated into English to allow for this literature not only to be disseminated among isiXhosa speakers, but also to speakers of other languages who understand English. The translation method chosen is the one believed to produce the originality of the source text and sameness of meaning in the target text which is regarded as equivalence.

This thesis therefore is an investigation into 30 poems selected from biographical poems written by S.E.K. Mqhayi in newspapers during the period 1899-1944. In essence this thesis presents an in-depth analysis of Mqhayi's poems against the backdrop of oral literary theory as expounded by theorists who have grappled with the orality-literacy debate, a debate which directly informs Mqhayi's poetry as he was the first oral poet to transition between orality and literacy.

Isishwankathelo

Uncwadi oluveliswe kwishumi elinesithoba lamakhulu eminyaka ziimishinari nabapapashi lwalwenzelwe izifundiswa kunye nabantwana besikolo kwaye akukho msebenzi mninzi ofumanekayo owawenzelwe abantu basekuhlaleni. Umsebenzi omninzi wokubhaliweyo kuncwadi lwesiXhosa wawulawulwa, uhlelwa kwaye ulungiselelwa uqingqo lwezifundo. Oko ke kuye kwabangela ukuba abafundi abakumaziko emfundo ephakamileyo, iimfundi zoncwadi kunye nabahlohli zingabinawo amaxwebhu okwenene oncwadi lwesiXhosa, kwaye loo nto yenza ukuba kufundwe kwaye kwenziwe uphando ngeencwadi ezimbalwa. Olu phando ke ngoko luza kuqwalasela lugxininise kumsebenzi wombhali wesiXhosa onguS.E.K. Mqhayi.

Ababhali bangaphambili abafana noo-S.E.K. Mqhayi, J.J.R. Jolobe, G.B. Sinxo nabanye bashiya ifuthe elikhulu kuncwadi nenkcubeko yoMzantsi Afrika. Imisebenzi yabo yayipapashwe ziimishinari ngesiXhosa kuluhlu lwemibhalo namaphephandaba. Oko ke kuthetha ukuthi le misebenzi yesiXhosa iyafumaneka kumaphepha-ndaba angaphambili. Okufuneka kulungisiwe yindlela abemi boMzantsi Afrika kunye nezi mfundi zoncwadi zikhankanywe ngentla zingathi ziwufumane lo msebenzi waba babhali bangaphambili. UMqhayi waziwa ngokuba yinkcuba-buchopho yolwimi lwesiXhosa kwaye udlale indima enkulu kakhulu ekuphuhliseni ulwimi lwesiXhosa. Njengokuba sele ikhankanyiwe ngentla, umsebenzi wakhe upapashwe kumaphephandaba awohlukeneyo wela xesha wayesaphila kwaye kungelishwa ke ukuba abantu abaninzi abakwazi ukuwufumana loo msebenzi. Eminye yemisebenzi yakhe emininzi ke kodwa ayiqokelelwanga. Iingcali ezifana noo-Opland (1983) noSaule (1989) zaye zenza uphando olukhulu zizama ukuzisa olu lwazi eluntwini, kodwa oko akwanelanga. Kwiminyaka edlulileyo imibongo edumileyo ka-S.E.K. Mqhayi sele yapapashwa (Qangule, 1979; Kuse, 1979; Opland, 1983 & 2009; Saule, 1989 & 1996; Ntuli & Swanepoel, 1993). Nangona kunjalo ke isekhona eminye imibongo kaMqhayi engekaveli nenokuthi ibe nenxaxheba kakhulu ekufundeni nasekufundiseni uncwadi lwesiXhosa. Olu phando ke kukuqhubeka apho aba babhali bakhankanyiweyo bayeke khona ukuzisa phambili umsebenzi nelifa elashiywa nguMqhayi kubemi baseMzantsi Afrika.

Kungoko ke imibongo engabantu engama-30 kaMqhayi iza kuthi ikhutshelwe isuka kumaphephandaba akudala, iguqulelwe esiNgesini ze ihlahlelwe. Uninzi lwale mibongo ipapashwe kumaphephandaba akudala kwaye zange iphinde ipapashwe kwenye indawo,

kungoko ke ingaziwa kakhulu. Ukukhethwa kwale mibongo ingama-30 kuncediswe nguNjingalwazi uJeff Opland, uNjingalwazi odla umhlala-phantsi weYunivesithi yase-London kwiSikolo seZifundo ngezaseAfrika naseMpumalanga (SOAS). Le mibongo isuka kuluhlu lwakhe athe waluqokelela nolubizwa ngokuba yi-*Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature* oluse-Godalming, e-United Kingdom. Indlela le mibongo eza kuthi ibhalwe ngayo yileyo uMqhayi wayeyibhale ngayo ngexesha lakhe. Le mibongo ihleliwe kwaye oko kubhaliweyo malunga nayo kuquka indlela apho imibongo kaMqhayi ngobomi babantu kuthi kubonise indlela abonga nabonisa ngayo izinto zoPolitiko, zakudala nezasekuhlaleni ezazisenzeka ngela xesha. Indlela ethi konke oku kuthi kuvele kule mibongo kaMqhayi kwaye kuya kuthi kuvezwe kolu phando. Ukuguqulelwa kwale mibongo esiNgesini kuya kuthi kuncede ukuba nabo bangasithethiyo isiXhosa bakwazi ukufumana le mibongo. Indlela esetyenzisiweyo yoguqulo-lwimi yale mibongo yileyo ivumela ukuba umbhalo uguqulelwe ngokufanayo nombhalo-ntsusa kwaye intsingiselo kumbhalo ekuguqulelwa kuwo ingatshintshi.

Lo misebenzi ke ngoko uluphando lwemibongo engabantu ekhethiweyo engama30 ebhalwe nguSEK Mqhayi kumaphephandaba kwimiminyaka u1899 – 1944. Umongo wolu phando kukwenza uhlaluty – nzulu lwemibongo kaMqhayi eyaleka kuphando – lwazi osele lwenziwe njengoko lucaciswa ziingcali ezithe zazamana nengxoxo yoncwadi lomlomo, ngxoxo leyo ethe yachaphazela ngokumandla umongo wezibongo zikaMqhayi njengembongi yokuqala ukuwela ukusuka kuncwadi lomlomo ukuya kuncwadi olubhaliweyo.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	vi
Isishwankathelo.....	viii
Table of Contents.....	x
List of Tables.....	xvi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background and Context of the study.....	2
1.2.1 The rationale for the study.....	2
1.2.2 Early isiXhosa written literature and censorship by Christian missionaries.....	3
1.2.3 Academic interest in the early works.....	5
1.2.4 A boom in the multilingual newspapers.....	7
1.2.5 Motivation for newspaper research.....	7
1.2.6 Earlier research.....	8
1.2.7. Mqhayi becomes popular.....	9
1.2.8 A plan of action.....	11
1.3 Aims and objectives of the study.....	12
1.4 Research Methodology.....	14
1.4.1 Different qualitative techniques.....	15
1.4.2 Techniques for data collection and analysis.....	16
1.5 The structure of the thesis.....	18
1.6 Limitations of the study.....	19
1.7 Conclusion.....	20
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	21
2.1 Introduction.....	21
2.2 An overview of isiXhosa literature.....	22

2.2.1 Orality as preceding print in isiXhosa society	22
2.2.2 The emergence of isiXhosa literature into print.....	28
2.2.3 Missionaries and early newspapers in the development of the isiXhosa literature.....	31
2.3 The Poet of the Nation, S. E. K. Mqhayi: His Life and Career.....	49
2.3.1 His birth	49
2.3.2 His school years	51
2.3.3 Mqhayi as a teacher, journalist, councillor and a politician.....	54
2.3.4 Mqhayi as a poet, and an author	55
2.4 Mqhayi through the eyes of literary scholars.....	58
2.5 Biographical writings.....	64
2.5.1 The origin of biographical writings	64
2.5.2 What is a biography?.....	64
2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	69
2.6.1 The Historical-Biographical Approach	70
2.6.2 Diplomatic Edition.....	72
2.6.3 Translation and the theory of equivalence	74
2.7 Conclusion	77
CHAPTER 3: DATA COLLECTION AND PRESENTATION.....	79
3.1 Introduction.....	79
3.2 Data description and selection process	79
3.3 Themes dominating in Mqhayi's biographical poetry	85
3.4 The subjects of Mqhayi's praises.....	87
3.4.1 Umfi u Rev. Chas. Pamla (1917).....	87
3.4.2 A! No-Ndwe!! [Mrs. M. Ballinger] (1939).....	88
3.4.3 U Dr. R.T. Bokwe (1934)	89
3.4.4 A! Ngangemvula!!! Sir Patrick Duncan (1941).....	90
3.4.5 U=Dalindyebo (1911)	91
3.4.6 U-Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog (1943).....	91
3.4.7 A! - <i>Chith' I-Bhunga!</i> [General Smuts] (1939).....	92
3.4.8 Jabavu - Makiwane (1916).....	93
3.4.9 A,-Sithwalandwe! Col. the Hon. Denys Reitz (1942).....	94

3.4.10 John Henderson Soga (1941)	94
3.4.11 A,-Zwelizolile!!! (1944).....	95
3.4.12 Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B. A. Edwin Mtobi Newana B.A. (1924)	96
3.4. 13 Uphumlo LukaMavigala (Dr. MacVicar) (1938).....	97
3.4.14 Umfi Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda (1915)	97
3.4.15 Umhlekazi u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala (1924)	97
3.4. 16 Umfi u Mpondombini (1927).....	98
3.4.17 A-Gweb'inkumbi!!! (1921).....	98
3.4.18 Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa no William Cebani Mtoba (1913).....	98
3.4.19 Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana (1914).....	99
3.4.20 Chief Kona Maqoma (Anazina ukuba Kumke i Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli?) (1906).....	99
3.4.21 Umfi u Provincial Wm. Gcule (1926).....	100
3.4.22 Umfi Howard Ben-Mazwi (1943).....	100
3.4.23 Umfi u Thomas Ntintili (1911)	101
3.4.24 Chief Mbovane Mabandla: A, Ngangezwe!!! (1936)	101
3.4.25 U Chief James Mama (1911)	102
3.5 Summary of biographies	102
3.6 Diplomatic Presentation of Mqhayi's texts.....	103
3.7 Conclusion	106
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS	108
4.1 Introduction.....	108
4.2 Analysis of themes.....	109
4.2.1 Christianity and its interplay with African spirituality.....	109
4.2.2 Patriotism and Nationalism.....	119
4.2.3. Social responsibility embedded in religion and education.....	139
4.2.4 Gender issues	151
4.2.5 Illness and death.....	154
4.3 Socio-political summary	159
CHAPTER 5: DIPLOMATIC PRESENTATION AND TRANSLATION	160
5.1 Introduction.....	160
5.2 Analysis on Diplomatic Edition.....	160

5.2.1	Intepretation – Word division in nouns, adverbs and possessives	162
5.2.2	Demonstrative pronouns	163
5.2.3	Doubling of vowels.....	163
5.2.4	Aspiration.....	163
5.2.5	Diacritics	164
5.2.6	More diacritics in velar fricatives	167
5.2.7	Capitalisation	167
5.2.8	Hyphenation.....	168
5.2.9	Analysis of identified errors.....	168
5.2.9.1	Interpretation.....	169
5.2.10	Writing without semi-vowels.....	169
5.2.10.1	Intepretation	169
5.2.11	Summary	170
5.3	TRANSLATION ON MQHAYI’S POETY	171
5.3.1	Introduction	171
5.3.2	Translation of salutations, praise and clan names.....	172
5.3.3	Translation of idiophones and interjections	173
5.3.4	Translation of figurative language and culturally embedded concepts.....	174
5.3.5	Translation of names of plants, places, rivers and events.	176
5.3.6	Concluding remarks	178
5.4	Conclusion	180
CHAPTER 6:	FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION	181
6.1	Introduction.....	181
6.2	Findings.....	181
6.2.1	Interest by scholars in Mqhayi’s writings	181
6.2.2	Mqhayi as a biographer and historian	182
6.2.3	Naming and clan names in Mqhayi’s biographical poems	183
6.2.4	Orthography in Mqhayi’s poetry.....	186
6.2.5	Translating poems.....	187
6.3	Recommendations.....	187
6.3.1	Introduction.....	187

6.3.2 Computerisation and digitization.....	188
6.3.3 On translation.....	189
6.3.4 Further research of subjects of praise.....	190
6.4 General conclusion.....	190
6.4 1 Introduction.....	190
6.5 Concluding remarks.....	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY	198
Books.....	198
Journal articles.....	202
Theses.....	204
Internet sources.....	205
Dictionaries.....	205
APPENDICES	207
1a A, - <i>Chith' I-Bhunga!</i> [General Smuts] (1939).....	210
1b Hail, - Chith'I – Bhunga! [General Smuts] (1939).....	210
2a A—Gweb'inkumbi!!! (1921).....	213
2b Hail—Gweb'inkumbi!!! (1921).....	213
6.3a A, Ngangezwe!!! (1936).....	217
4a A Ngangemvula!!! SIR PATRICK DUNCAN (1941).....	220
4b Hail Ngangemvula!!! SIR PATRICK DUNCAN (1941).....	220
5a A! No-Ndwe!! [Mrs.M.Ballinger] (1939).....	223
5b Hail! No-Ndwe!! [Mrs.M.Ballinger] (1939).....	223
7a A,—Zwelizolile!!! (1944).....	226
7b Hail,—Zwelizolile!!! (1944).....	226
9a John Henderson Soga (1941).....	228
9b John Henderson Soga (1941).....	228
10a Anazina ukuba Kumke i Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli? (1906).....	230
10b Don't you know it is the chief that has left Israel today? (1906).....	230
11a Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi Newana B.A. (1924).....	233
11b Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A. (1924).....	233
12a U Mhleleleli u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala. (1924).....	238

12b Chief Sonzobo Libalele Mhala (1924).....	238
13a Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa No William Cebani Mtoba (1913)	242
13b The late Jonathan Tunyiswa and William Cebani Mtoba (1913).....	242
14a U Chief James Mama (1911)	246
14b Chief James Mama (1911).....	246
15a U Magengelele Unyana ka Msolo (John Rigney) (1908).....	251
15b Magengelele, the son of Msolo (John Rigney) 17 March 1908.....	251
16a U=Dalindyebo. (1911)	253
16b Dalindyebo (1911).....	253
17a U Dr. R.T. Bokwe (1934).....	258
17b Dr. R.T. Bokwe (1934)	258
18a Umfi Howard Ben-Mazwi (1943).....	262
18b The Late Howard Ben-Mazwi (1943).....	262
19a Umfi Rev Solomon Kuze (1931)	264
19b Umfi Rev Solomon Kuze (1931)	264
20a Umfi Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda (1915)	267
20b The Late Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda (1915)	267
21a Umfi u Mpondombini.	271
21b The late Mpondombini (The Two-Horned)	271
22a Umfi u Nkwati Bika (1907)	275
22b The late Nkwati Bika (1907).....	275
23a Umfi u Rev. Chas. Pamla (1917)	279
23b The late Rev. Chas. Pamla (1917).....	279
24a Umfi u Thomas Ntintili. (1911)	282
24b The late Thomas Ntintili. (1911).....	282
25b The late Wm. Kobe Ntsikana (30.06.1914)	284
26a Umfi u Provincial Wm. Gcule (1926).....	290
26b The Late Provincial Wm. Gcule (1926).....	290
27a Umfikazi u Frances Nonhi Mkencele (1908).....	296
27b The late Frances Nonhi Mkencele (1908).....	296
28a Umfikazi uMbokazi (1902).....	299

28b The Late Mbokazi (1902)	299
29a Uphumlo LukaMavigala (Dr. MacVicar) (1938)	300
29b The Retirement of MacVicar (Dr. MacVicar) (1938)	300
30a U-Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog (1943)	303
30b Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog (1943)	303

List of Tables

Table 1: The Presentation of orthographic issues	105
Table 2: Presentation of errors	106
Table 3: Presentation of errors (semi-vowels)	106
Table 4: Spelling Matters	162
Table 5: Orthographic issues and differences	166
Table 6: Errors and amendments	169
Table 7: Writing about semi-vowels (old orthography)	169
Table 8: Writing about semi-vowels (new orthography)	170
Table 9: Names of Places	177
Table 10: names of rivers	177
Table 11: Names of plants/trees	178
Table 12: Names of Events	178
Table 13: List of names that appears in Mqhayi's poems	185

List of Figures

Figure 1: Distribution of Mqhayi's work for each newspaper	81
Figure 2: Frequency of publication between 1902 -1944	82

Figure 3: Social positions of subjects of praise..... 83
Figure 4: Gender of subjects of praise 85

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The early missionaries who came to the Eastern Cape region of South Africa in the early 1800s, particularly Ross and Bennie, followed by Shepherd and others operating from the present Lovedale in the Thyume Valley, published a series of journals and newspapers in isiXhosa for almost a century. These periodicals yielded newspapers with secular content under black editorial control from the mid-1880s to mid-1950s. The newspapers established after the introduction of print in the Cape region contained varying content in different languages of the region. While early missionary-controlled newspapers focused on educational and religious content, the newspapers under black editors published isiXhosa newspaper articles that covered topics on politics, the lives of private and public individuals, and any newsworthy experience. The articles were contributions from the isiXhosa-speaking people who had just acquired the skill of writing. This was for the consumption of both the young and old, but especially for the old. Written just after the acquisition of written form, the newspaper articles reflect a rich oral tradition of the isiXhosa speaking people.

Writers such as Wauchope in Opland and Nyamende (2008), Gqoba in Opland, Kuse and Maseko (2015), Ntsiko (forthcoming), Solilo in Opland (2016), Mqgqwetho in Opland (2008), Mqhayi in Opland (2009) republished recently by Opland, wrote recurrently in newspapers of this period, and their newspaper articles feature in the Opland Xhosa Literature Collection. While some also published their works formally in book form, especially for school audiences, the vast amount of work published in newspapers was never formally published, and has remained in newspapers. This perpetuated the myth that isiXhosa is lacking in literature, especially adult and intellectually engaging literature. Yet, even for Mqhayi, what was published in formal publishing presses is a drop in the ocean compared to what he wrote in newspapers. This means isiXhosa literature can be found in abundance in early vernacular newspapers, a mature literature written by adults for adult readers. Opland (1983: 261) attests to that when he writes:

The work of the major Xhosa authors can be found in newspapers. And above all, it is only in newspapers that we can find, for a time, free literary expression produced by adults for adult readers.

This chapter therefore sets out to provide an overview of the study. The study is an investigation into 30 poems selected from biographical poems written by S.E.K. Mqhayi in newspapers during the period 1899-1944. It provides the background and context of the study, its aims and objectives, research methodology, the scope as well as the limitations of the study. The ultimate intention of the research is to present original written form, translate and analyse the selected poems.

1.2 Background and Context of the study

1.2.1 The rationale for the study

The rationale for the study is encapsulated eloquently in Opland's (2009) work on Mqhayi titled, *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings, 1902-1944* when he states that,

Mqhayi is the author of a number of published works of fiction, biography and poetry, but those works have often been treated high-handedly by editors with agenda of their own. Furthermore, a vast quantity of Mqhayi's prodigious output now lies largely unappreciated in old newspapers, or else was committed to manuscripts now irretrievably lost, victims of the politics of publishing in Xhosa (see Opland: 1998, chapters 11 and 13; and Peires: 1980) or the general disregard for Xhosa literature and Xhosa authors (Opland, 2009: 12).

In the light of the above, the proposed research seeks to establish the extent to which Mqhayi's poetry has been collected, translated and presented in diplomatic edition as well as the extent of the work that has not been republished. From the works in the Opland IsiXhosa Literature Collection, there is evidence that Mqhayi has written plentifully during his lifetime in newspapers. Except for those works that have been republished and edited by Opland under the

title, *Abantu Besizwe SEK Mqhayi: Historical and Biographical Writings, 1902-1944* these works have, unfortunately remained concealed in newspapers in archives, and consequently, are on the periphery of literary and intellectual discourse on isiXhosa literature and intellectual thinking.

Amongst other things, Mqhayi wrote biographical poems about people from across the spectrum of society. This study is about his biographical poems. The study engages with the processes of translation and the diplomatic presentation of those poems that have only been published in the newspapers. Consequently this study intends to fill the gap that exists in higher education because authors like Mqhayi and his contemporaries wrote in isiXhosa about isiXhosa knowledge systems that could form part of the teaching narrative in Higher Education. Before engaging with Mqhayi's biographical poems, it is important to put his work in the context of the development of written isiXhosa literature, beginning in the early 1820s up to the present.

1.2.2 Early isiXhosa written literature and censorship by Christian missionaries

IsiXhosa literature began to be written in newspapers in 1837 following the introduction of the print medium in isiXhosa in 1823. This gave amaXhosa writers an opportunity to present their views without missionary censorship and to write in isiXhosa. While the introduction of print in isiXhosa contributed to the development of isiXhosa literature and other resources, the early publishers were prescriptive. Literary production had to conform to the agenda of missionary education and politics of the day. As stated in the quotation from Opland (2009: 12) any information that did not conform to these prescripts was edited out and at times replaced with “appropriate” content that is illustrated in the paragraphs to follow. However, newspapers such as *Umteteli Wabantu* (1920-1956), *Izwi Labantu* (1897-1901) and *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884-1944), which were under newly literate black editors, provided a platform for isiXhosa poets to present their art without censorship (Opland 1998: 223-231). As indicated above, numerous works of poetry and other art forms by authors such as S.E.K. Mqhayi, J. Solilo, J. Ntsiko, W. Gqoba, N. Mgqwetho and many others (Opland 1983, 1998, 2009; Kuse 1978; Qangule 1979;

Jordan 1973; Saule 1989, 1996; Odendaal 1983, 1984 and Pereis 1980) first appeared in newspapers and some were never published in book form. Because of this, such works did not present what was conceived to be literature, and therefore the conclusion was that isiXhosa did not have literature (Opland 1983, 1998, 1990; Jordan 1973; Jabavu 1943). However, some of the works were further published in books such as *Zemk'iinkomo Magwalandini* (Rubusana 1906), *Ityala Lamawele* (Mqhayi 1914) and *Imibengo* (Bennie 1935). These works were still subjected to the prevailing censorship that characterised the early missionary publishing of the time. The following extracts, for example, illustrate how some of Mqhayi's literary works were censored when they were taken from newspapers to be published in books that were targeted at the school market. The parts replaced with "appropriate" terms, or that were left out were printed in italics. The first part is a verse that was censored or removed, probably because of its referral to incestuous relationships. It is taken from Mqhayi's poem 'Imbongi' [The Poet] in *Ityala Lamawele* [The Lawsuit of the Twins] (1914: 60). The verse reads:

Ubecinge nganin' umntwan' ukuy' embekeni kunina.

What made the child make advances to his own mother?

The poet here was referring to Ngqika, a Chief of the amaXhosa who in love with Thuthula who was a wife to his uncle Ndlambe and therefore culturally a mother to him. According to amaXhosa culture that is regarded as an improper, or inappropriate sexual behaviour between family members, hence 'incestuous'. The reason why this sentence was expunged might be that the content of the syllabus was chosen by the missionaries and therefore, according to their principles, not suitable for school children. The second part is a preface to a prose on *Imfazwe kaMlanjeni* [The War of Mlanjeni] also written by Mqhayi which appeared in the newspaper, *Umteteli* in 1828. When this extract appeared in *Imibengo* (1935), an anthology of prose and poetry from early newspapers, edited by W.G. Bennie, who controlled the Lovedale Printing Press, it was also censored, probably because of its reference to white people as having triggered the war, and the recognition of the amaXhosa royalty by Mqhayi:

Idabi lama Linde: Ukutelekiswa ngu Mlungu (1818-1819)

Umfundi selevile ngoku ukuba u Ngqika usamele ngasezintongeni, uyawoyisa ama Gcaleka, uyawoyisa ama Ndlambe, akuko sizwe ngoku singabanako ukumelana naye edabini. Ite noko lonto ayatatyatelwa ngqalelweni inkulu kuba wayesaziwa ukuba akayiyo intloko, ngoko ke akanangozi aya kude enze yona. Umfundi mabaqonde ukuba ubukumkani basema Xoseni buhamba ngomgca wabo nenkosana ezipantsi zihamba ngeziganga zezo, - ibingeko into yokuba ubani atsibele indawo engeyiyo eyake. Kungoko ke ate esenje u Ngqika wabe engatatelwe ngqalelo yaluto. (The Battle of amaLinde: White provocation (1818-1819))

By this stage the reader has already heard that Ngqika remains standing in battle. He was defeating the Gcaleka, the Ndlambe, and now it seems no nation can withstand him in battle. Nevertheless, no one was impressed, because it was recognised that he was not the paramount and so he posed no threat. The reader must understand that Xhosa kingship passes down in a direct way and minor princes assume their appropriate rank - no one usurps another's rightful place. For this reason, no one was impressed with Ngqika's prowess.

1.2.3 Academic interest in the early works

There is growing academic interest in the early written indigenous literatures of Southern Africa. This could be in response to the widely held belief that there is no literature outside of the education context in isiXhosa. Gerard (1983: 55), in his special reference to African Literatures in general attests to that by saying:

After all, it seems natural that the status granted to the so - called "Bantu" education should have ambiguous results: it has created a huge potential audience and med vernacular writing into a profitable commercial proposition. On the other hand, this audience is primarily one of schoolchildren and this – together with the

demands of censorship – is certainly not conducive to mature writing dealing responsibly with the real problems of the social structure.

It could also be that there is a drive, as part of dealing with past injustices, to redress the past marginalisation of African Languages. Commenting about his interest in the Southern African literatures, Zotwana (1993) argues that the question of the conditions of the production of isiXhosa literature and other South African indigenous languages has never been fully addressed and, as a result, he undertook a study on the first fifty years of isiXhosa literature. In this work he demonstrates the struggles some of the early writers went through in devising strategies of revealing some aspects of socio-political reality of inequality, racial oppression and unfair appropriation of land, despite the censorship by the missionaries and government. On the same topic, Saule (1996) argues that present times are fraught with change in Southern Africa, and that there is an urgent need to discover the drive behind the change. He further argues that the quality of the early writer's works and their boundless scholarship are ample indication that extensive research on their work ought to be carried out, and he to explore the works of Mqhayi. About this growing interest Jordan (1973: vii) writes:

This outpouring of writings on African literature, and other things African, began in the late 1950s and early 1960s. By no mere coincidence, this is the period in which most of Africa became independent.

The perception that isiXhosa did not have literature changed when scholars started to give attention to the poetry and other literary works that were contributed to newspapers for over a century (Odendaal 1983, 1984; Scheub 1970; Qangule 1979; Jordan 1973; Opland 1983, 1998, 2009; Opland, Kuse & Maseko 2014). Opland is arguably the leading scholar in isiXhosa poetry as he has collected many isiXhosa poems from the early newspapers into what is now known as the Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature. He continues to republish this material in books, thereby making it available for wider readership and scholarly commentary. His volumes of isiXhosa poetry presented in diplomatic editions and translated into English include *Abantu*

Besizwe (2009), *Xhosa Oral Poetry* (1983), *Words that Circle Words* (1992), *Isaac Williams Wauchope: Selected Writings 1874-1916* (2008), *The Nation's Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mngqwetho* (2007), *William Wellington Gqoba: Isizwe Esinembali: Xhosa Histories and Poetry [1873 – 1888]* (2015).

1.2.4 A boom in the multilingual newspapers

IsiXhosa was the first indigenous language to be converted into print in South Africa in 1821, during the arrival of the Glasgow Missionaries (Jordan 1973: 37). The period after the introduction of print in isiXhosa was characterised by a boom in multilingual newspapers. African literates, who had just acquired literacy after the introduction of formal education, contributed their works to newspapers. They published written pieces of literary works reflective of their oral heritage, thereby escaping the censorship associated with publications, in African languages produced in missionary-controlled publishing houses. This research focuses on literature written and submitted for publication in early isiXhosa newspapers such as *Ikwezi*, *Indaba*, *Umthunywa* and *Imvo Zabantsundu* from 1899-1944. These newspapers are analysed extensively in Chapter 2.

1.2.5 Motivation for newspaper research

The need to undertake the research on literature written in newspapers by early literates was initially raised by literary scholars like Jordan (1973), Opland (1983, 1998, 2009), Peires (1980), Finnegan (1970), Scheub (1970), Kuse (1978), Qangule (1979), Zotwana (1993) and more recently by Opland, Kuse & Maseko (2014). These scholars have written about isiXhosa literature and its progression from oral form into print form through the medium of newspapers.

Jordan (1973), Odendaal (1983, 1984) and Opland (1983), as well as many other scholars such as Kaschula (2002), Jadezweni (2013), and Mona (2015) have undertaken research on isiXhosa oral literature published in various newspapers from the introduction of print in the 1820s, right to the 1940s. The literature, as surveyed by these scholars, is a true reflection of the oral tradition of amaXhosa, before the introduction of education. Unlike literature commissioned for purposes of missionary education at the introduction of western education to amaXhosa, literature

contributed in newspapers was uncensored and therefore typically mirrored the true tradition of the oral art form of amaXhosa, especially regarding how amaXhosa praise, and who is being praised. There were contributors, like Mqhayi, the subject of this research, Soga, Kobe, Vimbe, Makiwane, Jabavu, Gqoba, and Mggqwetho, just to mention a few, who wrote regularly on oral poetry and prose in newspapers. Some of their works have been edited and republished by Bennie (1935), Rubusana (1911), Opland (2009) and Saule (1989, 1996) amongst others. It is worth noting that unlike Bennie and Rubusana who censored and tampered with the works they published, Opland and Saule published uncensored material. They presented the work as fairly as possible keeping the form and orthography of the original work. Opland (2009:24) confirms this when he writes, “The texts here are represented as originally as published”. This is a significant editorial principle, in that it shows respect to the author reprinting his writings as he wrote it.”

The significance of these newspaper writings is not only in the justification of the development of isiXhosa literature in newspapers, or in its literary attributes, but the work also portrays the social, political, historical and other views of the people who wrote them. We can see, for example, through their prose and poetry the political history of amaXhosa, their understanding of the Mfecane and other wars in the 19th and 20th century, and their genealogy amongst other things. Early newspapers are therefore integral to gaining an understanding of early Xhosa intellectuals and their contribution to societal debates.

1.2.6 Earlier research

Opland has, over the last forty years, dedicated his time in collecting isiXhosa literature published in early newspapers. From his collection it is obvious that authors like Mqhayi have written in newspapers much more work than we see in his formally published writings. While Opland is arguably the leading scholar in collecting, editing and translating works by early isiXhosa writers, there is still a vast amount of isiXhosa literary works in old newspapers and, because of the temporal nature of newspaper, it is not being read by the speakers of the language, or shared with speakers of other languages (Opland 1998: 261). Some of these authors, like Mqhayi in Opland’s *Abantu Besizwe* (2009) have been formally published in self-authored volumes. In addition to Mqhayi, such authors include for example, Gqoba, who has recently been

published under the editorial of Opland, Kuse & Maseko (2014), Mgqwetho (Opland, 2007), Wauchope (Opland & Nyamende 2008). However, as mentioned earlier, not all of their works have been published in book form although their works have all the features noteworthy of literary works. These authors, according to records of the Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature have contributed a countless number of literary works in the form of poems, death notices and travelogues, historical and political narratives. For example, Opland (2009: 23) writes:

Copies of the booklets and all the original articles, as well as biographical information on Mqhayi drawn from the same newspapers, are housed in the Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature, which also has copies of a considerable amount of other material Mqhayi contributed to newspapers poetry, essays, and current news

1.2.7. Mqhayi becomes popular

Mqhayi is well known as the South African nation's poet with massive literary and linguistic contributions in isiXhosa. Before he was bestowed with the title 'the poet of the nation' he dubbed himself as '*Imbongi yakwaGompo*' (the poet of East London) a name he acquired after he contributed two poems for the first time to *Izwi Labantu* newspaper. He sent these poems to the paper unsigned and the editor at that time, Dr Rubusana, gave him the new name, 'The Gompo Poet' under which his poems appeared in the paper. The name was kept as a secret for a very long time even when the whole community was curious to know who this poet was (Scott, 1976: 27). Not very long after that he acquired another name, 'The Poet of the Nation'. Opland attests that on one occasion Mqhayi submitted poems to *Abantu Batho* newspaper and the editor who at that time was probably Kunene noted that Mqhayi was not limited to the East London region only but also to the whole nation. Hence he gave him that name. Opland in Limb (2012: 219) writes:

The editor who first called Mqhayi Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele was probably Cleopas Kunene, who edited the Xhosa pages of *Abantu Batho* initially, and who died on 15 April 1917. The acquisition of his new name must have taken place before 1914

because in September of that year *Abantu Batho* published a poem entitled ‘Aba – tunywa’ (Nxusa) betu’ (‘Our Messengers (Advocates)’ by Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele on the Congress delegation to Britain, republished for the first time in Part II.

As mentioned above, besides the works that were formally published, Mqhayi made his contributions through written work which was published in various newspapers of his time and his works remain inaccessible because it is still kept in newspapers in libraries and other archives, and further, is still largely only in isiXhosa (Opland, 1998). In spite of the commendable efforts acknowledged in the foregoing paragraphs, more work still needs to be done to make all the works of the pioneering isiXhosa writers available and accessible to students at schools and university levels, as well as to adult readers. This is supported by Opland (1998: 261) when he writes, “Literature in Xhosa newspapers must be collected, analysed, edited and published so that the richness of its achievement may be appreciated.”

Qangule (1979) argues that the development of isiXhosa prose and poetry can be traced from the works of Mqhayi and his contemporaries like Rev. Rubusana, Henry Masila Ndawo, John Solilo and others. Mqhayi is regarded as “the great Xhosa poet and biographer” [and] arguably “the greatest exponent of African literature in [an] African language in South Africa” (Masilela 1996: 88-96). In the preface to *Abantu Besizwe* (Opland 2009), Jeff Peires makes reference to former ANC President Alfred Xuma who hails Mqhayi as “Our Shakespeare! Our Laureate!” but he further observes that,

Most unfortunately, the wider world has never had the opportunity of assessing Mqhayi for itself due to the almost total absence of any accessible translation. Even more remarkable is the fact that the isiXhosa-speaking public is little better off. Only two of Mqhayi’s novels and a scattered handful of poems are still in print and, of these, his greatest novel *Ityala Lamawele* is available only in abridged edition with all of its substantial historical chapters deliberately excised (Peires, in Opland 2009: viii).

By his admission, Opland (1998: 248) acknowledges that while the work that has been done on Mqhayi is vitally important, it does not do justice to the extensive literary career of this isiXhosa giant. He argues that,

[Edward Krune Mqhayi's] ...journalistic career [was] unparalleled in the history of isiXhosa literature in versatility, abundance and eloquence... The steady stream of poems and historical articles submitted to newspapers, some of them subsequently incorporated into his books and other anthologies ... rarely waver until the year before his death in 1945, but the vast majority of his journalism remains as yet uncollected.

1.2.8 A plan of action

As indicated in the introductory section of this chapter, this study draws from scholarly works on diplomatic edition and translation studies. Diplomatic edition is the transcription of a manuscript, with no attempt to establish 'best' reading, which is with no change in orthography or language itself (Cencetti, *La Preparazione dell'Archivista* 1985, as translated in Duranti, 1989: 285). It captures the works in their original form, that is, in the manner in which they first appeared in print. This means that the poetry of Mqhayi is presented as it appeared in the newspapers, including the orthography of the time. Furthermore, translation of the poems into English will help disseminate it to those not proficient in the language, since translation helps to bridge communication gaps across languages and facilitate cross- and intercultural communication (Angelilli, 2015). Newmark (1991: 43) supports this statement when he, among other things, argues that the purpose of translation is to contribute to the understanding between nations, groups and individuals. In addition to all that has been mentioned, this study embarks on a critical appraisal of all the presented biographical poems using historical and biographical criticisms. The actual theoretical framework to be followed to perform the proposed task is discussed thoroughly in the next chapter.

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

As already mentioned the aim of the study is to present in original written form, translate into English as well as provide a scholarly analysis of Mqhayi's biographical poems written in the various newspapers in the 1800s and early 1900s. These poems were written in tribute to various people of different social status, in life or after death. They have been selected with the assistance of Professor Jeff Opland of the Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature, former Professor of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). Mqhayi's works which are written to reflect the life of amaXhosa as they were shifting from oracy to writing, are an indication that contrary to popular belief, amaXhosa and indigenous people of Southern Africa generally, had praiseworthy literature prior to the introduction of Western education. Writing in tribute to Mqhayi, Pityana (2009: 2) states that:

We are indebted to Jeff Opland who has just published the latest book on SEK Mqhayi, *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings, 1902 – 1944*, published by Wits University Press. It is accounts of this nature which bring back the art form that SEK Mqhayi symbolises for the nation as a whole. Mqhayi was no mere oral poet, performer, imbongi; he was quintessentially a social critic, a historian, an artist, a writer, novelist and dramatist. To those who knew him he was also a theologian for he explored the meaning of the Christian faith in turbulent times, and sought to understand this faith and the imperatives of African culture, a philosopher and educator of his people.

There are still many of Mqhayi's poems that would add value to the study and history of isiXhosa literature. As already mentioned Mqhayi was a historian concerned about both the historical and the socio-political issues of his community and of the country at large. This poetic work which is the core of this research verifies this. They are biographical poems Mqhayi penned on people, irrespective of their race, gender, colour or creed. They are Mqhayi's intellectual contribution on politics, history, and other social issues of the time and reflect tensions and relationships between races and classes and give insight into his profound ability as

a social critic specifically on the national question during his time. Another aim of this study is to look at how his historical and biographical environments contributed to the shaping of Mqhayi's socio-political ideas as they emerge from his writings.

This study also seeks to establish a point of view from which Mqhayi as an author sees the world around him considering the fact that his background was of a very diverse nature, during the colonial era. Consequently, his literary work engages with ideas of justice, democracy, unity, patriotism and humanism. In light of this, his biographical poems pay tribute mostly to black and white legendary leaders, chiefs, kings, heroes, heroines who in various ways have contributed to the development of the South African nation.

Furthermore the study analyses Mqhayi's selected biographical poems paying particular attention to his artistry in advocating sentiments like loyalty, love, pride and attachment to one's country (patriotism). However it needs to be noted that although Mqhayi was advocating these sentiments wholeheartedly he was also pervaded by the double consciousness in believing that 'we are British'. This is evident in his poem *Umkhosi Wemidaka* (Inzuzo, 1948: 98), where he describes the military forces of the Africans when they managed to protect the British army against Hitler. The appreciation of Britain is also evident in the poem *A,-Chith'I-Bhunga* (The Bantu World, 1939: 2) when he praises General Hertzog who led the South African army against Germany in the Second World War.

This thesis also aims to provide a diplomatic edition of Mqhayi's poetry as a way of showing how he wrote isiXhosa and how his writings possibly reflect the way isiXhosa was written during his time. As literary works mirror the evolution of how a language is written over time, the evolution of the writing system of a language can best be evidenced through texts presented in diplomatic edition. It will be through these editions that historical linguists can determine general principles of linguistic change, or establish correct classification of a particular language over a period of time. Therefore, this research will enable the diachronic study of a language.

Furthermore this study provides a translation of the selected poems into English to facilitate their dissemination to a wider audience. Making these available in English, a language of science and

research will encourage comparisons of Mqhayi with other world literary giants. The aims and objectives can be summarized as follows:

- To collect, translate as well as present in diplomatic edition S.E.K. Mqhayi's poetry.
- To look at how Mqhayi's historical and biographical environments contributed to the shaping of his socio-political ideas.
- To focus on assessing the extent to which realities of daily existence, activities of social interest, concepts of culture, history and politics influence, mould and shape Mqhayi who is a prolific writer.
- To provide a translation of the selected poems into English to facilitate their dissemination to a wider audience.

1.4 Research Methodology

In order to achieve the aims and objectives stated in the previous section, a research methodology needs to be adopted. For the purpose of this research, a qualitative research methodology is used as it is believed that qualitative research is carried out when we wish to understand meanings, look at, describe and understand experiences, ideas, beliefs and values (Wisker, 2001). The study also implements a qualitative methodology because of its strong point in studying people. When working with poems, amongst other things, understanding the meaning of the poem is fundamental. We need to look at the people who are being praised and be able to describe and understand their experiences, beliefs and values as well as that of the poet's. According to Mack *et.al* (2005), qualitative research seeks to answer questions about why and how people behave in the way they do. They further argue that it provides an in-depth picture of people, things, and events, and is also useful for exploring how things are happening and why. One of the aims of this study is to explore why and how Mqhayi praises his subjects and to what extent his socio-political ideas influenced his poetry. Berg (1998: 3) agrees with Wisker (2001) when he says, "Quality refers to the what, how, when and where of a thing - its essence and ambience. Qualitative research thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics,

metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things. An explanation provided by Denzin & Lincoln (2008: 5) states that:

Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study; personal experience; introspection; life story interview; artefacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional and visual texts – that describes routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives.

This study aligns more with life story interviews, cultural and historical texts in order to be able to analyze the proposed biographical poems. The selected poems are regarded as case studies in this research.

1.4.1 Different qualitative techniques

Berg (1998: 3) is of the opinion that:

Some authors associate qualitative research with single technique of participant observation. Other writers extend their understanding of qualitative research to include interviewing, as well. However popular qualitative research additionally includes such methods as observation of experimental natural settings, photographic techniques (including videotaping), historical analysis (historiography), document and textual analysis, sociometry, sociodrama and similar ethno methodological experimentation ethnographic research and a number of unobtrusive techniques.

From Berg's definition of qualitative techniques we can distinguish between the most common ones namely:

- Participant observation which is appropriate in collecting data on naturally occurring behaviors.
- In-depth interviews which are optimal for collecting data on individual's personal histories, perspectives, and experiences.
- Focus groups which are effective in eliciting data on cultural norms of a group.

Berg (1998) further argues that interviews, field notes and various types of unobtrusive data are often not pliable and therefore in addition to the above he includes coding which means to assign a word or a phrase that summarizes a section or captures whatever is salient or an evocative attribute (which can be a theme). Coding is also referred to as content analysis. Under content analysis there are sampling techniques namely random, systematic, stratified and purposeful sampling (Berg, 1998: 228-229). For purposes of this thesis purposeful sampling is used. Berg further argues that in purposive sampling researchers use their special knowledge or expertise to select subjects and ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study.

1.4.2 Techniques for data collection and analysis

1.4.2.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were used to gather information. To be able to analyze and understand the proposed poems exhaustively we need to know the biographical information of the subjects being praised. Unfortunately, people who are ‘the source of praise’ in these poems passed away long ago and therefore interviews were held only with surviving members of the families. In addition word of mouth conversations with Professor Opland as the scholar who has to date collected and produced numerous of Mqhayi’s body of work as a poet, were held. Other scholars who were involved in conversations are Prof Kuse, Prof Saule and Dr Zotwana. These word of mouth discussions contributed to the necessary background information on poems and profiles of the people featuring in those poems. Furthermore, the information gathered from the conversations added more light on the literary aspects of the poetry.

1.4.2.2 Coding

Coding, as one of the techniques chosen for this study happens when one reads the data and demarcates segments within it and each segment is labelled with a code. For the purpose of this research the coding technique is used to categorize the poems as follows:

- Traditional leaders
- Educators

- Religious leaders
- Politicians
- Medical practitioners
- Civil servants and
- Others

The above categories are irrespective of gender or creed. This coding we attach to Mqhayi's poems is confirmed by Qangule when he states this about Mqhayi and his writings:

The current interest in South Africa and abroad in Mqhayi's works is generated by the universal truth expressed in his writings. Throughout his publications Mqhayi makes references to: Holy Scriptures, prominent leaders and historical incidents in South Africa and overseas; African and European culture and lore (Qangule, 1979: 260).

As already mentioned this coding technique is the same as content analysis. Berg (1998) describes content analysis as a passport to listening to the words of the text, and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words. That is exactly how these biographical poems are analysed. We need to listen to Mqhayi's words when praising his subjects and understand better his perspective.

1.4.2.3 Purposive Sampling

In *Towards African Literature: The Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa* (1973), Jordan writes about Mqhayi as follows:

One of the speakers at his graveyard said, "If we should try to say all that can be said about the deceased, we should remain here till tomorrow morning, and still we should not have said all that can be said of him". The same can be said of his writings.

It is in the light of Jordan's words that for the purpose of this study purposive sampling is adopted. Only 30 poems sourced from the Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature are used. These poems are purposely sampled on the basis that they are all biographical poems first written and

published in *Imvo Zabantsundu*, *Izwi Labantu* and a few in *The Bantu World* newspapers between 1899 and 1944. These poems were written as a tribute to different people of different stature, in life or after death. However, in the analysis only sections of the poems are written as required and the rest of the poems appear in the Appendices.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

As already stated to discuss all of Mqhayi's poems is impossible. Having said that, this thesis covers a wide field, but for purposes of an easy outline and prompt comprehension, it has been scaled down to five main chapters as follows: **Chapter 1** is the introduction, in which the background, the context and the objectives of the study are outlined. In addition to that the limitations of the study are also explored. This is followed by **Chapter 2** which is the literature review; giving an overview of isiXhosa literature with specific reference to orality versus written literature, missionaries and early newspapers. **Chapter 3** is the collection and presentation of data. The nature of the data and the process followed when it was selected are described. In other words an overview of where the poems were collected, when they were written, what was the context of their writing as well as their characteristics is presented in this chapter. Themes dominating in Mqhayi's poetry are identified and discussed. The thirty (30) poems selected are presented here by giving the biographical sketches of the people Mqhayi is praising, where those are available. That is regarded as an important factor underlying the interpretation of the proposed poems. This is followed by **Chapter 4** which entirely focuses on providing an analysis and interpretation of poems presented in Chapter 3. The poems are analysed according to the themes identified and presented in Chapter 3. The Historical-Biographical Approach is employed in the analysis. **Chapter 5** follows with the analysis of the diplomatic presentation of Mqhayi's poetry with special reference to the orthography used. Translation strategies used in translating the poems are discussed in this chapter. The last **Chapter 6** provides findings, recommendations and a general conclusion of the thesis.

1.6 Limitations of the study

As it is mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, to discuss all the poems written by Mqhayi would be impossible because of the vastness of his work in the field of poetry. Consequently this study has limited itself to deal with only thirty (30) of his biographical poems. The selected poems are a representative sample, and those that were easily and readily accessible from the Opland Xhosa Literature Collection. A study on the entire corpus of his biographical poems is beyond the scope of this study.

In his poetry Mqhayi employs very rich isiXhosa, using archaic words that are difficult to find from any of the isiXhosa dictionaries. This has created a problem in the sense that when translating one has to translate based on the context of the poem. This is done only in instances where the word is very obscure, for some reason or the other, one being Mqhayi's ability to coin and use words that are not necessarily in the everyday lexicon of the language. He used language from his immediate environment. More than that could be the fact that this data is from texts that have been written about a hundred years ago and therefore some words have become extinct in the lexicon of the language. Some lines of the other poems are not decipherable because of how the paper was folded or that the newspaper has been worn out. About Mqhayi employing rich archaic words, Opland (2009) remarks that when J.T. Jabavu complained at some stage about Mqhayi's difficult language, Mqhayi defended himself by stating that he wrote the language he heard and spoke in Centane.

In addition, since Mqhayi is writing poems about people, this research also provides the biographies of the people praised to assist with the interpretation of the poems. Some extensive research for these biographies has been done but during the process the research could not be taken further. About five of these individuals could not be traced even when the families of the similar clan and surname had been consulted. The families could not relate to the people enquired about. Maybe this is due to the fact that the people praised lived about one hundred (100) years ago. It means if nothing is recorded about them they are difficult to be traced and researched.

It needs to be mentioned that working with old newspapers and people who lived a long time ago has made this study challenging. Many of the newspapers are out of circulation, and that has for the researcher, made it necessary to visit as many libraries as possible.

1.7 Conclusion

The main focus of this research is to unpack and bring to the fore the legacy, which is the body of knowledge Mqhayi left for the entire nation, as someone who occupies the highest place in isiXhosa literature. This chapter therefore has outlined the overview of what to expect in this study by presenting an introduction to the research, describing the background and context, aims and objectives of the research as well as the research methodology to be employed in order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study stated above. To conclude the chapter the exposition of chapters is also presented. In addition, challenges encountered during the research are also outlined. In the following chapter the literature review is discussed extensively as it is there to reinforce and support the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a critical review of studies and ways of supporting this research, as well as to provide theories that frame it. It provides a summary and critical reflection on relevant scholarship done around the research question, identifying gaps that exist, as well as the intellectual contribution of the research. The literature review focusses on scholarship around Mqhayi, particularly that which studies his writings in newspapers and books, primarily Saule (1989 & 1996), Kuse (1973 & 1978), Qangule (1979), Opland (1983 & 2009), Mpolweni (2004), and Schoots (2014), to mention but a few.

The first section of the literature review presents an overview of the development of isiXhosa literature focusing on orality amongst amaXhosa as a predecessor to an oral literature in print. This is followed by a discussion of the emergence of isiXhosa literature into print, focussing on the role of the missionaries and early newspapers in facilitating the development of isiXhosa literature. Foregrounding this chapter of literature review on orality amongst amaXhosa before the introduction of writing is significant as it seeks to illustrate that in his works, Mqhayi has drawn a lot on the oral traditional Xhosa style of *izibongo* in his biographical poems. The overview will also help to show that early newspapers played a critical role in preserving the legacy that we are seeking to restore today, on isiXhosa literature and legendary writers such as Mqhayi. Mqhayi's personal background is also presented to highlight who he was and the influences in particular, that shaped his career and life. Because the works under study are presented in the original form in which they appeared in newspapers, the theory of Diplomatics, which is a critical analysis of old texts, is presented in the context of Mqhayi's poems some of which are more than a hundred years old. The poems studied are also translated into English; therefore, this chapter also looks at translation strategies used to reach equivalence in the process of translating the poems.

2.2 An overview of isiXhosa literature

2.2.1 Orality as preceding print in isiXhosa society

Before the introduction of writing culture among amaXhosa, orality was used to express and transmit across generations all valuable knowledge to society. For example, the social organisation of the society, the politics and governance, education of the young and information on the history of the society were all passed on by word of mouth. Jordan (1973: xi) attests to that, and states that:

[The] ethos of traditional society was enshrined in oral, legal religious and literary education through which the community transmitted, from generation to generation, its customs, values and norms.

Prior to the introduction of formal learning through schooling as we know it today, traditional African society, and Xhosa-speaking society in particular, had few formal educational institutions, where young men and women were formally taught lessons on life and conduct as well as skills which would help them to earn a living. Consequently, it was difficult for Xhosa-speaking society to acquire information concerning them; that is, who they are in terms of identity, origins and connections. It could be argued though that such information is reserved in the various forms of oral literature practised in the society. In terms of education, this happened through rites of passage such as *intonjane* (womanhood) and *ubwaluko* (male circumcision), and through myths rather than through formal education. Even though there was no formal schooling, this did not mean that social knowledge and other important social skills were not imparted to young people. Besides organized social cultural practices such as *intonjane* or *ubukhwetha* (male circumcision) which inducted the young women and men respectively, into roles and responsibilities associated with their status in society, there were also folktales, myths and legends that provided social and other education (Maseko, 2011). As already mentioned such knowledge was delivered either privately or publicly from mother and/or father to child. Sometimes knowledge was delivered by oral literary artists or apprentice artists in the evening entertainment, or else in open spaces. (Okpewho, 1992). This knowledge was transmitted

through legends, myths, *izibongo*, riddles, traditional songs, narratives, proverbs, idioms, etcetera to inform, educate and entertain. It was an important medium of transmitting inter-generational knowledge. Maseko (2011) also argues that oral literature was part of oral tradition and was valued as an activity in transmitting knowledge in children's education.

While there might be uniformity of the fact that orality has something to do with verbal expression of thought, scholars on orality guard against reducing orality to a specific definition. In Kaschula (2001) Chinyowa argues for the open-ended nature of orality in the sense that it is constantly changing and adapting, both in form and content.

He argues that it can be differently interpreted depending on the context in which it is performed. If we try to reduce it to any definition it tends to destroy the open-ended nature of orality, confining it to one's perception of oral phenomena. However, in his book *The Traditional Artist in African Societies* (1989: 7), D'Azevedo describes orality as "an artistic way of doing, or behaving, and of seeing, having as its primary goal the creation of a product or the effect of a particular kind."

Because this definition includes the word 'artistic' it means it also invites a more open-ended approach to orality, though a specific product is seen as a necessary creation without identifying that product. Chinyowa (quoted in Kaschula, 2001: 123) argues that the characteristics and the effects of orality (mentioned by D'Azevedo above) may be religious, communicative, recreative, economic, political, moral, legal, to mention a few. For example, on the effect of orality on religion, it can be argued that a religious ritual is perceived as that which brings a participant into the presence of a sacred force. In such cases the connection between spirituality and participation is expressed through oral art forms like traditional songs or dance, even praise songs using one's clan names. In the isiXhosa-speaking society, this can be classified as communication, because one is in a way communicating with the ancestors in a spiritual realm where the ancestors play a critical role. In advancing the argument about the relation between orality and economy, Kaschula (2002) gives an example of craft work which is sold at craft markets. He argues that if the skill creates crafts, to set a price and sell in exchange for money,

then to do such things forms part of economic orality. This is also handed down from parent to child by word of mouth, and this can also be regarded as an aspect of orality. To that we can also add creativity as it is an important dimension of orality. To relate more to the above definition one can argue that oral tradition is commonly used at most occasions, for example those that are cultural, religious, political or educational in nature. Therefore, it can be deduced from what has been discussed that the term orality can be described as a tendency to favour oral forms, that is, a word of mouth process as against written forms of language communication.

The quotation that follows by Okpewho (1992: 4) sums up this discussion on oral literature:

Oral literature may be defined as those utterances, whether spoken, recited or sung, whose composition and performance exhibit to an appreciable degree the artistic characteristics of accurate observation, vivid imagination and ingenious expression.

From the above quotation we learn something that marks the significant characteristic of oral tradition, which is intellectual activity that comprises imagination and a resourceful way of expressing that imagination. It is the spontaneous growth of thought in terms of performance and providing an expression of thought through orality, thereby creating a poem or building on folktales and so on.

The aim of discussing orality and how it functions is to highlight the point that the oral literary tradition is the predecessor of the written literary tradition. I argue that these practices should operate with equal importance with the understanding that we now have a culture which promotes literacy but also accepts orality. The relationship between orality and literacy entails that the oral poets are not producing only oral poetry, but are also writing down their poetry. This could take place through written original poetry or transcription of oral poetry performed previously (Kaschula, 2002). Mqhayi, although from the past, is a living testimony of this. He had a unique ability of being an oral and a literary poet. During his time he realized the relevance of the oral word alongside the written word. He used to take trips all over the country of the isiXhosa-speaking people wearing his traditional *imbongi* attire, reciting praise poems at different

occasions in honour of important guests at celebrations such as weddings, the arrival of the Prince of Wales, Presbyterian women's gatherings, just to mention a few (Opland 2009: 8). He acquired the skill of orality through socialization in Centane while he was still a young boy herding cattle with other boys. They either praised each other or praised their cattle. They composed praises based on physical and behavioural attributes of the boy or beast without the aid of writing. Mqhayi also frequented traditional ceremonies or rites of passage like *imidudo* (traditional dances) and *iintonjane*, (rite of passage to womanhood) listening to traditional *iimbongi* (oral poets) showering certain people with praises. Furthermore, he frequently attended tribal meetings to watch and listen to the chief and the chief's councillors who heard and debated law-suits brought to them at the Great Place. His socialisation and his ability to compose oral poetry were transferred to writing when he started to write prose and poetry in newspapers and formal books. His widely acclaimed book, *Ityala Lamawele* (1914) (The Lawsuit of the Twins), as well as most of his published works draw a lot from the oral art forms, *izibongo*. He also contributed written poetry to various newspapers of his time. Consequently, he can be regarded as someone shifting adequately between the oral and written literature, bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of isiXhosa literary eras. Kuse (1978: 48) attests to this when he writes:

Mqhayi was not only a distinguished oral bard of the type that [featured] prominently in the courts of Xhosa kings in ancient times – he was also a literary poet and author of fiction in the Xhosa language.

Kuse (1978) argues that Mqhayi was an oral poet in a literary age, and that he was a literate person carrying an oral tradition. He could extol loudly and could also articulate his praises in writing. In the preceding paragraph I argue that Mqhayi acquired the skill of *ukubonga* or praising by observing, emulating and improving on the praise-singing skills of other people in his social surroundings. I wish to argue further that, besides Mqhayi having socially acquired the skill of being an *imbongi*, he was a natural *imbongi*. Tiyo Soga (1917:103) approves that it is possible to be an *imbongi* by virtue of birth. He endorses this when he describes *ukubonga* (to praise):

Ukubonga oku yinto ebevele nayo umntu, kuba ebebonakala oyimbongi eseyinkwenkwana, kuba woqal'esengako ngokuman'ukubonga ade aqhubele phambili koku akhulayo. Woqala ngokumana ebongana namanye amakhwenkwe, kanti ke woda aye kuwabonga namhla sel'ingamadoda, ibe yindoda eyimbongi.

To praise is a natural thing with the Bantus. The one versed in praising was seen and noticeable whilst still a [young] boy because he would begin at that age praising other boys; he would continue as he grew up and when he was now a man, he praised them properly and would be styled “imbongi” (Praisers) (Translated by C.S. Papu – Cory MS 16369).

I wish to conclude this section by making reference to Ong's work (1982) on oral and written literature, and the difficulty in maintaining a strict distinction between the two. He refers to oral tradition as primary literature as against secondary orality which is written and printed literature. According to him primary oral culture hardly exists today because every culture knows of, and is influenced by writing. Having said that, he still maintains the idea that without writing, human consciousness cannot achieve its fuller potential and therefore, given the technology of writing, orality needs and is destined to produce writing. Ong's statement reinforces the idea that orality precedes writing and also supports the notion that these two cultures can be alongside each other. Literacy among other things is necessary for the development of literature and of any art including oral speech. Hence we admire people like Mqhayi who are able to formulate something orally and still be able to articulate it through pen and paper.

Finnegan in the 1970s, takes issue with Ong, suggesting a more symbiotic relationship between orality and literacy, showing that oral literature is familiar and appreciated, and that the traditional oral literature in African Languages now is starting to gain more recognition as a field of research due to the value being placed on indigenous ways of knowing and communicating in an attempt to define a postcolonial South Africa. Although that is the case it can be argued that many elements of the tradition may have been erased, left behind or adapted because of the changes in amaXhosa society.

Some of these literatures appear in print or on tapes, radio, and television in order to preserve them so that they can reach future generations. This research fits in, to fill the gap that is caused by the adoption of the Western culture. Our people have to see and appreciate the poetry of Mqhayi that is written mostly in a traditional form. It is going to prove that oral art has been with us since the beginning of humankind, having been started by our great-grandfathers when they were relating their life experiences to one another. It can be argued that it was in the area of education that oral literature played significant role in pre-literate communities. Folk stories were improvised, performed and disseminated and handed down from generation to generation.

The introduction of print amongst amaXhosa of the Eastern Cape brought the technology of preserving the knowledge and experiences of the people of the region in paper. However, it is unfortunate that what was preserved, disseminated and appreciated in scholarly and other platforms, was mainly that which was controlled by those who introduced the skill of writing. That which did not serve their purpose was either published incorrectly, or never published. The obliviousness of the literary scholars within and outside of the region about the fact that literature amongst amaXhosa predates writing culture has led to the belief that amaXhosa had very little in the line of literature before the arrival of the Europeans (Opland 1983; 1998), and that the literature of value was that which originated from Europe. It is, however, at the same time very fortunate that early isiXhosa writers such as Mqhayi escaped this censorship and wrote in platforms less controlled by the pioneers of writing. In these platforms, such as newspapers, they were able to record the oral heritage of the amaXhosa, even if it did not get the appraisal and valuing it deserved. The purpose of this research therefore is to present this written oral literature, thereby facilitating its preservation, dissemination and valuing through the work of S.E.K. Mqhayi.

The practice of orality especially as a predecessor to writing in the African context had a critical function of transferring its characteristics to the written tradition as it will be observed in Mqhayi's biographical poems. The pre-literate communities in Africa did have a literary culture, and it is to this Africa where missionaries arrived and played an important role in the birth of written isiXhosa literature.

2.2.2 The emergence of isiXhosa literature into print

IsiXhosa was the first southern African language to be transcribed and printed, and the first to develop into a systematically, matured and well established literature in print (Shepherd, 1955; Gerard, 1971 & 1983; Jordan 1973; Makalima, 1981; Tisani, 2000). The process began in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Opland (2004:22) states that

Xhosa verbal creativity expressed itself throughout the nineteenth century in oral forms well established in precolonial times and - initially in Christian mission journals but in the last two decades in independent secular newspapers – grew and flourished in print and came to speak powerfully in its own voice by the century's end.

At that time in the 1820s John Bennie, one of the missionaries had already made progress to write a book in isiXhosa. There is solid and indisputable historical textual evidence to prove that isiXhosa was the first to be transcribed and printed in the Southern Africa (Opland, 1983). This process was followed by heightened publications of journals and newspapers that carried content in isiXhosa. Examples of such journals, published mainly under the auspices of the Scottish missionaries who were doing evangelical work in the Eastern Cape in the early 1800s to the turn of the twentieth century, is *Ikwezi*. These are discussed in more detail below in 2.2.3. Evidence of these can be found in the archives at Lovedale as the first attempt of early African journalism published by the Scottish missionary printing presses. The magazines/newspapers (*Ikwezi* and *Indaba*) contents among other things include the story of Ntsikana (1780 -1821) to whom a lot of that is legendary and traditional has become attached (Shepherd, 1955). The magazines carried varying content, for example, history of the Xhosa legends, scriptures, social commentaries, etcetera.

The story of Ntsikana was the first oral tradition to be written down by the amaXhosa. His story is relevant to this research because it contains historical information and poetry that is vital in understanding the birth and early growth of isiXhosa literature. After an illiterate Ntsikana had been converted to Christianity, he used the oral tradition to praise God in the same way the chiefs are praised. However no one could be quite sure if he was really praising God, the Almighty or

‘God’ as understood in the Xhosa tradition, namely *Qamata*. This confusion could be caused by the fact that his exposition to this new Christian faith was in an African medium. The period during which Mqhayi wrote comes after the period of the emergence of Ntsikana’s followers like William Kobe Ntsikana (son of Ntsikana), Zaze Soga, Makhaphela Noyi Balfour, John Knox Bokwe and John Muir who wrote about their mentor. Ntsikana was a pioneer in traditional oral poetry, the first convert, a prophet and a preacher. Ntsikana was the most celebrated figure around whom early missionaries and converts built church history and evangelism. It is not quite understood why Ntsikana was referred to as a ‘convert’ because first and foremost he refused to be baptized by the missionaries and founded his own church. Secondly, he never settled on any of the mission stations as it was expected of all the converts, instead he remained rooted in his African tradition which was much related to the way of life of his people. We can say Ntsikana developed in him a sense of double-consciousness, embracing both traditional beliefs and Christianity. The strange thing is that just before he died he instructed his family and followers to join the mission station at Gwali (Jordan, 1973). Just like Mqhayi, his poetry was a transitional form of literature among the amaXhosa in the sense that he interpreted the new in the form of the old. For example, his song looks like a praise poem, a piece of writing praising God and in a style typical of *izibongo*. In *izibongo* we usually find that different praises of someone praised are frequently used as variations to his name. In praising God, Ntsikana uses *Thixo omkhulu*, *Khaka lenyaniso*, *Nqaba yenyanyiso* and *Hlathi lenyaniso* (Almighty God, God of truth, shield of truth and forest of truth). Mqhayi’s work is similar to Ntsikana as Ntsikana was the predecessor to Mqhayi. Mqhayi’s biographical poems also use variations of clan names. For an example in his poem *Anazi na kumke I Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli* (1906), he is consoling the community that was bereaved using a variation of clan names:

<i>Tarhuni ma Mbombo</i>	Peace to you all Mbombo clan
<i>Tarhuni Midange</i>	Peace to you all Dange clan
<i>Tarhuni Majingqi</i>	Peace to you all Jingqi clan

(*Izwi Labantu*, 18 September, 1906: 4)

Ntsikana also uses identifying copulatives in his song *Ulo Thixo* (He is the Great God) *Unguwena-wena* (Thou art Thou). These are typical traditional devices also used by Mqhayi in his biographical poems. To illustrate this I use excerpts of a poem he composed in honour of Mrs Mbokazi (See Appendix 6.28a):

Umfikazi u Mbokazi (1902)

The late Mbokazi (1902)

Ibiwavatis'amahlwempu akowethu

She clothed the indigent of our land

Ibingumqeqeshi wentsapo ye Afrika,

She was the teacher of children of Africa

Ibingumkupi wohlang'ebudengeni,

She was the rescuer of the nation from foolhardiness

Ibiligora, ibiliciko

She was a heroine, an eloquent person

Ibitandeka, ibiyindoda

She was endearing, she was a man

(*Izwi Labantu*, 1902, 12 August: 3)

In this poem Mqhayi is praising Mrs Mbokazi for her patriotism and good citizenship using identifying copulatives in the the same way Ntsikana does in his song when praising God. Identifying copulatives for patriotism and good citizenship are easily identifiable in the poem above. Nonetheless, Ntsikana's so called 'conversion' could be seen as the first negotiation from oral to written between traditional and western values just like Mqhayi. That is evident in Masilela's (2007: 2) words when he writes, "Mqhayi, who started writing for publication from 1897, was viewed by his younger colleagues as "the literary bridgehead between tradition and modernity". He bridges the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries regarding the development of isiXhosa literature. Although Ntsikana accepted Christianity he remained rooted in the amaXhosa tradition and so was Mqhayi who accepted the Western ways of living as it was exposed to him by white missionaries, but he never turned his back on amaXhosa culture and values. Ntsikana was amongst the first amaXhosa to articulate the comprehension of spirituality, and talked about the "Most High" as one would do in oral tradition when praising people in power and people who were revered in society. Since he was a singer and orator he used his experience of praise singing as a medium of expressing his new faith as prayer could be regarded as a form of praise singing. A year after his death his Great hymn was first written down by one

of the missionaries. The first black author to record his other three hymns was John Knox Bokwe in the early nineteenth century. Ntsikana's written words and his great hymn persist to this day and are sung in the Presbyterian Church.

2.2.3 Missionaries and early newspapers in the development of the isiXhosa literature

As mentioned above one of the most important results of the arrival of the missionaries in Africa was the birth of the literate community of amaXhosa. The missionaries started newspapers written in isiXhosa and the contributions to the newspapers came from the literate section of amaXhosa society. However, South Africa's complicated politics of the eighteenth up to the early nineteenth century, together with the effect of the influx of the missionaries and other European travelers, shaped the intellect of the early African writers (Opland 1983; Tisani 2000). History has it that the year 1877 was the ninth and the final year when the military resistance of AmaXhosa was crushed by the British military force (Zotwana 1993). This defeat brought serious social and political consequences among amaXhosa such as strengthening the division that existed between the Christian converts and the unconverted, as well as a drastic reduction of the power of the chiefs, just to mention but a few (Peires 1981). More land was taken away from the chiefs' jurisdiction and placed under that of the magistrates of the colonial government. These chiefs finally lost even the little authority they had when chief Sarhili went into exile and the tragic death of chief Sandile.

Because of all the instability caused by the defeat of amaXhosa on the battle field, especially that amaXhosa's spear and shields were no equal match to the bullets and the grenades of the colonial power, the challenge of carrying on fighting was left in the hands of the literate intellectuals to fight for the rights of the Black people with their pens. In this case, the early Xhosa literates called on the Xhosa society to engage in an intellectual warfare, where the pen would replace the spear as a means of resistance. This is evident in a poem by one of the leading poets of that time, Citashe, in his contribution to *Isigidimi samaXhosa* on 1 June 1882:

<i>Zimkile Mfo wohlanga,</i>	Your cattle are plundered, compatriot!
<i>Putuma, putuma;</i>	After them! After them!

<i>Yishiy'imfakadolo,</i>	Lay down the musket,
<i>Putuma ngosiba;</i>	take up the pen.
<i>Tabat'ipepa ne inki,</i>	Seize paper and ink:
<i>Lik'aka lakho elo.</i>	that's your shield.
<i>Ayemka amalungelo,</i>	Your right are plundered
<i>Qubula usiba:</i>	Grab a pen,
<i>Nx'asha, nx'asha nge inki,</i>	Load, load with ink;
<i>Hlala esitulweni,</i>	Sit in your chair
<i>Ungangeni kwa Hoho</i>	Don't head for Hoho
<i>Dubula ngo siba.</i>	Fire with your pen.

(Opland & Nyamende, 2008: 165 & 168)

The writer here is definitely bringing attention to the loss of land ownership rights and at the same time calling the nation to battle, not by using spears however, but by using the pen. The important message of this poem is that it articulates admittance by literate writers that the amaXhosa's were not succeeding in battle, hence the need for the pen and their request for deliverance via the pen and the literate writer, thereby taking responsibility to protect the amaXhosa from British conquerers. This is also an example of protest poetry that the black writers had to produce, the one that is metaphorical and reserved to conform to the demands of the mission press. This has made the duty of these writers very difficult; they were restricted by their loyalty to the mission rule. What made things worse was the fact that even though they were able to fight with the pen to express the dissatisfaction of their people, the medium of expression was inevitably controlled by the missionaries – and that is through the newspapers they also controlled. The founding principle of these newspapers among other things, from the missionary point of view was to promote spiritual enlightenment, social elevation and mental improvement of the black people (Opland 1983).

2.2.3.1 Missionary influence and oppression, and the response of the early isiXhosa-speaking literates: 1799 -1860

It was in 1799 when the first Dutch missionary Van Der Kemp and his crew arrived in the Eastern Cape with the aim to convert the amaXhosa into the Christian faith (Opland 1983). The arrival of the missionaries also marked the growth of literacy among amaXhosa which became a key factor in the success of their mission to reach as many people as possible. The growing literacy resulted in the development of a permanent isiXhosa literature in print. The initial motivation was brought by the arrival of John Ross, a Scottish missionary, with a small Ruthven printing press. Although they were largely responsible for laying the foundation of written isiXhosa material, censorship by the missionaries was the main challenge in the development of isiXhosa literature. Their printing press only considered printing material which was didactic and Christian in nature. Further, reading culture was confined to formal learning and Christian contexts, that is, mainly in classrooms and church spaces (Opland, 2003). Therefore, any text that was not educational or religious in nature, or that advanced other values other than those of the missionaries, would not be published. Regardless of the oppressive nature of the publishing at the time, this did not deter writings that responded to the repressive missionary rigid rules for publishing (Opland, 2003). As a result, isiXhosa speaking writers had to come up with strategic devices in their style of writing to mitigate the challenge. Besides writing in their native tongue, to obviously address the isiXhosa-speaking people of the region, the most commonly used strategy was the use metaphors. When writing they employed a literary device which Satyo, in Gerard (1973: 70) describes as clothing the Gospel narratives in realistic detail with the aim of confining them to be understandable only to the isiXhosa readers. Consequently, novels like *UNolishwa* (1930) and *UNomathamsanqa Nosigebenga* (1937), by Ndawo, *Umzali Wolahleko* (1933) by Sinxo and *Intombi Yolahleko* (1953) by Gwashu.

Despite all that, during the time of Shepherd as a press director, Lovedale Press in particular, published a host of books that have become classics especially during 1927 and 1955 (Opland 1983), not the least without pressure from those controlling the printing presses at the time. A good example of one of the challenges met by isiXhosa authors during the time was the delayed

publication of Jordan's *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*, because of disagreements about the contents of the book between the author and the head of Lovedale Press (Opland, 1990). There was a delay by almost two years before the book was finally published although Shepherd of Lovedale Press had agreed in writing to publish the book. This is evident in his correspondence to Jordan dated 6th May 1938:

With reference to our previous correspondence regarding your MS. INGQUMBO YEMINYANYA, we have given it very careful consideration. I would like to congratulate you on producing a novel which is likely to take a high place in literature of its kind.

We would have preferred to see the story end in a different fashion. There is a suggestion of the triumph of evil over good. I understand however, that you have fully discussed this matter with Mr Bennie and that you do not see your way, from an artistic point of view to alter the end.

We would be prepared to publish a two thousand edition of the book to sell at... attach a specimen form of agreement and shall be glad to know whether it meets with your approval. If so I shall send it completed and in duplicate for your signature (Opland 1990:139).

Jordan accepted the offer and signed the agreement that was sent to him on 18th May 1938. To Jordan's surprise, the year ended without his book being published. This delay could have been the dissatisfaction of Shepherd with the ending of the book that is evident in the second paragraph of his letter that was an oppressive view coming from the editor and a missionary. However, the book was finally published in its unaltered form two years later, in March 1940. A similar delay happened with Jordan's *Kwezo Mpindo zeTsitsa*, manuscript was submitted for publication but the book itself was published much later in 1972. This is the living testimony of the ruthlessness of the missionary attitude concerning isiXhosa literature. Both these works depicted the sociocultural practices of amaXhosa, something the missionaries' denegated, undervalued and regarded as heathen.

2.2.3.2 Newspapers: 1860 – 1910

We are eternally indebted to the disciples of Ntsikana for the earliest record of anything ever written by amaXhosa in isiXhosa. William Kobe Ntsikana (son of Ntsikana), Zaze Soga, Makhaphela Noyi Balfour, John Knox Bokwe and John Muir Vimbe, to mention but a few, need to be acknowledged as presenting oral tradition, through the works of Ntsikana, in a domain dominated by the written word. Acknowledging these early converts Jordan (1973) comments,

A few young disciples were introduced to the arts of reading and writing, and that, inspired by his (Ntsikana's) exemplary life and teaching, these men became harbingers of the dawn of literacy amongst the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa.

However, Jordan (1973: 3) argues that South African literature emerged long before they (amaXhosa) knew anything about writing, even before the influence of Westernisation from the Europeans, that is, the oral form. The literary form could be back-dated from the early nineteenth century through the initiative of the missionaries who introduced writing, as well as a printing press stationed at Lovedale, in the Eastern Cape to support the publication of educational and Christian literature first, and then literature for leisure. (Makalima, 1981; Zotwana, 1993; Opland, 2004; Tisani, 2000; Maseko 2011; Mawonga 2015). Jordan (1973: 37) supports this idea when he writes,

The dawn of literacy is to be associated, first and foremost, with the Glasgow Missionary Society, whose representatives reduced the Xhosa Language to writing at a small mission station on the banks of Tyhume (Eastern Province) in 1821.

Opland (1983: 230) also writes that literacy was introduced to the Xhosa-speaking people by Scottish and English missionaries in the second decade of the nineteenth century. While the motivation for development of literature started with the missionaries' need to develop Christian and education resources, the newspapers have to be taken as a point of departure. The reason for this, according to Zotwana (1993), is that in these newspapers the converted and literate Xhosa

people started to use their ability to write. It was also in the newspapers that the critical voice of the literate Xhosa people surfaced, the voice that articulated the social tension between Christian and indigenous value systems, as well as political tension between the colonial and indigenous governance.

Apart from its historical interest and importance, the Ntsikana material produced by the converts mentioned above shows the response of amaXhosa to Christianity, and its expression to literature. Satyo, in his article in Gerard (1981: 24) argues that the dawn of the written form of literature was merely the emergence of a new medium for literary activity, and the missionaries seized this opportunity to preach the Word. The story of Ntsikana, as mentioned earlier, was published in the Glasgow Society Missionary magazine *Ikwezi* (Morning Star, 1844-1845), which will be discussed a little later in the following paragraphs. However, it is important not to overlook the fact that these writings by amaXhosa converts were couched in missionary language, but carried elements of African thinking. All they were doing was to challenge while at the same time accommodating features of the missionary order. There was therefore the creation of this balance or negotiation between traditional beliefs and Christianity.

Furthermore, isiXhosa had active newspaper journalism for over a century. Most of the contributors that is, writers/journalists were trained by the missionaries. This took place after having been taught to read and write, through a formal schooling system, where they were trained as evangelists, bible translators, interpreters and teachers, amongst other things. Early newspapers were mostly publications to deposit isiXhosa history, Christian publications and thus didactic or educational in style, illuminating and expanding on Christian teachings. *Umshumayeli wendaba* (The preacher of the news) which was established in 1837, edited by the Wesleyan missionary William Shaw, was the first earliest newspaper to publish news and other knowledge for secular purpose and school reading. It was published about 14 years after the appearance of the first printed text in isiXhosa (in 1823). Political comments in this newspaper were prohibited. William Shaw, the editor, quoted by Opland (1998: 230) reports that, "It is not a vehicle of any kind of politics, although it bears this title." Shaw further noted that the objective of the paper was to feature articles that directly promoted religion, to increase Christian knowledge, to dispel

superstition related to indigenous practices, and to advance civilization in the country. Shaw encouraged socio-political contributions from isiXhosa readers, even though politics were not allowed in *Umshumayeli*. Initially, *Umshumayeli* informed its readership about local and overseas mission work but later introduced some information in a dialogue form (See Opland 1998: 231-234). These dialogic forms of writings by the early writers could be regarded as what turned out to be known as drama in the present day literature era. Despite the appeal by Shaw for contributions, particularly on local myths and legends from isiXhosa speaking African writers, the missionary writings still dominated the amaXhosa; especially missionary Richard Haddy (Opland, 1998: 234). Shaw did not do this appeal out of good will but with the purpose to be able to answer when he is asked about the origins of the Xhosa people (Opland 1998: 231- 234). Although *Umshumayeli wendaba* carried in its pages the first pieces of published writing by amaXhosa, these contributions were mediated by white missionaries. As it is mentioned in the forgoing paragraph, although at the forefront the contributors were white people, the contents were still dealing with the history of isiXhosa literature. Consequently, the editorial policy was no longer encouraging readers to write. Perhaps that was the reason why after having issued about fifteen (15) publications *Umshumayeli* ceased to operate in April 1841.

Umshumayeli was followed by *Isibuto samavo* (a collection of stories) in 1843, also a Wesleyan newspaper which was very similar to *Umshumayeli* in terms of content and structure. It was similar in content and style because it reprinted the dialogues and biblical characters featured in *Umshumayeli*. It also added articles praising God, customs of amaXhosa, chiefs especially converts, news about different nations, church meetings and also more religious poems (Opland, 1998). As expected, most of these contributions were pro-Christian extending the church and school literature beyond the classroom and places of worship. Although the inauguration of these newspapers was the Wesleyan Methodist's initiative, the Scottish mission was the one which became the focus of isiXhosa writing. The missionary Haddy, like in *Umshumayeli* was the dominating contributor in this paper. Although Jordan (1973) has placed early isiXhosa writers and their works in their proper historical perspective, he does not mention anything about *Umshumayeli wendaba* and *Isibuto samavo*. It could be that according to him the earliest

isiXhosa writings appeared in *Ikwezi* which is to our knowledge the third periodical published by the Scottish mission.

Ikwezi was published by Lovedale Press in 1844 under the directorship of R.H.W. Shepherd. Its content, as that of its predecessors was purely Christian in nature with some contributions in English, and it was designed to provide suitable reading material for mission schools. In relation to th (1983) writes, “It is clear that for Shepherd and Lovedale the ‘good literature’ was equivalent to “Christian literature”. That was for all contributions, English and isiXhosa. Unlike its predecessors, which were in isiXhosa only, *Ikwezi* was a bilingual magazine, in isiXhosa and English (Shepherd, 1955; Opland, 1998). The missionaries were also dominant in this paper, as a result the content continued to focus on Christian religion and school resources. However, as mentioned earlier, there were a number of isiXhosa contributions which were mostly the work of the first converts who were Ntsikana’s disciples who appeared to have learned to read and write in their old age, argues Gerard (1971). Their writings were about the story of Ntsikana, an article on circumcision among the Xhosa, a story about the first American president, George Washington, Christian work in lands and beyond Africa, some stories about Bantu converts to Christianity and lastly an appeal to Christian parents about the training and teaching of their children (Shepherd, 1955: 34). The interesting thing about these writings is that they were written in the spirit of old oral tradition. It is surprising though to learn that missionaries allowed an article about circumcision to be published whereas they condemned everything of that nature and regard it as heathen. That was the reason Mqhayi was expelled from Lovedale as the poem challenged the ethos of western religion and education. Gerard (1971) adds that early writers wrote mainly of the wars between Ngqika and Ndlambe, and about the rivalry between Ntsikana and Makhanda. Jordan, quoted by Gerard (1971: 30) writes,

None of these disciples set out to write history as such. They set out to write about their mentor and the chiefs are mentioned only insofar as their rule affected Ntsikana.

Ikwezi ceased operation in December 1945 after having issued only four (4) publications. Perhaps this was due to the breakout of the War of the Axe in 1946 that caused the displacement of the missionaries (Shepherd, 1955, Gerard, 1971).

Isitunywa senyanga (The Monthly Messenger), another Wesleyan newspaper under the leadership of J.W. Appleyard emerged in 1850. It looked very modern, containing notices, with a more contemporary look, as compared to its predecessors. It started raising broader secular questions than did the earlier newspapers. Opland (1998) observes that “*Isitunywa* was clearly not aimed at just the products of mission schools but at adult English and Xhosa readers with their own minds”. It also contained current events and advertisements written in isiXhosa and English. Contemporary news was contributed by many, including Jacob Bokwe, writing about the evils of liquor and life in the city. There were also extensive historical contributions, for example George Cyrus writing a biography of Nonesi and others writing about the origins of the Xhosa people, to mention but a few (Opland 1998). The advertisements were mostly about church burials, livestock sales, and etcetera. The editor also encouraged the readers to contribute something Opland explains as the revival of Shaw’s policy where he encouraged readers to contribute to newspaper content. *Isitunywa senyanga* was printed in King William’s Town. Because of the content and language used it is evident that it was not only aimed at schools, but also at wider adult readership. Besides offering local news on the origins of the Xhosa people, funerals and city life, *Isitunywa* expanded its base by publishing news from England, Europe and China.

Another prominent paper, also produced by Lovedale Press, was *Indaba* (The News), which was first published in 1862. This paper, like *Isitunywa* was also written in isiXhosa with a few articles in English. Consequently, it had more than one editor, with the English pages edited by the Rev. William Govan, and the isiXhosa pages under the editorship of Rev. Bryce Ross, a multilingual scholar with knowledge of English, isiXhosa, Hebrew, Greek and Latin (Shepherd, 1955). The motivation behind the employment of the two editors was probably because of the declaration made by the editor (Gqoba) that the paper was designed specifically for those speaking the isiXhosa language. It was noted that maybe an isiXhosa column would be better off

with someone who was to concentrate solely on it having the best interest of the isiXhosa language speakers at heart. Tiyo Soga, the son of Jotelo, was amongst the leading contributors in the paper. He is one who undertook the restoration of Xhosa journalism after it was largely abandoned after the War of the Axe in 1846 (Gerard, 1971). He had hopes that *Indaba* could be a vessel for the preservation of folklore. Consequently, he was a regular contributor by means of numerous hymns, translations, and articles as well as oral literary material. To his disappointment, when the paper stopped publication in 1865, it was still difficult to regard it as having achieved his wishes. As a way of agreeing with Soga's wishes and hopes Mabote (1996) viewed *Indaba* as an advance on the traditional oral transmission of news in African society. By that Mabote could have meant that in its pages one may find Ntsikana's account by his son William Kobe Ntsikana. This account had a profound influence on successive generations of isiXhosa writers who have drawn inspiration from Ntsikana's use of traditional literary techniques in his poetry that was in a form of songs as stated in the previous paragraphs. A mention was made in one of its first issues that *Indaba* was basically intended to endure on the interests of the indigenous people of South Africa, amaXhosa in particular, missionary operations, articles on the history of Christianity among amaXhosa. Other contributors like William Kobe and John Vimbe, also featured in *Indaba*. Kobe as mentioned earlier wrote a biography on Ntsikana, and Vimbe wrote about the Zulu culture and people. That was not much when compared to what Soga has contributed. Soga, besides his variety of didactic and moralizing articles also published recordings of oral art, fables, legends, proverbs, praise songs and genealogies (Gerard, 1971 & 1983; Opland, 1983). It ceased operation in February of 1865 after having issued about 31 monthly issues. With that long history *Indaba* enjoyed a longer life than any of the newspaper previously established. The reason, according to Opland (1983), is that missionaries were yielding their monopoly of their newspapers and therefore contributors managed to express themselves on almost any subject they chose or as suggested by the editor, contributed as regularly as possible, and submitted worthy contributions to society. Reflecting on that Opland (1983: 237) writes,

Indaba featured contributions from writers who will enter the annals of Xhosa literature not as historical curiosities but by virtue of the quality and quantity of their outputs.

In 1870 *Isigidimi Sama-Xosa* emerged, succeeding *Indaba*. *Isigidimi* was another important newspaper to emerge out of Lovedale Press, also published in both English and isiXhosa. Its importance could be that it was used to “express views on what was considered to be the black man’s point of view” (Johnson, 1991:91). Most probably, it was also regarded as ‘a vehicle for the first publication of original isiXhosa poetry’ (Opland 1983), operating under the name *Kaffir Express* (English translation of *Isigidimi sama-Xosa*). Zotwana (1993) also supports this when he writes, “The Xhosa newspapers before *Isigidimi* did not publish any poetry. The first contribution in a newspaper appeared in *Isigidimi samaXhosa* of 1 September 1871”. Opland (1993) argues that although the poetry was original, its style and sentiment were that of Western and Christian form. That was the case most probably because, in my opinion, they were still under the dominating umbrella of western discourse and therefore traditional poetry was not encouraged. IsiXhosa section became independent of *Kaffir Express* in 1876 and was widely known to be the first newspaper to be edited by Blacks in Southern Africa but still published by the mission press. Elijah Makiwane was its first editor, followed by Tengo Jabavu in 1881. It published much traditional material, dealing with traditional practices and ways of being. After three years, William Wellington Gqoba became in charge of the editorship until it ceased publishing in 1888 after his sudden death. Jordan (1973) states that during his time as the editor, Gqoba collected a large number of isiXhosa proverbial and idiomatic expressions, excellent prose and history of the amaXhosa including *izibongo* in honour of chiefs and other prominent people. Perhaps what made Gqoba to be this capable was because he had both Christian and folktale inspiration, something that made him look as one who followed Soga’s footsteps in reconciling African tradition and Christian faith. In actual fact they both followed the Ntsikana pattern. They both wanted to preserve in writing the wealth of African oral tradition but acknowledged the western values (Gerard, 1971).

Another notable and prominent contributor in the paper was Ntsiko, who wrote under the pseudonym '*Uhadi Wase-Luhlangeni*' (Harp of the Nation). He was known as a hymn writer, he also contributed poems and prose to *Isigidimi*, expressing the dissatisfaction of many readers. He was demanding from the editor equality in the expression of African views and the holding of official positions of government and church. In his struggle for equity he submitted an article that was rejected by the editor for being "too hostile to the British rule" because it challenged British domination (Gerard, 1971). That rejection made African intellectuals to lose confidence in *Isigidimi* and besides Gqoba's death might have been the reason for the paper to cease publication in 1888. John Knox Bokwe, an active writer of hymns also contributed in *Isigidimi* and John Muir Vimbe contributed articles and letters.

In 1880 J. Tengo Jabavu broke away from missionary control and founded *Imvo Zabantsundu* (African Opinion) as a first newspaper to be written, edited and owned by Black people in South African history. That's what made *Imvo* special and different from *Isigidimi*. Both papers were concerned about the voice of the black men but *Isigidimi* was still under white ownership, and also published by whites whereas *Imvo* was written for and by blacks under their ownership and control as well (Tomaselli & Louw, 1991). This breakaway was motivated by the fact that Jabavu started to feel the constraints of editing a paper that was still published by a mission press. He felt that the power, authority and dominance of the mission newspaper were over. In his book *Bantu Literature and Life*, Shepherd (1955: 91) commented that Jabavu was anxious for more journalistic freedom and to deal with political questions, something that was not possible with *Isigidimi*.

Imvo under the editorship of Jabavu was a newspaper that informed and taught people about political realities as well as mobilizing them to stand up against colonialism. Compared to *Imvo*, *Isigidimi* deliberately avoided controversy and political comments whereas *Imvo* was concerned about getting more journalistic and political freedom. Perhaps this was due to the fact that its first editor, Elijah Makiwane was a conformist, capitulating to Christian conformity (Opland 1983). IsiXhosa readers now were looking forward to editorial independence in what they published and also independence even in political content. Stewart, the principal of Lovedale at

that time also supported Imvo's anxiety for more journalistic and political freedom. He showed his approval by adding in his inventory that amongst other reasons, the *Imvo's* political content did have an impact in the closure of *Isigidimi*. That closure proved beyond reasonable doubt that *Isigidimi* lost strength in the competition with *Imvo*. Johnson (1991: 18) argues that *Imvo Zabantsundu* also intervened on a practical level in many of the issues of the day; it led the opposition of the pass laws, 'location' regulations as a result of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, and the imprisonment of several chiefs on Robben Island for inciting people to oppose the government, and these activists were also ringleaders in protests. Besides being the unrestricted voice of African views we do not learn much about the African's contributions to the development of isiXhosa literature in *Imvo*. Perhaps this was due to the rivalry between *Imvo* and *Izwi Labantu* (to be discussed below). The details of the rivalry, according to Opland (1983) can never be fully known. However, journalist and literary commentator, Jonas Ntsiko was the poetic specialist of *Imvo* as he was of *Isigidimi*. He wrote isiXhosa poetry using a Western style of writing poetry, meaning that his poetry was still influenced by western forms of literature and therefore ideal for mission schools, same as the one presented in *Isigidimi* by African writers writing in isiXhosa.

Imvo Zabantsundu started to experience financial challenges to such an extent that it lost its credibility and people started to have an interest in another new black owned paper that emerged in 1897, *Izwi Labantu* (The voice of the people), under the editorship of Chief Cyril Mhala. It was founded and published in East London, by a group of Africans opposed to the editor of *Imvo*, Jabavu, who was a supporter of the Afrikaner Bond. S. E. K. Mqhayi was the sub-editor of *Izwi* from 1897 to 1900, and 1906 to 1909. He was also an active contributor for this newspaper as '*Imbongi YakwaGompo*' (The poet of Gompo/East London). He produced the kind of poetry that was traditional in form as against all other contributors who favoured Western tradition. His was free of meter and rhyme (Opland, 1983). Overall, the poetry that appeared in *Izwi Labantu* was free of Western influence, and was reflective of the traditional style of oral poetry. Perhaps it was because Africans were starting to be suspicious of white political intentions. Comparing *Imvo* to *Izwi*, Opland (1998) argues that *Izwi* attracted poetry written in the form and spirit of

traditional *izibongo* whereas *Imvo*'s poetic house style was Western. This suited Mqhayi who was a sub-editor and also a literary and oral contributor and an *imbongi*.

Of all the contributors to early newspapers, we can single out Mqhayi and J. Knox Bokwe as the only writers whose works were published in books. Fortunately for them the mission agencies had finally acknowledged the need to publish isiXhosa works of literature (Opland, 1983). *Izwi* was actively involved in the formation of the South African Native Congress by supporting the Native Press Association in enhancing its role of being a platform for people interested in arranging African political activity. Hence, it was described as more radical than *Imvo Zabantsundu*. Johnson (1991) comments that it was sometimes described as a populist, a socialist paper hostile to capitalism; but its main aim was to emphasize the need for Africans to stand up for themselves, to be proud of who they are and work for their own improvement in their own terms. The relationship between *Izwi Labantu* and the South African Native Congress was probable due to the fact that they were both formed by a group of emerging Xhosa politicians in 1897/8 in opposition to Jabavu of *Imvo* (Odendaal, 1984). They did that predominantly on the concern of a permanent evocative group to protect black rights.

Apart from the newspapers discussed above that emerged in the Eastern Cape we might need to mention the urban-based political newspapers that also emerged and helped early isiXhosa writers to publish in their indigenous language works of literature. *Abantu-Batho* was one of those, a multilingual paper having isiZulu, isiXhosa, and Sesotho /Setswana sections, as well as an English section. It operated from 1912 to 1931. It was launched soon after the African National Congress was established in 1912, and Opland believes that it had a strong bond with the ANC. "*Abantu-Batho*" Opland writes, "served as the organ of South African National Congress from its inception in 1912" (Opland 1998:251). Les Switzer in the preface of *The People' Paper* (Limb 2012), is not convinced in his support of this view that *Abantu-Batho* served as an organ of South African National Congress. He argues that while the newspaper may or may not have been the ANC's official organ, its staff constituted part of the ANC hierarchy. He also believes that the paper was always associated with the Congress politics in one way or another. For the purpose of this study, this paper played a major role in incubating the isiXhosa

literature because it first set Nontsizi Mqgqwetho, a well-known female poet, on the path of publication and she enjoyed a high reputation as a poet, both in print and performance (Limb, 2012). Mqhayi, her contemporary also contributed a vast output of isiXhosa literature to *Abantu-Batho*. Mqhayi, just like Mqgqwetho, was an author and an oral poet. The contributions they made to the newspapers is immeasurable.

Abantu-Batho was succeeded by *Umlindi we nyanga* (Monthly Watchdog) which commenced publication in 1934 and ceased in 1952. Immediately after *Umlindi* ceased publication, *Umthunywa* hit the shelves in 1937. These newspapers, although they were not as popular in comparison to those before them, did foster the literary careers of many writers including Mqhayi, the subject of our research, who contributed freely to a variety of newspapers. He also undoubtedly left his mark in *Umlindi we nyanga* and *Umthunywa*. He contributed poetry and a letter in *Umlindi* in 1938 and 1940, and a poem in *Umthunywa* in 1939. Other contributors were Giqwa who submitted youthful articles and poetry in *Umthunywa*; Jolobe contributed poetry, travelogues and letters in *Umthunywa*, while Mbebe contributed articles, obituaries, reports and poetry in *Umthunywa*. Petana, Sigila, Sihele, Teka, and all the Yako sons were contributors in *Umthunywa*. T. B. Soga also contributed letters and lectures in *Umlindi* during 1936-37 (Opland, 1998). By judging by this big number of contributors to newspapers, we can say that this is the indication of wealth and variety of isiXhosa literature, although the evidence is suggestive rather than conclusive. These travelogues, obituaries and reports are the types of literature indicative of Mqhayi's biographical poems analysed in this study.

One other popular newspaper of the twentieth century that needs mentioning was *Umteteli wa Bantu* (Representative of People) which operated between 1920 and 1956. It was published by the Chamber of Mines and served as an alternative voice to *Abantu –Batho*, the Congress paper. This paper could be regarded as prominent because the greatest contribution to isiXhosa literature was made through it with Rev. Maxeke as its first editor. Powerful poets like Nontsizi Mqgqwetho, S. E. K. Mqhayi, J. J. R. Jolobe, T.B. Soga and John Solilo featured in this paper, making it their exclusive literary medium for the explicitly political concerns of the nation. It is in that light that Opland (1998: 252-3) remarks, “in its first incarnation, *Umteteli* made a major

contribution to Xhosa literature: for twenty-five years its pages were filled with creative writing of the highest order.”

Unfortunately, although our early writers had made such great effort to express themselves creatively using print media, no book as yet appeared that included original poems, until recently by Opland (2007 & 2009), in the case of Mgqwetho and Mqhayi respectively. However, some of the earlier literature previously appeared in the newspapers and periodicals discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, was assembled and edited by Rubusana in an anthology book entitled *Zemk'iinkomo Magwalandini* that was first published in London in 1906 and the second edition by Lovedale Press in 1911. Rubusana (1906) collected essays and poems, most of which were written first in newspapers and that were about historical articles and a lot of traditional and Western poetry. However his collections were most famous for censorship of some of the writings it carried. Equally important to that, Lovedale Press also published a notable anthology *Imibengo* by Bennie in 1936. According to Gerard (1971) *Imibengo* supplemented Rubusana's anthology in giving amaXhosa knowledge of pride in their literary legacy. Indeed, it also contained similar material of prose and poetry contributed by the likes of Ntsikana, Tiyo Soga, Gqoba, Mqhayi and many others, including two European writers but they were not included in Rubusana's anthology. To use Jordan's (1973) words we can claim that the publication of Rubusana's anthology marks the end of the first fifty years of literary activity amongst the isiXhosa-speaking people. He further argues that the legacy of the first fifty years of isiXhosa literary activity is to be strongly respected solely because these early writers had no tradition to guide them. It was indeed a remarkable achievement.

Deducing from the foregoing discussion we, as Africans and amaXhosa in particular, should give a sincere gratitude to the Glasgow Missionary Society for having given the stipulation that their missionaries should acquire the language of the country where they minister so that at the end they could be able to translate parts of the scripture into it. By so doing, they were planting the literary seed that would yield isiXhosa literature.

2.2.3.3 Creative writing – Literature in books 1910 – 1950

The socio-political situation of the amaXhosa made it possible that the pen becomes mightier than the sword. Even so, there was no plain sailing for the writers because still the call to any form of education was alongside Christianity and by the look of things there was no turning back from Christianity. Consequently, writers started living in conflicted states of mind – embracing Christianity but at the same time acknowledging their indigenous values. They presented themselves as social critics - criticizing the colonial rule. However, the Lovedale Press was still in control of the printing press and its publication was predominantly didactic and religious though now it was a bit relaxed in terms of censorship, instead it encouraged African authors to submit their works as much as possible. It went as far as enthusiastically engaging itself in printing and publishing more general literature at its own risk and cost. Because of that, volumes of poetry, novels, drama and other genres were published (Opland, 1983).

As stated earlier, printing was mostly used for linguistic, educational and religious purposes by the missionaries. Early isiXhosa literature produced by Lovedale Press was initially translations of Biblical material from English originals, hence Tiyo Soga, in 1864 produced a translation of the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan. This translation had a bearing on the emergence of the early isiXhosa literature and it was published in 1867 as *Uhambo Lomhambi*. Later after *Uhambo Lomhambi* (1867), a booklet *Nehemiah* (1906) by Bokwe was produced. This booklet was produced during the same year as *Zemk'iinkomo Magwalandini* (1906).

The production of the books was the beginning of a shift from newspaper publications to the publication of books. This era of the isiXhosa literature was when the genre of imaginary prose began, pioneered most prominently by the man whom Gerard (1971) describes as perhaps the last of the great tribal bards, S.E.K.Mqhayi. He first published a novelette which was an adaptation of the story of Samson from the Bible and entitled *USamson* (1907), followed by Ndawo's *Uhambo LukaGqobhoka* (1909). Mqhayi and Ndawo can be labelled as the first writers to produce isiXhosa novels. A little later after that a novel *Ityala Lamawele* (1914) by Mqhayi followed. Among these pioneers there was also the first woman writer who needs mentioning, L. Kakaza who produced a novella, *Intyatyambo Yomzi* (1913) and *U-Thandiwe*

wakwa Gcaleka (1914). Last but not least during this second decade was E. S. Guma who is well known for his work *U-Nomalizo* (1928). In addition to these pioneers young writers with new themes and new genres emerged including G. B. Sinxo, And J. J. R. Jolobe who was regarded as the founder of isiXhosa drama. Many of these early novelists include A. C. Jordan with his most distinguished novel *Inggumbo Yeminyanya* (1940). Amongst this young generation of writers, V. Swartbooi as the second isiXhosa woman writer also emerged with her only novel *U-Mandisa* (1935). As Gerard (1971) states, the twentieth century period experienced a remarkable development as well as diversification of isiXhosa because different genres of literature started to be introduced. Mqhayi, Peteni and Jordan were the ones who got most recognition. However, we need to always remember that the content was still controlled by the missionaries. It had to be didactic and religious to conform to the demands of missionaries; hence books like *USamson* by Mqhayi, *Umzali wolahleko* by Sinxo and many others.

2.2.3.4 *Diversification of the publishing houses: 1950 – 1990*

In the years that followed, new publishing houses were established although sadly enough the editors were mainly white and monolingual and the books were still aimed at the school market. Even though there was a shift from Lovedale Press to new established publishing houses, the content was controlled by governmental language boards which rejected anything political and the editors were white, people who were not well equipped for such positions because their command of isiXhosa was not efficient (Peires, 1980: 72).

2.2.3.5 *Transformation: 1990 – to date*

From 1990 up to post democratic era things really shaped up with well renowned authors' works being published like Mtuze, Shasha, Saule and other emerging writers like Matyumza, Zotwana, Magqashela to mention but a few. In 1998 the Department of Arts and Culture convened conferences of women writers which afforded women of the Eastern Cape an opportunity to share their experiences with their counterparts elsewhere in the country. That alone shows that the Department is also supporting the development of isiXhosa literature as Hon. MEC N. Njajula, in the foreword of Vol 2 of *Nawe Unako* (2008) writes:

As we march and forge ahead with celebrations of our ten years of democracy and beyond, our future is being reshaped. Literature thus plays a pivotal role in bringing in a plethora of refreshing minds, souls and attitudes. If we can breed a reading nation, there is hope for transformative changes in society's morals espoused in some of these writings.

This is proven in the works of the not so well-known female author, Magqashela, who caught the attention of the literary fraternity in 2006 with her innovative works and inspirational themes on gender based violence, in *Isangxa siyawhuza* (2006) and *Amathaf'entandabuzo* (2006), a novel and a drama respectively.

2.3 The Poet of the Nation, S. E. K. Mqhayi: His Life and Career

2.3.1 His birth

This section provides biographical information on Mqhayi. The purpose is to highlight his personal life history, particularly the influences that shaped his life and career. However, it is worth noting that outlining the life and works of Mqhayi is such a gruelling task since a lot of people have written biographical sketches about this "African man of letters" as Shepherd (1955: 115). The difficulty is in thinking of what else to say that differs from the previous works by other authors. Even though a vast literature has been written about Mqhayi, it makes sense to begin with Mqhayi's account of his own personal life drawing heavily from his autobiography. Scott (1976: 38) argues that all the biographical sources about Mqhayi come from his autobiography, *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1939). Even this section will extract its data from the English version titled *A short autobiography of Samuel Krune Mqhayi* (1976). It was translated by W.G. Bennie and edited by P. E. Scott.

It is reported that Mqhayi's birth brought with it a reverberation in his village. Women who were hoeing the fields hastily threw their hoes down to assist as midwives to his mother who was giving birth to a child, little Samuel (Scott 1976). Mqhayi having heard the story of his birth wrote this beautiful poem below, about the significance and conditions of his own birth. Only few stanzas will be quoted otherwise the rest of the poem will appear in Appendix A:

Samuel

*Le ntshukumo yeyani na,
Kumadoda namanina?
Yeyanina le mivuyo?
Ngathi lixa lemiguyo?
UmkaZiwani uzele,
Umz'uzele bububele.*

What is this movement,
Among men and mothers
What is this excitement about?
As if it is the time of merriment?
Ziwani's wife has given birth,
The village is full of joy.

Mqhayi retells through this poem as indicative in the above, the movement, excitement, joy, bliss, harmony as well as astonishment which characterised his birth (See Appendix A: 207). He was born on the 1st December, 1875, in the house of Ziwani, (Mqhayi's father), the son of Krune. Qhashani, (Mqhayi's mother) gave birth to their son, Samuel at Gqumahashe, a village at the banks of the Tyhume River. Opland (1983: 92) writes, "He [Mqhayi] traces his descent back five generations to Ntshezi, a Thembu of royal blood of the house of Bhomoyi of the Zima clan." These were God-fearing people; devout Christians, hence Samuel, the biblical name was given to their son, and it was also in thankfulness. From the poem above the name Samuel means 'The one asked from God'. This name could be attributed to the fact that his parents asked God to bless them with a baby boy. They already had four girls, hence they prayed for a boy. They felt that Samuel's birth was an answer to their prayers. He was named after an Old Testament prophet, so the parents' intentions might have been to train the boy for holy orders. However, their son did not opt for ministry as they wished, instead he voted for literature. This does not mean he turned his back away from Christianity; rather the Bible was one of his distinguishable motivations because in his writings he quoted abundantly from it. He testifies this by saying, "I took every opportunity of attending Divine worship on Sundays." (Scott, 1976: 21). Like his father Ziwani, grandfather Krune and great grandfather Mqhayi, he took great interest in religious educational and civic or political matters.

2.3.2 His school years

Mqhayi was the only boy at his home. He obtained his primary education at Allandale in Alice district, and in Centane. His secondary education was acquired from Lovedale. Like any other child he started schooling at the age of six at a nearby school Evergreen, in 1882. His first day at school was the greatest day of his life as he says, “It was a great thing for us to be seated on benches, looking at the teacher while writing on that big slate of his – the blackboard (Shepherd 1955:112). That is where he got his other name Edward, bestowed on him by his teacher Joseph Fondini. This eagerness to be at school can be seen in the last stanza of his poem (209:appendix A):

<i>Simcelela zonk'izipho;</i>	We ask for all gifts for him;
<i>Nezomhlaba nezezulu;</i>	Gifts from earth and from heaven
<i>Nezenzulu yaz'iinzulu;</i>	For those of the deep unto deep
<i>Abe luncedo esizweni,</i>	[And he be the help to the nation]
<i>Nempilo eluhlangeni.</i>	To be the healing unto the nation.

In this poem he is articulating his parents' wishes as they were wishing him all the blessings from God so that when time comes he could be of help to the nation; something he would not be able to accomplish if he never attended school. The two last lines are an illustration of his commitment to serve the nation, 'And he be the help to the race' 'To be the strength unto the race'. It is during the three years at this school that he met three men who could be credited for shaping Mqhayi's life and career. They were Rev. Elijah Makiwane, Mpambani Jeremiah Mzimba and John Tengo Jabavu. These three men were leading isiXhosa personalities and writers, something they rubbed off to Mqhayi. Because of his encounter with these men, it is not surprising that Mqhayi had become an unquestionable leader and writer. He didn't stay long in this school because at the age of nine his family moved to Centane near Butterworth. The six years he spent at Centane could be regarded as the best years of his life considering that it is where he listened to the old warriors' tales and to the discussions and debates of the meetings where his great uncle, Chief Nzanzana, held court. During his stay there he learned a lot about

amaXhosa life, customs, and culture, he also acquired an incredible knowledge of his people's language, something he treasured and cherished his whole life through his writings and valuing of indigenous ways of life. This is reflected in his own words when he says, "I thank my father for taking me to Kentane, for it was the means of getting an insight into the national life of my people." (Scott, 1976: 19 – 20). About the experience he attained at Centane, Jordan (1973: 99) comments:

We owe a great deal to the six years in Centane. For it was during this time that Mqhayi began to understand the culture and history of his people. It was there that he saw *imidudo*, *intonjane*, *imiyeyezelo*, *amadini*, etc. As he relates, he used to spell – bound, listening to *inkundla* orations. It was there that he first listened to *izibongo* and himself began to 'lisp in numbers', praising favourite oxen, other boys or himself. It was there that he began to appreciate the beauty, dignity and subtleties of Xhosa and to acquire the amazingly wide vocabulary that even Tiyo Soga would have envied.

This is the experience that elucidates a very fascinating characteristic of Mqhayi's life and writings. The way he acquired the knowledge and skills can be regarded as a spring board to his career which endowed him to be the *imbongi* he was. The experience he gained there also gave him the material for his storyline in *Ityala Lamawele* (1914), where a dispute arose as to which twin was borne first and therefore entitled to be the heir to the chieftancy. However, his stay at Centane also had a negative impact on his education as he was attending school sporadically because he had the responsibility of herding the cattle. He was rescued from this predicament by the arrival of his sister who took him back with her so he could start schooling at Lovedale. He had been in and out of school from 1891 - 1895.

Mqhayi's life was never an easy one, especially financially. Consequently he never enjoyed weekends and school vacations because he had to work raising funds for his education. That also instilled in him a sense of responsibility at an early age. Nevertheless, Opland (2009), states that Ziwani supported his son's desire for education. One stanza in the poem above, about his birth confirms that, "Everybody at home wished well for me in my education, saying: "This boy will

be a student, he must be educated.” Indeed he became isiXhosa language novelist, biographer, poet, teacher scholar and above all a nationalist. His schooling and parents’ wishes were transformed into reality through his character and life. This is also reflected in his own words when he says:

If I had not been at Kentane for those six years, it seems to me as if I would not have been any help to my nation and even the little education that I have it seems would not have helped me and it would not have been of any help to the Xhosa, and I myself it seems would have a lower standing than I have now (Scott, 1976: 19).

About his zeal to learn, Shepherd (1955: 112) had this to say:

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 especially at a good knowledge of the scriptures.

Aiming “at a good knowledge of the scriptures” mentioned in the quote portrays the Christian side of Mqhayi. All his school life was centred on Christian values. Despite all that his love for his culture was steadfast and unwavering. This is evident in his action of defying the authorities at Lovedale. He absconded from school to attend the initiation school on the 6th March, 1894, something totally against the missionary rules. He was in trouble for the action he took but he valued his cultural practices, and did not see how they should be in conflict with Christian values and education. This type of reaction proved beyond reasonable doubt that Mqhayi really had characteristics of patriotism and loyalty to his customs at an early age. He had a sense of commitment to his nation and he writes:

I knew how hateful the circumcision school was to the ministers, but I had determined to be expelled rather than not become “a man.” In my own mind I felt that I was going to be a worker for my own people in my own country, a worker for the Gospel for social service, in politics, and in educational matters; and it was clear

to me that I could not accomplish my work if I did not become a man as they were (Scott, 1976: 24).

On his coming back from the initiation school, to his surprise and relief though, he was pardoned and re-admitted. He was confirmed as a full member of the Presbyterian Church and was later trained as a teacher. We can argue therefore that the school and church developed and refined Mqhayi's leadership qualities.

2.3.3 Mqhayi as a teacher, journalist, councillor and a politician

Mqhayi was a teacher by profession, trained at Lovedale Teacher Training College. After having finished his training he started teaching in West Bank, a location in East London. However, teaching was never close to his heart. Maybe his heart was more in politics and journalism but he accepted the post in respect of the person who offered it; Rev. W. B. Rubusana. "I accepted the offer out of respect for the minister, as in my own mind I had not regarded teaching as my future profession" (Scott, 1976: 27). Consequently, he was in and out of the teaching profession. He pursued his teaching career together with his journalistic career. While he was teaching in West Bank he published a lot of poems in a newspaper called *Izwi Labantu* of which he was also an editor from 1897 to 1900. Between the years 1900 and 1906 he went back to Centane where he became a councillor to Chief Kona. Kona was his grandfather's chief and was among the chiefs who were complaining of being neglected by the educated sons of their councillors. Mqhayi went there to fill in that void and consequently served as a link between his people in the Ciskei and Transkei.

In 1906 to 1909 he assumed duty as an editor of *Izwi Labantu*, back in East London again and remained there until the cessation of the paper in 1909. It was during this time that his journalistic career flourished. He also became involved in local politics as a result he served as Vice Chairman of the local Vigilance Association, *Iso Lomzi*. Shepherd (1955: 113) describes his involvement in politics in these words, "This gave him an introduction to social questions and matters of race relations, particularly as they affected black and white." On the other hand Opland (2009: 5) says, "In East London Mqhayi exercised his concern about the injustices blacks suffered under white administration." He left after *Izwi Labantu* ceased publication in 1909 and

went back to the people of amaNdlambe in Mncotsho. After a year among the Ndlambe tribe, he left to go and teach at Mpongo in MacLean Town, this was in response to an appeal from his own Church to open a school there. He remained there for ten years until 1920.

From 1920 to 1922 he became the editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu*. After his resignation from *Imvo* in 1922, he accepted a teaching post back again in Lovedale. He did not stay long here as he clashed with the authorities about how to teach History. However, he began to work with the inspector of schools, W.G. Bennie, standardizing isiXhosa orthography. He also became a member of the Board that was delegated to revise the isiXhosa Bible. It can be deduced from above that, Mqhayi had an illustrious career as a teacher, a preacher, a councillor, a social activist and a linguist. But it was his career as a poet that he distinguished himself from everyone else.

2.3.4 Mqhayi as a poet, and an author

Mqhayi was an oral and a literary poet. He can also as be regarded as a transitional figure between the oral and written tradition, bridging the gap between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of isiXhosa literary era and the many years of poetry before that. Kuse (1978: 48) demonstrates that when he writes:

Mqhayi was not a only a distinguished oral bard of the type that figured prominently in the courts of Xhosa kings in ancient times – he was also a literary poet and author of fiction in the Xhosa language.

Kuse (*ibid.*) further argues that he was an oral poet in a literary age; and that he was a literate carrying an oral tradition. By that Kuse was referring to the fact that most early published poetry was heavily influenced by Western style but Mqhayi wrote original poetry similar to oral poetry of the traditional *imbongi* in form and sentiment. What made his poetry more interesting was that he was a creative artist as well as a performer reciting his own poems. We can attribute the achievements of Mqhayi as a poet and a writer to his early years at Centane where he was exposed to both traditional practices and education. We could say that his career as an oral poet

began when he was only nine years old because this was when his father took him to Centane. He was still a young boy herding cattle when he started composing and reciting poems about his friends and animals, especially the cattle he was herding. In verifying this, he states that:

I had always liked poems and the praise-verses (*izibongo*) in honour of persons or objects or events. It used to be pleasant when someone chanted praises of me, and I used to chant praises about some of the cattle I herded, dogs, and about my companions. The verse would just come into my mind and I would recite, only to find that was the case with many people. (Scott, 1976: 27).

Mqhayi started writing his poetry when he was in East London. As mentioned earlier, while teaching at West Bank he wrote a lot of poems and published them in *Izwi Labantu* and thereafter in *Imvo Zabantsudu*. His career as a poet, writer, editor and journalist blossomed during this time. It was during this period that he established himself as *Imbongi yakwaGompo* and later *Imbongi yeSizwe jikelele*. As Opland (1983: 94) submits, “Mqhayi was the first Xhosa oral poet to exploit fully the new technology printing introduced by Scottish missionaries in the Tyhume Valley in 1923.” He was bestowed these titles especially the second one simply because he used to take trips all over the country of the isiXhosa speaking people wearing his traditional *imbongi* attire, reciting praise poems on different occasions in honour of important guests at celebrations irrespective of colour, gender or creed (Opland 2009: 8). He also contributed poems to *Abantu Batho* and *Umteteli wa Bantu* newspapers. Further, some of his poems appeared in *Zemnk`iinkomo Magwalandini* (1906), *Imibengo* (1935) and the *Stewart Xhosa readers* of the time.

It is arguable that Mqhayi was a prolific writer and apparently of both poetry and prose. His literary career in isiXhosa was a pioneering one in many ways. His literary outputs can be summarised below as follows:

Prose: *USamson* (1907)

Ityala lamawele (1914)

UDon Jadu (1929)

Biographies: *USogqumahashe* (1921)

Ubomi Bomfundisi uJ. K. Bokwe (1925)

Isikhumbuzo sikaNtsikana (1926)

Autobiography: *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1939)

Poetry: *Ibandla labantu* (1923)

Imihobe nemibongo (1927)

Umhlelezi uHintsisa (1937)

Inzuzo (1942)

Praise Poems: *A! Velile* (unpublished)

A! Silimela (unpublished)

Songs: *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika* (1927)

Incwadi yamaculo aseRhabe (1929)

Amagorha eMendi (1937)

Translations: Aggrey of Africa by E. S. Smith, translated to *UAggrey UmAfrika* (1935).

Farming for Schools by W.G. Dowling, translated to *ULimo luchazelwe Izikolo zaseAfrika eseZantsi* (1922)

Kees van die Kalahari by G.C. and S.B. Hobson, translated to *UAdonisi waseNtlango* (1949).

Jordan (1973) rightfully states that to discuss all of Mqhayi's work is impossible. This is supported by Opland (1977) who says,

Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi (1875 – 1945) is the most significant figure in the history literature. In terms of written output he was the most prolific Xhosa writer, the author of novels, poems, articles, essays, and historical studies.

However, the list of the works above shows that no one during his time and age, in the field of isiXhosa literature parallels Mqhayi's contributions. As Opland (*ibid.*) puts it, through his literary works, Mqhayi is valued as a historian, political analyst, a visionary, a critic, a patriot and a courageous man. It could be argued that his greatest achievement was that among the isiXhosa oral poets he was the first to venture fully into the new printing press introduced by the missionaries. We can attribute all his achievement to his acquaintance to both traditional practices in Centane and the education he received from the different missionary schools he attended. Schoots (2014: 33) explains that:

“Mqhayi was born to a world in profound flux, where the nature of power, knowledge and culture – the fabric of the social world – was being redefined by the intersection of ‘traditional’ Xhosa life and colonial influence – carried in part by the ‘civilizing’ work undertaken by missionaries in the area”.

On retirement, Mqhayi settled down at Ntab'ozuko, and his house was situated on Tilana's hill in the Berlin district near King William's Town, where he eventually died on the 29th July 1945.

2.4 Mqhayi through the eyes of literary scholars

In the research that has been done on Mqhayi (Kuse 1973 & 1978; Qangule 1979; Saule 1989 & 1996; Opland 1983 & 2009; Mpolweni 2004, Schoots 2014), avenues of critical appreciation were explored from different angles and they all add dimensions to his creative art. However, all these works reach a common ground about Mqhayi: that he is a transitional figure between oral and written traditions and that his work is a reflection of that transition. Above all, his work encourages a link between traditional values and western values, hence Schoots (2014) argues

that Mqhayi was so influential in his time because his work allowed Africans caught up in confusing social change to make sense of the changing world and still not forget their roots, which redirect their sense of identity.

Kuse (1978), in his study, "*The Form and Themes of Mqhayi's Poetry and Prose* provides a structural analysis of Mqhayi's works and seeks to establish the salient characteristics of Mqhayi's style and to define the aesthetic principles that inform his writing. In so doing he focuses on the history and politics of the late nineteenth century in Southern Africa and also in the emergence of the literary form among the amaXhosa through the church literature, newspapers and journals written in isiXhosa.

He surveys Mqhayi's art both as a writer of prose and an oral poet, looking at the salient characteristics of prose and poetry from a linguistic and structural point of view. He explores praise reference in terms of its morphological, syntactical, and phonetic configurations, its structural and stylistic function and its thematic content. Kuse's study is based on the published works of Mqhayi like the poetry book *Umhlelezi uHintsisa* (1937), a heroic poem, *Ityala Lamawele* (1914) and *Don Jadu* (1929).

Qangule (1979), in study entitled "*A Study of Theme and Technique in the Creative Works of S.E.K.Mqhayi*" explores Mqhayi's views on the nature of and operation of law in Xhosa traditional society using his novel *Ityala Lamawele* (1914). He analyses another novel, *UDon Jadu* (1929) discussing Mqhayi's main concern about disunity and lack socio-political advancement among the Blacks of South Africa. He discusses the concept of patriotism in Mqhayi's poems from his anthology *Inzuzo* (1942), *Imibengo* (1945) and *Zemk'inkomo Magwalandini* (1906), giving biographical sketches of various Black and White leaders whom Mqhayi regards as patriots. Qangule concentrates on the techniques Mqhayi employs when depicting patriotic action. He makes mention of literary devices like symbolism, personification, euphemism, metaphor and grammatical units like morphemes for special semantic purposes and also clan names.

Kuse and Qangule's works are very similar in nature. They look at the same types of genres and both use the same published material as sources of reference, sources that were published for schools. What makes this study different these two scholars is that it sets out to capture as far as possible Mqhayi's works that have not yet been published in book form, his biographical poems in particular, that are introduced with his unique prose style. The works of these scholars mostly refer to the historiography of isiXhosa literature whereas this study, in addition to that, concentrates on the historiography of isiXhosa linguistics.

Furthermore, Kuse (1978: 265) feels that Mqhayi is an African author who has too little discussed about his work. He attributes this neglect to the fact that he expressed himself entirely in an African language, isiXhosa. This study intends to fill this gap of neglect by presenting Mqhayi's biographical poems in English translation for wider dissemination. The translations will enable the international audience to get acquainted with him and his works given that his creations are of a high order, and they deserve wider readership.

Mpolweni (2004) adds another dimension to Mqhayi by using him as an agent who presents a transition from orality to written poetry. However, that does not make her work much different from the works of Kuse and Qangule because she also uses selected works that are already published in book form, like Mqhayi's anthology, *Inzuzo* (1942), *Ityala Lamawele* (1914), Bennie's *Imibengo* (1935) and *Izibongo zomthonyama* (1993) by Mtuze and Kaschula, to mention just a few. By selecting some poems from some of Mqhayi's works she illustrates that the traditional *imbongi* will remain the model for aspiring *iimbongi*. She works with a variety of poems from different books, whereas this study concentrates on biographical poems sourced from the old newspapers and which were never published in book form. It also goes beyond illustrating that Mqhayi presents a transition from orality to written thus making his work accessible to the international audience through translation.

Deducing from the works of the three scholars above, it is evident that critical analysis that is provided on Mqhayi mostly concentrated on his written work in books that had already been published. Saule also explores the work in books, but also has a substantial amount of texts from

old newspapers. Given that Mqhayi contributed literary works in newspapers, more work in these newspapers needs to be discovered and studied. By looking at his unpublished poems that appeared in newspapers, the study is different from the previous. In his work “*Images in some of the literary works of SEK Mqhayi*” (1996), Saule (1989) attempts to examine Mqhayi’s literary works to establish their merit in terms of the images that are realized. He uses Mqhayi’s unpublished essays from the newspaper *Umteteli Wabantu* (1912– 1956), poems from *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884 – 1926), *Izwi Labantu* (1901 – 1908), *Umthunywa* (1937 - 1939), and *Abantu-Batho* (1912 – 1935) newspapers, and the published anthology *Inzuzo* (1942). Saule (1989) deals with Mqhayi’s poetry, essays and lectures whereas this study concentrates on biographical poems only sourced from the same newspapers except for *Inzuzo*. He closely reflects on how for instance Mqhayi uses arguments to criticise what he thinks is wrong and what he deems is right for the society. He also looks at *UAdonisi waseNtlango* a prose fiction book with a view to study Mqhayi’s unique prose style in translation and to elucidate some of the images that accrue from his art of translation. Like the aforementioned scholars, as sources of reference he uses a variety of genres some published in book form and others only in newspapers. This study brings in a different dimension by concentrating only on unpublished biographical poems.

In addition this study follows the model pioneered by Jeffrey Opland in publishing, in book form, isiXhosa poetry that first appeared in newspapers. Opland’s volume dedicated to Mqhayi is *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings, 1902-1944*, published in 2009. In his preface to this volume, the renowned Eastern Cape historian Jeff Peires states that Opland has performed an immense task of rescue and recovery, digging through the rubble substantial fragments of Mqhayi’s history that survived for decades hidden within innumerable reams of old newsprint. This view is reinforced by Opland, in his introduction of the volume, when he states that a vast quality of Mqhayi’s remarkable output lies unappreciated in old newspapers (Opland 2009: 12). It is in this light that Opland proposed to produce a selection of Mqhayi’s sixty nine (69) historical and biographical writings with facing English translations, making them easily accessible to the entire nation and a wider readership.

In *Abantu Besizwe* (2009) Opland pays reference to the form of each item, focuses on Mqhayi's prose that might introduce the poem or sometimes be complemented by it. He concentrates on historical and biographical prose and the texts are presented as originally published in the early newspapers between 1902 and 1944. He did not make any alterations in the spelling, punctuation or grammar neither did he attempt to standardize Mqhayi's language. This is referred to as diplomatic presentation and will be dealt with in detail in the chapters that follow.

Furthermore, Schoots (2014) is a sociologist and explores Mqhayi's work from a sociological point of view. To motivate his argument he terms his viewpoint '*The Sociological Imagination of S.E.K.Mqhayi*'. This is however not surprising because Mqhayi is known as a multifaceted individual, an isiXhosa traditional *imbongi*, writer, journalist, historian, politician, nationalist, sociologist and many other things, whose work can be viewed from different angles, for example: sociolinguistic and sociocultural, Africanism vis-a-vis *Ubuntu*, memory and historical consciousness, Marxist ideologies and critical discourse analysis.

Schoots' work is similar to this study because he draws from Opland's *Abantu Besizwe* (2009), and concentrates on Mqhayi's historical and biographical writings. He engages in a close textual analysis of 'The Battle of AmaLinde' to demonstrate how Mqhayi uses history to correct false history, to teach social and political lessons and how to use history to make sense of the present. He also demonstrates how Mqhayi uses biography in his social engagement. He argues that Mqhayi uses the biographic narratives of the lives of leading chiefs as part of the way to achieve social and critical goals. Schoots' study is very similar to the proposed study in showing that Mqhayi draws heavily on a historic biographic methodology to generate his social insights. The difference between the two studies is on the sources and scope of data. The scope of his data is very limited because for history he uses only 'The Battle of AmaLinde' and one piece of biography that deals with 'Rev. Tiyo Soga, Shaka and Mlanjeni'. It means he leaves out a lot of Mqhayi's writings which this study aims to cover. Moreover, like others, he sources his data from already published work whereas this study aims to use thirty (30) biographical poems that were never published in a book form, but only in newspapers. Schoots also makes mention of certain chiefs like Ngqika, Rharhabe, Maqoma and Langalibalele, whereas this study goes a

step further to show that Mqhayi was not only interested in important figures but also in ordinary people. He pays tribute to all the black and white people, men and women who in different ways have contributed to the development of South Africa. However, the end result for both works, in actual fact for all the discussed works is the same that Mqhayi strives to help his fellow men and women make sense of their world, to criss-cross the new world without losing their sense of identity as Africans.

It should be noted that Opland's work (2009) is totally different from all the works discussed above. Except for an extensive, detailed and comprehensive introduction that contextualises the work and the author, he does not analyse Mqhayi's work but just documents it. Nevertheless, all that has been documented in Opland's *Abantu Besizwe* is what makes it similar to this proposed study by dealing with biographical poems using diplomatic presentation of the texts, footnoting some emendations as well as English translations. However, this study goes beyond that by adding another dimension that does not feature in *Abantu Besizwe*, which is critical appraisal of all the presented biographical poems using historical and biographical criticisms. Although no attempts were made to standardise the language, Mqhayi employs very rich isiXhosa. Actually, Opland (2009: 11) says, "There are many obscurities in Mqhayi's poetry: archaic words now of uncertain meaning, names of persons who can no longer be identified, topical allusions now incapable of explanation..." He further says that some of his words are unlisted in dictionaries and are now unknown.

The aim of this study amongst other things is to redress the unfortunate situation of Mqhayi's output that was subject to editorial mangling because it was prepared for schools, or because it appeared in newspapers with a short lifespan. The presentation of the works of different scholars proves that Mqhayi's pen reveals a man who is involved in a struggle to help the society to gain its belief in itself. That is why this study sees the importance of bringing to the fore the works of Mqhayi as it was at the time of print so that our people should be mindful of Mqhayi's teachings. These works also demonstrate the concepts of patriotism and nationalism as was perceived by Mqhayi and how he advocates it to his fellow Africans.

2.5 Biographical writings

As this study focuses on biographical poems it is essential and appropriate to give a brief discussion on biographical writings as the theoretical framework to be adopted in the analysis of poems. This theoretical framework is used to analyse how and why Mqhayi portrayed the subjects of his poems according to the lives they led and circumstances surrounding them, that is, socially and politically.

2.5.1 The origin of biographical writings

Biographical writing was very popular to Western authors like Plutarch with his *Parallel Lives* (80 A.D.) and Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1550). Biographers like James Boswell came later with his famous *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), what many consider to be the first modern biography, and Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (1918), which set the standard for twentieth century biographical writing (Gittings, 1978: 41), and that was the time the isiXhosa early writers were flourishing. Mqhayi produced the biographies *USogqumahashe* (1921), *Ubomi bomfundisi uJ. K. Bokwe* (1925), *Isikhumbuzo sikaNtsikana* (1926) and an autobiography *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1939). In addition to this he contributed a lot of historical and biographical writings in newspapers which were compiled into a book *Abantu Besizwe* (2009) by Opland. There are obviously other biographical writings both in South Africa and abroad, but they are not of relevance to this study.

Strachey (1918) mentioned above revolutionized the art of biographical writing and his book achieved worldwide fame due to its irreverent and witty style, its concise and factually accurate nature, and its artistic prose. Most biographers copied his style. Multimedia biography like documentary and commercial films based on the lives of famous people has become more popular in the contemporary period.

2.5.2 What is a biography?

Scholars of literature are having many but similar views about the accurate definition of a biography. The word itself is self-explanatory; its etymology is from Greek and consists of two words: *bios* – life; *graphein* – writing (Kendall, 1965: xii). Therefore, biography is about life–

writing. Garraty (1957: 19) gives us a concise as well as a precise definition that, “Biography is the record of a life.” He also suggests that it should read, “The History of a Human Life.” He further argues that it is therefore a branch of history that is related to history in another much more complicated way. He believes that when studying an individual, one cannot segregate them from their surroundings and biographers call that ‘background’. For Gittings (1978:10), biography is “Poetry with a conscience.” It means, when writing a biography you need to have a clear conscience of having attempted to find convincing outward warrant for the inner events of life you are writing about, that is evidence which is the truth. (Gittings, 1978: 10). Emphasizing the deduction made above about what biography is, Garraty (1957: 23) has this to say:

The biographer, however, must not deal only with the facts of his subject’s career, with what he did, why he did it, and how he influenced his times and was in turn affected by them. He must also describe the man himself – his personality and character, his individuality.

He believes the aspect quoted above is of fundamental importance as it explains, “the enduring popularity of the biographical form, [f]or people are interested primarily in people.” This leads us to the conclusion that biographical writing, therefore, concerns itself with two separate yet related aspects, a historical part and a personal part.

Deducing from the definitions above, we can come up with a more conclusive definition: that a biography is a thorough account of someone’s life which comprises more than just the elementary facts like education, relationships, and death but it should also represent a subject’s experience of these happenings (Gittings:1978). It should characterize a subject’s story of life including cherished details of experience, and may also embrace an examination of the subject’s persona. This definition illustrates exactly what is happening in Mqhayi’s biographical poems in question. The people that are praised in these poems are people we did not know, but Mqhayi presents them to us through prose and poems portraying their life stories, giving us a vivid picture of the socio-political circumstances they were exposed to and above everything else, their characters and the role they played in the upliftment of the nation.

It should be noted that an autobiography is written by the person themselves, that is, a first person account of a set of life experiences while biography is an account of life written by a third party (Denzin, 1989: 34). Garraty (1957) argues that despite superficial similarities, these two forms are intrinsically quite separate as autobiography results from remembrance, biography from reconstruction. Both autobiography and biography share a common denominator, that of being about individuals, asserting the priority of individualism. Biographical works are most of the time non-fictional, but that does not mean that they can not be fictional; of course fiction can also be used to depict a person's life. Denzin (1989: 9) attests to that when he writes that a "life is a social text, a fictional, narrative production." This element of fiction in biography has everything to do with the fact that it deals with already past deeds and events and unfortunately does not represent a reliving of past experience. Denzin also believes that fiction is drawn from real and imagined events. In the case of Mqhayi's biographical poems, everything is drawn from reality therefore it is factual material.

The following is a summary of what we can say are aspects of biographical writing pointed out by Garraty (1957: 20-37):

- To tell the story of any man, one must say something about the stage on which he acts out the drama of his life that is background.
- An individual is spoken of as a reflection of his times – every person is controlled at every turn by the social context in which the individual lived.
- It would be difficult to write a biography without having a definite opinion on the importance of the hero in history.
- The biographer (as against a novelist) has at once more and less to draw upon – mountains of evidence from which to extract the essence of his subject which is the advantage of reality, all relevant sources are there and must be considered. The basic restriction upon any biographer is that he must be trying to tell the truth.
- At the heart of the matter is the fact that in describing personality the biographer is dealing with qualities that defy absolute analysis.

- Biographers also influence the pictures they present by the way they interpret evidence. However interpretation is usually more logical – although not necessarily more accurate.
- Most authorities on biography have believed that intimate acquaintance with the subject is a prerequisite of a great biography. Great works of biographical writing are always made possible only by a living relationship between the biographer and their subject.

Mqhayi has his own perspective when it comes to his biographical poems, one that is quite different from those of the Western people cited above. Mqhayi was more of a traditional poet, following the tradition of isiXhosa oral poets by being a composer of his poems. Opland (1983) argues that isiXhosa poetry often embodies a high level of spontaneity. “Throughout his childhood to June 1944, Mqhayi was involved in and became the leading exponent of the Xhosa art of oral poetry, poetry often composed in performance. Mqhayi himself says, “The words just sprang to mind, and I uttered them”. It means that he does not need relevant sources as evidence of his poems as it is expected when writing a biography about someone. He just wrote what came to his mind about his subjects as he knew them. His evidence depends on a living relationship between him and his subjects. Mqhayi knew most of his subjects personally. There was no need for a collection of documents like autobiographies, biographies, diaries, letters, obituaries, life histories or stories, personal experience stories, oral and personal histories. The advantage of personal acquaintance and oral history was all he needed. This is evident in the following prose that introduced a poem about one of his subjects.

Umfi u Nkwanti Bika

Kusuku olungapambi kokuba anyuselwe, ubeteta nam, ndinenye indoda ecaza into ayiyo ngokwase mbusweni weli lizwe,—ndandingazi mna ukuba uzicazela ukuba zendibe ngoku ndibhala ngaye ndenjenje,—naye wayengazi, kuba noko ndimtemba kuba besipants[a] ukwazana ingontsi,—ngeleke wahleba kuba indim. (Izwi Labantu, 1907: 4)

On the day before he was lifted up, he has been talking to me, I was with another man and he was explaining what he was in the governance of this land, - I didn't know that he was telling me these so that I would now be writing like this about him,

- he didn't know either, because at least I trust him because we nearly knew each other's deep secrets, - he would have whispered because it was me.

The phrase, 'because at least I trust him, we nearly knew each other's deep secrets' proves beyond reasonable doubt that these two knew each other very well. This leads us to the conclusion that, among other things, biographers like Mqhayi, who have had the advantage of interacting with their subjects while they were still alive, have been able to write brilliant biographies. Opland (2009) also confirms that when he writes:

Mqhayi was interested in people, historical personalities as well as his own contemporaries. He enjoyed meeting and interacting with them... He observes people keenly: as an *imbongi*, characteristics of his subjects were the principal focus of his *izibongo*. His concern for and interest in the people of the nation, evident in accounts of his travels within the country and in his involvement in political, educational and social affairs, found expression in his poetry and in his historical or biographical writings.

Shober (2012), in her article entitled *Encouraging African Literary Biographies in the Publishing Market*, makes some interesting points. She states that literary biographies have enjoyed centuries of success and myriads of fascinated readers. She believes that this publishing triumph may be due to an innate desire to understand and perhaps mimic the achievement of others. She cited the words of Woolf (1967) that, as everybody knows, the fascination of reading biographies is irresistible. Having said that, she also mentions that others like Thomas Carlyle complain that a well written life is almost as rare as a well – spent one. Furthermore, others come up with horrible descriptions pronounced on and by biographers like, "Professional burglar and scavenger, jackal, vampire, garbage – collector". She went as far as citing Auden from Meyers (1985: 1) who shares these views that biographies are always superfluous and usually in bad taste. However, despite all these harsh verbal reprimand she still feels that literary biographies continue to be profoundly popular because they offer us probing insights into people who have stimulated us with their prose and poetry, like Mqhayi. We therefore must in all honesty

acknowledge the enrichment that literary biographies add to our understanding and appreciation of not only the writer, but also their age, environment and stimulating ideologies, Shober (2012) writes.

In concluding this section on literary biography writing, I would like to quote Garraty's (1957: 38) words because they eloquently encapsulate the discussion above:

Biography is a reconstruction of a human life. It attempts to describe and evaluate one individual's career, and also to reproduce the image of his living personality, analysing its impact upon his actions and the world in which he lived. All biographies must be historical and scientific in that they aim at truth and depend upon verifiable evidence. At the same time they must be imaginative and artistic, because insight and felicity of expression are essential if the full three-dimensional truth is to be transferred to the flat surface of a printed page.

2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is a diplomatic presentation, critical appraisal and translation, from isiXhosa to English, of selected biographical poems of S.E.K. Mqhayi. The concepts 'diplomatic presentation', 'biographical poems' and translation are critical in this research, and therefore, are important too to be discussed as concepts around which this study is framed. In discussing these concepts, the purpose is to deduce theories that will be used in this literary study to present and analyse data, as well as interpret its findings.

Philosophers, scholars and writers are against the informal criticism of people talking about literature because that tends to be casual, unorganised and subjective. Consequently, they created more precise and disciplined ways of discussing literature. Swanepoel (1990) argues that one can hardly deal with literary phenomena without relating them to some framework of factors or ideas. It is in that light that historical–biographical literary criticism, together with Diplomatic Edition theory and translation are adopted as a theoretical framework to interpret and analyse the selected poems.

2.6.1 The Historical-Biographical Approach

As the name suggests, this chosen approach, historical - biographical is an intertwining of two distinct but complimentary approaches and is used to prolifically analyse a text by making acquaintances between the content (which involves characters), its author and their historical context. This approach combines these two methods for analysing and understanding the literary text and is one of the theories to be used in this study to analyse the selected poems. Additionally, it is understood as an approach that seeks to understand a literary work by investigating the social, cultural, and intellectual context that produced it - a context that necessarily includes the artist's biography and milieu (Kennedy & Gioia, 1995). There is a view that appears to be common and relevant to scholars of literature in particular, that when assessing an author's art work, one studies it together with his activities as a social figure. Saule (1996), when commenting about the fieldwork for his research mentions that investigating and analysing information about Mqhayi's life, career and the topography in relation to his art is inevitable. He argues that it is a good way of interpreting his images and also to find out whether there is any discernible influence on his works arising from the situation prevailing at that time.

In *A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature*, Guerin *et al.* (1996), describes the historical- biographical approach as one that sees the literary work, chiefly, if not exclusively, as a reflection of the author's life and times; and also as a reflection of the life and times of the characters. He further argues that the approach sets out to collect facts and other empirical data by means of which a causal relation between the author and his work or works could be established. It can be argued that the author is put in focus and more often in the form of studying his private life and personal experiences. The link between the author's private life and his text is of great interest. His historical background is important for us readers to find out his ideology and also to understand why the text was created. We need to understand what kind of life the author led; what was going on in his life during the time the work was written; what was happening in the world around him at the time. For example, Mqhayi was born and grew up during the colonial period, a time of turmoil because of Frontier Wars and suppression of

colonies. He experienced that as a child and when he grew up he wrote about his and his subjects' experiences of the time.

This theory is chosen because by using it the study will be able to unpack how Mqhayi's historical and biographical environments contributed to the shaping of his socio-political ideas as they emerge in his writings. It will therefore focus on assessing the extent to which the realities of daily existence, activities of social interest, and concepts of culture, history and politics, that are evident in Mqhayi's life reflect in his work (as well as those about whom he writes (of his subjects). Kunene (1967: 13), quoted by Qangule (1979) writes:

...it seems to me that understanding of an author who is clearly dedicated to a campaign of social reform is enhanced by a knowledge of his social and cultural world, its effect upon him, and the effect upon him of any factors which being external milieu ...

We can argue therefore that by using this approach, one will gain amongst other things an insight into author and his subjects' personal life, have a taste of previous culture's language and society and be able to make a comparison between the past and present. This is possible because one would be able to access a window into different time and the time period clarifies the purpose (King *et al.*, 2016). Having knowledge of a specific timeline increases one understands of the content of a text. However, what is negative about this approach is the fact that it reveals the authors political bias and sometimes the political influences from the society. Sometimes we rely entirely on knowing the author and reality whereas the content and timeline may be inaccurate.

Kuse (1979) argues that the contour of Mqhayi's works reflects a socially committed writer who desired to push South African history in a certain direction. That is very true of Mqhayi because he is a great historian, a nationalist, a patriot, a socialist, a Christian, a linguist and an environmentalist, among other things. A historian that is very much concerned about both the historical and the socio-political issues of his community and of the country at large. That is reflected in the biographical poems he wrote and these poems are Mqhayi's intellectual contributions on politics, history, and other social issues of the time and they reflect tensions and

relationships between races, class and social/national question during his time. Consequently, his literary works are pre-occupied by ideas of justice, democracy, unity, patriotism and humanism paying tribute to some Black and White leaders who in various ways have contributed to the development of South Africa. He does that with the aim to enlighten and direct the humankind. As Saule (1996) puts it, Mqhayi literature had a social function to interpret and educate society exploring the serious social, political and educational as well as cultural problems caused by colonial powers. That is the essence of historical- biographical approach, that is, the meaning or value of a work may be determined by author's intention. Swanepoel (1988) supports this view when he argues that the historical data needs to be viewed in terms of the author's intention. As already mentioned, Mqhayi's intention is a social one, to educate and interpret society.

2.6.2 Diplomatic Edition

This research is also couched in the discipline of Diplomatics, a critical analysis of historical documents focusing on writing and other conventions used by those who originally created the texts (Cencetti 1985). Understanding that the early history of book publishing in isiXhosa is characterized by censorship and bowdlerization of text (Peires, (viii) in *Abantu Besizwe* 2009), this research seeks to reproduce and study Mqhayi's selected poems as accurately as possible, in the manner in which they were originally written. Presenting historical texts like this is called diplomatic presentation of texts. Cencetti (*La Preparazione dell'Archivista* 1985, as translated in Duranti, 1989: 285) defines a diplomatic edition as:

...the study of the *Wesen* [being] and *Werden* [becoming] of documentation, the analysis of genesis, inner constitution and transmission of documents, and their relationship with the facts presented in them and with their creators.

According to Cencetti's definition, diplomatic presentation of texts could be understood as an edition of a text based on a single document which attempts to reproduce a certain degree of the peculiarities of the document itself, a transcription of the original text, with no attempt to establish 'best' reading, which is with no change in orthography or language itself. It captures the works in their original form, that is, in the manner in which they first appeared in print. To

support what is deduced from Cencetti's definition above, Beal (2012: 121) also defines diplomatic presentation of a text as:

the science or study of documents and records including their forms, language, script and meaning. It involves knowledge of such matters as the established wording and procedures of particular kinds of a document, the deciphering of writing, and document analysis and authentication.

On closer inspection of the above quotes, one may argue that there are some similarities between Cencetti and Beal's definition of diplomatic edition because they both agree that diplomatic edition can be regarded as transcription of a single manuscript with no attempt to establish "best" readings, indicating as far as possible the "state" of the text in that manuscript. It can be argued that this kind of edition is concerned essentially with the analysis and interpretation of the linguistic elements of a document, physical characteristics and history, which will often be carried out in conjunction with a diplomatic analysis. Furthermore, it can be argued that diplomatic edition is designed to reproduce on the printed page all the orthographic information provided by a single manuscript of a work (its spelling, punctuation, capitalisation, line divisions, marginalia and rubrication). Both definitions illustrate the most essential characteristic of diplomatic edition which is to prepresent the original source as closely as possible. However, there are some limitations as well, that while the intention of diplomatic edition is to present the historical texts as accurately as possible, it is possible that some words might be indecipherable because of their age, the quality of paper on which they were printed or the manner in which they were stored as is the case with Mqhayi's poetry used in this study. In this context one often makes calculated assumptions. This problem could be caused by the fact that the texts I am studying are over 150 years old. Mqhayi wrote between 1897 and 1944, a year before he died. These texts are written in newspapers which are not necessarily well-preserved. It occurred then that some texts were not legible.

Nevertheless, this method has been found suitable for the purpose of this research because the aim is to present the text as it appeared during the time of print. Texts selected will also compare the shift in the orthography of isiXhosa of the time of Mqhayi's writing with the current

orthography. To achieve representativeness, a diplomatic edition is to be applied. This method of edition is chosen because it is known as the best in facilitating scholarly study of a work in its original context and because of that it is highly recommended as the most useful type of edition for the historical linguist (Horobin in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, 2012).

2.6.3 Translation and the theory of equivalence

Besides studying Mqhayi through his writings and more specifically, what he writes about other people, as well as presenting his poems in the original manner in which he wrote them and in which they appeared in newspapers, the other purpose of this study is to translate these poems into English. Translation into English allows for this great literature not only to be disseminated amongst isiXhosa speakers but also to speakers of other languages who understand English. As already stated, one other important aim of choosing diplomatic presentation of the texts is to present them as original as possible. An appropriate translation method that will reproduce the originality of the source text (ST) and sameness of the target text (TT) should be applied as required by the theory of Diplomatic Edition discussed above. Most translation scholars, Newmark (1991, 1993), Munday (2010), Nida & Taber (1969), Nida (1964) and many others argue that the originality and sameness can be achieved through the theory of equivalence.

2.6.3.1 The concept of equivalence

Equivalence in translation is the key concept and is regarded as a reliable criterion for adequate translation (Barghout, 1990). Equivalence is meant to indicate that ST and TT share some sameness. It is viewed by scholars of translation as a procedure in which the situation is replicated as in the original and that the stylistic impact of the source language (SL) text can be maintained in the target language (TL) text. However, Nida (1964), differentiates between two categories of equivalence namely, formal and dynamic equivalence. According to him formal equivalence is the one emphasizing the faithfulness to the vocabulary of a source language, that is the lexical details and grammatical structures of the original language. That means the TT looks a lot like the ST. On the other hand dynamic equivalence engages with a natural rendering but with less literal accuracy, meaning that an attempt is made to transfer the ST message in TT

as naturally as possible. Nida (1960, 1964) is of the opinion that equivalence in translation can be attained only at the semantic and stylistic levels in order to produce the closest natural equivalence to the SL. He confirms it in his writing that equivalence only lies in “producing into the receptor language the closest natural equivalent to the message of the SL, first in meaning and secondly in style” (1960: 19).

On the other hand Newmark (1981) postulates equivalence from a different perspective but not differing much from Nida’s notion of formal and dynamic equivalence. The difference is only in the terms they are using because Newmark instead of ‘formal’ he uses ‘semantic’, and in place of ‘dynamic’ he uses ‘communicative’. Therefore, he believes in semantic and communicative translation to achieve equivalence. When looking at the functions, formal and semantic are both concerned about the meaning whereas dynamic and communicative are concerned with the effect, meaning it concentrates on the needs of the receiver. Whatever is translated must be readable and understandable by the receiver. It could be argued therefore that Newmark believes that translation is concerned with moral and factual truth that can be rendered effectively only if it is grasped by the reader. Newmark (1981: 39) encapsulates his methods of semantic and communication in these words:

Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original. Semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original

We can therefore come to the conclusion that Newmark’s communicative and semantic translation resembles Nida’s (1969) dynamic and formal equivalence. They both agree on the idea that translation should aim primarily at reproducing the message. What is common and interesting about these methods by Newmark and Nida is that they attempt to be completely faithful to the intentions and the text- realization of the source text writer. That is what this research aims to achieve, being faithful to Mqhayi’s original writings and hence diplomatic

presentation. In other words his personal language and the source text order have to be preserved and the cultural words are translated literally by their most common meanings.

On the other hand literal translation is also regarded as one of the basic methods in translation process because it also requires that translation should be loyal to the source language and keep its same form (Zhang, 2010). This will lead to word-for-word translation type which consists of direct translation and literal translation with annotations. Munday (2010) also supports this idea when he further argues that literal translation is held to be the best approach in both semantic and communicative translation. Newmark (1981:59) confirms it by saying “In communicative as in semantic translation, provided that equivalent effect is secured, the literal word-for-word is not only the best, it is the valid method of translation.”

This means that paraphrasing that is much longer than the original should be avoided as much as possible. For the purpose of this research therefore the formal and dynamic equivalence by Nida, together with semantic and communicative translation by Newmark will be adopted since they are considered to be more effective translation procedures and they relate more to diplomatic presentation in preserving the originality of ST.

However, having said all the above, it needs to be noted that this study aims at translating poetry, something that according to the corpus of literature is believed to be hard to translate due to its beauty which is untouchable, for once it is touched it is destroyed (Aiwei, 2005). Jones, in Gambier & Doorslaer (2011: 117) argue that the nature of poetic text make it challenging to translate when he writes;

In textual-feature terms, poetry typically communicates meaning not only through surface semantics, but also by using out-of-the-ordinary-language, non- literal imagery, resonance and suggestion to give fresh, “defamiliarized” perception and convey more than propositional content; among its specific techniques are linguistic

patterning (e.g. rhyme or alliteration), word association, word play ambiguity, and/or reactivating an idiom's literal meanings.

It is this out-of-the-ordinary language and everything else that Jones mentions that makes poetry a challenge to translate and also why Aiwei, (2005) also believes that poetry is beautiful and untouchable otherwise its beauty will be destroyed if translated. It can be deduced from this quote that the linguistic issues, like word and meaning, flow and rhythm, metaphors, differences between cultures, idioms and phrasal verbs, aesthetic values are the main problems when translating a poem. However this study, with the backing of Nida and Newmark's theory of equivalence will argue and demonstrate that poetry, despite all the challenges mentioned, is translatable.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter an overview of isiXhosa literature is provided with reference to orality versus written literature in isiXhosa society. From this discussion it is highlighted that oral literature is the predecessor of written literary tradition and therefore these two concepts should be treated with equal status as we have a culture now which promotes literacy but still accepts orality. Mqhayi is a living testimony to that as he is the beneficiary of oral tradition because he is an oral *imbongi* who also writes his own poetry.

The emergence of isiXhosa literature into print is also taken into consideration concentrating on the first isiXhosa magazine *Ikwezi* (1884-1855) which was made prominent by its publication of the story of Ntsikana whom, according to Shepherd (1955) a lot of that is legendary and tradition has become attached to it. The contribution of the early newspapers in the development of the isiXhosa literature is found to be immeasurable. It is debated in detail how the influx of the missionaries and other European travellers have shaped the intellect of the early African writers. Missionaries' influence and their oppression through censorship in the development of isiXhosa literature are highlighted.

This chapter also reflects on the life and career of Mqhayi to shed light on how his diverse experience in life has influenced his writing. In addition, Mqhayi's life, his literary career in particular is conversed through the views of scholars who show interest in his work. Comparing the works of these scholars and this study it could be argued that while they work on Mqhayi's work published in books and few newspapers, this study solely concentrates on work published in old newspapers, and on biographical poems in particular. Since Mqhayi's work is on biographical poems it is found imperative to debate the pertinent ideas about biography writings so as to be able to decide if Mqhayi has met the principles that govern the writing of biographies.

The concepts of Diplomatics, historical - biographical and translation around which this study is framed are presented. It has been established that the historical - biographical approach is an intertwining of two distinct but complementary approaches and it deals with characters in a text, its author and their historical context. According to this approach the link between the author's private life and his text is of vital importance.

Presenting a text diplomatically is found to be in line with the aims of this study which is to present the poems in their original form. Translating the poems into English is also the aim of this study. It is realized during translation that the theory of equivalence chosen to be employed when translating the poems complements the diplomatic presentation. This is possible because it produces the originality of a source text which is also advocated by the diplomatic presentation. When these two are used together in the analysis of the selected poems the end result will be the achievement of set goals which is originality, sameness and equivalence in presenting and translating the proposed poems. These proposed poems, the themes identified in them, the subjects of the poems and the manner in which they are written are to be presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: DATA COLLECTION AND PRESENTATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to describe the data collected for this research. It specifies the quantity of the poems collected and the site of the data collection, the time and source of their publication. The chapter also discusses the pertinent characteristics of the poems, as well as explores the context of their writing. The context of the poems is embedded in different themes; therefore the identified themes are also presented in this chapter. There are themes dishevelled in the lives of certain people, making it appropriate for this chapter to present some biographical data of the subjects of Mqhayi's praises as that might ease the understanding and interpretation of the poems.

As it is mentioned in Chapter 2, this research is also couched in the discipline of Diplomatics. As these literary works of Mqhayi are presented in diplomatic edition, the chapter also shows the texts in their original form, that is, as presented during the time of their writing, and how they are illustrated in some selected biographical poems which form the main data of this study.

3.2 Data description and selection process

The data of this research comprises of thirty (30) biographical poems written in isiXhosa and published in early newspapers by Mqhayi during the years 1902 to 1944. As stated previously, these poems are selected on the basis that they were never published in any form except for when they originally appeared in the newspapers. After they have been transcribed from the newspapers, they were also translated into English for wider readership.

The thirty (30) poems have been selected with the assistance of Professor Jeff Opland, a retired Professor from University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). The poems are from his Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature housed in Godalming, United Kingdom. Opland, in his book *The Dassie and the Hunter* (2005: 241) tells how he happened to have access to the poems:

I had started with fieldwork in Xhosa folklore and later began collecting and inspecting published books. In the Cory Library for Historical Research in Grahamstown I had found a fair amount of literature in Xhosa newspapers. Since the Xhosa Literature Project was funded by the Chamber of Mines, I took the opportunity after my arrival in Johannesburg of visiting the Chamber's library, and again found a rich vein of literature in the Johannesburg newspaper *Umteteli,wa baNtu*, which the Chamber had launched in 1920.

He further continues with his comprehensive story that:

My files steadily fattened. All the major authors of Xhosa books – S. E. K. Mqhayi, J. J. R. Jolobe, A. C. Jordan, W.D. Cingo and many others – frequently contributed to the newspaper, and most of these poems, letters, articles, and travelogues were never subsequently republished. Here was a relatively unrestricted literature written by adults for adults, unlike the strictly controlled books, which were largely intended for school consumption (Opland, 2005).

As stated previously, the author of the poems under discussion is SEK Mqhayi, whose more detailed bio-sketch is given in Chapter 2. At the end of each of the poems he signs off the poems with one of his pseudonyms: *Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele* (The Poet of the Nation), *Imbongi yakwaGompo* (The Poet from Gompo) or *Nzululwazi* (The Intellectual).

Most of the selected poems are sourced from the newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Black Opinion: 1884 - 1901) which was founded by Tengo Jabavu and published in King William's Town. In total, twenty four (24) out of these thirty (30) selected poems are from *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Black Opinion). The other three (3) are from *The Bantu World* (1932-1955) which was published in Johannesburg, and two (2) are from *Izwi Labantu* (The Voice of the People: 1897- 1908) published in East London. There is only one (1) from *Umteteli Wabantu* (The Speaker for the People: 1929 – 1956), also published in Johannesburg. The distribution of poems according to each newspaper is illustrated in the following graph:

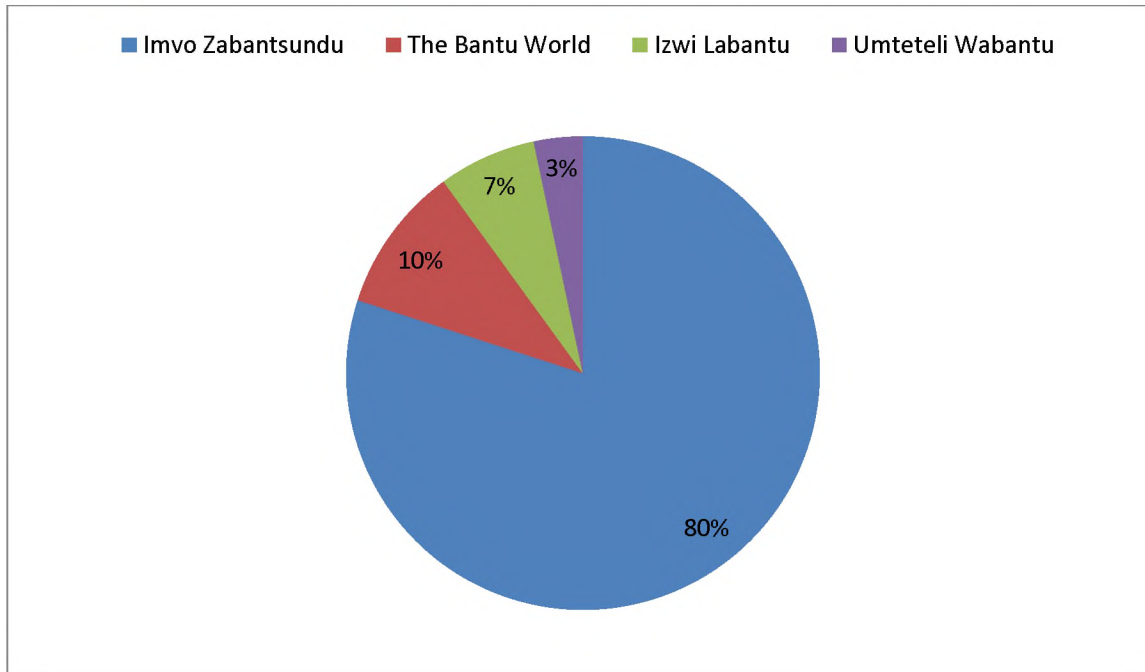


Figure 1: Distribution of Mqhayi's work for each newspaper

Mqhayi, as well as being an active and regular contributor, was also an editor of two of these newspapers, *Izwi Labantu* from 1897 to 1900 and again in 1906 to 1909, and also *Imvo Zabantsundu* from 1920 to 1922. This period was the most vibrant period in black journalism, driven mostly by early Xhosa intellectuals, specifically in the Eastern Cape. His choice to contribute to these newspapers could perhaps be due to the fact that they were under newly literate black editors, and also provided a platform for isiXhosa poets to present their art without censorship (Opland 1998). Construing from the names of these newspapers, it can be argued that these newspapers were there to interpret and comment on what was happening in the societies they were serving.

Mqhayi's frequency of contribution of poetry and other literary genres in newspapers is varied. He contributed these selected poems in different years from 1902 up to 1944, just a year before his death. The following graph illustrates how many poems he contributed each year irrespective of the newspaper in which each poem appeared:

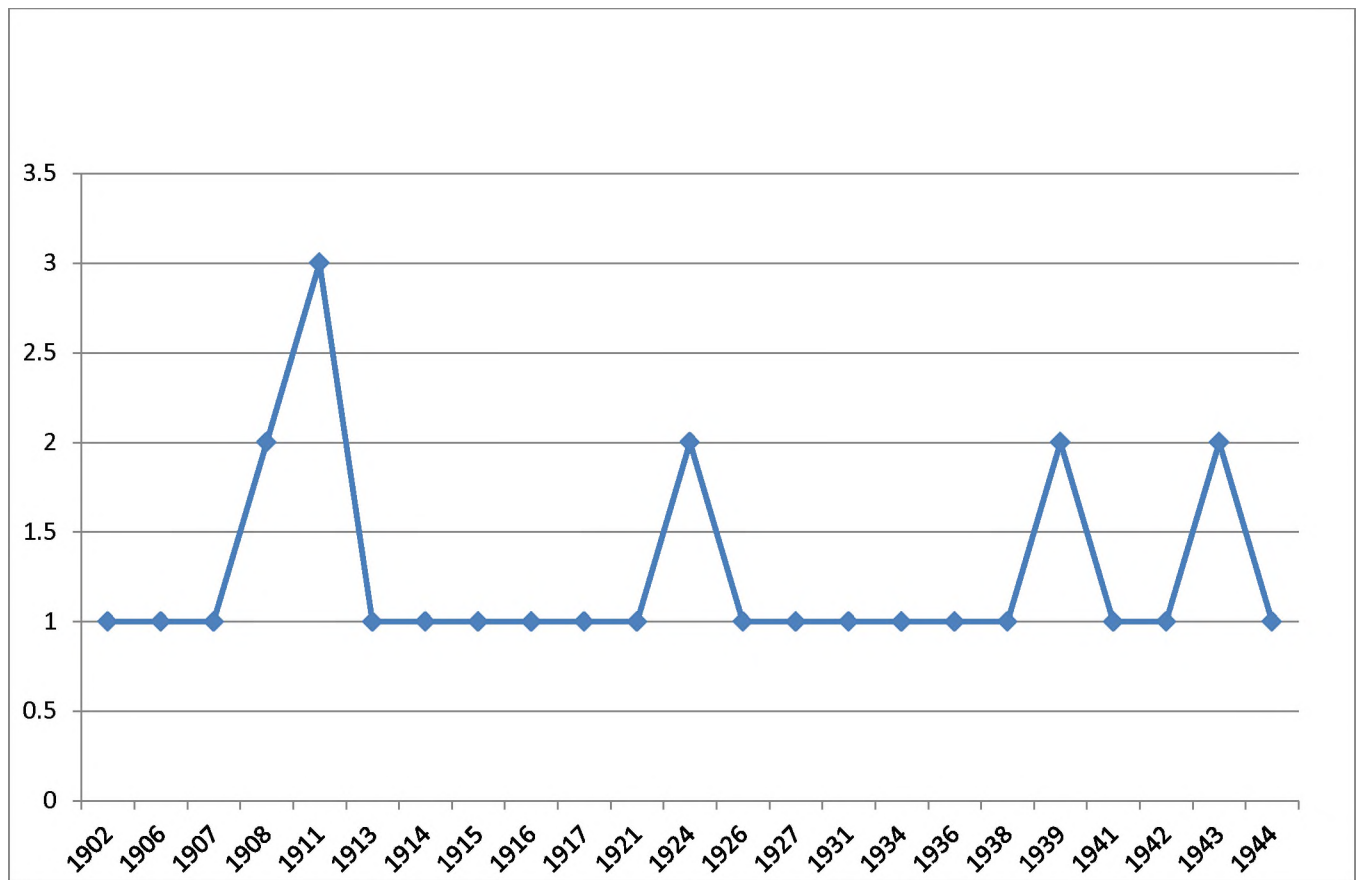


Figure 2: Frequency of publication between 1902 -1944

While the Opland Collection of Xhosa Literature has photocopies and digitised versions of the poems, the original copies and microfilms of these newspapers are stored in the South African National Libraries in Pretoria and Cape Town, Cory library at Rhodes University, Unisa library in Pretoria and Fort Hare Africana library in Alice. The data collection process also entailed visiting these sites to establish the originality of the texts, especially in cases where some texts were not legible in photocopies or digitised copies. All these libraries were visited for a period of two years, two times during the first year and three times during the second year, with each trip lasting up to five days at times. This was during the time when the transcription of the poems

from the newspapers was taking place. The trips were meant to gain access to the newspapers to verify parts of texts that were not legible in the photocopies and therefore, the originals or microfilms of the newspapers were used as sources to establish texts where parts were illegible, either because of the age of paper, the manner in which the paper was stored (it was common for texts to be illegible where there were folds in newspapers, for example).

Mqhayi's subjects of praise are highly varied. He wrote these poems in honour of different people of different stature, race, gender, age or creed, and he praised them in life or after death. For this reason they could be classified under different groups of people to whom Mqhayi pays admiration. We have people in leadership positions including traditional and political leaders, people in education, people in religion, people in civil services, people in medical services and people who are in neither of these groups. The graph that follows illustrates the different social positions held by his subjects of praise:

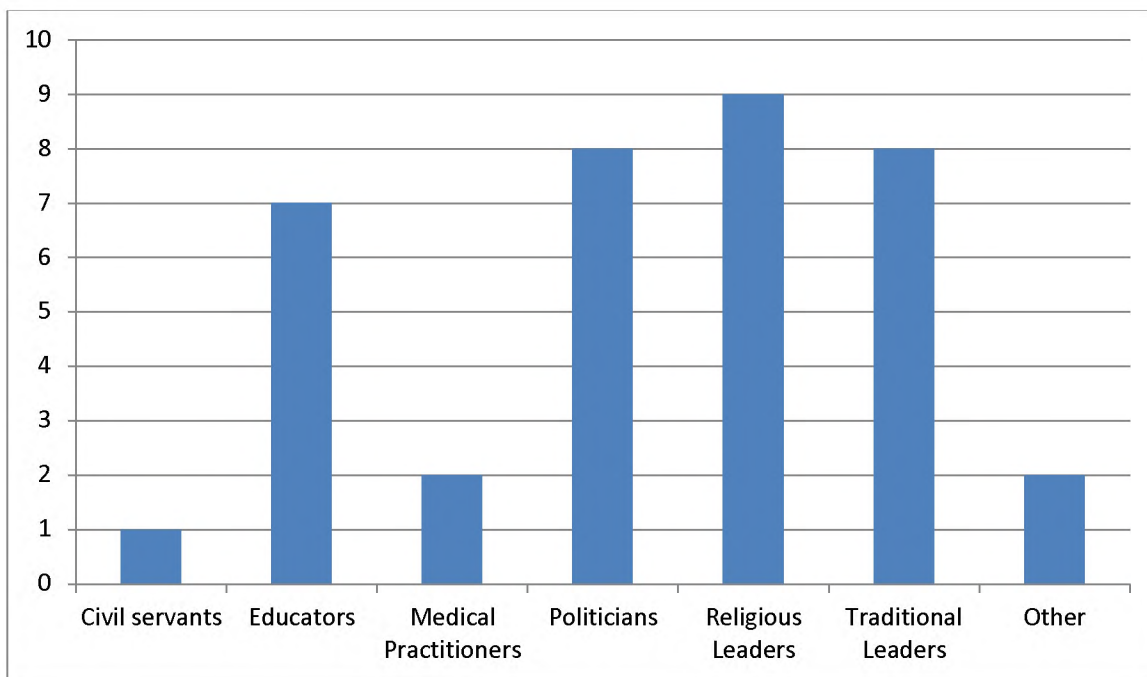


Figure 3: Social positions of subjects of praise

This graph demonstrates that Mqhayi's subjects were mostly religious figures about nine (9), followed by political and traditional leaders about eight (8) respectively. After these follow seven (7) educators, then two (2) medical practitioners and two (2) other and only one (1) civil servant. We need to mention that others' positions overlap, and this is why the total number on the graph seems not to tally with the number of poems. This will be evident in the section about their biographies and in the analysis.

Furthermore, Mqhayi does not discriminate of the gender of who he praises. Kolawole (1998: 15), in the preface of the book *Gender Perceptions and Development in Africa*, recommends that rethinking images and perceptions of women is an important process in the search for an appropriate and dynamic social space for women. This book was written in 1998, and Mqhayi wrote these poems in the early 1900s, long before Kolawole suggests her idea. This suggests two things: one is that there is fallacy in the perception that Xhosa society was repressive towards its women, and that men who were oral poets, praised males and figures of authority only. Mqhayi's poetry debunks this thinking. This is important when considering that during this time gender issues received global attention, specifically gender inequality (Kolawole 1998). The following graph illustrates that we do have women represented in Mqhayi's poetry. Even if it is just a few of them, but it still debunks the myth that women were not worthy of praise in Xhosa society, and confirms the fact that gender and race were never an issue for Mqhayi.

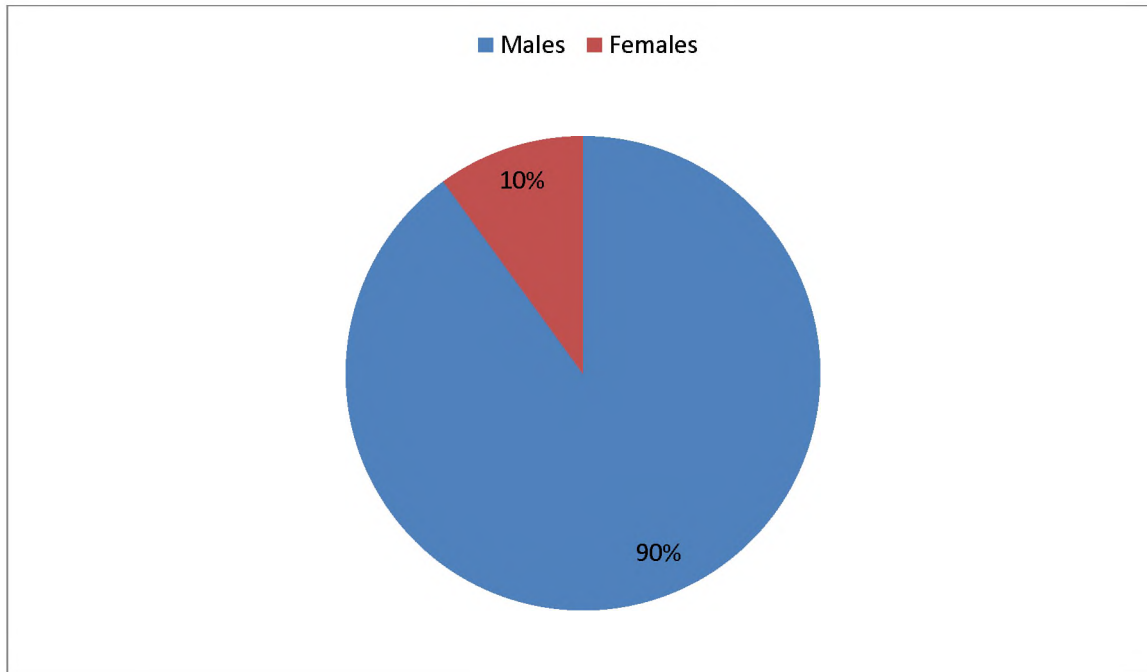


Figure 4: Gender of subjects of praise

Despite all the earlier perceptions about women that they should be relegated to the back seat, Mqhayi managed to embrace women leadership in his poetry, and irrespective of race. Mrs Ballinger was a white woman from Europe, and Nonhi Mkencele and Mbokazi were black women from South Africa and they form part of his praises. Mqhayi embraces the idea of women having a say or being active in matters concerning people and the country. Typical of an *imbongi*, in these biographical poems Mqhayi recompenses honour to both black and white leaders who in various ways have made some contribution to the development of the nation of South Africa. However, in some poems the only rebuking he does is that of death. That will be dealt with in the next section concerning themes.

3.3 Themes dominating in Mqhayi's biographical poetry

Mqhayi was born roughly between two important events in the history of amaXhosa: the Nongqawuse-inspired Cattle Killing which took place in 1857, and the Anglo-Boer War which occurred between 1899 and 1902. As discussed in Section 2.2.3 of the previous chapter, these

two events resulted in numerous forms of social and moral degeneration, that is, the process of deculturation. Through these occurrences Mqhayi captures the political, social, educational and cultural problems caused by colonialism and therefore takes upon himself the responsibility to make a positive contribution to African society through poetry. He uses his creativity as a tool to try to mould and encourage the South African society in general and amaXhosa in particular to shape their attitudes positively. It is the duty of the writer to “conscientise” the people to whom he addresses himself (Qangule, 1979). The history, politics and culture of the Xhosa, especially in the Eastern Cape during Mqhayi’s childhood account for the themes and topics on which he wrote (Opland, 2009). All these influenced much of Mqhayi’s rationale about racial dealings and how people related to one another and left a profound imprint on his political awareness. His biographical poems show that he has faith in the positive growth of his people’s mind-set, and in the change of the human heart, in relation to political and socio-economic complexities. According to Mqhayi that was going to be possible through one’s willingness to serve his people, the patriotic spirit which is the golden thread reiterated throughout all his biographical poems. Among other things Mqhayi was more concerned about ideas of unity, humanity and patriotism, advocating that South Africa is the land for all. To be more precise we need to thematically divide his poems under illness and death, Christian values, education, patriotism/nationalism, gender issues and social responsibility. The political and other catastrophies that befell the Eastern Cape region where Mqhayi lived are a source of his creativity. These themes will be dealt with in detail in the following Chapter 4 as they will be used as a guide to analyse the poems. These themes will be applied in the following poems;

- **Christianity** will focus on Jabavu-Makhiwane (1916), uChief James Mama (1911), Umfi uRev. Chas. Pamla (1917), Umfi uHoward Ben-Mazwi (1943), Umfi uWm. Kobe Ntsikana (1914), UJonathan Thunyiswa noWilliam Cebani Mtoba (1913), Zachariah Keodirelang B.A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A. (1924), Umfi uNkwati Bika (1907) and A Ngangemvula!!! (1914).
- **Patriotism and Nationalism** will cover poems Umfi uMbokazi (1902), A Chith’iBhunga! (1939), UTsalitorho: General Hertzog (1943), A Ngangemvula!!! (1941),

A,-Sithwalandwe! (1942), Uphumulo LukaMavigala (1938), Umfi uJonathan Thunyiswa noWilliam Cebani Mtoba (1913) and U-Dalindyebo (1911).

- **Social responsibility, Religion and Education** will be covered in poems Umfi uHoward Ben-Mazwi (1943), A, Ngangezwe!!! (1936), Anazina ukuba Kumke INkosi Namhlanje KwaSirayeli (1906), UMhlelele uSonzobo Libalele Mhala (1924), UChief James Mama (1911), Zachariah Keodirelang B.A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A. (1924) and UDr R. T. Bokwe (1934).
- **Gender issues** will be applied in poem A! Nondwe!! [Mrs Balinge] (1939) and Jabavu-Makhiwane (1916).
- **Illness and death** will be dealt with exploring poems Umfi uNkwati Bika (1907), Anazina ukuba Kumke INkosi Namhlanje KwaSirayeli (1906), UMhlelele uSonzobo Libalele Mhala (1924), Umfi Wm Kobe Ntsikana (1914) and Umfi uJonathan Thunyiswa noWilliam Cebani Mtoba (1913)

3.4 The subjects of Mqhayi's praises

This section presents brief biographical details about the subjects of praise whom Mqhayi regards as patriots. The analysis of the poems will take place in the next chapter and we shall therefore here sketch very briefly the necessary biographical data of people Mqhayi paid tribute to so we can understand why they are subjects of his praises. However, in clarifying or sometimes buttressing a fact, some lines or stanzas from the poems will be emphasised. Where necessary a brief commentary about the subject praised will be made. Selected biographies are presented based on availability of information.

3.4.1 Umfi u Rev. Chas. Pamla (1917)

This poem is dedicated to Rev Pamla, who, according to Millard (1999) in *Malihambe – Let the Word Spread*, was born into a Christian family in 1934 in Butterworth in the Eastern Cape. When a theological institution was established in Healdtown, Pamla was among the first students admitted there and he was one of the first African Methodist ministers to be ordained in 1871. He turned out to be a responsibly community member and contributed especially to church services. He was a class leader, a lay preacher, evangelist interpreter and above all he decided to offer

himself for the ministry. He had a long ministry as a pioneering preacher, always standing firm on Christian principles. Mqhayi, in his introductory prose to this poem, supports Millard's view when he writes:

Pambi kokuba ndimbone ngeliso umfundisi lo, ndandise ndimazi kakade ngokuva izenzo zake. Ukumbona kwam ngeliso, akuzange kube saba nanto ingakanani kongeza yona, kuba izenzo zake zazise zivakele, zamxela, zamfeza kwati cwaka (Imvo Zabantsundu, 14 August 1917: 3)

Before I could see this reverend with the naked eye I knew him already through his deeds. Seeing him with naked eye didn't add anything much, because his deeds had already been heard, they reflected him, and completed him totally.

In addition to the church services Pamla offered, maybe the reason Mqhayi relates to him is because he also tried to have the African customs that the missionaries condemned to be discussed at Synod. He retired in 1913 and died on 24 June, 1917.

3.4.2 A! No-Ndwe!! [Mrs. M. Ballinger] (1939)

A! No – Ndwe is a praise name Mqhayi gave to Mrs. Margaret Violet Ballinger because of her role in politics during her lifetime. The meaning of *indwe*, from which the name Nondwe is derived, is a blue crane (bird) and some people believed that it is the national bird of South Africa. Its feather is used to crown those who excelled in their service to the nation. In the encyclopedia *Dictionary of African Biography* (1995), Virginia Knight states that Margaret was born in the city of Glasgow in Scotland in 1894. Her family moved to South Africa when she was only 10 years old, a few years before the Anglo-Boer – War (1899 – 1902) ended. Knight describes her as an outspoken advocate of African rights. It can be argued that Mrs. Ballinger had Black South Africans' interests at heart, hence the following comment by Knight:

The African National Congress asked Ballinger to stand for one of the four seats designated to protect African interests. She was first elected to parliament from the

Eastern Cape in 1937 and re-elected five times, served until 1959 (*Dictionary of African Biography*, 1995: 43).

This means that she represented the Eastern Cape on the Native Representatives Council. It is therefore not surprising that a United States' newspaper, *Time Magazine* (July 3, 1944 | Vol. XLIV No. 1) report named her as the "Queen of Blacks". That gives Mqhayi all the reasons to identify Ballinger as one of his praise subjects. She went on pension from politics in 1959 and died in 1980.

3.4.3 U Dr. R.T. Bokwe (1934)

According to South African History Online (SAHO), Roseberry Tandwefika Bokwe was born in approximately 1900 in Tsomo, a town in the Transkei. He was an educator, a physician and also a politician, more reasons for Mqhayi to sing praises about him. Mqhayi's concern about educational value as an instrument for elevating one's self and the nation is evident in this poem because he is praising R.T. Bokwe for his endeavors to become a doctor regardless of the barriers that were in his way. He writes:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Yint' etyhoboza kuvalwe ngentsimbi;</i> | The one who forces his way through iron bars; |
| 2. <i>Ival' i-Fotele yade yaqilingela.</i> | Fort Hare was closed, fastened tightly. |
| 3. <i>Tyushu gqi ngapaya kwezithabazi!</i> | He broke through to reach the fine plains! |
| 4. <i>Inobugqi ebufumene kwa Zulu!</i> | He has magic which he got from Zululand! |
- (*Imvo*, 25 December 1934: 3)

He also had leadership qualities which tell why he was a headmaster of a high school, and a district surgeon in Middledrift. He was also one of the directors of *Inkundla Yabantu* (The court of the people) (1938 – 1950) newspaper, a member of the African's Claims committee and also chaired as a speaker at the ANC's yearly conferences. His estimated year of death was 1963 (www.sahistory.org.za › *Biographies*).

3.4.4 A! Ngangemvula!!! Sir Patrick Duncan (1941)

Most white leaders who fascinated Mqhayi as a poet were given praise names (*izikhahlelo*) as we have seen above with Mrs. Ballinger whose praise name is ‘A! Nondwe!’ Duncan is addressed as ‘A! Ngangemvula!’ *Ngangemvula* means ‘He, who is as vast as the rain’. Heavy rain destroys. It could be that Mqhayi was referring to a series of wars that were taking place during his rule. Maybe that is why he compares him to the heavy rain when he writes:

<i>Wavel’uNgangemvula!</i>	Here comes Ngangemvula!
<i>Wavel’uNgangemvula!!</i>	Here comes Ngangemvula!!
<i>Batsho bonke bathi “Wavela!”</i>	They all say, “Here he comes!”
<i>Wavel’uNogumbhe imvul’enkulu,</i> (<i>Imvo</i> 27 September 1941: 8)	Here comes <i>Nogumbe</i> , the heavy rain that washes out the ground

These (*izikhahlelo*) are royal salutations that are restricted to a particular royal personage. Chiefs are traditional leaders and Mqhayi values their role in instilling patriotic values to their subjects. Since Mrs. Ballinger, Sir Patrick Duncan and others are leaders concerned about the welfare of the black people, Mqhayi respects them the way he respects his chiefs.

We learn from sahistory.org.za that Sir Patrick Duncan was born on the 21st of December 1870 in Aberdeenshire, a city in Scotland. He came to South Africa in 1901 and became a colonial secretary in the Transvaal. In 1907 he went back to London to further his studies and came back to South Africa in 1908 as a practicing lawyer in Johannesburg. It is during this time when his political career in politics flourished. He was active in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and elected to its parliament, working for social and industrial reform. Later on in 1936 he was elected as a Governor–General of the Union, a position regarded as the highest in the country (www.sahistory.org.za). In the *Dictionary of African Biography* (1995: 73), Gann has this to say about him:

By the standards of his time, Duncan’s views were moderate and liberal – minded. His goal was equality of opportunity for all races.

Those attributes could be the motivation enough for Mqhayi to shower him with praises and even salute him as a royal king, *A! Ngangemvula!!* Duncan finally died in Pretoria on the 17th of July 1943. According to Gann, he was given a state funeral.

3.4.5 U=Dalindyebo (1911)

Zotwana (1993) comments that it was SEK Mqhayi who would not let his Christian principles take away his respect and love for the chiefs of the amaXhosa and chieftainship, in which was embodied the values of justice and democracy. We can agree with Zotwana on that, judging from a number of poems Mqhayi produced about the chiefs of his time. Dalindyebo, according to Tsehloane Keto in the *Dictionary of African Biography* (1995), was the modern traditional chief of the abaThembu of the Transkei region during 1884–1920. He was born of the Ngangelizwe Mtirara's royal family in 1865. He possessed the attributes that made him to be the recipient of Mqhayi's poetic accolades. Keto describes him as an active member of the Bunga which was a regional authority officially known as the Transkei General Council. He was highly respected for his progressive ideas that include protesting against a color bar in the Union of South Africa, supporting quality education for blacks, supporting changes to enhance the quality of African life and institution, to mention just a few. He was therefore a definite patriot, a nationalist and a leader whom Mqhayi admires. He died on the 22nd April 1920.

3.4.6 U-Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog (1943)

This is an elegy poem since Mqhayi was expressing grief over the death of General Hertzog who was the 3rd Prime Minister of South Africa from 30th June 1924 – 5th September 1939 (Grundlingh in the *Dictionary of African Biography*, 1995). This lawyer and a Boer General, was born in Wellington in the Cape Colony on the 3rd of April 1866. We learn from Grundlingh's words that although he can be seen as one of the architects of the policy of apartheid he did make a mark enough for Mqhayi to regard him as one of the leaders who deserves praise. This was because besides his great contribution to Afrikaner culture and politics he was also deeply

involved in regulating black and white relationships in South Africa. Above all, after he succeeded Smuts as a Prime Minister in 1924, he held the portfolio of Native affairs, and among other positive things he promised to make more land available for Africans hence Mqhayi's excitement in this poem:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Yiva ndisitsho ndisith' usebenzile;</i> | Hear me out, you have worked hard |
| 2. <i>Thina midaka sith' usincedile.</i> | As black people, we say you have helped us |
| 3. <i>Sikuthiye kakhulu ukuxokiswa:</i> | We detest being lied to: |
| 4. <i>Sikwa ngakuthandi kwa nokukhohliswa;</i> | We also loathe being deceived; |
| 5. <i>Wen' akuzang' ubenze obo buqhinga;</i> | You never did such cunning; |
| 6. <i>Weema njengendoda umfo wokucinga.</i> | The thoughtful man stood up like a man. |
- (*Imvo*, 09 January 1943: 6)

He died at the age of 76 in Pretoria, on the 21st November 1942.

3.4.7 *A! - Chith' I-Bhunga!* [General Smuts] (1939)

This poem is dedicated to General Jan Christiaan Smuts whom Mqhayi bestowed with the praise name, *A! Chith' I-Bhunga!* which literally means 'to disperse a council meeting'. We learn from Mqhayi's poem why he calls him that:

1. *Ungu Chith'ibhung' elibizwa yi Mbongi,*
2. *Kub'uchith'ibhunga lama Jamani;* (*The Bantu World*, 2 December 1939: 2)
3. You are the Destroyer of secret consultations, the name used by the Poet,
4. Because you are dismissing the German's secret consultations;

A multimedia history of World War One has it that, of Afrikaner roots like Hertzog, Jan Smuts was born on the 24th May 1870 at Malmesbury in the Cape Colony. He studied as a lawyer and accepted a job offer as state attorney in Johannesburg. Mqhayi sings praises to this leader who

was the second Prime Minister of South Africa from the 5th September 1939 – 4th June 1948. In this poem Mqhayi makes reference to the historical socio-political position of South Africa during the time of Second World War between Germany and South Africa and Smuts came to the country's rescue by leading the South African army triumphantly against German troops. S.B. Spies, in the encyclopedia of Africana, *Dictionary of African biography* (1995), describes Smuts as a statesman, soldier and philosopher, tributes that make him worthy of praise. He further argues that:

Jan Smuts is considered not only one of South Africa's most outstanding statesman, but a leading international diplomatic figure, in the twentieth century world. Smuts was a paradoxical figure, an international peacemaker and humanists, who willingly wed violence and legislation to maintain subordination of South Africa's majority.

Hence Mqhayi's praise name, A! Chith'I-Bhunga!!! Because of all those courageous deeds, Mqhayi refers to him as a hero. He died on the 11th September 1950, at the age of 80.

3.4.8 Jabavu - Makiwane (1916)

Although the title is about John Tengo Jabavu (1859 – 1921), a political activist and an editor, and Elijah Makiwane (1850 – 1828), the second black minister trained in South Africa to be ordained in the Presbyterian Church, the content of the poem focuses on Makiwane's daughter, Thandiswa Florence, who married Jabavu's son. In the book *Women Writing Africa: the Southern Region* (2003), Sisi Magaqa states that Thandiswa Florence Makiwane was born in Tyhume valley in Alice in 1895 and was married to D.D.T. Jabavu, a professor at the university, a writer, a preacher and a political activist. Their marriage created a union between the most prominent Christian families in the Eastern Cape, most probably the reason Mqhayi pays tribute to them. However, Thandiswa herself deserves praise as she was described by Phillis Ntantala (2009) as a brave woman who was prepared to fight for those things she believed in. She was also a founder of Zenzele Woman's Self-Improvement Association. Mqhayi admires people of that standing hence he showers her with praises together with both her fathers, Jabavu and Makiwane. She died in 1951.

3.4.9 A,-Sithwalandwe! Col. the Hon. Denys Reitz (1942)

Deneys Reitz, like all the white leaders praised by Mqhayi, has a praise name, ‘*A! Sithwalandwe!*’ This praise name literally means ‘one who carries the blue crane feather’ but figuratively ‘one who carries the crown’ the meaning that is not different from *A! Nondwe* mentioned above. Perhaps Mqhayi gave Reitz this praise name because of his heroic deeds as he is he fought heroically for South African Republic against British Empire, in the 2nd Boer war (1899 – 1902), and again in the 1st World war (1914 – 1918) for the Union of South Africa against the German Empire. He was a Boer soldier, born in Bloemfontein on 2nd April 1882. Besides being a soldier he also served as a cabinet Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Native Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister until 1943. Mqhayi would never have missed showering him with praises as J.C. Smuts, in the preface of the book *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (1929) testifies about his loyalty to South Africa saying, “The loyalty of the Boer boy ripened into the broader loyalty of the South African”. He died at the age of 62, on the 19th October 1944.

3.4.10 John Henderson Soga (1941)

The Rev. John Henderson Soga was born at Mgwali in the Cape Colony, on the 10th February 1860 and tragically died in England with his family on the 18th March 1941 (*Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 1986). He is described as a Xhosa minister, translator, historian, and ethnographer, whose works remain relevant in the mid-1980s.

Like any other missionary J. Henderson Soga deserves praise. As Shepherd (1955: 119) comments about all the missionaries that, “Individual and national up building of character was the great work to which God called them”, Mqhayi would never have missed that about Soga. He valued people like him and therefore it is not surprising when he writes in an introductory comment to Soga’s tribute that:

Siyambulela uThixo ngokumgcina lo mfo le minyaka mingaka ikuma80, esisiqhwala; kanti umgcinele le misebenzi ingakanana asenzele yona (Imvo, 19 April 1941: 2).

We thank God for keeping this man being a limp; for 80 years, and he kept him for the lot he did for us.

In addition to his missionary work he also completed what was started by his father, the translation of *Pilgrim's Progress* (1929) into isiXhosa.

3.4.11 A,-Zwelizolile!!! (1944)

A! Zwelizolile is a praise name given to Rev. Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd, the former principal of Lovedale during 1942 – 1955. 'Zwelizolile' literally means, 'the world is calm/quiet'. Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd was born of noble and poor Scottish family as a twin in 1888 (Oosthuizen, 1970). In 1915 he enrolled to study ministry in the Free Church of Scotland in Edinburg and by 14th May 1918 he was ordained as a minister. By that time he was already appointed to do missionary work to South Africa and he assumed duty in April 1920 at a mission station Thembu land in the Transkei. In 1926 he was invited to work as a chaplain in Lovedale Missionary Institution. From 1942 – 1955 he was appointed the principal of Lovedale succeeding Dr Wilkie. In the introduction of his book Oosthuizen describes Shepherd as someone who was of great service to people and the country, attributes Mqhayi admires most in a person to deserve praise. Oosthuizen has this to say about Shepherd:

His influence, through his literary activities, went beyond the borders of this country, although his major concern was this country. His untiring efforts for African literary development; the study of their language and hymnody (in this Mrs. Shepherd gave her contribution) need to be recorded (1970: iv-v).

Hence the words by Professor Chapman in Oosthuizen 1970 that, "Shepherd of Lovedale, its last ordained Principal and its historian editor and publisher, man of letters". He retired on 31st December 1955 and died in in 1971.

3.4.12 Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B. A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A. (1924)

As it has already been stated, Mqhayi regards education as a norm and pillar of nation building. This is exactly what this poem is all about. Mqhayi is inspired by the way these two men were groomed in the great educational institution of the time, The South African Native College, which was later retitled Fort Hare. Professor Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews was a well-known academic and a politician born in Kimberly on the 20th October 1901 and died on the 12th May 1968 in USA but buried in Gaborone, Botswana (Dictionary of African Biography, 1995).

According to the poem by Mqhayi (*Imvo*, 10 June 1924), Edwin Mtobi Ncwana was born of a Christian family, his father being Rev Ncwana of Methodist Church. As a result he was born at a Methodist Mission School in Ndlovukazi (Lesseyton) where his father was a minister in 1896. In 1917, after having qualified for teacher's course he decided to follow his father's steps and enrolled to study theology at the S. A. Native College where he met Matthews. Mqhayi testifies to that when he writes:

Ngowe 1917 ubeseKholejini ejonga ngqo kuloo mbasa ayinzatyelweyo namhla, ejonga nakwizifundo zezi Balo ate wabizelwa kuzo yiMvana ngokwayo, ngentongo. (Mqhayi, *Imvo*, 10 June 1924).

In 1917 he was in Fort Hare looking directly at the crown he is being awarded today, also looking at theological studies to which he was called at a very early age, by the Lamb himself.

These two men shared a lot in common and maybe that was one of the reasons Mqhayi decided to combine them in his tribute. Besides just being the senior students and the first graduates in the history of the college, they shared a major responsibility for leadership in student affairs. Matthews was the chairman of the Students Representative Council, president of the Literary Debating Society, and Editor of the students' paper. On the other hand Ncwana was Vice – chairman of the Student Council, and president of Student of Christian Association (Matthews, 1981). What other reason could there have been for Mqhayi not to pay homage to people of their calibre.

3.4.13 Uphumlo LukaMavigala (Dr. MacVicar) (1938)

According to the S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern Africa, Dr MacVicar, a medical practitioner and Presbyterian missionary, was born of Reverend Peter MacVicar and wife Barbara S. Bayne on 1st August 1871 in Scotland. In October 1902 he assumed duty as the first medical superintendent of Victoria Hospital at Lovedale, a Presbyterian mission in Alice. Like all the missionaries, Dr MacVicar devoted his life to the welfare, and particularly the public health of the African population of South Africa, hence some accolades by Mqhayi. In 1938, after he retired he stayed with his surgeon daughter in Johannesburg, and died there on 2nd December 1949.

3.4.14 Umfi Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda (1915)

Mr. Thos Mqanda was born and bred in Peddie in the Cape Province which is known as the Eastern Cape these days. Mveli Skota in his *African Yearly Register* (1930), describes Mqanda as someone who was popular to many, and also took a keen interest in the political, educational and social life of his people, and a leader in his Methodist church. Mqhayi also supports this view when he writes in *Imvo* (1915, 13 April: 1):

Kute ngenxa yengqondo yake, udumo lwake lwapumela nakwamanye amazwe, wada waba yindoda engencinane pakati kwesizwe jikelele.

Because of his intellect, his fame penetrated other nations, until he was no longer small within the nation generally.

Mqhayi noticed these remarkable qualities of being a social leader and servant of the nation and that is why he paid tribute to Mqanda.

3.4.15 Umhlelele u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala (1924)

This is an elegy poem, a lament about the passing of one of the Chiefs of amaNdlambe. As it is already mentioned, Mqhayi loved and respected the traditional leaders of his time. He made it his responsibility to produce *izibongo* about them in the most esteemed form of isiXhosa literary art. We learn from the introductory prose to the poem that Sonzobo Libalele Mhala, the son of the

Chief Mhala Ndlambe, was born below the mountain called Mhalla's Kop, in the district between East London and King William's Town, around the time of the War of the Axe, in 1846. He died on the 23rd February 1924, after having served his people tirelessly.

3.4.16 Umfi u Mpondombini (1927)

This is also an elegy poem because Mqhayi is paying homage to another Chief of amaNdlambe by the name of Msintsi Makinana who succeeded Chief Sonzobo mentioned above. Like all the other chiefs praised by Mqhayi, by virtue of being a chief he deserves praise. A! Mpondombini was his praise name. He was allegedly born in 1874 when chief Maqoma died, and died in October 1927 after having been a chief only three years (Mqhayi, *Umteteli Wabantu*, 29 October 1927: 7).

3.4.17 A-Gweb'inkumbi!!! (1921)

This was a praise name for the 7th chief of the Gcaleka sub-group of the Xhosa nation, by the name Salukuphathwa Gweb'inkumbi Sigcawu. He took over chieftainship after his father, Sigcawu Sarhili died in 1902, and he held the reign until his death on the 30 May 1921. Mqhayi must have known Gweb'inkumbi during his stay in Centane because the chief resided in the district of Gatyana (Willowvale), which is not far from Centane.

3.4.18 Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa no William Cebani Mtoba (1913)

Jonathan Tunyiswa is one other patriot who deserves Mqhayi's homage as he was among the local African leaders in the King William's Town district, but based in Mount Coke. He was a teacher by profession, and a church leader. He was definitely a profound server of the nation. Mqhayi, in the *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1913:7) writes:

Isizwe usikonze ngenkonzo yobutitshala iminyaka emininzi; i Bandla lakowabo lase Wesile ulikonze wada wali Gosa iminyaka emininzi.

He served the nation through teaching for many years; he served his home's Congregation of the Methodist Church until he became a Steward for many years.

In addition to that he was the president of the Native Educational Association and also the leading initiator of the South African Native Congress (Odendaal, 2012: 61, 63). Nothing much is recorded about William Cebani Mtoba but still Mqhayi mentions him in this poem maybe because he was also active socially as he was one of the first two presidents of the King William's Town Native Vigilance Association (Odendaal, 1912: 117-118).

3.4.19 Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana (1914)

William Kobe Ntsikana is known to be the son of the great prophet Ntsikana Gaba. He was in the group of educated elite who contributed articles to the first major isiXhosa newspaper, *Indaba* (1862 – 1865). He must have been born in 1837 because according to Mqhayi (*Imvo Zabantu*, 1914:1 see Appendix: 6.25), he died on the 22nd December 1913 when he was 76 years old. History has it that he moved to Mgwali in 1858 and for many years he had taken an active part in the Eastern Cape Church life and politics as one of the educated elite. Mqhayi confirms that in his introductory prose to the poem, when he states that he served the nation as a teacher and preaching the gospel until his retirement. Because of these valuable endeavours Mqhayi paid tribute to him.

3.4.20 Chief Kona Maqoma (Anazina ukuba Kumke i Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli?) (1906)

The chief Mqhayi is praising here is Chief Kona Maqoma, the right-hand son to the Great chief Maqoma (1898-1873). It could also be claimed that Nzanzana, Mqhayi's uncle was a councillor to this chief and it might be how Mqhayi knows him. Also, Kona was resettled at Centane after the last Anglo – Xhosa War (1877 – 1879) and Nzazana became a headman (Kuse, 1978). (In *Izwi Labantu* (18 September, 1906:4) Mqhayi argues that Chief Kona Maqoma because of his intelligence his father ordained him as the first born, hence he took over chieftainship. He led his people diligently until his death on the 07th September 1906.

3.4.21 Umfi u Provincial Wm. Gcule (1926)

After the conversation on the 05th day of August 2016, with Reverend Mbulelo Lucas, it was established that William Gcule was someone who dedicated his life to serving the Lord. Reverend Lucas is one of the current leaders of the Order of Ethiopian Church. Presently, he is rector of St James & St Marks in Zwide, Port Elizabeth and he happened to know the history of *Umzi WaseTopiya* as it is commonly known. He confirmed that Gcule was born in 1879 in Middledrift, Debe Marele in the King William's Town district in the Cape Colony, now called Eastern Cape. Under his leadership a number of new church organizations were formed, like Women's Manyano, Girls Manyano and Men's League. In 1914, he was enthroned as the second Provincial of the Ethiopian Church, the position he held until his untimely death on the 21st August 1926. It could be that Mqhayi identifies these leadership qualities in William Gcule and therefore decides to shower him with praises.

3.4.22 Umfi Howard Ben-Mazwi (1943)

Family member, his daughter Mrs. Vangile Taye says, Howard Ben Mazwi was born on the 12th December, 1895 in Bhaziya, a village in Mthatha in the Eastern Cape. He stayed and worked in East London. It is possible that it is from East London that Mqhayi knows him perhaps when he was also working as a teacher and an editor. According to Mqhayi (*Imvo*, 06 March 1943: 4), Ben – Mazwi died on the 30 January 1943 and was buried on the 1st February 1943. We learn from the following lines that everybody in his community was disturbed by his death:

1. *Zay'imfama zimlilela;* The blind wept for him;
2. *Izilima zimbongela;* The crippled wailed for him;
3. *Kwasisankxwe ngamahlwempu,* The poor made a deafening noise,
(*Imvo*, 06 March 1943: 4)

It can be deduced from these lines that he was concerned about the welfare of his community, something Mqhayi was advocating.

3.4.23 Umfi u Thomas Ntintili (1911)

Nothing much is recorded about Thomas Ntintili although Mqhayi also chose him as one of his praise subjects. However, we do learn from *Lovedale: past and present; a register of two thousand names* (1887), by Stewart, that he was born at Fort Beaufort. He was admitted in the first year's class of Lovedale in 1872 and learned a little carpentry before he was dismissed for non-compliance before the period of apprenticeship was completed. He worked as a teacher at a village Gcibala in the Transkei. Because of his satisfactory conduct in August 1886, the missionary, Rev J. Davidson sent him back to Lovedale to study as an evangelist (Stewart, 1887). Perhaps that was the reason why Mqhayi regard him as one worthy to be praised as he writes:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Engena sixhiba mntwini,</i> | He didn't have a grudge against anybody, |
| 2. <i>Emsulwa esimilweni,</i> | He was pure in character, |
| 3. <i>Ethandeka eluntwini ngobubele.</i> | He was loved by society for his kindness. |
| 4. <i>Zovuya k'iKerubimi</i> | The Cherubim will be glad |
| 5. <i>De zigcob 'iSerafimi,</i> | The Seraphim will be elated, |
| 6. <i>Sibe tin'emhlabeni silahlekelwe</i> | While we on earth would have lost. |

(*Imvo Zabantsundu*, 1911)

3.4.24 Chief Mbovane Mabandla: A, Ngangezwe!!! (1936)

This is Mbovane Mabandla, the chief of amaRharhabe, to whom Mqhayi paid tribute after his death in 1936. As per verbal conversation held on the 17th August 2016 with Chief Justice Mabandla who happens to be the grandson. Chief Mbovane Mabandla was born on the 7th July 1843, in the village called EmaZotshweni, in Alice. Besides being a chief he also served his people by being a leader in his church, he was a deacon in the Presbyterian Church under Reverend Elijah Makiwane. He died and buried in the same village on the 07th July 1936.

3.4.25 U Chief James Mama (1911)

A personal conversation was held on the 21st August 2016 at 13h00 at Mnqaba Village with Luthando Vukile James Mama, the great-grandson to Chief James Mama. We learn from the conversation that Mama was the chief of amaGqunukwebe tribe, amaGqunukwebe of Khwane. He was born in Twecu, a village near East London in 1806. He spent most of his life serving the Lord because according to Mqhayi he was a very active member of the Methodist Church of South Africa, working hand in hand with ministers. That is why Mqhayi mentions in his poem that his passing should be reported to the great men of the Methodist Church, Hargreaves and Lamplaough. He writes:

1. *Ad'ev'uHagile no Lampulo* Until Hargreaves and Lamplaough,
 2. *Inkunz'ezinkulu zakwa Wesile* The great bulls of the Methodist Church, hear.
- (*Imvo*, 13 June 1911: 3)

James Mama died an old man of 105 years on the 31 March 1911, in Mnqaba village, Middledrift, Eastern Cape.

3.5 Summary of biographies

Above are selected sketches of people Mqhayi portrayed, men and women, black and white, which have made their contribution to the life of South Africa. Details of some of the subjects of these poems cannot be found, but those that were found in the archives and libraries are included above for posterity. Although not all of them, but some of them lived and worked in reasonable obscurity, and yet their personalities and acts in society left their influence on their co-workers, associates and fellow South Africans. These include acts of giving, educational performance, heroics and general contribution to the betterment of society under missionary and colonial influence. Their influence also in varying measure brought prosperity and value to their times. Consequently, it is one of the purposes of this study that such men and women should not be forgotten and that something of their record find the permanence of print. It is also distinctive of Mqhayi that he seeks to ensure that they would not be forgotten.

We also need to take note that since these are biographical poems they are written in a style which owes much to the performances of the traditional oral poet, i.e. traditional poetry of clan names and *izibongo* which consist of a series of praise names. That is going to be dealt with in detail in the following chapter of analysis.

3.6 Diplomatic Presentation of Mqhayi's texts

This part of the chapter seeks to illustrate with some of the selected texts the concept of diplomatic presentation of Mqhayi's literary texts. The idea is to present the text in the manner in which they appeared originally, i.e. in terms of isiXhosa orthography during the times of Mqhayi's writing, and compare it with the current orthography. In illustrating orthographic issues throughout the period in which the poems were written, a table with two columns will be used. The first column illustrates the type of orthographic issues and the second column illustrates the orthographic issues as they appear in Mqhayi's texts. An example is taken from poem 6.11a in the Appendices. Where examples are not from this quoted text, the different source is given in brackets.

Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A. (1924)

Emva kweminyakana esibôzo i Koleji yabantsundu, e Fort Hare, sibona namhlanje, singeka kimbuleli luto, sekusiti gqi lama gama abafana babâlwe ngasentl' apa, kusitiwa balupumelela poqo ololuvivo lubekwe emva kwa magama abo. Yasotusa nge mihlali lonto

Ebizwa ngemibôbô nangemilozi,

Ufike wabûla-bû bú-bû ngebâyi!

Ningarori nina ndinigqibile. (Imvo, 10 June 1924: 7)

TYPE OF ORTHOGRAPHIC 'ISSUE'	HOW IT APPEARS IN MQHAYI'S TEXT
Disjunctive vs conjunctive writing	1. <i>i koleji</i>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. <i>e Fort Hare</i> 3. <i>nge mihlali</i>
Umarked aspiration	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>i koleji</i> 2. <i>kumbuleli</i> 3. <i>luto</i> 4. <i>kusitiwa</i> 5. <i>balupumelela</i>
Aspiration marked with diacritics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>esibózo</i> 2. <i>Ngemibōbō</i> 3. <i>wabúla-bú bú-bù ngebāyi</i>
Voiceless ejective, and voiced velar fricatives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Ningarori</i>
Voiceless velar fricative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Taruni mzi wakwa nyawontle</i> (poem 28a)
Word division	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>lama gama</i> 2. <i>olohuviwo</i> 3. <i>lonto</i>
Capitalisation of the months and days of the week	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Yat'eye Tupa yakwelel'eyom Sintsi,</i> 2. <i>Yat'eyom Sintsi yakwelel'eye Dwara,</i> 3. <i>Yat'eye Dwara yakwelel'eye Nkanga,</i> 4. <i>Yat'eye Nkanga yakwelel'eyo Mnga;</i> (poem 8a in the Appendix). 5. <i>Kute ke ngolwe Sine</i> (poem 16a in the Appendix)
Capitalisation of clan Names	<p><i>u Dalindyebo, unyana ka Ngangelizwe, ka Mtirara, ka Ngub'enchuka, ka Ndaba, ka Zondwa, ka Madiba, ka Tato, ka Hala, ka Dlomo, ka Nxekwa, ka Ntande, ka Mgtuti, ka Bomoyi, ka Sampu, ka Ntongakazi, ka Tembu</i></p>

¹ *Yaswelel* original text

	(16a in the Appendix)
Hyphenation in Ethnic groups	<i>Enge –Mfengu engem–Xosa kok’engumntu.</i> (poem 24a in the Appendix)
Hyphenation in Compound words	<i>Umntan’enkos’ontliziyo – nye</i> (poem 2a in the Appendix)
Hyphenation in double – barrelled words	<i>.....ngathi kukuza kuka “makhanda-mahlanu”</i> (poem 11a in the Appendix).
Hyphenation in the long drawn-out syllable	<i>Ndimem’imbizo enku-u-u-lu!</i> (poem 26a in the Appendix)
Hyphenation in repeated instances	<i>Maye – maye – maye babe – e – e</i> (poem 20a in the Appendix)

Table 1: The Presentation of orthographic issues

While the texts appear in their diplomatic edition, during the process of establishing texts, there were errors that were identified, that were then “corrected” and annotated. These are minimal, and will be presented here:

Typographical errors	
Source/Poem	Error identified
1. <i>A! Nondwe!!</i> (1939)	<i>Es.gqebeni</i>
2. <i>Jabavu – Makiwane</i> (1916)	<i>Kwiminpaka etho</i> <i>Kwamazi noka</i> <i>Yaswelel</i>
3. John Henderson <i>Soga</i> (1941)	<i>Eneembaxa</i>
4. <i>U Dalindyebo</i> (1911)	<i>Em[a]yenziwea</i> <i>Linganga[n]tonina</i>
5. <i>Umfi u Mpondombini</i> (1927)	<i>Kobongaba</i>

	<i>U[m]Ninawa</i>
6. <i>Uphumlo LukaMavigala</i> (1938)	<i>Esinyomeni</i>

Table 2: Presentation of errors

There is also what cannot be identified as errors from the side of Mqhayi. It looks as if it was a way of writing during the earlier times, where semivowels were not used but just vowels as in the examples below. Since this study is in diplomatic presentation it is found necessary to also present this here as well:

Source poem	Words without semivowels
<i>A – Gwebinkumbi!!!</i> (1921)	<i>U Njixiza, uQauk'ehlangana</i>
<i>Jabavu – Makiwane</i> (1916)	<i>Yavel'ukuphuma kwelang'e Bai</i>

Table 3: Presentation of errors (semi-vowels)

The above presentation demonstrates that language is changing and therefore through literature writings, language scholars, especially historical linguists, can study a language as it changes in the course of time, with a view either to determining general principles of linguistic change or to establishing the correct classification of particular languages. It is through this diachronic study that one can develop a comprehensive understanding of how a language has evolved over time. Literary works, therefore, are important in illustrating how a language evolves over a period of time.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has set out to describe methods used to collect data for this research. It specifies the quantity of the poems collected and the site of the data collection, the time and source of their publication. The chapter also discusses the pertinent characteristics of the poems, as well as explores the context of their writing. The different themes in which the poems are embedded are presented together with the poems. Biographies of the people that Mqhayi praised in his early poetry are outlined. It is discovered that these were generally ordinary citizens from all walks of life, both black and white. However, as indicated in this chapter some of them were educators or politicians. One thing that they have in common is that they all had an impact on the lives of others. This chapter has also set out to try and unravel the notion of diplomatic edition writing, bearing in mind that missionaries who introduced amaXhosa to the written word and who also

produced and influenced the first isiXhosa works, were doing so from their own western perspective. In the chapter that follows the poetry is analysed in greater detail. The analysis of diplomatic writings of Mqhayi's poems presented here will be analysed in Chapter 5 followed by the analysis of translation.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research question that guided the study, as articulated in the themes conceptualised in the data collected and presented in Chapter 3. The chapter analyses and evaluates the data collected, in the context of the main research question of the study. The research question is to establish a link between Mqhayi's previously unknown thirty (30) poems and the subjects of this poetry and furthermore to contextualise the poetry during a specific socio-political era. I will examine each aspect of the data, looking specifically at the themes identified in Chapter 3.

The data is analysed and discussed in relation to how Mqhayi's biographical poems can give insight not only of Mqhayi's subjects of praise, but into how he uses historical, political and socio-cultural contexts in his praise of his subjects. Therefore, as stated earlier the discussion will revolve around the practice of the Historical–Biographical Criticism in analysing the lives of these poetic subjects. This means that the focus is on how Mqhayi uses poetry to engage, through the subjects which he praises, on social issues affecting amaXhosa and others during the time these poems were written. The discussion is structured around common themes reflecting the social issues that were a source of intrigue or excitement at the time of his writing, and that have been identified in Chapter 3. As mentioned earlier, the history, politics and culture of the amaXhosa, especially in the Eastern Cape during Mqhayi's childhood account for the themes and topics on which he wrote, influenced by his in-depth knowledge of his culture as well as his appreciation of social injustices during that time.

After the discussion and analysis of Mqhayi's biographical poems that are under analysis in this research, the discussion will focus on how the diplomatic presentation of the texts has been followed and also how translation has been used in attaining equivalence. As it has been done in the presentation of data in the previous chapter, only relevant sections will be quoted in the analysis. All poems, in their entirety and in translation, are in the Appendices that follow at the end of this thesis. The themes to be discussed in this Chapter, as presented in Chapter 3 above, will cover Christian influence, patriotism/nationalism, social responsibility embedded in religion and education, gender issues and illness and death.

4.2 Analysis of themes

4.2.1 Christianity and its interplay with African spirituality

South African history has it that precolonial South African religion was based on the African traditional religion without priests, but with *amagqirha* (diviners) or elders who were intermediaries between the physical and the spiritual worlds. Their Spiritual Super-being before the import of the Christian God was known as *Qamata, Mdali* (the Creator) (Pinnock, 1994). That was the case until this belief was affected by Christianity which was introduced by the Dutch and later by British settlers and missionaries, creating a world where traditional beliefs and Christianity had to find a way of co-existing even though this was not necessarily the intention of the missionaries.

During the arrival of the missionaries there was a continuous undervaluing of African traditional beliefs, norms and values, including religion, and there was forced conversion into Christianity, rather than a celebration of ancestral beliefs. Mqhayi was born and grew up under these circumstances. His grandfather Krune was an elder of the Free Church of Scotland mission when he died, while his father grew up under missionary influence and became a leading churchman (Mqhayi, 1939). It means his parents were among the earlier converts into Christianity by the missionaries. He was born to a Christian family as his parents accepted the Christian faith. It is probably because of the Christian home influence, and the missionary schooling whose basis was Christianity, that he also became a lay preacher in adulthood.

However, there was also a co-existence of traditional and western combination in his psyche. Mqhayi was an oral poet, and his oral poetry fundamentally demonstrated indigenous values and norms, both in content and form. His Christian influence, both at home (being born in a Christian home) and through schooling no doubt had an influence on his poetry. It is evident that Mqhayi grappled with issues of Christianity, in the context of Christian missionaries undermining, devaluing and showing prejudice towards indigenous values. Consequently, Mqhayi embraced Christianity, but not in exclusion to his traditional beliefs. He equally valued them, and negotiated spaces for the co-existence of the two beliefs, without conflict with self. To Mqhayi, his tradition was important and this is reflected in his poetry that is analysed below.

Mqhayi was amongst the indigenous writers who adopted the thinking and language of the missionaries and this is reflected profoundly in his writings. It is however arguable that the church and missionary influence acted as an entryway for blacks into the Western and Christian values through modern education. Consequently, Mqhayi's writing generally, was permeated by Christianity which expresses itself in no unsure terms in his poems. However, as it is already stated one cannot emphasise enough the influence of the church and missionaries on Mqhayi. A combination of these established an ambiance that had a great influence on his character. In addition to Christian education the home did establish a traditional base as well and school and church refined the Christian influence. He was therefore involved in church early in his youthful years that he became a full member of the United Congregational Church. He acknowledges that in *UMqhayi WaseNtabozuko* (1939: 26), "It was reverend Mzimba who baptized me, and received me into Church membership".

Looking at Mqhayi's biographical poems, it can be argued that the Bible was among his most obvious sources of creativity because he quoted generously from it on numerous occasions when introducing some of his poems. In ten (10) of the thirty (30) selected poems, Mqhayi prefaces his poems by quoting a scripture and its biblical reference that is, a part that comes from the scriptures. These biblical excerpts have a relation to a cause of praise. For example, in the poem *Jabavu – Makiwane* (1916), the title is followed by a quote "*Ofumene umfazi ufumene okulungileyo, uzuze ukubukwa ngu Yehova.*" ("The one who got a wife got something good; he has received admiration from God.")

Although the scripture is not referenced in the poem itself, it is taken verbatim from the book of Proverbs 18:22. The poem is about marriage and the value of a wife. Indeed, in the poem Mqhayi is reciting praises of Rev. Makiwane's daughter, Thandiswa Makiwane – Jabavu, whom he regards as a good example of a good wife. According to Mqhayi, one who begets a good wife begets admiration from God. We learn that from these lines:

1. *Bhota ke Nolwandle ntombi ka Mfundisi!*
2. *Wang'ungantlalontl'apo kwaJili,*
3. *Njengonyoko kowenu kwa Memela,*
4. *Kwakutiw 'uyatakata zuhlal'ung'akuva,*
5. *Kwakutiw 'ulisela zuhlal'ung'akuva,*

6. *Kwakutiw'uyavimba zuhlal'ung'akuva; (Imvo, 05 September 1916: 4)*

1. We greet you Nolwandle, daughter of the Minister!
2. We wish you well at the place of Jili,
3. Like your mother at your home, at the place of Memela,
4. When they accuse you of witchcraft, sit as if you are deaf,
5. When they accuse you of theft, sit as if you are deaf,
6. When they accuse you of stinginess, sit as if you are deaf,

Greeting Nolwandle, the bride, as the “daughter of a Minister” or pastor (in line 1), there is already an expectation that she has been brought up as a Christian, so she is a “good wife”. And a good wife, according to him, is the one who encourages “good welfare” at her marital home (line 2), as was her “mother at [her] home (line 3).” She must be humble, and if accused of any wrong-doing, all accusations must fall on deaf ears (lines 4 – 6). Therefore, a “good wife” takes on good teachings from home and those good teachings also give honor to her husband. I would argue that the social expectations from a married woman, as conveyed in these lines and as prompted by scripture, and the expected behavior from a woman brought up according to Christian values (line 1), also give an indication of Mqhayi’s views on the social responsibility of a woman in Xhosa society. It would seem that according to him Christianity provides a good foundation for good values for a wife.

Mqhayi again introduces the poem *U Chief James Mama* (1911) with a biblical verse “*Razulani ingubo Zenu nibhinqe ezirwexayo*” (“Tear your blankets and gird up with sack cloths”)

Again, this is not referenced in the poem itself but it is from Samuel II 3: 31. These were Mqhayi’s words of comforting the mourners in relation to the passing of Chief James Mama, the same way King David from the Bible comforted Joab and all the people who were with him during the burial of Abner.

Another example is extracted from the book of Genesis 3: 19 and reads as “*Ngokuba ulutuli, uyakubuyela kwase lutulini.*” (“Because you are dust, to dust you will return.”)

The poem introduced by this quotation was also a lament to a religious figure, Thomas Mbilatsho Mqanda who was a leader in the Methodist Church in Peddie district. It is appropriate to make reference of this nature to a spiritual person like Mqandabecause of his relationship with God.

Another reference of biblical quotation as an opening is found in *Umfi U Nkwati Bika* (1907). Here Mqhayi writes, “*Ngokolo u Henoki wemkiswa ukuba angaboni kufa Heb. 11.5.*” (“By faith Enoch was taken away so he could not see death Heb. 11.5.”)

Mqhayi sees it befitting to introduce Nkwati Bika’s obituary in this biblical quotation because his last sermon to his congregation in East London was from this verse about having faith in God, perhaps as a forewarning of impending death. Bika is taken by God whom he pleased by his religious actions as a leader of the Presbyterian Congregational Church. Mqhayi also uses the ending of the same verse when opening the poem *Umfi u Rev. Chas. Pamla* (1917) reading as: “*Akabi nakufunyanwa ke, ngenx’ enokuba u Tixo wamfudusayo.*” (“Well, he couldn’t be found because God moved him away”)

Reverend Charles Pamla and Nkwati Bika, like Mqhayi, were believers and Christians. They believed that by faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made of things which are visible (Hebrews 11: 3). Therefore, these two men of God are called by God because they have faith in him that he is a rewarder of those who diligently seek and work for him.

Mqhayi also valued the deeds of Howard Ben Mazwi who worked as a teacher and later a civil servant helping people in East London. The poem *Umfi U Howard Ben Mazwi* (1943) (The Late Howard Ben Mazwi) reflects the perceptive mind he had, such that Mqhayi regarded him as a reservoir of wisdom; his deeds would reach far and wide even if he is no longer there. The deceased had a perceptive mind, and his views and deeds will remain illuminating the earth as the brightness of the skies does to earth and those who dwell on it.

He introduces the poem with a biblical verse from the book of Daniel, 12: 3 reading as “*Aabo ke banengqiqo bakhazimle njengokukhazimla kwesibhakabhaka.*” (“Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the heavens.”)

Opening Mazwi’s praise poem as such was very apt as he was, like Mqhayi a spiritual person and was also born from a Christian family. According to the Moravian Church history, his forefathers were missionaries. The following lines bear testimony to that:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Ngombuso werhamente,</i> | In his service to the congregation, |
| 2. <i>Iyeka Krist' i-Arhente:</i> | Jesus' Agent: |
| 3. <i>Uthath' uyis' umfundisi.</i> | He took after his father, the minister. |
| 4. <i>Wema wayam' umSindisi,</i> | He stood up tall and leaned against the Savior |
- (*Imvo* (06 March 1943: 4)

The last of these biblical introductory quotations by Mqhayi is in the poem *Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana* (1914): “*Banoyolo abo bamenyelwe esidlweni somsito we Mvana.*” (“Blessed are those who are invited to the ceremonial meal of the Lamb.”

This is extracted from the book of Revelation 19: 9. William Kobe Ntsikana was also a man of God and therefore Mqhayi pays him homage by this biblical verse. It is his belief that those who die are called to the supper of the Lamb, and that people should be comforted by such. It can be argued therefore that Mqhayi was conveying the message that those who die in Christ are blessed; like Kobe Ntsikana did, Mqhayi states that he served the nation as a teacher and preaching the gospel until his retirement as this line testifies:

Inkonzo akonze ngayo esizweni ibe yeyobutitshala nobushumayeli buka Kristu, ade u Rulumente wampumza ngokumnika umhlala-pantsi (pension). (Imvo, 30 June 1914:1)

The service he rendered to the nation was that of being a teacher and preachings of Christ, until the Government retired him by giving him pension.

It is not only in the opening biblical quotations where Mqhayi's Christian values are evident, but traces of the biblical influence are also picked up in some of his biographical poems. In his poem, *Uphumlo LukaMavigala* (Dr MacVicar) (1938), he acknowledges these Christian values when he writes:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Nathi masikunqulele;</i> | We should also pray for you; |
| 2. <i>Nawe kad'usinqulela;</i> | You have also been praying for us; |
| 3. <i>Watsh'i Dike lali Cibi,—</i> | You turned Alice into a Pool,— |
| 4. <i>Elo lase Betesayida.</i> | That one of Bethesda. |
| 5. <i>Kad'uthandazel'abav'inimba!</i> | You had been praying for those in labour! |
| 6. <i>Kad'uthandazel'abashiy'ilizwe;</i> | You had been praying for the deceased; |

7. *Kad'unqulel'abathiy'u tixo;* You had been praying for those who hate God;
 8. *Phila nawe, hlala wonwabe,—* You too, be well, retire and be happy,—

(The Bantu World, 18 June 1938: 6)

In this poem Mqhayi is praising Dr MacVicar of Lovedale. As indicated in the previous chapter, Dr MacVicar was a medical practitioner and a Presbyterian missionary, a religious figure with Christian values. These praises are meant to show the true dignity and respect he deserved. Evident in lines 3 and 4 is that Mqhayi is associating his good deeds in the Lovedale community with what happened in Jerusalem, in the Bethesda pool where whoever stepped in first after the water had been stirred by an angel, would be healed of whatever disease he had. The connotation here is that whoever came to Victoria Hospital sick, because of the efficacy of the hospital through the competent Superintendent Dr MacVicar, would leave the hospital healed. Whoever came to Victoria hospital to train as a nurse, would not only qualify as a nurse, but would be counted amongst the best in the healthcare profession. Here, an analogy is drawn between the town of Alice inhabited by those in need of healing, and Pool of Bethesda that was the place of healing and, perhaps indirectly, between Dr MacVicar and Jesus, the source of healing. The whole stanza demonstrates that Mqhayi believes in prayer as shown in lines 1, 2, 5 and 6.

In the poem *Umfi u Rev. Chas. Pamla* (1917) below, Mqhayi draws from the book of Matthew, 25 'The Parable of the Talents' to illustrate how worthy and a faithful servant Reverend Pamla was. As exposed in line 3, he was given two talents but he gained more. This was possible as it is revealed in line 4 that he worked and served the people of the Lord with diligence and determination. About being diligent, determined and a faithful servant of God Mqhayi writes:

1. *Kubizwe yena nje kubizw' indod' esebenzileyo.*
2. *Kubizw' oyakwenz' ingxel'ezeleyo;*
3. *Kuba wayenikw' italente zambini:*
4. *Zachuma nditeta zapupuma.*
5. *Nditeta waxin' umnt' esandul' ukuxina,*
6. *Zatwala kamashumi, kamakulu, kamawaka. (Imvo, 14 August 1917: 3)*

1. In calling him, they called a man who has worked.
2. They called the one who will give a full report;
3. Because he was given two talents:

4. They flourished, I mean, they overflowed.

5. I mean he worked with purpose and determination,

Mqhayi also expressed his sentiments of Christian influence in his writings in a poem *Umfi UJonathan Tunyiswa noWilliam Cebani Mtoba* (1913). As with most “schooled” black people of the time, Tunyiswa himself was also a devout Christian and a leader in his church in the Mount Coke District. Mqhayi has this to say about his death: 1. *Umk’ epet’ umkontwan’ omfutshanana*. (He left holding a small short spear in his hand). 2. *Ekutiwa yi Gospil’ igama lawo*, (By the name Gospel) (*Imvo*, 7 October 1913: 1).

The poet in these two lines emphasises Tunyiswa’s belief in the Bible and the living God and his teachings to people that they should also believe. He is praised here because Mqhayi feels that he spiritually took part in instilling in people’s hearts the knowledge of God.

There is also lavish evidence that Mqhayi uses biblical words and or phrases in his concluding remarks in four (4) of his poems. These are phrases of prayer, talking to God to bless his people, the bereaved in particular or to ask the deceased to ask blessings from the ones already departed for the ones still alive. These biblical words and or phrases are about praising God the Almighty, prayers for asking or thanking Him for His blessings. The most common of these prayer phrases is “*Ubukumkani bakho mabufike*” (let thy Kingdom come) and ‘*ubukumkani bamazulu bufikile*’ (the kingdom of God has come). The former is ‘asking’ whereas the latter is ‘grateful’. This is how he concludes the poem *A Ngangemvula!!!* (Sir Patrick Duncan 1941):

1. *Ith’ ivili kaMakhanda-Mathathu*: The wheel of Three-Headed One:

2. *U Khawulezis’ amaxesh’ igama layo*: His name is “The one who Rushes the times”:

3. *UbuKumkani Bakho mabufike!!* Thy Kingdom come!! *Ncincilili! Ncincilili!!!*

(*Imvo*, 27 September, 1941: 8) That’s it! That’s it!!!

Mqhayi wrote this poem during the period of political instability as a result of the British colonial rule in South Africa as well as World War 11. He is praising Sir Patrick Duncan who was the Prime Minister of South Africa during the British Empire sovereignty. In line 1 ‘*Makhanda–Mathathu*’ is underlining the Greatness of God as he is regarded as three bodies in one, ‘The Father, The Son and The Holy Spirit’. Mqhayi, having tired of the situation, is asking

for God's intervention to set the people of South Africa free of the predicament they find themselves in. He is appealing to Him to intervene as quickly as possible, hence the name *Khawulezis' amaxesha* in line 2. He concludes by asking for God's Kingdom to come in line 3. This shows that he is a strong believer in God himself and in the coming of God's Kingdom.

In the poem *Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B. A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A.* (1924) the sentence reads as '*Ubukumkani bamazulu bufikile*'

1. *Kub' i Afrik' ipezil' ukuba mnyama*, Because Africa has ceased to be dark,
2. *Ukukanya kungen' esizweni,—* The light has entered the nation, —
3. *Nobukumkani bamazulu bufikile.* And the kingdom of heaven has come;

NCINCILILI!!!

THAT'S IT!!!

(Imvo, 10 June 1924: 7)

Matthews and Ncwana in this poem are praised because of their university education. In lines 1 and 2 Mqhayi believes, because of people like them, Africa as a nation has ceased 'to be in darkness'. According to these lines 'the light' has penetrated the entire nation and not only the darkness has ceased, but that the kingdom of the heavens has come, hence he concludes the poem by: '*Nobukumkani bamazulu bufikile*' (line 3). However, when analyzing these lines it is not easy to see the truth in Mqhayi's words without perpetuating the European myth that Africa was 'a place of darkness' because in one other poem discussed below, *A Ngangemvula!!!* (1941) the 'light' he is referring to appears as sarcasm where he is praising Duncan as Prime Minister of South Africa but being a loyal subject of Britain. Maybe to believe in these words that Matthews and Ncwana have brought "light", one will have to look at the situation among Africans during that time, when the majority was still illiterate (Opland, 1983).

Halehuya!!! (Hallelujah!) is another concluding remark by Mqhayi instead of his usual *Ncincilili!!!* (That's it!!!) He uses both phrases thereby indicating the interplay between the traditional and the Christian. *Halehuya* is suitable for ending this type of a poem as it bears some relevance to Chief James Mama's career as a truthful servant of God. The sentences read as:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Lomhla ngumhla wetu wokuziyaleza,</i> | Today is our day of commending ourselves, |
| 2. <i>Kuwe ke wen'use Nyangweni,</i> | To you, the one who is Above |
| 3. <i>Halehuya!!!!</i> | Hallelujah!!!! |
- (Imvo, 13 June 1911: 3)

The use of Hallelujah here in line 3 is to round off the poem and at the same time is indicative of the greatness of God, a phrase used to Praise the Lord. In the book of Revelation, 19 it is used in Heaven in a victory celebration, a song of thanksgiving uttered by all holy beings united because the enemies of God have been overthrown. It could be that Mqhayi sees it befitting, in the belief that those in heaven were celebrating the arrival of the man of God James Mama to join the great heavenly multitude.

In the poem *Umfi u Nkwati Bika* (1907) below in lines 3 – 6 we also find a biblical ending where Mqhayi is conveying a message to God through his servant Nkwati Bika; that he should look after those who remain behind on earth. This is another kind of his prayers for blessings, something he has made to be his style of ending poems especially if his subject of praise was also a Christian Mqhayi usual writes

1. *Hamb' usibulisel' apo pambili*
2. *Ko Henoki ko Elij' abo no Mosisi*
3. *Wobulisa nalapo ku Tixo ukuba yinkos' ebulisekayo.*
4. *Uti siti makasipate kakuhle.*
5. *Uti siti makasip' invula ngexesha layo.*
6. *Uti batsh' oruxeshe basemhlabeni!!! (Imvo, 4 June 1907)*

1. Go and send greetings to the ones ahead
2. To Enoch, to Elijah and Moses
3. Greet God too if he is the chief that is greetable.
4. Say he should handle us with care.
5. Say he should give us rain during its time.
6. Say, so they say the destructive caterpillars of the earth!!!

It has been argued that Mqhayi was one of the beneficiaries of the tradition of reading and writing of isiXhosa language which was introduced by the missionaries. It is also argued that it is not surprising that his writings are characterised by abundance of Christian influences. However, having said that we also need to mention that Mqhayi falls in the category of a writer whom Dathorne (1976) describes as one who tried to get away from the mission–school writing, who according to Saule (2011), was considered to be a difficult person because of his criticism of some methods of the missionaries. This attitude is evident in the manner in which he finds it difficult to bring together the hostility of the British rule with the eagerness with which they acknowledged to be Christians from a civilised country, bringing light to a ‘Dark Continent Africa’. The lines below from the poem *A Ngangemvula!!!* (1941) demonstrates Mqhayi’s disappointment and anger with the insincerity of those who call themselves upholders of civilization and Christian values, including his subject of praise, Sir Patrick Duncan:

1. *Sithi Tarhu Britani eNkulu!*
2. *Britan’eNkulu engatshonelwa Langa!*
3. *Weeza nebhotile neBhayibhile:*
4. *Weza nomfundisi nesoldathi:*
5. *Weza nerhuluwa nemfakadolo:*
6. *Weza nesinandile nenkamumu:*
7. *Kanti nerhaf’iphethwe kwa nguwe. (Imvo, 27 September 1941: 8)*

1. We say Peace, Great Britain!
2. Great Britain upon whom the sun never sets
3. You came with a bottle and the Bible:
4. You came with a priest and a soldier:
5. You brought a gun powder and a breech-loader:
6. You brought a gun and cannon:
7. Whereas even the tax also is governed by you.

Although Mqhayi in the entire poem is praising Duncan as the unsurpassed South African Prime Minister ever, the above stanza is a figurative reference to the unsound political state of affairs, like colonial policies that denigrated black people, the land dispossession, and the social and

moral degeneration that Great Britain imposed over the South African society at the time. This is the most spiteful sarcasm directed by Mqhayi to Duncan as a representative of Britain and its Christian mission. Britain is sarcastically praised that it works around the clock planning political policies to oppress indigenous people. The sarcasm also indicates that while they preached Christian values on the one hand, on the other hand they freely gave alcohol to the indigenous population; they brought the priest as well as soldiers, rifles, cannon and tax to violently subdue the indigenous people and impoverish them by making them pay tax, while at the same time preaching Christian values as told in the Bible. Nevertheless, Mqhayi never fails to demonstrate his ability to stir innermost emotions using the power of biblical spirit in his poetry as is the case with the poems under discussion. Further, the spirit of the poem resonates with *izibongo* where the role of *imbongi* in society was to praise good behavior, as well as rebuke that which was untoward, from whatever front, including from place or person of authority, like Prime Minister Duncan in this case.

Presuming from the above discussion about Christian influence, Mqhayi was no exception to the idea that people read the Bible to draw from it wisdom and knowledge because it is regarded as a book of extraordinary ethical understanding (Saule, 2011). It could be argued that perhaps, except for his schooling and training as a preacher, his Christian belief and ideas were entrenched further by the role he played in the 1937 revision of the isiXhosa Bible. This is confirmed by Scott (1976: 31) who suggests that he provided expertise to W.G. Bennie when the 1927 Union Version of the Bible was revised and converted into the new isiXhosa orthography. Mqhayi was a member of the Bible Revision Board that undertook this process.

Mqhayi did not only use phrases extracted from the bible to advocate Christian philosophy, but as a devout Christian he also used actual verses from the Bible as part of his life and poetry, drawing heavily from it as his inspiration and inspiration of the others whom he praised.

4.2.2 Patriotism and Nationalism

Patriotism and nationalism will be dealt with together as there is a very thin line between them. It has already been mentioned earlier that the patriotic spirit is the thread throughout all of Mqhayi's biographical poems. The On-line Oxford English Dictionary defines a patriot as "one who disinterestedly or self-sacrificingly exerts himself to promote the well-being of his country." A patriot is "one who maintains and defends his country's freedom or rights." "[Promoting] the

well-being of his country, freedom or right', can be understood as the love for one's ancestry, culture or homeland. Nationalism on the other hand can be understood, as an ideology based on the premise of individual's loyalty and devotion to one's country. As stated in the earlier chapters, historical-biographical approach which informs this study requires that we consider how the beliefs and values of the author as well as those of the subjects of praise may reflect the beliefs, values and historical events of their time. Patriotic and nationalistic sentiments are strongly reflected in Mqhayi's writings. Both concepts can be illustrated in the poem

Umfikazi u Mbokazi (1902) (The Late Mbokazi):

"Ubewenzela Amahlwempu izivatho" "She made clothes for the indigent"

1. *Ibiwavatis'amahlwempu akowetu*, She clothed the indigent of our land
2. *Ibingumqeqeshi wentsapo ye Afrika*, She was the teacher of children of Africa
3. *Ibingumkupi wohlang'ebudengeni*, She was the rescuer of the nation from foolhardiness
4. *Ibiligora, ibiliciko* She was a heroine, an eloquent person

(*Izwi Labantu*, 12 August 1902: 3)

The poem above is a tribute to Mbokazi Pamla, who according to Mqhayi, contributed notable service among the destitute South African people as evident in the very opening formula, which is also the subtitle of the poem: '*Ubewenzela Amahlwempu izivatho*' 'She clothed the indigent'. This opening statement is strong with the idea of patriotism. The reference to lines 1 and 3 is obvious of her service to all people of African descent. The extent of her patriotic service is acknowledged in the entire poem as it is evident in line 4 as '*Ibiligora, ibiliciko*'. The poem captures the commitment Mbokazi had to national service. It is also suggestive of her career as a devoted and loyal educator to African children. We also learn that she was an exceptional woman, brave, adorable eloquent and as strong as a man. The manner in which Mqhayi portrays her erases the elegy tone, the tone of sadness of the poem to be the celebration of a life, true testimony of patriotism and nationalism. The poet even appeals to her to continue her good deeds in the land of the departed. *Ubizelwe ukuyakuncedisa kumahlwempu elozwe!!!* (You are called to help the indigent of that land!!!)

Everything portrayed in this poem takes us back to the poet Mqhayi who possesses sentiments of being of service to the nation, looking after the indigent. My argument is that he would not see or appreciate things that he himself does not value, or is not patriotic about. Mqhayi was concerned about the impoverishment of his people, and he strove to do something about it even

if it meant he would suffer. Scott captures Mqhayi's sense of social responsibility and patriotism, as articulated by him eloquently below:

Moreover, I am the head of the family, which among the Xhosa, means that every [indigent people] in your family will be brought to you [in their numbers], to bring up, feed, clothe and educate ..., and sometimes to find that the ones you helped have become your enemies. And so it goes on.

One cannot refuse to accept these orphans, for in Xhosa society, to do so would put one without the pale. Even one who is openly your enemy should come back to you again in his difficulties, you have to feed and clothe him before he leaves you. Even if he wants to stay, let him do so, and he will leave when he wants to for the reasons best known to him. (Scott, 1976: 32 – 33).

In light of this quotation, it would be baseless for Mqhayi to find it worthwhile to praise Mbokazi in recognition of the attributes he expects and admires in a patriot.

Qangule (1979) argues that Mqhayi's flame of nationalism was ignited in Centane, and as years progressed, it ballooned and aroused in him a sentiment of patriotism. Humanism and patriotism produced a great humanist. A simple explanation of humanism is the belief in humans - Mqhayi believed in people, and saw only the best in them and that is why patriotic and nationalistic sentiments are strongly reflected in his writings. Consequently he was not selective in his declaration and appraisal of people. To him, race; to be specific was a trivial identity categorization when considering praiseworthiness of a man. Hence, in a poem *A Chith'iBhunga!* (1939) he is singing praises to General Jan Smuts, who was, on two occasions, 1919 – 1924 and 1939 – 1948 the Prime Minister of South Africa. The poem was written in 1939, during his second term of office as Prime Minister. Mqhayi is fascinated by the deeds of General Smuts and refers to him as a hero, a human being of distinction who has performed praiseworthy deeds by being someone who led South Africa in the right direction. Smuts took over the reigns as Prime Minister, for the first term just after the World War One (1), and for the

second time during the World War Two (2). He was a war general. Perhaps his political leadership during both the national and global turmoil is what Mqhayi is acknowledging him for in his praises of him.

It is discernible in the poem about Jan Smuts that Mqhayi regards courageous behavior as a proof of patriotism. The lines below are indicative of that:

1. *Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!*
2. *Uyinjengelekaz' enkulu;*
3. *Ungu Mabona elibizwa ngemva,*
4. *Kub'ubon'iziphelo zomhlaba;*
5. *Ungu Chith'ibhung' elibizwa yi Mbongi*
6. *Kub'uchith'ibhunga lama Jamani;*
7. *Sikhukukazi'esinamaphiko;*
8. *Mthunzi wokuzimel'usapho;*
9. *Thina midak'usifincile,—*
10. *Kuba kambe thina, Singama Britani (The Bantu World, 2 December 1939: 2)*

1. You are a hero, son of Smuts!
2. You are a super hero;
3. You are a Seer, your second name,
4. Because you see the ends of the world;
5. You are the Destroyer of secret consultations, the name used by the Poet,
6. Because you are dismissing the German's secret consultations;
7. Broad-winged hen;
8. The shade under which the family hides;
9. We black people, you have fulfilled/completed us,—
10. Because, by the way, we are Britons!

As indicated above, and in line 5 Mqhayi is praising General Jan Smuts by making reference to historical socio- political position of South Africa during the First World War (1914–1918) between Germany and South Africa and allies, when Smuts came to the country's rescue by

leading the South African army triumphantly against German troops. Line 1 *Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!* (You are a hero, son of Smuts!), which Mqhayi repeats at the beginning of each stanza, defines the heroism he bestows on Smuts. Agreeing with the definition of both a patriot and a nationalist given in paragraph 3.3.4 above, Mqhayi, because of this act, perceives Smuts as someone who self-sacrificingly exerted himself to maintain and defend the freedom or rights of his country, by demonstrating loyalty and devotion to South Africa. In praising Smuts Mqhayi talks about him being a broad-winged hen, the shade under which the family hides (lines 7 and 8). Mqhayi therefore regards General Smuts as a protector of the South African nation, as mother-hen would protect her chickens with her broad wings. That could be regarded as a patriotic and nationalistic behavior.

However, having said all that about Smuts we need to make note that although Mqhayi regards Smuts as a South African hero there is evidence that he was not a saint. As minister of Native affairs, Spies writes about him that:

Smuts was no great innovator: his two pieces of legislation, The Native Affairs Act (1920) and the Native (Urban Areas) Act (1923) epitomizes his segregationalistic and paternalistic attitude to race relations. (Dictionary of African Biography, 1995: 218).

It is in this light that Smuts was, for most of his political life a vocal supporter of segregation of races to such an extent that in 1929 he justified the establishment of separate institutions for blacks and whites. This did not escape the eye of the poet. He sarcastically writes:

1. *Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!*
 2. *Nqweme lomvundla lukrakra,*
 3. *Diba nolwentenetya lutyeke!* (*The Bantu World*, December 1939: 2)
1. You are a hero son of Smuts!
 2. The minced entrails of a rabbit are bitter,
 3. But mix it together with that of a hare, and becomes edible!

From these lines it can be deduced that Mqhayi's judgment of Smuts is not clouded by his good deeds. Because of that we can say Mqhayi is in that category of poets who, according to Mafeje

(1967), while they drew attention mainly to the good and praiseworthy, they also had the license to make sharp criticism of the habits of their subjects. That is what Mqhayi does most of the time. What Mqhayi says in lines 2 and 3 is not only good things about Smuts. It means that although Smuts did a lot of positive acts in military protection, he was also critical in formulating legislation and policies that were detrimental to the well-being of black people in South Africa (Dictionary of African Biography, 1995). For them to survive the bitterness of the entrails of a rabbit (representing the repressive policies Smuts introduced) black people had to, according to Mqhayi, mix the rabbit's entrails together with those of a hare, and it became edible! In other words, they had to look at the repressive policies together with the "good" acts he did and realise that, in the context of things, the South African situation was bearable under him. It is the duty of an *imbongi*, whom Mqhayi was, to praise what he sees worthy and decry what he sees unworthy. We can affirm that by declaring that the *imbongi's* scope goes further than admiring or exaltation.

Furthermore out of five stanzas that constitute this poem, Mqhayi concludes each stanza with 'SingamaBritani' 'We are Britons'. Thus far, as we can see that Mqhayi has expressed patriotism and nationalism in as far as his subjects' loyalty to South Africa and the continent. However, he is concerned with the repetition of *SingamaBritani*; he invokes the connection of South Africa to the 'mother country' Britain. This changes the perception one has about being a nationalist, patriot and loyalist because this same Britain he seems to adore is the one that has subjugated black people. This is confusing. It sounds as if he addresses the issue of his loyalty to the British Government as a British subject. He seems to have taken pride in being associated with a country with such an illustrious history, and a government that was perceived to be a model of Christianity and true democracy. However, it could be pointed out that Mqhayi might sound playing a double standard here because as a person he did not believe in injustice, in repression of one human by another, etcetera hence his critique of the practices of the colonialists, even though he embraced the ideology of Christianity that they brought to South Africa because of its value of humanity.

In addition, General J. B. M. Hertzog, is a white South African who, according to Mqhayi, also deserves praise. Mqhayi perceives Hertzog as someone who also demonstrates qualities of

nationalism. His appreciation of Hertzog is rendered in his poem *U – Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog* (1943) when he writes:

1. Yiva ndisitsho ndisith' usebenzile;
 2. Thina midaka sith' usincedile.
 3. Sikuthiye kakhulu ukuxokiswa:
 4. Sikwa ngakuthandi kwa nokukhohliswa;
 5. Wen' akuzang' ubenze obo buqhinga;
 6. Weema njengendoda umfo wokucinga. (Imvo, 09 January 1943: 6)
1. Hear me out, you have worked hard
 2. As black people, we say you have helped us
 3. We detest being lied to:
 4. We also loathe being deceived;
 5. You never did such cunning;
 6. The thoughtful man stood up like a man.

In lines 1 and 2 of the stanza above it is made clear that Mqhayi applauds Hertzog for his patriotic deeds. It can be argued that from this stanza Hertzog did contribute to the welfare of the Black people of South Africa hence the saying in lines 1 and 2. Mqhayi regards what Hertzog did as service rendered to the inhabitants of the country, and identifies these services as patriotic actions. Mqhayi sounds honest and truthful in what he is saying about Hertzog. There is no detected sarcasm in his words and that is very strange because history tells us that Hertzog was not enthusiastic about black welfare. Grundlingh, in the *Dictionary of African Biography* (1995) says that a new phase in the History of South Africa began with Hertzog's policy of formal separate political representation and the establishment of separate territorial areas for whites and black. That is why he can be seen by other politicians as one of the architects of the policy of apartheid. Mqhayi also regards Hertzog as someone truthful, a man of his word as against maybe other political leaders. This is obvious in lines 5 and 6. Hertzog's patriotic deeds identified by Mqhayi could be aligned with his portfolio of Native Affairs, the time during which he promised to make more land for Africans (Grundlingh in the *Dictionary of African Biography*, 1995). This was the land taken from them by the ruling class of which Hertzog was part of and there is no evidence that the land was ever returned. In addition, as stated in the biographical sketch in the

previous chapter we also learn that Hertzog was the Prime Minister of South Africa from 1924 – 1938 and that alone is enough to regard him as the exponent of patriotism. In Mqhayi’s eyes Hertzog was a leader and therefore deserves praise as he applauds him in lines 1- 4 below. In addition to Mqhayi’s exaltation of Hertzog, South African History Online suggests that even before he became a Prime Minister he played a prominent part in the Anglo – Boer War (1899 – 1902) as a legal adviser, military, general and negotiator at the final peace settlement. Mqhayi regards courageous behavior/bravery and belligerent attitude as outstanding attributes of nationalism.

Despite all that is said about Hertzog it is not quite evident in the poem, why Mqhayi has this high regard about him. As stated earlier, all the evidence according to the political situation of South Africa during his reign points to him as being one of the architects of the policy of apartheid since he was the one who introduced the unpopular Hertzog Policy. During his reign his government did a lot to improve the social and economic conditions, but these did not benefit the majority of blacks. This makes one wonder how far his patriotism was developed or was it selective. Deducing from the lines below one would easily believe that Mqhayi must have been a supporter of the Hertzog Policy of Native Reserves even if perhaps it was not for a long time:

1. *Yivumeni indoda bafo beAfrika!*
2. *Esebenze nzima inyanis`iphikwa;*
3. *Igxwagxushwa ngani iingalo zijijwa;*
4. *Kwaba kokukhon` inkqubel` ifika.*
5. *Lala kamnandi mfo kaTsalitorho;*
6. *Phumla wonwabe torho-torho-torho;*
7. *Thina maAfrika usicokisile;*
8. *Umsebenzi wakho usixolisile. (Imvo, 09 January 1943: 6)*

1. Salute the man, sons of Africa!
2. A man who worked hard when the truth was repudiated?
3. He was bullied, and his arms were twisted;
4. It was then that advancement started.
5. Sleep well son of Hertzog;
6. Rest and be happy, *tog-tog-tog*; please- please-please,
7. We, people of Africa, you treated us extremely well;

8. Your work has pleased us.

Contrary to what has been said about Hertzog in the previous paragraph, one can infer from lines 7 and 8 that, according to Mqhayi, Hertzog was of great help to the African people and the nation at large. In Mqhayi's eyes General Hertzog was a hero such that in line 1 he pleads with the nation to recognize and acknowledge him as such. What is said by Shepherd (1940) could serve as a testimony to Mqhayi's applauding of Hertzog in lines 7 and 8 above:

As we shall see, in 1936, by General Hertzog's Native Trust and Land Act, provision was made for acquiring 15, 344, 000 acres of land for Bantu occupation. Up to 31 March, 1940, 2, 673, 548 morgen (i.e. 5, 644, 157 acres) of this land had been acquired by the South African Native Trust under the Act.

Shepherd wrote about this in 1940 and Mqhayi wrote his poem in 1943, meaning that he was really grateful to Hertzog for what Shepherd recorded in his book.

Further Sir Patrick Duncan, of Scottish origin, in the poem *A Ngangemvula!!!* (1941) could also be regarded as a proponent of nationalism and patriotism. The concept of patriotism, here includes those who come from outside South Africa, but make South Africa their permanent home, Qangule (1979: 120 – 121) writes:

We shall accept as patriots, irrespective of race, color or creed, all those people who come to South Africa from outside her borders if they adopt her as their country and contribute on no small scale to her welfare. We also draw the attention of the reader to the fact that when Mqhayi wrote his books South Africa was a British colony. It is logical then to embrace as patriots all those who came to South Africa from any of the overseas countries that formed the British Empire. They were fellow citizens if they promoted the interests of South Africa and the British dominion.

Sir Patrick Duncan falls into that category that Mqhayi identifies as patriots who render services of nationhood to the residents in any country irrespective of their place of origin or racial attributes. Duncan was born in Aberdeenshire, a city in Scotland and came to South Africa in 1901. He worked in the Transvaal as a colonial secretary. It was not, until 1908 when he was

working as a lawyer in Johannesburg that his political career flourished, starting by being active in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (sahistory.org.za). The *Dictionary of African Biography* (1995), by Gann states that Duncan worked in other portfolios as a Minister for Social and Industrial Reform in the cabinet of J. B. M. Hertzog from 1933-1936. He was also appointed Governor-General of the Union of South Africa in 1937, the position he held until his death in 1943. All these makes him qualify as a hero of patriotism, hence his uninterrupted travel to the Eastern Province for what Mqhayi observes:

Le ndedebe yaKomkhulu yase Britani ilihambahambe kakhulu eli lakowethu lasemaXhoseni, kuzo ezinyanga zidhuleyo, sada safuna ukukrokra sithi, azi liva vumba lantoni na ibhaku lakomkhulu? (Imvo, 27 September 1941: 8)

This councillor of Great Britain has travelled extensively in our homeland, the place of Xhosa in these past months, so much that we wanted to complain, wondering and saying, what the bulldog of the great place could smell?

This travelling could be aligned with what Mqhayi acknowledges as Duncan's nationalistic actions in the following stanza:

1. *Tarhu Ngangemvula nkosi yam!* Peace Ngangemvula my chief!
 2. *Nt'iwel' iNciba ngebhulorho.* The one who crosses Kei River by a bridge.
 3. *Yakhwez' iThole noNdabakazi:* He walked alongside Thole and Ndabakazi:
 4. *Yayijonge kwelika Hintsa:* He was headed towards the land of Hintsa:
 5. *Iphand'izikhonkwane zika Nxhito.* Digging out the nails of Ngxito.
 6. *Nosigoxo noGxabhagxabha,* And Sigoxo² and Gxabhagxabha,
 7. *Yabuya ngoGompo kaNxele:* And he came back through Gompo of Nxele:
 8. *Yabel'amaAfrik'izilili.* He apportioned to Africans places to stay.
 9. *Yanik'uMaDontsa nomDeyi:* He allocated places to Dontsa and Deyi clans:
 10. *Yanik'uMzazi noGwijana:* He allocated places to Mzazi and Gwijana clans:
 11. *Yanik'uDlomo noJwarha:* He allocated places to Dlomo and Jwara clans:
 12. *Yatsho ngentuntanja yezabelo,—* He made a series of allocations,—
- (Imvo, 27 September 1941: 8)*

² Original text is *sigoxo* but in context seems to refer to a personal name, hence capitalized.

We can surmise from lines 3 – 12 that Duncan, addressed here as *Ngangemvula*, was visiting these areas in the former Transkei and Ciskei making sure that all the residents are allocated land. He also took care of the rural areas in the land of Chief Hintsa allocating sites as indicated in lines 4 and 5. As the Governor, it was his social responsibility to take active interest in the welfare of South African people. This is evident from a commentary made by a journalist of *The Mdantsane Way Magazine* below:

Duncan Village was established in 1941. And if this is so, you might ask why in god's name the place was called Duncan Village. Well, because the governors, politicians and statesmen of this turbulent time had a relatively good self-confidence and loved to donate their name to the places they "created" under their rule and governance. In 1941, the then acting Governor General Sir Patrick Duncan oversaw the opening of what was called a "leasehold tenure area" in the East Bank Location to which he gave his name. After a while, the whole East Bank Location became known as Duncan Village (Friday, March 15, 2013).

The above is reference to what Sir Patrick Duncan did for the community of East London and that is what inspired Mqhayi to the extent that he celebrated him as a hero. Another reason that could have added to Mqhayi's excitement was that Duncan rendered his services to the region closer to Ntabozuko, Mqhayi's place of residence and in the land of Chief Hintsa (line 4) where he grew up. However, Mqhayi's admiration of Duncan in the quoted stanza above is questionable. It sounds extraordinary to hear Mqhayi praising someone who, according to the commentary by the journalist above, wants self-reward for correcting the wrongs of his own people. The land he is distributing to the Africans was originally theirs from the beginning. If you strongly believe you were exercising justice in your actions why would you have to reward yourself by "donating your name" as Duncan did. It is believed that a patriot is humble and has to practice humility when dealing with people. However, as already stated above, Mqhayi sees him as a good leader hence he praises although in the first quotation there is a line that smirks of some sarcasm and suspicion by Mqhayi when he writes, '*sada safuna ukukrokra sithi, azi liva vumba lantoni na ibhaku lakomkhulu?*' (wondering and saying, what the bulldog of the great place could smell?). This proves that although Mqhayi sounds impressed by Duncan, but there was definitely some suspicion about his actions.

In the poem *A, - Sithwalandwe!* (1942), just from the title of the poem one cannot miss the heroic actions of the subject of the praise, who happened to be Colonel, The Honorable Denys Reitz. As it is explained in his biographical sketch in the previous chapter, this title figuratively means ‘one who carries the feather of the crane bird’, a feather that distinguished warriors in Xhosa society. The poem opens by suggesting that he is *Sithwalandwe* to the Afrikaners and Britons in lines 1 and 2 below:

1. *U Sithwalandwe! A,—Sithwalandwe!*
2. *Kub’ethwel’indwe kuma Bulu nama Britani.*

(*Imvo*, 03 October 1942: 11)

1. He is Sithwalandwe, a “Crane-feather Bearer”! Hail,—Sithwalandwe!
2. Because he is bearing a crane feather to the Afrikaners and the Britons.

Mqhayi values someone who possesses military attributes. To him that is indicative of one’s love for their country. Consequently, he gave Reitz this praise name because he joined the Boer forces and fought heroically for the South African Republic against British Empire, in the 2nd Boer War (1899 – 1902), and again in the 1st World War (1914 – 1918) for the Union of South Africa against the German Empire. This is what Mqhayi regards as heroic deeds and hence the *isikhahlelo* (praise name) *A! Sithwalandwe!* as the title of the poem and in line 1. Apparent in line 2 is that because of his excellence in war he was respected by the two conflicting nations, the Boers and the Britons. Besides being a soldier he also served the South African community by representing Bloemfontein South and later Port Elizabeth in the South African party in 1902. In 1929 he represented Barberton. He was appointed to the Smuts cabinet as the Minister of Lands. In 1933 he was appointed again as the Minister of lands but in the Hertzog government and as a cabinet Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Native Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister until 1943 (Lennox – Short in *The Dictionary of South Africa Biography*, Volume 1, 1968). Smuts, in the preface of the book *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (1929) testifies about his loyalty to South Africa saying, “The loyalty of the Boer boy ripened into the broader loyalty of the South African”. His philosophies during his political career included his loyalty to Jan Smuts as the cabinet Minister of the time, loyalty to British Empire as supporter of South African freedom, and harmony between Dutch and English South Africans. That is why Mqhayi praises him; he regards Reitz as someone who promotes the idea that South Africa is a

motherland for all, a self-sacrificing idea which Mqhayi also upheld. However, it needs to be noted that although Mqhayi has this high regard for Reitz, his loyalty appeared to be as far as keeping harmony between white races only. His effort to extend this harmony to black people cannot be commended because there is belief that the white political officials visited black communities to persuade them to be on their side during the war. Mqhayi could be supporting that assumption in his poem when he writes:

1. *MaXhosa ndize kucel'umjila,*— Xhosa people, I have come to ask for a crown,—
 2. *Ndiva kusithiwa ningamadoda:* I hear that you are men:
 3. *Ningamadoda ningabafo;* You are men you are fellows;
 4. *Ningabafo niziinqeberhu.* You are fellows you are men of esteem.
 5. *Gquzu mnqayi ndathabatheka!* I broke off a stick, and went forth!
- (*Imvo*, 03 October 1942: 11)

These quoted lines can be linked to Mqhayi's introductory prose to this poem when he says:

Ngomhla we 12 kweye Dwarha, le Ndedebe ya Komkhulu inqwenela ukuza kubonana nezikrwalaxu zakwaNgqika,—emthonyameni eQonce: igosa lakhe u Jongizizwe (D.L. Smith) loba limphahlile limazisa ebuzweni umhlekezazi lowo (Imvo, 03 October 1942: 11).

On the 12th of October, this Honorable man of the Great Place wishes to meet with esteemed men of the land of Ngqika,—at the base in King William's Town: his councilor Jongizizwe (D. L. Smith) will be at his side, introducing the minister to the nation.

Mqhayi wrote this poem in October 1942, when Reitz as a Minister of Native Affairs visited the Eastern Province. In this preface Mqhayi announces his visit to the land of Ngqika. Deducing from the way Mqhayi praises Reitz as '*Isithwalandwe*' one would think that by his visit as the Minister to the Land of Ngqika illustrated his commitment to the welfare of all South Africans, however, according to line 1 stated earlier, he had come to ask for amaXhosa's hand to help in the wars as amaXhosa people were, according to lines 2 – 4, known as 'men of esteem'. Mqhayi considers Reitz a 'man of esteem' in fighting. He writes in line 5 that a fighting stick breaks, and

However, history has it that early in his career he faced a challenge of the disease most prevalent among the Black Africans – tuberculosis (*Dictionary of South African Biography*, Volume 1, 1968: 492). We can perhaps associate that with Mqhayi’s observation in lines 2 and 3 below.

<i>1. Wawupheth ’um Nyanya ne Ngcambu!</i>	You were carrying Incantations and a Root!
<i>2. Konk ’oko kungahoywe bani,</i>	And no one was concerned about all of that,
<i>3. Kungekho nosondel ’egcegeleyeni,</i>	And no one came close to the stinky bush,
<i>(The Bantu World, 18 June 1938: 6)</i>	

It is also apparent in these lines that although Mavigala was doing all he could to help, people seemed not to appreciate his efforts. Despite all that he persisted and he finally won their confidence as lines 1 – 7 below prove:

1. *Sithi Dorotile siyavuma!*
2. *Sithi Dorotile siyavuma!*
3. ***Kumzuz ’uphath ’izidlanga;***
4. ***Kumzuz ’uqubul ’amagronya;***
5. ***Kumzuz ’ubumb ’iintuku nobulongo***
6. ***Kumzuz ’ukhand ’iingcambu namaxolo;***
7. ***Kumzuz ’usil ’amagqab ’emithi;***
8. ***Kumzuz ’uqab ’usez ’utula;*** (*The Bantu World*, 18 June 1938: 6)

1. We give consent! We give consent!
2. We say we give consent Doctor!
3. It has been a while that you handled evil charms;
4. It has been a while that you have removed harmful tumors from the sick;
5. It has been a while that you shaped moles and cow-dung
6. It has been a while that you have been crushing roots and bark of trees;
7. It has been a while that you been grinding tree leaves;
8. It has been a while that you been applying, giving and injecting medicine;

To Mqhayi Dr MacVicar did not just win the confidence of the African people, but he earned that by persisting in demonstrating interest in caring for them. That is evident in his long impeccable service of treating people. The repetition of the adverb ‘*Kumzuzu*’ from lines 2 – 8 is evidence that Dr MacVicar served the nation his whole life with diligence, persistency and consistency. During the time of Dr MacVicar Black Africans were tremendously the poorest section of the South African population and Dr MacVicar laid bare the causes of tuberculosis as malnutrition, bad housing and low wages. He therefore paid special attention to the ravages of tuberculosis among the Bantu. He saw to it that the hospital is extended to provide more beds to the public. A secretary for public health of the Union said of him: ‘He has done perhaps, more than any other living man in South Africa to promote the public health amongst the Bantu’ (*Dictionary of South African Biography*, Volume 1, 1968: 493). His most productive contribution to the South African nation was his training of African nurses, urging that young African women of good character and education must exhibit in the nursing profession and that there is an opportunity to be a real blessing to one’s people, indicative again of his care for humanity. Mqhayi supports this view from line 1 – 7 below when he writes:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Komelel’ebutakeni,—</i> | There was strength in weakness,— |
| 2. <i>Kwakhany’esinyameni</i> ³ ; | There was light in darkness; |
| 3. <i>Lazal’izwe ngabongikazi!</i> | The country was filled with nurses! |
| 4. <i>Kwalwa ukufa nokuphila,—</i> | There was war between death and life,— |
| 5. <i>Yaw’imikhuthuka macala;</i> | Those worn out fell from both sides; |
| 6. <i>Zabon’iimfama zahamb’iziqhwala;</i> | The blind saw and lame walked; |
- (*The Bantu World*, 18 June 1938: 6)

It can therefore, be argued that MacVicar deserved the praises Mqhayi showered him with. He was a true patriot and a committed nationalist. Hence Dr R. T. Bokwe said these words at his grave:

³ *Esinyomeni* original text

His memory is perpetuated in the service of hundreds of African women trained in that noble profession – nursing the sick. One would have it that every African woman who to-day wears the strap across her shoulder remembers that she owes it to the courage and faith of this man (Shepherd, 1955: 133)

Among the prominent nurses that were the product of Dr MacVicar's illuminating service are Miss Mina Colani and Miss Cecilia Makiwane, to mention just a few. Renowned Cecilia Makiwane was the first registered professional Black nurse in South Africa. She was an early activist in the struggle for women's rights and a protestor in the first anti-women's pass campaign in 1912. A hospital in Mdantsane, East London, Eastern Cape is named after her. Both Colani and Makiwane were qualified teachers before being admitted to the nursing profession.

Further, Jonathan Tunyiswa was one of educated men capable of representing his race. Mqhayi observes that when he writes, "*Isizwe usikonze ngenkonzo yobutitshala iminyaka emininzi; i Bandla lakowabo lase Wesile ulikonze wada wali Gosa iminyaka emininzi*" (*Imvo Zabantsundu*, 1913: 7). (He served the nation through teaching for many years; he served his home's Congregation of the Methodist Church until he became a Steward for many years).

He continues to say:

Le ngqungqutela afa esayibambile, usuka kude nayo; nguyu u Nobhala Omkulu wayo kwiminyaka ema 28 eyadhulayo. Akuko nto abene qayiya ngayo. Kangango kuyitanda kwake ebengakatali nokuba imdla imali, namaxesha ake anqabileyo. Ube nezibakala ezininzi azixelayo, esiti ezo zizinto ezenziweyo zokunceda isizwe. Ngo 1912 ubepindwe wanyulwa ukuba abe ngu Nobhala Omkulu, enyulelwa iminyaka emitatu ngoko mteto. (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1913: 7)

This conference that he died still convening, he comes from far with it; he is its Secretary General for the last 28 years. He was proud of it more than anything. He liked it that he did not care even if it was costing him a lot of money and his time that was scarce. He raised a lot of issues, saying those were things that were done to help the nation. In 1912 he was re-elected to be the Secretary General, legally elected for three years.

Jonathan Tunyiswa served the South African community at a time when the political mobilization among Africans in the Eastern Cape was in its impetus, calling into question government policies that excluded and discriminated blacks. It was imperative that for the nation to rise they should have a say in the government, they should participate in formulating government policies. About the responsibility that was upon Tunyiswa and others, to mobilize politically, Odendaal (2012: 57) commented that:

It was up to the educated elite to lead the way, as the mass of people were ignorant of their rights. They had to act like true patriots, who would die for their people if necessary. They would have to take issue with whites in the newspapers and challenge magisterial actions with which they disagree, not just acquiesce passively, as they had done in the past.

Tunyiswa demonstrated exactly what Odendaal is suggesting. We learn from the elegy by Mqhayi entitled *Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa noWilliam Cebani Mtoba* (1913) that Tunyiswa died as a true patriot, he died on duty. In the introductory prose to the poems Mqhayi writes, “*Le ngqungqutela afa esayibambile, usuka kude nayo;*” (This conference that he died still convening, he comes from far with it). He was one of the South African heroes of the time, who died convening a South African Native Congress meeting in East London in 1913. As revealed above Tunyiswa was a teacher by profession, a devout Methodist Church steward and a Secretary-General of the South African Native Congress, a position he held for 20 years. Mqhayi therefore pays homage to Tunyiswa who died heroically on duty for his country. To emphasize that he died on duty, throughout stanzas 1-9 of the poem, the poet repeats *Yafel’edyokweni inkabi* ‘he died on the yoke, the ox’ or *lafel’edyokweni ithole* ‘he died on the yoke, the calf’.

During the South African 2016 Heritage month SABC News reporter, Lubabalo Dada (Friday, 25 September 2016) reported that the ANC was honouring and remembering an Eastern Cape pioneer and champion of the turn of the century (<http://www.sabc.co.za/news>). That was none other than Jonathan Tunyiswa, and the news report was at the occasion of the unveiling of his tombstone at Twecu Village near King William’s Town, South Africa. The Eastern Cape Premier Pumulo Masualle echoed Mqhayi’s sentiments about Tunyiswa for his contribution in the liberation struggle:

We are here as part of this heritage month to bring forth what contribution he made. With the aim of educating people especially our youth of what contributions have been made, by the people who came from these villages, in the struggle that gave birth to the African National Congress. The early intellectuals that helped shape the establishment of the national movement (<http://www.sabc.co.za/news> retrieved 12/09/2016).

Mqhayi would have been happy and grateful that people like Tunyiswa were recognized because that was his aim when he wrote these biographical poems so that we do not forget people who made a contribution to the development of this country and to learn from them also. Mqhayi believes that the recognition of people like Tunyiswa by the ANC during this democratic political period is important, yet it is people like Mqhayi who saw even then, that these pioneers need to be remembered and the best way the amaXhosa society gives recognition to people like Tunyiswa who have done good deeds, is through poetry.

Another patriot and a nationalist that Mqhayi thinks highly of is Chief Dalindyebo Ngangelizwe, the paramount chief of the abaThembu. His father Ngangelizwe died in 1884 and he became the chief in 1885 at the age of eighteen (*Dictionary of African Biography*, 1972:156). The poem *U-Dalindyebo* (1911) was written in 1911, during the volatile time in the South African history and we learn about it from the tone of the poem when the poet says:

1. *Kulomhlab' unezaqwiti nenqwitela,* In this world with hurricanes and whirlwinds,
2. *Kulomhlab' unemintsantsa nemihadi,* In this world that has hollows and dips,
3. *Kulo mhlab' unonogumbe nenyikima,* In this world that has great floods and earthquakes,
4. *Kulo mhlaba wadlokova waxaka no Satana* In this world that shook uncontrollably, confusing
(*Imvo*, 07 November 1911: 3) even Satan.

Comprehending from the above stanza, the country was going through a lot and amongst other things in 1911 Botha's government passed the Mines and Works Act which legislated that certain types of jobs could only be done by white or colored people (Danziger, 1983:80), and lowly jobs were to be done by Africans. During that same year Dalindyebo attended the Universal Races Congress in London which was called to focus attention on the problems of

relations between races and nations of the world, that is, anti - racism. Mqhayi wrote this poem celebrating his coming back. Mqhayi must have realized that Dalindyebo was the prime signatory to a formal petition from the Bunga Council of the Transkei in which he was an active member. The petition was to the governor of the Cape Colony protesting the colour bar in the proposed Union of South Africa (Dictionary of African Biography, 1995). Mqhayi was drawing Dalindyebo's attention to the fact that everything was in his hands when he wrote:

1. Uyabona ke Ndyeb'inkwenkwezi zigqibile
2. Sekukuwe namhl'uxel'int'emayenziwe⁴ (Imvo, 07 November 1911: 3).
 1. You see Ndyebo, stars have decided
 2. It remains with you today to give instructions about what needs to be done

And indeed, his commitment to serving his nation proved he was capable of doing that because, according to the *Dictionary of African Biography* (1995) he was one of the traditional leaders in South Africa who saw the need to amplify the possibilities and support changes to enhance the quality of African life and institutions by challenging white authority. Concerning the volatility in the South African history mentioned earlier we need to look at the repetition used by the poet throughout. Out of the twelve stanzas that constitute this poem, in each stanza the poet opens with these two lines:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Mtuleni mazas'elwandle</i> | Load him off waves of the sea |
| 2. <i>Noko nati singenandawo!</i> | Even though we do not have a place! |
- (Imvo, 07 November 1911: 3).

By the repeating of these two lines it could be that Mqhayi is emphasizing the complex situation the African people found themselves in. He is portraying the results of the Act of the Union that had confirmed that the politics of Southern Africa would be white. The blacks were not only excluded from the system but there was no allowance made to admit them later (Danziger, 1983). Mqhayi's concern could be that when black South Africans do not have a say in the government it means they are homeless in the country of their birth. The sea waves should offload Dalindyebo despite the fact that there is figuratively no place to accommodate him. He

⁴ Original text *emyenziwea*

goes to state that, ‘*Indlovu asint’ixakwa mboko wayo*’ meaning that ‘the elephant is never burdened by its trunk’. It will therefore not be a burden to have him; there will be a way to accommodate him.

However, chief Dalindyebo was seen as an exceptional chief with outstanding personality, he died after having ruled his people wisely and well for thirty six years (*Dictionary of African Biography*, 1972). Mqhayi was able to identify and praise the characteristics which made a person in a way that a repository of deeds by that person were created and critiqued.

4.2.3. Social responsibility embedded in religion and education

The theme of “social responsibility” is also related to patriotism and nationalism because it has to do with serving the community and the nation too. Mqhayi was of the idea that one should commit to helping society. In these lines quoted below from the poem, *Anazina ukuba Kumke i Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli?* (1906), he articulates this view in the following lines:

1. *Iyokulaul’ izizw’ ezilishumi,* He has gone to rule ten nations,
2. *Ibilaula zona kakade.* He has ruled them anyway.
3. *Iyekwab’ amafusi namanxowa,* He has gone to distribute wastelands and sites,
4. *Ibingumabi wawo kakade* He was its distributor anyway,
5. *Iye kutwal’ isitsaba namhla,* He went to get the crown today,
6. *Ibingumtwali sitsaba kakade.* He carried the crown on his head anyway.

(*Izwi Labantu*, 18 September, 1906: 4)

Further, a cord of social responsibility is clearly visible in Mqhayi’s poetry under discussion, and in his other works. Social responsibility is understood as a sense of responsibility one has towards their society in terms of services rendered. It is more like the values of *Ubuntu* (humanity), inherent in amaXhosa. From this explanation we can pick up two words, ‘services and society’. These are two concepts that manifest in Mqhayi’s philosophy; as he also believes that social responsibility is a duty every individual has to perform for the benefit of the society. This means performing activities that directly advance social goals to be demonstrated in some of his poems in the subsequent discussion. These will focus mostly on traditional leaders, educators, civil servants and religious figures. These poems show that Mqhayi regards religion and education as the pillars of a nation. This sense of social responsibility must have been instilled in him probably by the fact that he was the only boy in his household and therefore his

father looked upon him to perform all the duties that constitute the strong character he possessed. We gather this from his words:

Through the confidence my uncle had in my herding of the stock, I acquired fresh responsibilities in the affairs of the kraal. I would in span oxen to fetch brush-wood for the gaps in the cattle-kraal; and whenever I saw a beast sick I dosed it. I knew that if I did not do these things I should be asked to who I looked to do them (Scott, 1976: 21).

It can be argued that it must have been this sense of obligation, accountability and ambition that developed into a sense of social responsibility during his adulthood. It is now something that can be regarded as his appreciation of the values with which he was brought up, when he sees them in an individual, and realizes how significant they are in the survival of any society. We see his role as a poet when he is projecting the ideas of social significance in the poem *Umfi u Howard Ben Mazwi* (1943)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Ngumf'obehlal'esangweni.</i> | He used to sit at the entrance. |
| 2. <i>Komkhulu esigqebeni,</i> | In the council at the Great Place, |
| 3. <i>Kwesakwa Ndabazabantu,</i> | The Council of domestic Affairs, |
| 4. <i>Kwisihohela soluntu.</i> | In a big assembly of people, |
| 5. <i>Emva phaya kumGwelane.</i> | Back there at the Gwelane tribe, |
| 6. <i>KwaAnta engemncinane:</i> | At the place of Anta, he was not insignificant: |
| 7. <i>Ewe, ngumfo wakwaNkomo</i> | Yes he is the son of Nkomo clan |
| 8. <i>Umzi wamafuya – Nkomo</i> | The home of cattle-breeders. |
| 9. <i>Ngombuso wobutitshala</i> | During his service as a teacher, |
| 10. <i>Akubangakho matyala</i> | No cases were laid against him: |
| 11. <i>Ngombuso werhamente</i> | During his service to the congregation |
| 12. <i>IyekaKrestu i-Arhente</i> | Jesus' Congregation |
| 13. <i>Uthath' uyis' umfundisi.</i> | The minister took after his father. |
| 14. <i>Wema wayam' umSindisi</i> | He stood up tall and leaned against the Savior, |
- (Imvo, 06 March 1943: 4)

This poem is dedicated to the late Howard Ben–Mazwi who had a valued and cherished service to his community during his life time. Lines 1 – 5, state that Ben – Mazwi took care of the affairs of the Gwelane tribe as a member of the Council at the Great Place. He offered social services to his community. Taking care of tribal affairs was very important to Mqhayi because even he once served the royal house of his father in Centane as a councillor to Chief Kona, son of Maqoma. Seemingly, Ben–Mazwi was popular to this community as line 6 testifies. He was an educator by profession, with an uninterrupted clean service. We learn about that in lines 5 and 6. It is evident in the poem that he also rendered spiritual services to his community, as lines 11 to 14 suggest. It is not surprising that he also took part in church services, a characteristic he got from his father because he, like Mqhayi was born in Christian family. His father, Benjamin Mazwi, as stated in the book *Moravians in the Eastern Cape* (2004) edited by Timothy Keegan, was ordained as a minister in 1905 and called to be the pastor for the congregations of Queenstown and East London.

Moreover, an elegy poem *A, Ngangezwe!!!* (1936) about Chief Mbovane Mabandla of Krwakrwa Village, near Alice, in the Eastern Cape, we learn that the chiefs, besides being the custodians of African heritage, culture and tradition also helped by looking at the welfare of every individual by improving lives of the community members. In the preface to the poem, about the social service rendered by Chief Mbovane Mabandla, Mqhayi writes:

Kwakweso sithuba ndise ngumalusi wama hashe, ndikhumbula umHlekazi lo beno Mr. Jordan Makhuleni besiza kum ukuba mandibhale incwadi ngesi Ngesi iye kweli phepha labelungu eliyi “Alice Times” ndithi,—“U Rulumente makenze indlela yokuba umzi ukhuseleke kubantu abanamaqhenqa; abashenxise phakathi kwamakhaya.” Ndayenza looncwadi, yaphuma apho ephapheni, yathatyathelwa nangamanye amaphepha,—yayintuntanja lonto. Kukuze kuvulwe u Mjanyana nje! Intlanganiso yeenkosi zom Neno Nciba isekeke phezu kwesambhantlanya esenziwa nguye mhla lonke elakwa Rarabe walidilingela kwam Dushane e Thamarha ku Menziwa, kowabo,

(*Imvo*, 12 September 1936: 12)

During that time, while still looking after the horses, I remember this Chief together with Mr Jordan Makhuleni coming to me and asking that I write a letter in English

for the white peoples' newspaper called "*Alice Times*" and say, — "The Government should make a plan that the community be protected from people with leprosy; and should remove them from their homes." I did write the letter, and it was published in the newspaper, and it was also published by other newspapers, —and it just spread all over. That was the reason the Mjanyana hospital was established!

The meeting of the chiefs of Ciskei was based on a loud noise he made the day he summoned the whole Rharhabe to a meeting to Mdushane in Thamarha in Menziwa, his home.

In the above paragraph we learn that Chief Mabandla helped his people by talking to the Government, some suggestions about possible solutions to the leprosy disease that was rampant and killing his people, that is how the Mjanyana Hospital was built. Amongst other duties of the chief, he had to play an important role in the administration of their areas. That is why Mqhayi is fascinated by the diligence of Chief Mabandla. We learn that from these two lines:

1. *Siyayaz' intlangano yamadoda,* We know the men's gathering,
 2. *Siyayaz' indibano yezizwe,* We know the meeting of the nations,
- (*Imvo*, 12 September 1936: 12)

This corresponds with what is said in the quotation above that Chief Mabandla was the one responsible for calling the meeting of all the chiefs in the Ciskei. In addition to these roles, the chiefs of those days had to provide religious leadership for their local communities and Mabandla was no exception to the rule. We learn this from the preface of the poem the day Mqhayi was watching the horses; the chief had come to attend a service performed by Reverend Makiwane in Macfarlan. It was during this same day that Chief Mabandla was ordained as a deacon of the Presbyterian Church.

The same goes for Chief Kona Maqoma in the poem *Anazina ukuba Kumke I Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli?* (1906). This is also an elegy over a chief who happened to be a social and religious pillar of his community such that Mqhayi in lines 10 and 11 below is crying with his people. He also acknowledges Maqoma's social responsibilities when he writes:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Igodukil' i Nkos' enkulu</i> | The great Chief has gone home |
| 2. <i>Iyokuhlala no Tixo namhla,</i> | It has gone to stay with God today, |
| 3. <i>Ibihamba naye kakade,</i> | He has walked with him anyway, |
| 4. <i>Iyokulaul' izizw' ezilishumi,</i> | He has gone to rule ten nations, |
| 5. <i>Ibilaula zona kakade.</i> | He has ruled them anyway. |
| 6. <i>Iyekwab' amafusi namanxowa,</i> | He has gone to distribute wastelands and sites, |
| 7. <i>Ibingumabi wawo kakade,</i> | He was its distributor anyway, |
| 8. <i>Iye kutwal' isitsaba namhla,</i> | He went to get the crown today, |
| 9. <i>Ibingumtwali sitsaba kakade.</i> | He carried the crown on his head anyway. |
| 10. <i>Awu! safa tina Bantu!!</i> | Oh! We are dead, we people!! |
| 11. <i>Kub' ebetob' imvula lakubalela,</i> | Because he delivered rain when there was drought, |
| 12. <i>Ati bizan' amagqob'ok' ahlangane,</i> | He would say call all the converts to meet, |
- (*Izwi Labantu*, 18 September 1906: 4)

In lines 8 and 9, Chief Kona Maqoma was outstanding in rendering his services hence he is described as one who carried a crown. Amongst other things, as expected of him as a chief, he provided societal (line 4, 6 and 11) and religious (2, 3 and 12) leadership for the community.

In another poem, *U Mhlekazi u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala* (1924), Mqhayi pays tribute to one of the Chiefs of amaNdlambe, Sonzobo Libalele Mhala. However, before getting to Sonzobo as his praise subject, in the first 3 lines Mqhayi compares him with his father Mhala Ndlambe who was an exceptional chief, and his great grandfather, Sarhili, Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka Xhosa (Rili, line 5 below). In this case it can be argued that social consciousness ran through the family so much that the grandparents' and his parent's spirit contributed greatly to the offspring's own consciousness about social responsibility. Mhala and Sarhili had influenced Chief Sonzobo Mhala's vocation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Int' ekulala kuhle,</i> | One whose sleep is beautiful, |
| 2. <i>Int' ekulala kumbambalala,</i> | One whose sleep is extraordinary, |
| 3. <i>Int' ekulala ku nomkita,</i> | One whose sleep is comely, |
| 4. <i>Kundembebele njengo kuka Ndlambe,</i> | It is stately and dignified like that of Ndlambe, |
| 5. <i>Kundembebele njengo kuka Rili,</i> | It is stately and dignified like that of Sarhili, |

6. *Int' ezalal' emhlabeni ngesiko,* They laid down on earth in a customary manner
 7. *Zatob' invula yokondl' abantwana,* They brought down rain to feed children,
 8. *Zaputum' i Lizwi ukwenz' isinqulo,* They grasped the Word as a way of worship,
 9. *Zashiya namazw' okugcin' umpefumlo.* They even left words to preserve the soul.

(*Imvo*, 25 March 1924: 3)

Mhala, like the other chiefs had a social responsibility of leading his community in social and religious matters as indicated in lines 7, 8 and 9. He was not just an exclusive provider to his community but was very important and highly respected as we learn from lines 1, 2 and 3 with the repetition of '*Int'ekulala*' and '*Int'ezalala*' in line 6.

Judging by the number of the chiefs to whom Mqhayi pays tribute, it can be argued that rendering social services embedded in religion during their reign was a norm. This could be that Christian missionaries established outposts among the Xhosa by 1799 after the arrival of the first missionary Dr Theodorus van der Kemp. During this time the African polity still remained in power and the chiefs frequently invited missionaries into their domains with the aim to advance their military, political and economic interests. The missionaries exploited this opportunity to their benefit by making it their way for 'Christian Civilization'. The two Xhosa chiefs who converted to Christianity early on were Kama and Dyani Tshatshu whom their chiefdoms, Gqunukhwebe and Ntinde were in the area where Mqhayi was born and bred Peires (1981). The descendants of these chiefs who are Mqhayi's subjects of praise became Christians following the footsteps of their parents. Mqhayi also confirms this notion because during his visit to the place of Chief James Mama of the amaGqunukhwebe after his death he wanted to know if the deceased had already accepted the Word. This is evident in the line in the prose section introducing the poem, *U Chief James Mama* (1911) which says '*Ndibuze ukuba i Lizwi wayesel'elamkele na? Ute ewe, kwase kufikeni kwabafundisi e Twecu*'. (I asked if he had already accepted the Word. He said yes, even on arrival of the missionaries in Twecu). Indeed, Chief Mama's deeds give testimony as evident in the lines below:

1. *Namhla kunyuk'indoda yokuteta,* Today a man who is a speaker has gone up,
 2. *Ekad'iteta kwizifundisi,* One who spoke in the ministers' fraternal,

3. *Ekad'iteta emaziko,* One who spoke in different villages.
 4. *Ibiziwe yasabel'ingwevu ka Mama.* The old man of Mama has been called and he responded.
 5. *Int'efundise yada yasakaza,* A man who ministered abundantly
 6. *Zabeta zonk'imvaba zakotela,* All the missionary societies benefitted from his teachings
 7. *Zatsho zonk'intlanga zazuz'zicwili,* So much that all nations got their fair share,

(*Imvo*, 13 June 1911: 3)

We realize that Chief Mama was dedicated in his call of preaching the Word to different people in different places assigned to him, places like Dolo and Mnqaba villages in line 8 and the ones in line 1 below. Lines 2 and 3 above testify that he had been a member of the minister's fraternity and preaching in different mission stations. It means everybody benefitted from his services as lines 5, 6 and 7 testify. We also learn from the tone of the poem that Mqhayi is fascinated by the fact that Chief Mama had diversity in his spreading of the Word. This is evident from the way he makes the announcement of his death to the public.

1. *Xelani kwa Lawutyu kwa Mngqenge kwa Mndlela.*
 2. *Mayisuk'indodan'inenqwemeshu*
 3. *Iwuhlome ku Maqoma kulo Teta*
 4. *Nguy'owobikel'abakulo Mbombo.*

(*Imvo*, 13 June 1911: 3)

1. Announce it at the place of Lawutyu of Mngqenge, of Mndlela
 2. A young man should put on waistcloth and leave,
 3. To announce it to Maqoma at the home of Thetha
 4. It is him who will announce it to the people of Mbombo's home.

This is an elegy poem where Mqhayi is mourning the loss of a chief. While he is praising his religious achievements, at the same time he displays his loyalty and faithfulness to the tradition of his people. He displays his understanding and respect of the traditional ways of announcing death by sending a messenger to the chief first, lines 1, 2, 3 and 4. It is the responsibility of the chief to convey the message to his various tribes. In the same poem Mqhayi demonstrates his interest in his people because he addresses them according to their clan names and tribes as other lines of the poem as it progresses, '*Ama Gcina, ama Tshatshu nama Ndungwane*. He also displays his acceptance of the Western ways of doing things when he, suggests that the message

could be conveyed by a letter because the ministers can use modern technology of the time like telegrams and fast mail as they are educated. '*Bobhaza ke bona ngengcingo nangemibane*' (They will spread the news with telegrams and fastmail).

However, as mentioned earlier, although Mqhayi makes it his responsibility to praise the positive characteristics and the contribution that these chiefs and his other subjects have made, he also uses his respected position of being an *imbongi* and overtly criticizes superfluous deeds or nonconformity. This is evident in the praises of the chief of the Gcaleka sub-group of the Xhosa nation, Saluk'uphathwa Gweb'inkumbi Sigcawu, A— Gweb'inkumbi!!! Mqhayi writes: '*Rexez' agide ngomhlabulo*; (The One who commits adultery and offers for a present the flesh near the kidneys) Here, Mqhayi is making reference to the unpleasant deeds of Chief Salak'uphathwa Sigcawu who was sleeping around and committing adultery. This means, although Mqhayi has high regard of his chiefs he does not have, a "blind loyalty to the person of the chief, but loyalty to the principles that the chieftainship does or ought to stand for." (Jordan, (1973)." Jordan regards this as true patriotism.

As already mentioned Mqhayi's love and advocacy for education is immeasurable. His love for education as well as religion thrived when he was still a young boy in Centane. In his book *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1939), he tells us how desperate he was for education:

In my desire to learn, I left no stone unturned; any book I saw, or even a paper tossed about by the wind, I would pick up and study carefully, whether it were in English or in Xhosa. I also aimed especially at a good knowledge of the Scriptures. I would pray [heart brokenly to God not to let me suffer], because it seemed that I was losing the chance of getting school (Scott, 1976:20).

Indeed, God answered his prayers because he did go back to school at Lovedale and after higher education he trained and qualified as a teacher. His highest affections of the educational values are expressed fervently in the poem *Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi Newana B.A.* In this poem he feels extremely excited by academic qualifications conferred to these two men, and they were the first graduates to be produced by South African Native

College, Fort Hare. His esteem and great backing for everything educational is testified in the following lines of the prose section:

Ewe, asotusile amakwenkwe, azenza mmandi intliziyo zabantu bakowawo, nezohlanga lwawo oluntsundu, luyavuyisana nawo, luti: Seningamana ningapumelela nakwezingapaya indawo.

(Imvo Zabantsundu, 10 June 1924: 7).

Yes, the boys startled us, and they brought pleasure to the hearts of their people, and to those of their black nation. The nation is congratulating them, saying: We wish you success even in places yonder.

Right at the beginning of the poem Mqhayi diverts from telling us about his subjects, Matthews and Ncwana, but praises the people he regards as heroes by being responsible for guiding, leading, administering and lecturing at the Native College of Education to offer the youth of South Africa a brighter future as they did with the two young men Mqhayi is admiring and praising. The following are those pertinent lines:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Seva simcing' umfo ka Bóta;</i> | We thought of the son of Botha; |
| 2. <i>Seva simcing' umfo ka Dyoba;</i> | We thought of the son of Dyoba; |
| 3. <i>Seva simcing' umfo ka Colwepi;</i> | We thought of the son of Colwephi; |
| 4. <i>Seva simcing' umfo ka Jabavu;</i> | We thought of the son of Jabavu; |
| 5. <i>Saye singamlibel' umfo ka Weri;</i> | We hadn't forgotten the son of Weri; |
| 6. <i>Saye singamlibel' u Somgxada.</i> | We haven't forgotten Stewart. |
| 7. <i>Amadod' awazis' umnikelo,—</i> | The men who brought offerings, — |
| 8. <i>Ezinyaweni zika Sandile.</i> | At the feet of Sandile. |

(Imvo, 10 June 1924: 7)

All these people Mqhayi mentions from line 1 to 6 were the people who contributed in one way or another in the establishment and development of Fort Hare as an educational institution of the time. Botha (line 1) must have been mentioned as he was the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa; the college would not have existed without his approval. Dyoba (line 2) was the Minister of Religion, Isaac W. Wauchope who, according to Mqhayi in Opland and Nyamende (2008: 407) fought shoulder to shoulder with Jabavu (line 4) for the establishment of the College

of Fort Hare and stood forth, with their masses of opponents overthrown. Jabavu was a staff member of the newly opened South African Native College serving as a lecturer in the department of Bantu Languages. Somgxada (line 5) known as James Stewart was the principal of Lovedale from which at the beginning of the 20th century the university resulted. The son of Colwepi (line 3) is John Knox Bokwe, a black missionary who also played a role in the foundation of the college. Weri (line 5) is W. J. Weir, a business man he must have helped financially for the establishment of the Native College. Fort Hare is situated in the area of amaRharhabe which used to be the domain of Chief Sandile. They rendered social services in Sandile's chieftdom and therefore Mqhayi regards them as people bringing offerings in line 7 and 8. That was their contribution to the nation and the reason for Mqhayi to acknowledge them.

In the rest of the poem Mqhayi is making reference to the compact and authoritarian training these men received. That is evident in the following lines:

Wena mfundi walemigcana akwazinto; kuba akubangako, ubone, uve, xa lamakwenkwe anyinatwayo, exovulwa, esenziwa lento ke ayiyo namhla. Nam andingekuxeleli nto, kuba lonto sisipotshongela sesaqunge, into etsho kungati kukuza kwe "Nabulele" esizibeni; into enezaqwiti nenqwitela ngati kukuza kuka "makanda-mahlamu." (Imvo, 10 June 1924: 7)

You, the reader of these few sentences knows nothing; because you were not there to see and to hear when these boys were fortified, firmed, and made what they have become today. I, myself, might not tell you anything, because that was a huge uproar, like the coming of a huge fairytale antelope in a deep pool in a river; one accompanied by whirlwinds and hurricanes just like the coming of the snake with five heads.

In lines that follow, Mqhayi describes the intensive training they received. He uses symbolism of a burning college with people inside. By that he is making reference to the incident of the fire that broke and damaged the college on 25 July 1924 (Shepherd, 1940). However, according to him they survived the 'fire' and came out strong and ready to serve the nation. He writes:

1. *Yatsh' indlu yase Kolejini!* Fort Hare has burnt down!
2. *Yatsh' inabantu pakati!!* It burnt with people inside!!”
3. *Kutiwe kuti san' ukukála,* We were told not to cry,
- 4 *Namhl' amakwenkw' ayashwanyiswa,* Today the boys have been given the first piece of the meat of sacrifice,

(*Imvo*, 10 June 1924: 7)

The following lines 1 to 4 portray meritoriously Mqhayi's approval and excitement because Matthews and Ncwana managed to achieve these qualifications with diligence and determination:

1. *Nenze kakuhle ke makwedini,*— You did well, young boys,—
2. *Wenjenjal' umtan' akutunywa.* A child does similarly when he is sent.
3. *Etunywa nguyise nasisizwe.* Sent by his father and by the nation.
4. *Akahamb' eviliz' eventshuza;* He doesn't walk lazily swaying the hips;

(*Imvo*, 10 June 1924: 7)

This view about the importance of education is so strong in Mqhayi that he articulates it as much in the poem *U Dr. R. T. Bokwe* (1934). Mqhayi eulogizes Bokwe as someone who forced his way through obstacles and achieved what he wanted - a doctoral certificate in medicine. This is demonstrated in the lines 1 to 4 below:

1. *Yint' etyhoboza kuvalwe ngentsimbi;* The one who forces his way through iron bars;
2. *Ival' i-Fotele yade yaqilingela.* Fort Hare was closed, fastened tightly.
3. *Tyushu gqi ngapaya kwezithabazi!* He broke through to reach the fine plains!
4. *Inobugqi ebufumene kwa Zulu!* He has magic which he got from Zululand!

(*Imvo*, 25 December 1934: 3)

Mqhayi also expresses the view that what Bokwe did, although it is highly appreciated, it was exceptional especially in the traditional community of amaXhosa. During the time the poem was written (1939) amaXhosa were so used to diviners (lines 1 and 3), prophets (line 2), herbalists (line 4) and healers (line 5). Hence Mqhayi comments:

1. *Tina siqhel' amagqir' omlambo,*
2. *Siqhel' awezingwe nawabade.*

3. *Siqhel' atwasa ngamaxhontana,*
4. *Siqhel' anezidlokolo zemfene,*
5. *Siqhele tin' amagqir' agula yimi zimba.*

(*Imvo*, 25 December 1934: 3)

1. We are familiar with the doctors of the river,
2. We are familiar with doctors who wear leopard cloaks and a head ornament.
3. We are familiar with ones who become diviners by growing their hair long,
4. We are familiar with ones who wear headgears made of baboon skin,
4. We are familiar with doctors who are sick in their bodies.

However, Mqhayi is certain about the good service Bokwe would provide to his people because he was well trained and therefore capable. He regards him as a pioneer in his field of medicine in the area of the Ngqika tribe (line 1) below. We also learn about his capabilities from lines 2 to 4 of being a good doctor. In line 6 Mqhayi emphasizes that he is capable of doing anything expected of him as a doctor.

1. *Hlahlindlela yama Ngqika;*
2. *Asigqir' ukusolwa lulwandle.*
3. *Ulwandle yinkosi yemilambo,*
4. *Nawe yiba yinkosi yamagqira;*
5. *Libethelen' u Mhlahl' elo Gqira!*
6. *Liyakuxentsa limbhulule liyafana kwa namanye.*

(*Imvo*, 25 December 1934: 3)

1. The One who initially opened up the road of the Ngqika tribe;
2. A powerful doctor so much that the sea will not reject him.
3. The sea is the chief of the rivers,
4. You too, be the chief of the doctors;
5. Sing the song of the diviners for the Doctor!
6. He will dance; reveal harmful magic portions, like other diviners.

It is evident from the above discussion that Mqhayi was indeed advocating social responsibility. This could be judged by a number of poems in which the theme suffices. However it needs to be emphasized that these themes do overlap.

4.2.4 Gender issues

It is also in the interest of this section to elucidate how much Mqhayi dealt with gender issues in the selected biographical poems. One of the places which had a great impact on Mqhayi was Centane, where he was initiated into the life and customs of traditional Xhosa people. Consequently because of all this influence he became a traditionalist. However, that being said, it is surprising to note how he embraces women leaders, something that used to be against the traditional norms of the patriarchal society he grew up. In the poem *A! No-Ndwe!!* [Mrs.M.Ballinger] (1939), Mqhayi demonstrates his view about women having a say in matters concerning the country. But he first approaches that idea by showing us how the African male community feel about it. The prose section serving as the preface to the poem eloquently encapsulates this view:

Izizwe zixakiwe sithi ma-Xhosa zithi asinto yakha yathunywa es'gqebeni⁵ umfazi kwa-Xhosa, kuba isigqeba esi yinto nendawo yama dod. Thina ke kuthiwa sisuke sa phambanisa, sathuma umfazi ukuba aye kusimela ezinkundleni. (The Bantu World (25 November 1939), 6

The nations are puzzled by us Xhosa people, they say a woman is never sent to the council meeting by the Xhosa people, because the council meeting is something for, and a place for men. It is said that we have confused things, and sent a woman to represent us in courts.

What is evident in these lines is an example of male stereotyping that women's place is only in the kitchen. During the time when this poem was written, the gender inequality was the norm. Nonetheless, Mqhayi disputes that when he writes embracing women leadership:

Thina ke siyaphendula,— sithi hayi,—Lisiko lomfana wom Xhosa ukuthi xa ooyise bangavumiyo uku bona aye kungena ngonina. Iwa hlanganise amathile, igwaqaze intokaz'asemzini, iwafak'endleleni. Kunini na ke sithetha noo bawo? Le nto ayingede

*yenze siphendulane kakubi na? Yiyo ke loo nto uma side samhloma umjila,—
asimthumanga sigqebeni, sithi kodwa makasibuzele ezinkosini zethu ezingoo bawo*
(The Bantu World (25 November 1939), 6

We then respond,—and we say no,— it is customary for a young Xhosa man to go through the mother when fathers refuse to understand. The woman would then exert herself and gather up the family and get it back on the right track. For how long had we been talking to our fathers? Is this not end up with us exchanging strong words? That is why we finally crowned a woman,— we have not sent her to council meeting, but we are saying she should enquire on our behalf from our chiefs who are our fathers,

Mqhayi disputes the idea that women should be relegated to a secondary social role. This is in line with his philosophy that ‘behind every successful man there is a woman.’ He believes that women are role models and a symbolic hope not only for empowerment of women but also for their total liberation from all negative perceptions of oppression and therefore should be allowed to sit in council meetings. This illustrates how much was he concerned about gender issues. In the rest of the poem he celebrates the great deeds of a woman, Mrs Ballinger. Historically, she was an outspoken advocate of African Rights as she was elected to the South African House of Assembly in 1937, and took her seat at the beginning of 1938, representing Africans in the South African Parliament, at the request of the African National Congress to stand for one of the four seats designated to protect the African interests (Ballinger, 1969).

1. *Hamba No-Ndwe sikuthwalis'indwe!*
2. *Sikuhlom 'umjila wokuya koobawo;*
3. *Bona nje bahlazek'ezizweni;*
4. *Bahlazeka nakwamany'amadoda;*
5. *Mhla ngenkxosi bona bon'abanamkxosi,—*
6. *Baphemba ngeembengu benz'amanyampepha.*

(The Bantu World (25 November 1939), 6

1. Go No-Ndwe, we have adorned your head with a crane feather!
2. We put on you a war headgear of feather, to go to our fathers;
3. You see, they are just a disgrace to other nations;
4. They are also a disgrace to other men;

5. They start a fire with dry cornstalks, and they make disgraceful acts,

In lines 1, 2, and 3 above, we learnt how confident Mqhayi was that a woman can perform much better than a man in political matters. He is making reference to what happened during the Second World War (1939- 1945) exactly the time this poem was written and during the same time Mrs. Ballinger assumed duties in parliament. During this war, only white troops were allowed to carry rifles and in lines 2 to 5 Mqhayi is criticizing the black men for not participating in the war. The only best thing they could do (referred to in line 5) which Mqhayi disapproves of was to join auxiliary units (Danziger 1983).

He further writes:

1. *Hamba ntomb' asemzini noko kukubi*, Go woman of the foreign land, although it is bad,
 2. *Noko kunzima nazizigxeko*; Although it is difficult with criticisms;
 3. *Naluhushuhulu lwezinyeliso*. And there is turmoil and slandering.
- (The Bantu World, 25 November 1939: 6)

These three lines are testimony to Mqhayi's belief that women are steadfast and resilient by nature and because of that they become an embodiment of democratic values. Ballinger did not give up despite the criticisms.

Evidence from the earliest studies by scholars like Jordan (1973), Opland (1983, 1998, and 2009), Kuse (1978), Qangule (1979), Zotwana (1993) and Saule (1989, 1996) to the more recent studies by Schoots (2014) is proof that Mqhayi is both a traditionalist and a liberalist. He is, according to Schoots (2014) an ingenious intellectual who creatively negotiates his present by weaving together both Western and African influences. The poem discussed above is an example of him being a liberalist. The next one portrays him as a traditionalist and a conservative believing in the patriarchal system. As we all know patriarchy represents women as helpless, weak and submissive. These few lines from the poem *Jabavu — Makiwane* (1916) support that:

1. *Bhota ke Nolwandle ntombi ka Mfundisi!* We greet you Nolwandle, daughter of the Minister!
2. *Wang'ungantlalontl'apo kwaJili*, We wish you well at the place of Jili,
3. *Njengonyoko kowenu kwa Memela*, Like your mother at your home, at the place of Memela,

4. *Kwakutiw 'uyatakata zuhlal'ung'akuva*, When they accuse you of witchcraft, sit as if you are deaf,
5. *Kwakutiw 'ulisela zuhlal'ung'akuva*, When they accuse you of theft, sit as if you are deaf,
6. *Kwakutiw 'uyavimba zuhlal'ung'akuva*; When they accuse you of stinginess, sit as if you are. (*Imvo*, 05 September 1916), 4 deaf

In lines 2 to 6 Mqhayi sounds as if he associates being a good wife with being submissive. It seems as if he is unaware of what is meant by gender whereas he has portrayed a completely different view in **A! Nondwe!!!** He has portrayed Mrs. Ballinger as a strong, resilient, insubordinate and assertive. It does not make any sense now that he is persuading Nolwandle to follow in the footsteps of her mother and be submissive at the house of her in-laws, her new home. This is completely against African Feminism but supportive of patriarchy. African feminists believe that the consequences of gender stereotypes are gender inequality; the continuous reproduction of gender inequalities is gender-based violence. However, having known Mqhayi as someone born into a world shaped with plural influences, we cannot blame him. Maybe he finds it impossible to avoid perpetuating gender stereotypes as they are part of life.

4.2.5 Illness and death

Amongst other things Jordan (1973) mentions about the praises of the chiefs by the poet is that they “deal primarily with happenings in and around the tribe.” No wonder Mqhayi has taken it to himself as a poet, to announce starting from illnesses, death notices, obituaries, and up to funerals. Mqhayi composes poems about illness, or those who suffer from illness, as well as about people who have passed on. Such poems allow Mqhayi to appraise the life of the deceased to those still alive. The contents of these poems are not similar to the Western poems in that the poem itself does not only appraise the departed individual but announces the death and the cause, the deceased’s dying wish (if there is any), the date of the funeral, or where, if the funeral has passed, he will reflect on the funeral. Usually, Mqhayi does this in the introductory section in a form of a prose. For instance, in a poem, **Umfi u Nkwati Bika** (1907) (The Late Nkwati Bika) he wrote:

Kute ke ngolwesi Ne (23rd May) kuyo locawa, wafikelwa sinxoshanxosha sesigidimi esingamnikanga neyure enye yokubopa impahla yake,—semka naye; salala nati sisiti: Umke naye engafanga kuba ubehamba naye kakade.” (Imvo Zabantsundu, 04 June 1907)

On Thursday (23rd May) during that week he was visited by an over-hasty messenger who didn't give him even one hour to pack his belongings, —and left with him; and we went to sleep saying: “ He left with him, not having died because he was walking with him anyway.”

He continues talking about other things, but towards the end of the prose again he reports:

Igqira lite konakele ubucopo. Umpefumlo upumele ezandleni zomfundisi wake abengaziguquli ngaye, u Rev Dr Rubusana, wanchwatywa nguye engqongwe yintlaninge yabantu ngomhla wokuzalwa kwe Nkosazana oyi 24th May (ibid.).

The doctor said the brain was damaged. He died in the hands of his minister whom he liked very much, Rev. Dr Rubusana, and he was buried by him surrounded by a lot of people on the day of the birth of the Princess, the 24th May.

It is demonstrated in the poem above that Bika died on a Sunday, on the 23rd of May in 1907, and that it was sudden death, and the postmortem conducted after death reveals the cause of death as brain damage. We also realize that the funeral has been held already, on the 24th of May, and that the officiating Minister at the funeral was her beloved minister, Rev. Dr. Rubusana. The other fact that emerges from the poem is that Mqhayi links the date of the burial with the birthday of Queen Victoria, born on the 24th of May in 1819 - again, he is drawing a link between South Africa and its “mother” country at the time, Britain, through royalty. Mqhayi announces the cause of death, the death itself and also reflecting on the funeral when he comments about a lot of people at the funeral and when it took place.

The last words uttered by a person before death, seen as words that she or he gives as a charge to the family, are perceived as important, and Mqhayi is consistent in ‘reporting’ these in his poetry where he praises someone who has passed on. He says the following about the dying wish of

Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana (1914) (The late Wm Kobe Ntsikana).

Ndibuzile ukuba wenze ziyalezo zinina? Kutiwe ke: (1) Uyaleze futi kunyana wake omkulu, ukuba agcine usapo lwakokwabo ne Bandla alipeteyo: nosapo olo uhuyaleze kakulu ukuba lumtobele unyana wake omkulu, nase Bandleni wenjenjalo. (2) Uyaleze wada wabandezela ukuba imfundi ezipume ezandleni zake zimenzele ilitye pezu kwengcwaba. (Imvo Zabantsundu, 30 June, 1914: 1)

I asked what orders he gave. It was said: (1) He repeatedly ordered his elder son to look after his family and the Congregation he was leading: and he also ordered the family strongly to obey his elder son, and he also did the same to the Congregation. (2) He impressed upon the intellectuals that came out of his hands to erect a stone over his grave.

In the poem about Chief Kona Maqoma Mqhayi even before he says anything it is gathered from the title of the poem that it is a death notice when he uses a rhetorical question that, '*Anazi na kumke iNkosi namhlanje kwaSirayeli?*' (Don't you know that the Chief of Israel has passed on?). It is only after the rhetorical question that he announces the passing of a chief and then persuades the community not to be shocked by this news because the chief was already reported sick by the messengers of the Great Place a year ago:

I Nkosi u Kona Maqoma igodukile ngomhla wesi-Xenxe kuyo lenyanga yom-Sintsi. Xa nditshoyo andishumayeli mpanga uyakotusa, kuba sizaze izitunywa kwanyakenye, kuwo onke amaziko, zihamba zishumayela le Nkosi ukuba iyagula (Izwi Labantu, 18 Sept 1906: 4)

Chief Kona Maqoma went home on the day of the 7th this month of September. When I say this I am not preaching a death notice that will be shocking, because we knew the messengers from last year, walking around in all main places of governance, preaching that the Chief is sick.

His style in making these announcements is similar in all the poems. The following lines from the poem *U Mhlekazi u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala* (1924) testify to this similarity:

U Sonzobo ogama limbi lingu Libalele, unyana ka Mhala Ndlambe, akaseko; ufe sisifo sika Tixo, ngenyanga yom Dumba, (23rd Feby., 1924), wancwátyelwa emancwàbeni akowabo e Mncotsho, kwisi Qingata se Qonce. (Imvo, 25 March 1924: 3)

Sonzobo, whose other name is Libalele, the son of Mhala Ndlambe, is no more; he died from God's illness during the month of February, (23rd Feb. 1924), and he was buried at his home's cemetery in Mncotsho, in the District of King William's Town.

The dying wish is something very important to the African people and to amaXhosa in particular. The amaXhosa even believe that it is a bad omen not to respect one's dying wish to such an extent that misfortune may befall the family if they ignored it. His elder son definitely felt obliged to look after the congregation according to his late father's wishes, as well as to erect a tombstone for him. That is why it is important for Mqhayi to announce it as he identifies himself as the spokesperson and an agent for his society as required of him as a poet.

Although it is mentioned above that Mqhayi recompenses honour to both black and white leaders who in various ways have made some contribution to the development of the nation of South Africa, it is also mentioned that in some poems he does rebuke death. Although death and dying are seen as inevitable, death tends to be rebuked, especially if it is sudden, tragic or befalls a person who had positive effect in society. This is the case in the poem about Tunyiswa and Mtoba. For example in the poem, *Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa no William Cebani Mtoba* (1913) (The Late Jonathan Tunyiswa and William Cebani Mtoba), the rebuking is evident when the poet is referring to death as Jonnie- come-late, meaning that he disapproves of death's presence among peoples saying:

Namhlanje ku Gose o-vuk' endleleni (Today the one who served the charge came out of the blue)

The poet also uses a rhetorical question enquiring about death's origins and finally suggests that death must be slandered in the line:

Eli Gosan' u Kufa masilinceteze (This little servant, Death, we must slander).

Besides rebuking in the same poem as evident in the first quoted line Mqhayi is addressing death as someone who is a 'church steward' like Tunyiswa was, but this one 'church steward' has just come out of the blue and laid a death sentence to Tunyiswa. Death sentence was never a good thing; as the book of Ezekiel testifies that no one has pleasure in the death of one who dies:

Kwa nase Nkosini seliroreleka, (It is suspicious even to the Lord)

Utsh'u Hezekile 18: 32 (So says Ezekiel 18: 32)

No one is happy because of Tunyiswa's death. Consequently, Mqhayi in the second quoted line warns his people about it suggesting that this 'church steward' who brings death to people should be defamed.

A similar situation where Mqhayi is rebuking death is found in a poem *Umfi u Provincial Wm. Gcule* (1926) (The late Provincial Wm Gcule). He opens the poem with these two lines:

1. "Yinton' nale *Kufa nakumbana-ndini!*" "What is it with you Death, you little flea!
2. "*Ufakwa yinina wen' ap' ebantwini?*" What has placed you in people?

(*Imvo*, 5 October 1926: 4)

In these two opening lines Mqhayi is scolding Death, swearing at it by using a derogatory diminutive 'you little flea'. He follows with a rhetorical question in expressing his frustration by what death is doing to people. He also concludes the entire poem by two lines also reprimanding 'Death':

1. *Lomf' u "Kufa" makagxotwe* This man "Death" should be chased away,
2. *Lent' ayaziwa e Botwe.* This thing is not known at the Palace.

In his expression of anger towards 'Death' Mqhayi even concludes the first three stanzas with a repetition where he emphasizes that Death is the harvester of mercy, meaning that it is merciless.

- Ngokuba kuko mvuni—Msa!* Because there is a harvester—Mercy!
Ugama limbi lingu Kufa. His other name is Death!

(*Imvo*, 5 October 1926: 4)

However, as it is also his responsibility as a poet to give people hope during a time of despair he comforts them in these lines:

1. *Kub' akuko kufa;* Because there is no death;
2. *Kodwa luk' uvuko.* But there is resurrection.
3. *U Tix' aka Tixo wabafileyo,* God is not the God of the dead,
4. *U Tixo ngu Tixo wabapilileyo.* God is the God of the living.

(*Imvo*, 5 October 1926: 4)

Mqhayi in line 1 and 2 is comforting his people assuring them that there is nothing like death but only resurrection, It is his belief that God is not for the dead but for the living (line3 and 4) and in these lines appealing to people to have the same belief.

There are many poems where Mqhayi is bemoaning death and illness such as *UMhlekaazi uSonzobo Mhala* (1924), *Umfi Howard Ben – Mazwi* (1943), *Umfi uRev Sololomon Kuze* (1931), *Umfi Thos Mbilantsho Mqanda* (1915) and also *Umfi uMpondombini* (1927). They are all in the Appendix

4.3 Socio-political summary

We need to mention that the poems discussed above have fulfilled what is required of literature which is to mirror history as we also learn from them that South Africa during the time when they were written was a British Colony. We need to remember that some writers like Mqhayi in particular because of their own position in history, aimed to produce literature that reproduces the historical condition. It is discernable from these poems that he was inspired by the social and political conditions of his time, therefore used literature to communicate with his people about matters of national struggle. These poems make it very clear that patriotism and or nationalism require from every individual exchange, devotion and unreserved obligation.

CHAPTER 5: DIPLOMATIC PRESENTATION AND TRANSLATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter engages with the processes of the diplomatic presentation presented in Chapter 3 and translation of the poems analysed in the in chapter 4. The style of Mqhayi's writing is going to be explored to highlight the differences and similarities observed in the orthography during the early 1900s comparing it with the current orthography. After the analysis of Mqhayi's writing the chapter will focus in analyzing the methods and techniques used to translate the poems.

5.2 Analysis on Diplomatic Edition

It is arguable that many of the globally recognized languages have a comprehensive body of literature. This literature dates back from the period that the languages were written, and the evolving styles of writing, that is, orthography, of the language are reflected as the years progress. The earlier style of writing is clearly seen in literary works and it could be preserved by using diplomatic presentation. By using the diplomatic edition the aim is to respect the integrity of the author by preserving his style of writing and to preserve as far as possibly his intentions, that is, optimally contract the theme of the author. It is also to allow the text to be as it appeared during the time of print. The purpose is to illustrate what we can learn from these texts in the context of the current orthography, meaning that the texts selected will compare the shifts in the orthography of isiXhosa during the time of Mqhayi's writings with the current orthography. The comparison will be based on the revised *IsiXhosa Orthography Rules and Principles* (2005), published by Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) under the authorship of Mini B. and Tyolwana N. This publication is the revision of the booklet '*Xhosa terminology and orthography No 3* (1980)'

Looking at the history of written isiXhosa literature, Christian missionaries initiated the codification of the language, and John Bennie pioneered its printing for the first time in 1823 and the isiTshiwo type of isiXhosa spoken by the amaRharhabe became established as the standard literary language (Oosthuysen, 2016). However, the orthography used had no standardized rules and that caused inconsistency in spelling, and word division in particular as it was written either conjunctively or disjunctively. That was the case until the beginning of 1930 when an attempt

was made to standardize the language under the leadership of Professor Doke assisted by Dr Bennie (The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa Vol. 3, 1989). These attempts resulted in a new and almost consistent orthography, isiXhosa in particular, with far reaching changes introducing new letters and consonants, using diacritics to designate stress and tone repetition of vowels and new instructions for word division. The diacritics however were used even before 1930 as it will be illustrated in Mqhayi's writing. After numerous discussions and recommendations, especially from the new isiXhosa-speaking literates who were able to clearly discern sounds, the isiXhosa orthography was revised and was termed 'New Orthography' as against the old orthography.

W.G. Bennie again provided a revision of the orthography that became compulsory in schools from 1937, another revision was led by H.W. Pahl in 1955 (Opland 1998: 282-300). In the present dispensation we are using the revised 3rd edition of the IsiXhosa Orthography and Spelling, published by PanSALB as mentioned above. It was almost a general understanding, as is today, that all isiXhosa publications adopted the orthography about spelling systems prevalent at the time: the isiXhosa language continues being standardised in a particular dialect, spelling and grammar.

This shift in the orthography is evident in Mqhayi's selected poems as presented in chapter three because he was writing at the time when these changes in orthography rules were prevalent as will be illustrated in the discussion below. Therefore, it is important to return to his texts as originally published so we can be able to recognise the shift in issues related to spelling and word division in particular, capitalization, hyphenation, punctuation, aspiration as well as phonological changes, which continue to elude us in the writing of the language. Samples of verses/lines illustrating some of the issues that point to the importance of presenting works in diplomatic edition will be extracted from the selected poems as illustrated below, with some interpretation/discussion:

SPELLING MATTERS		
Word division, demonstratives, aspiration, doubling vowels, diacritics		
Source/Poem	Diplomatic edition	Present orthography
1(a). Zachariah <i>Keodireleng</i>	<i>Emva kweminyakana esibôzo i</i>	<i>Emva kweminyakana esibhozo</i>

Matthews B.A. (1924)	<i>Koleji yabantsundu, e Fort Hare, sibona namhlanje, singeka kumbuleli luto, sekusiti gqi lama gama abafana babalwe ngasentl' apa, kusitiwa balupumelela poqo olohuwiwo lubekwe emva kwa magama abo. Yasotusa nge mihlali lonto:</i>	<i>iKholeji yabantsundu, eFort Hare, sibona namhlanje, singekakumbuleli lutho, sekusithi gqi la magama abafana babhalwe ngasentl' apha, kusithiwa baluphumelela poqo olo luviwo lubekwe emva kwamagama abo. Yasothusa ngemihlali loo nto:</i>
2.U Chief James Mama (1911)	<i>Ikaya lazo zonke inkunzana</i>	<i>Ikhaya lazo zonke inkunzana</i>
1(b). Zachariah Keodireleng Matthews B.A. (1924)	<i>Ebizwa ngemibōbō nangemilozi, Ufike wabūla-bū bū-bū ngebāyi!</i>	<i>Ebizwa ngemibhobho nangemilozi Ufike wabhula-bhu-bhu ngebhayi</i>

Table 4: Spelling Matters

5.2.1 Interpretation – Word division in nouns, adverbs and possessives

Poem 1(a) above was written in 1924 when isiXhosa orthography was still unrevised and inconsistent. It is apparent in this poem that Mqhayi was following the Old Orthography established by Christian missionaries which was disjunctive. Judging by this poem (and others), Mqhayi was in favor of disjunctive writing. This is evident in the way he writes nouns, perhaps in line with the English orthography that stipulates that the article cannot be conjugated to a noun. Although the isiXhosa prefix can not be interpreted as an article, but the early pioneering grammarians seemed to see it as such. This is seen by the fact that there is a space between the prefix and the noun stem as in ‘i Koleji’ (college) for poem 1(a). He also leaves spaces when writing adverbs (of place and of manner in the examples given) – between an adverb formative and stem as is the case in ‘e Fort Hare’ (at Fort Hare), and ‘nge mihlali’ (with excitement) in poem 1(a). Spacing is also common in possessives where a possessive concord is written separately from the stem as in ‘kwa magama’ (of names) in 1(a). He shows consistency in this regard in most poems written before 1930. In the third column the type of writing following the revised current orthography is illustrated where it can be argued that according to the rules

published by PanSALB, isiXhosa is written conjunctively with formatives that form words joined together, for example ‘*iKholeji*’, ‘*eFort Hare*’, and ‘*ngemihlali*’ etcetera.

5.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

However, poem 1(a), Mqhayi writes demonstrative pronouns conjunctively as in ‘*ololuviwo*’ (that examination) and ‘*lama gama*’ (these words). This is against the rules. As stipulated in the current orthography the demonstrative in isiXhosa is a distinct part of speech and therefore has to be written separately as shown in the next column as ‘*olo luviwo*’ and ‘*la magama*’. Now that we mentioned writing a demonstrative we can also make mention of double vowels in Mqhayi’s writing. Let us look at the word ‘*lonto*’ (that thing) from poem 1(a). Separating a demonstrative pronoun from the following noun as already mentioned is not observed.

5.2.3 Doubling of vowels

It can be argued that the doubling of vowels in the writing of isiXhosa is mainly to denote plural form and for demonstrative shortened forms. An example of plural form is illustrated in poem 2 above, ‘*inkunzana*’ (young bull) as against “*iinkunzana*’ (young bulls). Maybe the reason for Mqhayi not to double the vowels is that during the time this poem was written there were no standardized rules in this regard. Further, evident in poem 1 (a), doubling of vowels in a second position (shortened form) of a demonstrative as it will be expected to be ‘*loo*’ in the current orthography is also not observed by Mqhayi.

5.2.4 Aspiration

Another missing feature in Mqhayi’s writing illustrated in poem 1(a) is the h-like aspiration indicator symbol in these words: ‘*esibôzo*’ (eight), ‘*i Koleji*’ (college), ‘*luto*’ (something), etcetera. As stated in the introduction to this section, in the Old Orthography there were no rules governing the indication of aspiration and that could be the reason there are no aspiration symbol indicators as against *esibhozo*, *ikholeji*, *lutho* in the current orthography rules. The writing of isiXhosa grammar by the pioneers of the writing was influenced by their own languages, for example, there are no ejective sounds or implosives in English. There is no difference in the pronunciation of “bala” and “bhala” or “pela” or “phela”, and “kama” or “khama”, there are sounds in English to represent these. Therefore this was transferred to isiXhosa in the early writing until this was dealt with by early writing, particularly Gqoba and Solilo in their writing. They had a great influence in the revision of the isiXhosa orthography.

5.2.5 Diacritics

However it could be argued that Mqhayi as illustrated in poem 1(a) above does indicate aspiration in his writing by using diacritics. The introduction of the use of diacritics was the most prominent feature that emerged in the Old Orthography (Oosthuysen, 2016). However, it is found difficult to explain the different diacritic symbols used by Mqhayi because as stated in the introduction to this section, the writing of isiXhosa was derived from the European languages as it was the white Missionaries who reduced isiXhosa into writing. The fact that the pronunciation of European sounds and isiXhosa is not the same could be the cause of the confusion when comparing the isiXhosa and English sounds. From poem 1(a) we can demonstrate Mqhayi's aspiration in words like 'esibôzo', 'babälwe' (blessed) and 'kúmbuleli' (not imagining). The diacritics used in 'esibôzo' and 'babälwe' (written) are used for denoting a distinction between a partially devoiced explosive 'bh' as in 'esibhozo' and 'babhalwe' as against a fully voiced implosive 'b' in 'bala' (count). In 'kúmbuleli' it could be argued that the inverted comma-like sign above the vowel is used to indicate aspiration as there was no h-like aspiration indicator symbol used during this time.

More examples of the similar situation are in 1(b) where we find different diacritics in the same 'b'. In actual fact the emphasis in this case is in vowels that follow 'b'. Different diacritics indicate the difference in tone and length of the vowel. In 'ngemibôbô' (with loud speakers) the first 'o' is pronounced longer than the second one. Same applies in 'wabúla-bü bú-bù ngebãyi' (thrashed with a baby blanket). The acute (*ú*), grave (*ù*), tilde (*ã*) and the dots in (*bü*) are used to indicate different types of tones in pronunciation. Tyolwana et.al (2005: 61) support this explanation in this statement: "Diacritics, often loosely called 'accents' are written above, below or on top of certain letters of alphabet to indicate something about their pronunciation." It means diacritics were used long before this 'New Revised Orthography'. However, in this use of the so called 'New Orthography' diacritics are not normally written although they do occur.

Addressing the issue of voiceless and voiced velar fricatives and more orthographic issues as presented in Chapter Three, the comparison in the shift will be illustrated using Mqhayi's poems as against what is done above where the old orthography was just corrected. It means the comparison will be between the poems written in the earlier years (before 1930 revision) and those written during later years (after 1937 revision). Where an example of a poem could not be

found new revised orthography examples will be given as in 4 below. What is illustrated in 4 is that, up to and including as late as 1933, Mqhayi signed himself as Rune and then afterwards he adopted the form Krune as his writing of fricatives is discussed below.

ORTHOGRAPHIC ISSUES	POEMS BEFORE 1930	POEMS AFTER 1937
<p>Voiceless velar fricatives</p> <p>Ejective fricatives</p>	<p>1. <i>Taruni mzi wakwanyawo ntle</i> 2. <i>Kude kuye eziramenten'</i></p> <p>3. <i>Ningarori nina ndinigqibile.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Sam. Rune Mqayi,</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Vuma ndikukhaphé bawoTsalitorho;</i> <i>Kade bekwenz'uNomanyama werhorho;</i></p> <p>2. <i>Wadyojwa ngodaka walirhinirhongo,</i></p> <p>3. <i>Sada safuna ukukrokra sithi,</i></p> <p>4. <i>Sam. Krune Mqhayi,</i></p>
<p>Capitalisation</p>	<p>5. <i>Umfikazi</i> 6. <i>Nonhi</i> 7. <i>Mkencele</i> 8. <i>Yat'eye Tupa yakwelel'eyom Sintsi,</i> <i>Yat'eyom Sintsi yakwelel'eye Dwara.</i> <i>Yat'eye Dwara yakwelel'eye Nkanga.</i> <i>Yat'eye Nkanga yakwelel'eyo</i></p>	<p>5. <i>Vuma ndikukhaphé bawo</i> 6. <i>Tsalitorho</i> 7. <i>Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!</i> 8. <i>Ngomhla we 12 kweye Dwarha le Ndedebe ya Komkhulu inqwenela ukuza kubonana nezikrwalancu zakwaNgqika</i></p>

	<p>Mnga;</p> <p>9. Kute ke ngolwe Sine</p> <p>10. u Dalindyebo, unyana ka Ngangelizwe, ka Mtirara, ka Ngub'enchuka, ka Ndaba, ka Zondwa, ka Madiba, ka Tato, ka Hala, ka Dlomo, ka Nxekwa, ka Ntande, ka Mguti, ka Bomoyi, ka Sampu, ka Ntongakazi, ka Tembu,</p>	<p>9. NgoLwesine</p> <p>10. Yanik'uMaDontsa nomDeyi: Yanik'uMzazi noGwijana: Yanik'uDlomo noJwarha:</p>
Hyphenation	<p>10. Enge – Mfengu, enge- Mxosa kok'engumntu</p> <p>11. Umntan'enkos'ontliziyo – nye</p> <p>12. ...ngathi kukuza kuka "makhanda – mahlanu</p> <p>13. Maye – maye – maye – e – e!</p> <p>14. Ndimem'imbizo enku – u – lu</p>	<p>10. Thina maAfrika usicokisile.</p> <p>11. Umzi wamafuya – nkomo</p> <p>12. Ben – Mazwi</p> <p>13. Phumla wonwabe torho – torho – torho</p> <p>14. Sifuna Ma – a – a Mpanga – Mpanga</p>

Table 5: Orthographic issues and differences

5.2.6 More diacritics in velar fricatives

Oosthuysen (2016), the use of diacritics was expanded such that in addition to indicating aspiration and plosives discussed above, an inverted comma-like symbol called acute is placed above the letter ‘r’ for voiceless velar fricative and a grave sign for the voiced. If Mqhayi did the same, the word in 1 and 2 above would have been ‘*taruni*’ (peace) and ‘*eziramenteni*’ (congregation). In 1 and 2, of the 2nd column Mqhayi does not differentiate between voiceless fricatives in the earlier orthography, but differentiates in the later ones by using an ‘h’ symbol as in 1 and 2 in the 3rd column. Again for ejected fricatives no differentiation is marked by Mqhayi as observed in 3 and 4 under the 2nd column. However in the new orthography the ejective sound is marked by inserting the letter ‘k’ as illustrated in 3 of the 3rd column. This flaw of not indicating the different sounds in writing can be very confusing to the reader as it is not known which the correct pronunciation is. This has resulted in difficulty in identifying examples for voiced fricatives in Mqhayi’s poetry. For example, there is a sentence with a confusing word in a poem written earlier in 1906 that reads as: ‘*Nime ngoka Ram noka Dukwana*’ (You stop at the son of Ram and of Dukwana). This ‘*Ram*’ can be pronounced as ‘*Rham*’ or ‘*Gram*’ or even ‘*Ram*’. However, we cannot blame Mqhayi for this confusion because this poem was written in 1906 and he was not familiar with the use of diacritics at that stage.

5.2.7 Capitalisation

The issue of capitalisation in Mqhayi’s writing does not demonstrate much difference. It is evident in the illustrations 5 – 10 above in both the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs that in both dispensations of his writing of isiXhosa the first letter which is at the beginning of a sentence, and first letter of personal nouns, places, months, and days of the week and clan names are always capitalised. This is the general rule stated in the *Revision of isiXhosa Orthography* (2005) and also apparent in the Old Orthography used by Mqhayi his earlier poems. The only problem is still the word division which Mqhayi does not seem to change even after 1937, as it is the case in poem 8; column 3 which was written in 1942 well after the orthography was revised. This shows how inconsistent Mqhayi was in his writing. Maybe it could be that as it was mentioned earlier he was in favour of disjunctive way of writing and therefore used to it, or it was just an error from his side. In example 10 of column 3 he practises capitalisation not only in clan names but also in the case of clan names of women where prefix – *Ma* is used. However

there is a difference in the capitalisation of the days of the week where he capitalises the stem instead of the first letter after the prefix as in line 9 above.

5.2.8 Hyphenation

It can be argued that the use of a hyphen started far earlier than 1937 when the isiXhosa orthography was revised more recently by PanSALB. As illustrated in 10 – 14 above in the 2nd column of earlier poems, the common situations where Mqhayi uses the hyphen are in ethnic groups (10), compound words (11), double barreled names (12), and repeated instances (13) and in long drawn – out syllables in 14. This is not different from how he writes in the new orthography as illustrated in the 3rd column except in 12 where there is no hyphen used.

5.2.9 Analysis of identified errors

As presented in chapter three, there are some errors evident in Mqhayi's writing. One cannot be certain about whether the errors were his own or they were of the owners of printing and publishing houses who were not the speakers of the language. Nonetheless, the errors are identified and editorial emendations are footnoted as this is an important editorial principle. Here we are going to give a tabular form of the source poem, the type of an error and how it is amended.

Titles of source poem	Error	Amendment
1. <i>A! Nondwe!!</i> (1939)	<i>Es,gqebeni</i>	<i>Es'gqebeni</i>
2. <i>Jabavu – Makiwane</i> (1916)	<i>Kwiminpaka etho</i> <i>Kwamazi noka</i> <i>Yaswelel</i>	<i>Kwiminyaka etsho</i> <i>Kwamaza noko</i> <i>yakwelel</i>
3. John Henderson <i>Soga</i> (1941)	<i>eneembaka</i>	<i>eneembaxa</i>
4. <i>U Dalindyebo</i> (1911)	<i>Em[]yenziwea</i> <i>Linganga[n]tonina</i>	<i>Em[a]yenziwe [a]</i>
5. <i>Umfi u Mpondombini</i> (1927)	<i>Kobongaba</i> <i>U[]ninawa</i>	<i>Kobonqaba</i> <i>U[m]mninawa</i>

6. <i>Uphumulo LukaMavigala</i> (1938)	<i>esinyomeni</i>	<i>esinyameni</i>
7. <i>Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa</i> <i>no William Cebani</i> (1913)	<i>Akukho nto abeneq[.]yiya</i>	<i>Abeneq[a]yiya</i>

Table 6: Errors and amendments

5.2.9.1 Interpretation

Judging by the errors identified above it can be argued that they look like typographical errors. For the benefit of the reader such errors are edited and rectified in the texts but how they originally appeared is footnoted. For example, in 1 the word ‘*esigqebeni*’ (in the council) is shortened by omitting the ‘i’ and should therefore have an apostrophe indicating the omitted vowel. Instead of the apostrophe there is a comma. How it is annotated is illustrated in the 3rd column. In other situations it is easy to find a letter that is typed incorrectly. For example in 2 in the original text the word appears as ‘*Kwiminpaka*’, whereas it is supposed to be ‘*Kwiminyaka*’ (in years) as is the case from 2 – 6. They are all corrected in the text but footnoted. Another common error is the one in 5 and 7 where a letter is left out or sometimes it is not decipherable. In such cases the missing letter is inserted but within the brackets to designate the insertion.

5.2.10 Writing without semi-vowels

There are quite a number of incidents where Mqhayi has repeatedly written without the two isiXhosa semi-vowels as illustrated below:

Titles of source poem	Old orthography	New orthography
<i>A – Gwebinkumbi!!!</i> (1921)	1. <i>U Njixiza, uQauk’ehlangana</i>	<i>uQawuka</i>
<i>Jabavu – Makiwane</i> (1916)	2. <i>Yavel’ukuphuma kwelang’e</i> <i>Bai</i>	<i>eBhayi</i>

Table 7: Writing about semi-vowels (old orthography)

5.2.10.1 Intepretation

The reason Mqhayi does not use semi – vowels /y/ or /w/ in examples 1 and 2 as shown in the table above could be related to the fact that the writing of isiXhosa derives from the European languages. For example, in English there are sounds like /au/ in a word like ‘taught’ and /ai/ as

in ‘nail’ whereas in isiXhosa this is not permissible because we follow a consonant/ vowel structure when we write. Because of the period when these poems were written Mqhayi followed the way of writing stipulated by the British missionaries, therefore instead of writing the sound /wu/ and /yi/ in full he preferred to write /u/ and /i/ respectively. Examples of this nature of writing by Mqhayi are endless hence ‘*laundini*’ (hottentot), ‘*Nyauza*’ (a clan name) ‘*hau – hau*’ (barking dog), *hai* (no) and many more. These words mostly occur in poems written between 1902 and 1936. As soon as the isiXhosa orthography was revised he also started to write accordingly as seen in the table below:

Source poem	Examples from the new orthography
1. <i>UTsalitorho</i> : Gen. Hertzog (1943)	<i>Kwathiw ’usigwinta umz ’uyawukhanda</i>
2. <i>A Ngangemvula</i> (1941)	<i>U Khawulezis ’amaxesh ’igama layo</i>

Table 8: Writing about semi-vowels (new orthography)

In the earlier orthography the two would have been ‘*uyaukanda*’ (beat by hammer) and ‘*Kaulezisa*’ (hurry up). There was a shift in writing during 1916 and 1921 in earlier examples and the ones during 1941 and 1943. No example illustrating the / i/ becoming /yi/ could be found in the selected poems written between 1838 and the last poem in 1944.

5.2.11 Summary

This section has demonstrated the shift in the writing of Mqhayi from the period between 1902 and 1937 and the period between 1938 and 1944, a year before he died. What was discovered is that Mqhayi favored the disjunctive way of writing introduced by the early missionaries to the extent that even after 1937 some of his poems still display characteristics of the old orthography. It means there was some inconsistency in his writing. An example of this is evident in the poem below:

A, - Chith ’I– Bhunga! (1939)

1. *Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!* You are a hero, son of Smuts!
2. *Uyinjengelekazi enkulu;* You are a super hero;
3. *Ungu Mabona* elibizwa ngemva, You are a Seer, your second name,

This poem was written in 1939 two years after the introduction of the Revised Orthography of 1937 but still the characteristics of the old orthography are apparent. From the title, the capital letter /I/, and /B/ and the hyphen are not necessary because in 1939 the orthography was already

been revised. In lines 1 and 3 the word division in the marked words is also not the stipulated one because it is conjunctive. This happens throughout the poem. The reason for this could be that Mqhayi was still confused about the changes or that the newspapers ignored W.G. Bennie's innovations. Opland (1989) supports this assumption when he quotes Peires (1980: 76) that, "Even Mqhayi and [J.H.] Soga, who had sat on the Xhosa sub – committee, could not or would not write their manuscripts correctly in the New Orthography". However from 1943 to 1944 there was an improvement of almost everything. Anyway it is found important when reprinting items contributed to newspapers, to preserve the original text which is one of the main objectives of this study.

5.3 TRANSLATION ON MQHAYI'S POETY

5.3.1 Introduction

The other purpose of this study is to translate the selected poems into English to allow for this literature not only to be disseminated among isiXhosa speakers but also to speakers of other languages who understand English. Therefore, the aim of this section is to highlight strategies used in translating the poems. Since these texts are presented in their original form the translation method chosen is the one believed to produce the originality of the source text (ST) and sameness of meaning in the target text (TT). This is regarded as equivalence and equivalence in translation (Bargort, 1990). Scholars like Newmark (1991, 1993), Munday (2010), Nida & Taber (1969), Nida (1964) and many others support Bargort's view when they argue that the originality and sameness can be achieved through the theory of equivalence. This theory of equivalence is discussed in detail in 2.6.3 and it is decided that it is the one to be followed in this study as suggested by Newmark (1991) and Nida (1969). They both agree that translation should aim primarily at reproducing the message with the attempt to be completely faithful to the intentions and the text – realization of the source text writer. As stated earlier, this study aims at achieving being faithful to Mqhayi's original writings and intentions. Mqhayi's voice should be heard in his poetry as emphasised by Bassnett (2005) in her translation rules that the translator should never embellish and that the translator must render intention by intention.

However, planning to be as faithful as possible to the original text, poses challenges as the two languages are different in terms of lexical items and in terms of culture. The challenge is not only

in terms of the difference, but also that some of the poems have been written over a hundred years ago. Needless to say, some lexical items might have shifted in meaning; some might no longer be in use by the speakers of the language. Further, there are some words and concepts that are not translatable. In addition, translating poetry as already stated is also a challenge as it is out-of-the-ordinary language (Jones in Gambier and Doorslaer, 2011). Therefore in order to preserve Mqhayi's language, the source text order and culturally embedded concepts, literal translation will be adopted and this will consequently lead to word – for – word translation. It might be awkward in the TL but it gives a sense of the SL text especially the culture. This is however based on Newmark's (1981) view of communicative and semantic translation and Nida's (1969) dynamic and formal equivalence as discussed in 2. 6.3. The translation strategies to be employed therefore will include transference/ foreignization (retaining words as their original form), transliteration (changing letters of the SL to similar letters of TT), paraphrasing (restatement of the meaning of a text in other words), literal translation (direct/word for word), omission and condensing.

5.3.2 Translation of salutations, praise and clan names, closing remarks

The issues to be considered first in this section are Mqhayi's opening and closing formulas, praise and clan names. Under opening and closing formulas there are royal salutations – *A! Taru/Taruni! Awu! A!* – has been translated as Hail as suggested by Kropf (1915) and the fact that the target audience is also assumed to understand it as it is used abundantly in all translations by those who are translating isiXhosa poetry. This is, however, a greeting used mainly for royal people. Hail! – is found to be an appropriate equivalent for translating *A!* – as it is realized that in both languages it is used for the same function as the etymology of the TL tells us it means to cheer, to greet, to acknowledge someone as a hero and salute. These are the same function *A!* – is used for in the SL. Therefore, domestication as a strategy is adopted as it designates a type of translation in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for target language. The same applies to *Taru/Taruni!* – which also has an appropriate equivalent in English as 'Piece' and *Awu!* – as 'Oh!'

The closing remark '*Ncincilili*' is translated as 'That's it' in all the poems. The literal meaning of '*Ncincilili*' as given by Kropf (1915) is to go right through the end. The translation used here is found to be an appropriate concept for translating poetry. It is succinct and also portrays the

meaning associated with the ST in the sense that when saying ‘*Ncincilili*’ it means I am done, I have finished, I have said everything I wanted to say.

Praise names *Zwelizolile*, *Gweb’inkumbi*, *Ngangezwe*, and many others, and clan names like *Lawo Lentaba*, *Hlubi*, *Kwayiba*, *Ndlovu* etcetera, are culturally embedded concepts and by their very nature unique and therefore untranslatable or difficult to translate. It can be regarded as a norm that the praise names when following the salutation remained not translated. The TL unfortunately does not have semantically transparent praise and clan names such as those of the SL and therefore they retained as they are. It means there is zero equivalence between these two languages. *A! Ngangezwe!!* translates as Hail Ngangezwe not Hail As vast as the land! The translation strategy of transference is adopted in this case as isiXhosa ‘*Ngangezwe*’ is transferred to the TL. Transference, according to William (1990) is the transference of a SL word as it is to a TL text with the hope that the readers will understand it.

5.3.3 Translation of idiophones and interjections

Oosthuysen (2016) describes an idiophone as a stereotyped audible representation or image of an idea. It evokes an idea in sound, describing a predicate, qualificative and /or an adverb. This part of speech is relatively uncommon in Western languages and that makes it difficult to translate hence there is inconsistency in their translation in this study. Some use verbs as equivalent words while others are transliterated as in the following:

SL: *It’iyabuy’incwadi yabuy’itimla* TL: When the letter came back

SL: *Yabuy’isiti*, “*Itsi! Itsi!! Itsi!!!*” TL: It came back sneezing, **Tsss! Tsss!! Tsss!!!**

In this case the original word is retained and it is believed that the reader will also be helped by the preceding verb as it explains the action represented by the idiophone. The next examples translation is rendered by a verb and adverbial phrase:

SL: *Thapu! Yavel’ “iDala Kusile”!*

TL: **Suddenly**, “Dala Kusile” appeared!

SL: *Ufike wabúla-bü bú-bù ngebãyi!*

TL: On his arrival he **thrashed out fires** with a blanket

According to Oosthuysen (2016), an interjection is described as a word that gives expression to emotions and it is usually associated with emphasis. However it needs to be noted that it has no grammatical influence on the rest of the sentence. Unlike in Moropa and Nokele (2008), where the isiXhosa interjections are transferred from isiXhosa to English, this study has opted to supply suitable English equivalents of the terms as suggested by Kropf (1915). There is not a single interjection that is left untranslated, for example:

SL: <i>Huntshu!</i>	TL: Victory! (This can also be well done!)
SL: <i>Shu – betu!</i>	TL: Ouch – my friends!
SL: <i>Yhu!</i>	TL: Wow!
SL: <i>Awu!</i>	TL: Oh!
SL: <i>Hi – awu!</i>	TL: What – oh!

5.3.4 Translation of figurative language and culturally embedded concepts

Leading figures in translation studies mentioned above all share the same view that translation of idioms from one language to another with maximal success in conveying the same conceptualisation, implication and meaning, is one of the most challenging issues in the territory of translation. In an article entitled “Strategies for Translating Idioms (2013:32)”, Monireh Akbari even states that there are no ready – made, fixed strategies to be prescribed to the translators in dealing with idioms and therefore it is up to the translators themselves to draw upon the best strategies while translating idioms. However, this section seeks to explore how this has been dealt with in translating idioms, metaphors and culturally embedded concepts in Mqhayi’s selected poems. Since these are words that cannot be directly translated to English sometimes, the chosen strategy therefore is either to use a cultural equivalent or descriptive equivalent as it has been done with the translation of idiophones and interjectives in the previous paragraph. By cultural equivalent it is meant something in the target language that refers to a similar concept whereas descriptive equivalent is the description of the concept or transference with an accompanying description or explanation. In this regard Barker (1990) explains that translating by paraphrasing is a strategy commonly used to translate idioms when it seems inappropriate to use idiomatic language in the TL text.

It has been established that in most of Mqhayi's selected poems descriptive equivalence/paraphrasing is followed more than cultural equivalence. The following are examples demonstrating paraphrasing or descriptive equivalence:

1. SL: *Waduk'emsuken'oka Kempu*, TL: Son of Kemp **disappeared in grass**
2. SL: *Oka Malan'ujub'isiduli*, TL: Son of Malan **passed out**
3. SL: *Oka Piro womel'emcingeni*, TL: Son of Pirrow **dried up in stalk**

All the three examples are isiXhosa idioms and all are translated literally in the TL as there are no idioms which convey the same meaning or equivalent lexical items in the SL. The literal paraphrasing is clearer in these cases if one considers the literal sense. However the following are differently translated from the above. This is due to the fact that they are, according to Bill (1982), translated as the language expression of the culture of its speakers (Cultural diversity) as it will be explained in the commentary following the examples:

1. SL: *Ngqang'emaphik'angqangqasholo*; TL: **Honourable strong-winged man;**
2. SL: *Siyazi ke thina mathol'oNyongade*, TL: We know, as sons of **the Great wise ones**
3. SL: *Phesheya kwe Yordane kwelezi thunzela* TL: Over Jordan **in the land of the spirit of the dead**
4. SL: *Zemk'iinkomo Magwalandini!* TL: **Your cattle are plundered, you cowards**

Example 1 is an example of what is meant by aculturally embedded concept. Culturally, in Xhosa culture '*ingqanga*' is an eagle, a bird, and that term is used for a man of great reputation, a person who holds high office and with great esteem. The word does not have an equivalent meaning in Western culture therefore it is translated in a descriptive equivalence. The same applies to example 2 '*Nyongande*' is an old man of ripe experience, hence the translation 'Great wise ones, a concept that cannot be found in English. Example 3 is also culturally embedded. *Isithunzela* is when a dead person is believed to be alive and walking around at night only. In African culture this is perceived as the spirit of the dead. That is why it is translated as in the land of the spirit of the dead. Example 4 is an expression for used to alarm when an enemy is attacking. It was commonly used during the colonial era when whites would raid amaXhosa and

drive their cattle away. Other translators translate it as ‘away go your cattle, you cowards’. Whichever way, it does not have an English equivalent and in that case it has to be translated literally in the TL. There are some other words or expressions that are not easy to translate in English like the following:

1. SL: *Gqirh’eliyindoda sadinwa ngooNontsendwana:*

TL: Male traditional doctor, we are tired of **the likes of Nontsendwana**

2. SL: *NguNtongande zombini kunoHendesi*

TL: He is **Ntongande zombini** than Henderson

In the above examples these names are retained as they are in the TL but their literal meanings are footnoted as **Chance – takers** and **Double long staffed** respectively. This takes us back to what we explained as foreignization strategy earlier. There are many more similar instances in almost all the selected poems. Examples of unfamiliar words are ‘*Injombolorha*’ (tall and strong men), ‘*Ngxakangxaka*’ (higgledy – piggedy), *ooHamlomo* (too much talkers), to mention but a few.

5.3.5 Translation of names of plants, places, rivers and events.

Most of the original isiXhosa names for places, rivers, and plants/trees have not displayed any problem as they have acceptable equivalents in the TL. About this issue Neethling (1997) comments that dealing with these concepts is obviously not ‘translation’ in the true sense of the word but rather a case of a particular locality having different representation in different language communities. Below is a tabular form of a list of the words /names encountered in the process of translating the selected poems. Where there is an equivalent in the TL it is given and where it is not applicable it will be indicated as retained, and in that case transference strategy is employed.

NAMES OF PLACES	
SL	TL
<i>EMgwali</i>	Clarkebury
<i>EQonce</i>	King William's Town
<i>EMonti</i>	East London
<i>Ndlovukazi</i>	Lesseyton
<i>EBai</i>	Port Elizabeth
<i>EGcuwa</i>	Butterworth
<i>Cofimvaba</i>	Cofimvaba (transferred)
<i>EDutywa</i>	Dutywa (transferred)
<i>Rautini</i>	Johannesburg
<i>Koloni</i>	Cape Colony
<i>Ngqushwa</i>	Peddie
<i>Mjanyana (Hospital)</i>	Mjanyana (transferred)
<i>E Dayimani</i>	Kimberly

Table 9: Names of Places

NAMES OF RIVERS	
<i>Gqili</i>	Orange
<i>Ligwa</i>	Vaal
<i>Mzimvubu</i>	Mzimvubu (transferred)

Table 10: names of rivers

NAMES OF PLANTS/TREES	
<i>U Mto</i>	Burning shrub
<i>U Mtomboti</i>	Sandalwood
<i>U Mhlonyane</i>	Wormwood
<i>U Mtati</i>	Sneezewood
<i>U Mnikandiba</i>	Mnikandiba (transferred)
<i>I Ntsema</i>	Euphorbia

<i>I Ntsihlo</i>	Caperbush
<i>U Mavumbuka</i>	Mavumbuka (transferred)
<i>U Sindiyandiya</i>	Sindiyandiya (transferred)

Table 11: Names of plants/trees

NAMES OF EVENTS	
<i>Umnyaka wesi 'Xengxe' (1846)</i>	War of the Axe (1846)
<i>Mfecane</i>	Mfecane
<i>Ngeyama Linde (1818)</i>	Battle of Amalinde (1818)
<i>Ngo Nchayichibi (1878)</i>	War of Ngcayechibi
<i>Ngemfazwe yama Bülu (1900).</i>	Boer War (1900)
<i>Ngo Lindipasi (1896)</i>	Randepers plague (1896)

Table 12: Names of Events

However, in the case of events more of transference has taken place because of equivalents not available in the TL. Some of these words appear to be easy but strangely they do not have suitable English equivalence.

5.3.6 Concluding remarks

Generally, it needs to be noted that translating Mqhayi's poetry was a challenge not only because translating poetry requires a specific process of reaching equivalence, but also because Mqhayi used archaic words and, consequently, the meaning could be hidden. There are cases where he made the translation procedure very easy by giving English equivalents himself. Examples are:

SL: <i>iphepha lolusu</i>	TL: parchment
SL: <i>Mkubiso</i>	TL: Burnshill
SL: <i>iNtaba ka Gqebeni</i>	TL: Mhalla's Kop
SL: <i>Gatyana</i>	TL: Willowvale

There are a lot of situations of this nature even with dates where he writes '*Kwinyanga yo Kwindla*' (March) or/and '*Mnga*' (December) to mention but a few. On the other hand he has made things difficult for the translation of his work. As a creator of these texts he has uniquely created his own words and terms, and most of the time the way he writes is not the way people speak and he blames that to growing up in Centane. For example it was really difficult to translate these sentences because of the unfamiliar vocabulary he used.

1. *Ndod' eliqili Yehla ngerwarube;*
2. *Bezikubona nakude ngebal' ubungqombo.*
3. *Unomsinga le webhequz' elinchita.*

(Izwi Labantu, 17 March 1908).

The bold typed words are the most problematic ones to translate as they are obscure and they are not found in any of isiXhosa dictionaries consulted. It is difficult to establish how Mqhayi came up with such obscure terminology. For example 'ngerwarube' in line 1 the close possible explanation available is the meaning of 'rwarwa' which means as hastily. It is opted to use that since it preceded by a verb 'hla' (to go down). The assumption is that the person praised went down hastily. 'Ubungqombo' in line 2 is also complex as it literally means a mixture of a color that has a touch of red, yellowish red or dark brown, the color not complexion used for people. It is once again assumed that Mqhayi must have meant a mixed blood person because he described A. K. Soga as such (Opland 2009, item 26). Soga was the son of Tiyo Soga, who happened to be married to a Scottish woman, and their children were neither black nor white in complexion. Line 3 'unomsinga' is postulated to have been derived from the verb 'ukusinga' (to look). Contextually the subject is explained as someone handsome. The meaning of 'ibhequza' also in line 3 could not be found either, but as a verb it means work vigorously and feverishly with much activity as if working against time. The sentence is therefore translated as: You are attractive to look at, a dark industrious person. Determined by the context it makes some sense. Opland is of the same view about obscurities in Mqhayi's poetry when he comments:

There are many obscurities in Mqhayi's poetry: archaic words now of uncertain meaning, names of persons who can no longer be identified, topical allusions now incapable of explanations, and deliberate obscurities of an imbongi teasing his audience. (2009:11)

In the light of this discussion it would be worth noting that one has experienced coming across a lot of unacquainted vocabulary while translating Mqhayi's work because of being a product of his imaginative and inventive mind.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of Mqhayi's style of writing. This is done by comparing it to the revised IsiXhosa Orthography Rules and Principles published by Pan South African Language Board. In this chapter diplomatic editions are considered prior to the standardisation of the poetry and its translation into English. The chapter furthermore provides evidence of linguistic aspects of the diplomatic edition that Mqhayi used, and the way this isiXhosa was influenced by the mother tongue of the missionaries, namely English. This needs to be taken into account as these British missionaries were the first to actually write isiXhosa. The chapter also looks at ways in which the poetry can be translated into English, exploring the translation strategies used to translate Mqhayi's poetry. In the process of translation challenges encountered are highlighted. The chapter that follows provides a general conclusion to the thesis.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to provide a summary of the arguments put forward in this thesis. The aim therefore is three-fold. Firstly, it is intended to outline findings emanating from the discussions. Secondly it will provide some recommendations for future research and finally, it will summarise the whole study.

6.2 Findings

6.2.1 Interest by scholars in Mqhayi's writings

This study, particularly Chapter Two, presents, amongst other things, a critical review of studies and models supporting this research. It has focused on scholarship around Mqhayi particularly that which studies his writings in newspapers and books (Saule, 1989 & 1996; Kuse 1973 & 1978; Qangule, 1979; Opland, 1983 & 2009; Mpolweni, 2004; Schoots, 2014), to mention but a few. These works (and maybe others that are forthcoming) prove beyond reasonable doubt that there is an existing and growing interest in Mqhayi's works, in South Africa and even abroad, in the case of Kuse and Opland. Kuse did his research with the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Opland is a retired University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Professor of African Literature and he published most of his works on isiXhosa oral poetry while he was overseas in the United States of America, Germany and the United Kingdom, though his research career began in South Africa. About the interest in Mqhayi's literary works Qangule (1979: 260) comments:

The current interest in South Africa and abroad in Mqhayi's work is generated by the universal truths expressed in his writings. Throughout his publications Mqhayi makes allusions to the following: Holy Scriptures, prominent leaders and historic incidents in South Africa and overseas; African and European culture and lore. The man was such a fountain of knowledge that some leaders, scholars and experts in different spheres of life or disciplines have drawn material from his works for reference purposes

Schoots (2014) from sociology department has drawn heavily from Mqhayi's works proving beyond reasonable doubt that scholars in different spheres of life have shown interest in Mqhayi's literary works. That is why among other things, the main objective of this study is to bring to the South African community the legacy Mqhayi left.

6.2.2 Mqhayi as a biographer and historian

As it is discussed in 2.5.2, biography is the record of a life. Biographical writing, therefore, concerns itself with two separate yet related aspects, historical and personal part of a person's life. It is therefore related to history in another much more complicated way. The belief is that when studying an individual one cannot segregate them from their surroundings and biographers call that personal 'background'. This explanation concurs what is discovered in this study about Mqhayi, that through his biographical poems he relates history and deals with political, cultural, or religious beliefs and teachings he wants to convey by attaching them to the story of an individual's life. It is not only regional history, but national and international history, so one is able to understand Mqhayi's own interpretation of the issues he deals with in these different contexts, even through the people who are the subjects of his praises.

The people that are praised in these poems are people we never knew, but Mqhayi presents them to us through prose and poems portraying their life stories, giving us a vivid picture of the socio-political circumstances they were exposed to and above everything else, their characters and the role they played in the upliftment of the nation. This makes him a good biographer and a good historian. About this profound talent that Mqhayi possesses Schoots (2014: 62) discovers that:

Mqhayi's key concern in this contemporary biography is twofold: firstly he aims to praise the positive characteristics and choices of his subjects, and secondly he aims to praise the contribution that these great man and women made for the lives of Xhosa or African people. In doing so, he is able to hold up the achievements of African men and women and encourage others to follow in their footsteps. Mqhayi uses his well respected position as an *imbongi* (praise poet) to proclaim the characteristics of the subjects of his biography.

Moreover, when Mqhayi's work was analysed it has been discovered that he had devoted his time to investigating history in order to educate his people about their past. As discussed in Chapter 4 he wrote extensively about the wars that took place between the Boers and Britons, between whites and blacks and between the blacks themselves. The wars were all because of land subjugation that took place during the time these poems were written. Although Mqhayi does not make reference to any history books he studied but does show in his biographical poems that he knows South African history very well and this makes him a good historian. Saule (1996:13) testifies to this view when he writes, "Although there is no specific mention or reference in concrete form as to what he prefers to read, there are some indications of his inclinations". However, judging from the work analysed in this study, it can be argued that Mqhayi was an inexhaustible reader of literature, history in particular and he intertwined history with his *izibongo*, hence he can be considered as a good historian.

6.2.3 Naming and clan names in Mqhayi's biographical poems

As discussed in 3.4 it has been established in this study that Mqhayi has used special *izikhahlelo* (praise names) for his subjects even for white leaders. He salutes them as *A! Chith'iBhunga! A! Nondwe! A! Sithwalandwe! A! Ngangemvula!* and sometimes he uses personal names like Tsalitorho and Mavigala. In addition to naming his subjects by *izikhahlelo* and "Xhosalised" names, the way he deals with personal names in the contents of his poems in general is found interesting and therefore deserves scrutiny to reveal what they mean (where there are any). This section therefore reveals what has been discovered about Mqhayi's motivation in giving his white subjects these names. Since Mqhayi has not made any reference as to why and how he decided on these special names, we are going to make some inferences based on African cultural practice of bestowing additional names on leaders and general people.

"What's in a name?" This is a saying common to literary scholars that are passionate about collecting and documenting sources, meanings and significance of personal names. Mandende (2008) argues that naming is part of oral tradition in African societies as it was used in the olden days for recording important historical, economic and social events such as famine, disputes happiness, etcetera. Therefore, African onomastic scholars such as (Mandende, 2008; Mntumane 2005) argue that names carry meaning, and that the meaning may refer to historical events, experiences, emotions, status relations and authority. Mandende (2008) argues that names given

to leaders can be classified under different categories of advisory/warning, dispute-related, victory, authority/power related, request, respect, commemorative, thanks giving and death related personal names.

Mqhayi must have been following this tradition, for example, we can associate his naming of Gen. Jan Smuts, *Chith'iBhunga* with dispute-related naming technique, of its lexical meaning (to disperse a council meeting) or of the contextual meaning related to circumstances when it was bestowed on him. Jan Smuts, as a leader distinguished himself by triumphantly leading the South African army, alongside the British and against Germany. It can be argued that he overcame the plot by German troops to defeat South Africa and its allies. *Nonchwé* and *Sithwalandwe* were names given to Ballinger and Reitz respectively. In terms of their lexical meaning they both mean the same, the blue crane bird, *indwe*, which is the national bird of South Africa, whose feathers are attached to the headgear of the warriors. For Ballinger there is the prefix **No-** for defining the gender of the bearer as a woman. Otherwise name can be, according to Mandende (2008), classified under victory as the feather of a blue crane is used to crown those who excelled in their service to the nation. The name *Ngangemvula* for Duncan, because of its lexical meaning (as vast as the rain) can be classified under advisory/warning technique. Contextually heavy rain can be destructive and because of the damage usually caused by it, this name *Ngangemvula* cannot be a positive one and can therefore be associated with its contextual meaning of a series of wars which took place during the reign of Sir Patrick Duncan. During a war people die and the economical state of the country deteriorates. It is evident that Mqhayi engages these names to reveal the actions of his people and his own emotions about events happening in the nation during the colonial era.

Nevertheless, names like *Mavigala* and *Tsalitorho* do not have any connotations except that Mqhayi liked coining isiXhosa names from English names. In the case of these two names he depends on English sounds and coins isiXhosa similar sounds, MacVicar becoming *Mavigala* and Hertzog pronounced as *Tsalitorho* in isiXhosa. In translation this is referred to as transliteration – a process that changes the letters from one alphabet or language into the corresponding, similar-sounding characters of another alphabet. It is not certain what his intentions were but it can be assumed that since these were English names to be pronounced by isiXhosa speaking people he wanted to make things easier for his people especially that some of

them were illiterate. Below is a list of such names of people and places as they appear in some of his poems:

English name	IsiXhosa name
Henderson	<i>Hendesini</i>
Cory	<i>Kori</i>
Hargreaves	<i>Hagile</i>
Lamplough	<i>Lampulo</i>
Doctor	<i>Dorotile</i>
Fort Hare	<i>Fotele</i>
Malcomess	<i>Malkomese</i>
Duncan	<i>Dankeni</i>
Fagan	<i>Fagani</i>

Table 13: List of names that appears in Mqhayi's poems

The examples above are selective, otherwise the list is endless. In the case of Rev. Dr R.W. H. Shepherd whom he calls Malusi, he is using the meaning of a shepherd in isiXhosa which is 'umalusi'; it has nothing to do with sounds. Further he refers to John Henderson Soga as Nongadlela. Here Mqhayi is using a nickname bestowed to Soga based on his physical appearance, he was deformed at birth and was limping. According to Mtumane in *Nomina Africana* (2005 vol 19 no 2), nicknaming in African culture is common and it may be humorous, derogative or derisive. The nickname *Nongadlela* used by Mqhayi fulfils a derisive function. Mqhayi uses his poetic licence to be contemptuous although from the tone of the poem he does not sound as if he is mocking Soga.

From his poetry, it is also detected that Mqhayi demonstrates his knowledge of clan praises of his people, something which can be regarded as an indication from his part that to some degree he possesses attributes of traditional praise poetry. This is evident in a prose section of the poem *U=Dalindyebo* (1911):

Namhlanje ngalemidana ndibulisa unyana wentombi ka Sarili, u Dalindyebo, unyana ka Ngangelizwe, ka Mtirara, ka Ngub'enchuka, ka Ndaba, ka Zondwa, ka Madiba, ka Tato, ka Hala, ka Dlomo, ka Nxeke, ka Ntande, ka Mguti, ka Bomoyi, ka Sampu, ka Ntongakazi, ka Tembu, obuya ebewele waya kwelinye icala lomhlaba. (Imvo Zabantsundu, 07 November 1911: 3)

Today with these few lines I greet the son of the daughter of Sarhili, Dalindyebo, the son of Ngangelizwe, of Mtirara, of Ngub'engcuka, of Ndaba, of Zondwa, of Madiba, of Tato, of Hala, of Dlomo, of Nxeke, of Ntande, of Mguti, of Bomoyi, of Sampu, of Ntongakazi, of Thembu, who is coming back after having crossed over to the other side of the world.

Clan names are an example of ancient poetry for Mqhayi, besides demonstrating his knowledge of the clan praises of his people, he is also elevating the person he eulogises. It can be argued that Dalindyebo who is praised shares in the glory of his ancestors. Mqhayi has used clan names in his poetry profusely, especially when praising of chiefs.

In concluding this section on Mqhayi's naming techniques, it can be argued that Mqhayi's names, especially the one he bestows on white leaders, are highly suggestive, sometimes metaphoric, and they are loaded with social, historic and experiential meanings.

6.2.4 Orthography in Mqhayi's poetry

It is discovered that Mqhayi used the orthography introduced by the early missionaries to such an extent that he can be regarded as someone who favors the disjunctive way of writing. There is a lot of inconsistency in his writing. The reason could be that he was still confused about the changes because they were countless or it could be that the newspapers simply ignored W. G. Bennie's innovations.

What is clear from this research is that there is a lack of early texts or perhaps a lack of analysis of early texts. This has resulted in a diminished or perhaps non-existent historiography of isiXhosa writing and history of literature. This thesis has tried to try and fill this gap. Firstly, it provides texts in diplomatic edition which can influence the study of linguistics, particularly historical linguistics. Secondly, the thesis contributes to an understanding of how the orthography developed long ago and this allows for academics to also project a way forward in

terms of the development of isiXhosa language. Thirdly, the the poetry presented and analysed in this thesis suggests that the 2005 PanSALB Orthography presents nothing that is too different from the orthography developed by Bennie and colleagues in the 1800s. What is now required is a systematic linguistic study of the growth and development of isiXhosa literature and orthography. This thesis opens the way for such a study.

6.2.5 Translating poems

Translating Mqhayi's poetry has made one realize that the language and terminology in particular which he used when writing his poems made them difficult to comprehend not only to the readers of other languages but to mother tongue readers as well. This is due to the fact that he employs very rich isiXhosa archaic words that are difficult to find from any of isiXhosa dictionaries. This has created a problem in the sense that when translating one has to translate based on the context of the poem. Maybe his style of using his own invented terminology and archaic words could be associated with the maxim that he was the father of isiXhosa language as he took a great role in its development. Consequently his use of deep isiXhosa could be attributed to his effort to sustain the nurturing of his language. In that case it is arguable that he used the hard way to inculcate in his fellow people the culture of reading, learning and love for their language.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Introduction

This section is aimed at presenting the recommendations relating to this study. Chief amongst these is the future development and preservation of Mqhayi's work published in old newspapers in particular. In the previous chapters, selected biographical poems written by Mqhayi from the early 1900s until prior to his death in 1945 are presented and analysed. Although one of the main aims of this study is to present these poems as they were originally presented by the author one hundred years ago, various incompatibilities/shifts are established in terms of orthography and language used by Mqhayi. These were addressed and clarified and it has been realized that they could have a negative impact on the writing and reading of the isiXhosa language currently. While it is necessary to present the poems in the original form in which they appeared, in order to trace the shifts in the writing style of isiXhosa, to encourage dissemination of these texts,

especially for the school audience, it is imperative that these text be presented in the current orthography.

Therefore, recommendations will be made with the view to eliminate these irregularities. During the presentation of the biographical sketches of the subjects of Mqhayi's praises, others could not be located altogether, meaning that other recommendations have to be articulated regarding the problems encountered. During the process of translating the poems more problems were encountered, solutions are therefore needed.

6.3.2 Computerisation and digitization

In the past, during Mqhayi's era when publishing was controlled by the missionaries, the writing system of isiXhosa language used conventional symbols of the Roman alphabet. The printing offered by the printing press did not provide any provision for the symbols that were different from the conventional ones. On top of that they advocated for the disjunctive way of writing isiXhosa which Mqhayi adopted in writing his poems. In the modern age of computerisation these symbols can be accessed by means of word-processing programmes and printed easily. In addition, in 1972, the Government Printer on behalf of the Department of Bantu Education of the Republic of South Africa came up with the 'Revised Standard Orthography' entitled *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No 3* and was published in Pretoria (Oosthuysen, 2016). PanSALB revised and prescribed it in 2005 as *Spelling and Orthography Rules* and again in 2008 by Mini and Tyolwana. This orthography is the one in use currently in schools. In line with the objectives of this study and the accessibility of material mentioned, it is therefore highly recommended that these poems be re – written in the standardized orthography and be made accessible for use in public libraries, adult centres, universities and in schools. It has to be considered that the word processor and the typist of this material is someone who has the knowledge of the language and has extensive experience in typing to avoid further deficiencies. There is a need to make these poems more widely known.

In addition, orthography rules have evolved over the time and have been standardised but now there is nothing subsequent to (PanSALB 2008) publication, whereas there are still deficiencies and these must be attended to. This could be possible because at the moment there is digitization of African Languages for spell checkers and so on at North-West University. As a result if

orthography can be established the process of digitization for spell checkers would benefit and even translation machines need a standardized orthography.

6.3.3 On translation

Two identical views by two different scholars encapsulate succinctly the importance of translating isiXhosa texts to another language. Neethling (1997: 3) feels that:

Aside from the purely academic and in my opinion perfectly justifiable enterprise to make literary works accessible to a wider reading public, things are slowly opening up in South Africa and I thought such an undertaking could assist in bringing communities together across linguistic boundaries.

Mtuzze (1993: 11) resonates with the same view of promoting translation in the abstract of his paper when he remarks that:

Current developments in the socio-political arena make it increasingly important for linguists to focus on the interchange between the indigenous languages and the two dominant languages, English and Afrikaans. This would break down the artificial barriers so enthusiastically maintained in the past.

The views of both scholars concur with the aim of undertaking the project of translation in this study. Further, preservation of Mqhayi's legacy and sharing it with wider readership is the main purpose of translation in this research. Translation will result in sufficient text exposure. However, as mentioned earlier, translating Mqhayi's poetry was challenging because of his poetic licence to coin new words, as well as translating words that are not necessarily in the everyday lexicon of the language now. The poetry is at least over 100 years old; therefore some words are not in the contemporary lexicon of isiXhosa. It is for this severe obstacle that a further investigation be considered on the rare vocabulary found in Mqhayi's poetry. These words require to be documented in a volume of isiXhosa – English – Afrikaans; something similar to *The Great Dictionary of IsiXhosa*. This will be in line with accessibility and breaking down of barriers mentioned by scholars quoted above. In addition, to that a recording of that nature will help to provide, besides the general public,

interested members of isiXhosa community including the younger generation with a reference text. The text will enable them to make use of their language properly and to be able to partake in a multilingual environment thus enhancing the status of isiXhosa as a national language. This is the rationale behind recommending the research and documentation of Mqhayi's rich isiXhosa terminology.

6.3.4 Further research of subjects of praise

For the purpose of this research some biographical data of the subjects of Mqhayi's praises are presented with the intention that these men and women should not be forgotten, and that something of their record finds the permanence of print. It is also distinctive of Mqhayi that perhaps in writing about them, he sought to ensure that they would not be forgotten in South African history. Some extensive search for their biographies has been done but for about five of them is unfortunately without success. Renowned texts like *The Dictionary of South African Biographies* and other books were consulted. However, challenges were encountered. It is in the light of the experience that further research is recommended because it is important that these people are known. The fact that Mqhayi praised them is an indication that they are worth the publicity.

These are biographical poems provided as a corpus of literature for public usage and therefore it will be fair enough that the suggested views be pulled through with the general aim of preserving them. This preservation will be for the benefit of generations to come. As a result the alternative preservation by digitization, creating Adobe pdfs is highly recommended.

6.4 General conclusion

6.4 1 Introduction

This study is centered on major problem that South African community was never completely made to understand the art form that S.E.K. Mqhayi signifies for the nation as a whole. This is due to the fact that it is almost a decade now but still the corpus of Mqhayi's literary legacy remains hidden in old newspapers in libraries, archives and even abroad. Hence, the major objective of this study is to dig as deeply as possible considerable remains of this valuable material for the benefit of those who appreciate literary art. Opland (2009) has conducted an enormous task to bring back Mqhayi's literary art. Secondly, the current study also concerns

itself with other problems earlier writers of literature encountered, that of their work being expunged by missionary publishers only because they felt that it is not appropriate for school consumption. As stated in the introduction to this chapter its major aim is to give an account of all the arguments in the commencing chapters. This section therefore seeks to reflect on the aims and objectives of the study outlined in chapter one, literature review discussed in chapter two, presentation of data presented in chapter three, analysis of Mqhayi's selected biographical poems as comprehended in chapter four, diplomatic presentation and translation of poems dealt with in chapter five. The overall summary that will include some ideas raised here in chapter six will be highlighted as well.

The research began by introducing the problem of isiXhosa literature, the work of the major isiXhosa writers that can be found in abundance in newspapers inclusive of the subject of this research, S.E.K. Mqhayi. The exciting part about this work is its free literary expression produced by adults for adult readers (Opland, 1983). This comment leads us to the problem voiced in this thesis that some works of isiXhosa material are only available in abridged editions due to the fact that all of its significant historical content was purposefully cut out by missionary presses. As a living testimony to this tragic situation, about two of these are indicated in the introductory chapter to this thesis. One of them is the example of Mqhayi's text that was taken direct from the newspaper for publication in his book *Ityala Lamawele* (1914: 60). The whole sentence from the poem entitled *Imbongi* (The Poet) is deliberately removed and replaced with what is believed to be 'appropriate' language for school market. This could be the sentence referring to incestuous relationship where a child makes advances at his own mother, precisely to Ngqika who fell for Thuthula, his uncle's wife who is regarded as his mother according to amaXhosa culture.

The second example of this terrible censorship discussed is from Mqhayi's article, *Idabi lamaLinde* (1818 – 1899) that was published in the newspaper in 1928. This article was prepared for publication in Bennie's *Imibengo* (1935) appearing as a preface to a prose on *Imfazwe kaMlanjeni* (The War of Mlanjeni). It appears in the book without its subtitle '*Ukutelekiswa ngu Mlungu*' (White Provocation), as well as without the paragraph which states that it is White people who triggered the war.

It is because of incidents like these that this research that early writers used newspapers as a platform to reveal their emotions and the emotions of their people without being censored. This valuable material in newspapers about earlier history of amaXhosa in particular needs to be revealed to the new generation of post the democratic era. The youth needs to be well informed about their roots.

Another aspect pointed out is the research methodology. It is worth mentioning that this qualitative research chosen for this study has adopted an interdisciplinary approach which is found relevant as it makes this study different and unique, because of its consideration of the socio-economic and political determining factors of isiXhosa written poetry particularly Mqhayi's biographical poems. The study exceeds beyond that to the traditional-modern analytical approach, as the isiXhosa written poetry is profoundly informed by the indigenous oral forms. The mutual relationship between the oral and written isiXhosa poetry and how the oral and written complement and supplement one another are acknowledged in this study. As a result this research engages with different qualitative techniques employed declaring that the selected poems will be examined and contextualized by bringing them into contact with other inter – contributory disciplines such as sociology and history.

Furthermore, there is exploration of literature review where emphasis is made on the theoretical foundations underlying the research. Before exploring theoretical framework underpinings an overview of isiXhosa literature is outlined with reference to the influence of the missionaries to its development. The early newspaper's history is explored extensively as there is solid and indisputable information that isiXhosa language was the first to be transcribed and printed in magazines, periodicals and newspapers that were initiated by missionaries of the time such as John Bennie, a Presbyterian missionary, of the Glasgow Missionary Society who took up residence among the amaXhosa at Tyhume in 1821.

A survey of the life and career of S.E.K. Mqhayi is considered in this thesis as well. To this literary giant of African soil Pityana (26 November 2009) comments:

To those who knew him he was also a theologian for he explored the meaning of the Christian faith in turbulent times, and sought to understand this faith and the imperatives of African culture, a philosopher and educator of his people.

In line with Pityana's words, a detailed description of Mqhayi's life, his career as an author and everything else mentioned by Pityana above is specified. This is undertaken to shed light as to why Mqhayi is acknowledged as a famous figure in the field of isiXhosa literature. What is distinctive about Mqhayi are his attributes as a literate poet carrying an oral tradition. He draws from oral histories, tradition, and proverbial phrases of the amaXhosa and the common knowledge of the amaXhosa in order to understand the changing world around him. Through his academic style he manages to weave these old traditions along with the new Western forms. He does this by experimenting with novels and new rhyming poetry in addition to the traditional *izibongo* form. As mentioned earlier he publishes much of his work in newspapers that are now lying unappreciated in national libraries and archives. Once again it would be proper to end this brief discussion about our subject of research with Pityana's (2009) words which encapsulate eloquently Mqhayi's life:

I prefer to remember him as a giant of an intellectual ahead of his times. He lived in his life the adage that "change comes from ideas; and wealth comes from minds". From his observations, his sensitive insight into the mind of the people he served, he sought to give voice to the voiceless, displayed the courage of a warrior ready to sacrifice for the greater good, an archaeologist ready to dig out the wealth of a nation that no longer believed in itself, an intellectual who refused to sacrifice the truth in the altar of expedience and convenience. I suggest that that is the lesson from SEK Mqhayi for our time.

Pityana's view on Mqhayi corresponds with the views of other scholars discussed in this section of chapter two, and that leads us to the last aspect. That This study is guided by the Historical – Biographical Approach which according to various scholars discussed under 2.6, is an approach that seeks to understand a literary work by investigating the social, cultural, and intellectual context that produced it—a context that necessarily includes the artist's biography and milieu. In line with this view one can arguably claim that when assessing the author's art work, one studies it with his activities as a social figure. Since the data of this research is on biographical poems this approach seems the most appropriate as it is going to provide the reader with tools to

interpret the poems. By tools we mean the background of the author and his subjects, their social attitudes and cultural practises and the context in which the poems were written (history). These will assist in understanding the past as it is reflected in the literary work. Understanding the past is something Mqhayi strives for in his literary works. His historical and biographical environments contributed to the shaping of his socio – political ideas as they emerge from his writings.

In addition, an analysis of Mqhayi’s writing is also evaluated based on the discipline of Diplomatics which according to (Cencetti, 1995) is an analysis of historical records and other conventions used by those who originally created the texts that is Mqhayi in our case. The discipline of Diplomatics allows for Mqhayi’s poems to be presented the way they appear when they were first written one hundred years ago. We understand as revealed in paragraph 6.3.2 that presenting work in the old orthography could create problems at this point in time but it is also necessary for this research as this is a major editorial principle to respect the integrity of the original author by preserving his style of writing as far as possible. Showing how Mqhayi wrote isiXhosa and how his writings possibly reflect the way isiXhosa was written during his time is considered one of the necessary objectives of this research. However, updating the orthography is stated under the recommendations for future research.

Connected to Diplomatics is the translation of the poems. For the purpose of this research these two related concepts are treated as related because they symbolise, originality. Diplomatic presentation advocates that texts should be presented in their original form, that is, the way they appeared when they were first printed while translation promotes equivalence which is believed to produce the originality of the source text (ST) and sameness of meaning in the target text (TT). In this section different strategies for rendering translations by different scholars were employed in an effort to reach equivalence. The major challenge discovered in the translation process was the difficulty encountered in the translation and the difficult language used by Mqhayi in his poems. However recommendations to overcome these challenges in future are proposed in paragraph 6.3.3. These are proposed with the aim of promoting the best translation despite Neethling’s (1996:18) words echoing Jordan in his translation of *The wrath of the ancestors* ((1980) that, “A translation can at best only be a poor imitation of the original and that the power and the soul of the original text cannot be recaptured in the English version.”

With that in mind it needs to be understood that any translation produces a challenge, and that any translator at a given time should consider making adjustments but still taking into consideration the projected audience. Hence, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of dynamic equivalence suggested by Nida (1969). Nonetheless, as discussed in paragraph 5.5 there are various approaches and strategies in translation where other translators make it their task to keep to the original as much as possible while others decide to restructure the original to a completely different text independent of the original.

The strategies used during the process of data collection are discussed and the process of presenting the data collected is dealt with as well. The data used is thirty (30) biographical poems written by Mqhayi during the period 1902 (the first one on the list) up until 1944 (the last one) just one year before he died. The basis on which the poems were selected is that they were never published in book form but only in the newspapers and that they were in their original form exempted from the censorship of the white missionaries. The newspapers from which the poems are sourced are: *Imvo Zabantsundu*, *Izwi Labantu*, and *Umteteli Wabantu*. More details about the newspapers, that is, when were they published and where are provided. The highlights here are the graphs that indicate the distribution of how much Mqhayi contributed in each newspaper, the variation of the frequency of his contribution in each paper; the social positions occupied by Mqhayi's subjects in terms of their service to their communities and to the nation at large are illustrated. In addition, more graphs illustrating gender and race are presented showing the results that few women than men were praised by Mqhayi. The last graph is about the fact that Mqhayi never discriminated against races; to him South Africa was the land for all. Probably it is this attitude that makes Mona (1999) to judge Mqhayi as "an individual who, while recognizing the fact that he was a Xhosa (ethnic identity) saw the need for a broader national identity". Mqhayi's goal as a black intellectual of his time is freedom and equality of all South African races and this is reflected in his choice of who he regarded as a leader and to pay tribute to. This point leads to his patriotic spirit as well that is reflected in his poems as a major theme.

Among other things Mqhayi was more concerned about ideas of unity, humanity and patriotism in his advocating that South Africa is the land for all. As a result, his poetry covers a wide range of themes about illness and death, Christian influence, education, patriotism/nationalism, gender issues and social responsibilities. These themes are illustrated through the lives of his subjects.

This result in urgent need to present the biographical data of these subjects with the aim of assisting in the interpretation of the themes implanted in the subjects' biographical information. It took some searching to get this biographical information which resulted in a few indiscernible results. However, the aim of researching for these biographies is because Mqhayi has a high regard of his subjects proves that in one way or another, the influence of the lives they led in varying measures brought annotation to their time, to their people and to the nation at large. Consequently, something of their record would found the permanence of print to the extent that they never be forgotten.

The analysis and interpretation of poems presented is specified. The discussion however, structured around the themes is also presented. There is an evaluation of the technique which Mqhayi employs in his engagement of historical, political and socio – cultural context in praising his subjects.

As mentioned earlier, the history, politics and culture of the amaXhosa especially in the Eastern Cape where Mqhayi was born and bred explains the choice of Mqhayi's themes identified in his poems. Under the Christian influence his obvious motivation was the Bible, and that is proven by the way he quotes from it. It is noted that he varies how he uses these quotations because either they are found when introducing the poem, or in the content of the poem or as closing formulas. Patriotic and nationalistic sentiments are strongly reflected in Mqhayi's biographical poems as it is argued that Mqhayi's flame of nationalism and patriotism were ignited in Centane. In all the themes discussed in this study these two are the ones discussed ample as they are most common in his poems. A cord of social responsibility as it is much similar to nationalism/patriotism is also clearly visible in selected poems. It could be that Mqhayi is praising leaders here on the account that social responsibility is the duty every individual leader has to perform for the benefit of the society and the nation at large. It is also one of the themes discussed extensively and it is mostly embedded under education and religion as these two are regarded as pillars for nation building. Mqhayi, as a natural social leader and an *imbongi*, feels that he has a duty to perform in his society. As a result he ends up being a commentator and social critic. It is therefore not surprising that he freely announces illness, death notices and obituaries as well as funerals in his community.

The themes demonstrate undoubtedly how patriotism and nationalism are realised as most prominent in Mqhayi's poetry. It is also evident that Mqhayi was inspired by social and political circumstances to use literature to communicate to his people matters of national struggle. In addition to the themes discussed there is also diplomatic presentation of the poems and translation that are also demonstrated. As it is expected there is a need to reflect on all the arguments of the thesis and draw them together. In implementing this task the findings about onomastics in Mqhayi's poetry, orthography used as well as translation carried out in this study. This argument is followed by recommendations for further research and solutions to challenges encountered during the research. These are followed by proposals to the solutions. The final concluding remarks mark the end of the research.

6.5 Concluding remarks

The foregoing study of Mqhayi's poems has exposed his philosophy of life, his principles, origin, sentiments and views on cultural and socio-political, educational and religious issues. Through the analysis of these poems it has been established without a doubt that he is a responsible citizen of the African continent, recognized as a true continental scholar, an African scholar of note, a supporter of the human race who criticizes what in his mind is wrong and praises what he reckons is right for the society. The Historical-Biographical Approach that has been employed to analyze his poems gives an insight to understanding the context of his life that has helped to produce valuable interpretations of his poems. As stated in the foregoing paragraph, there is valuable work that has not been published, and is still in newspapers. IsiXhosa language students at universities, literature scholars and other academics in higher education (because of the interdisciplinary nature of these works) can benefit from the contents contained therein – from it we will not only study literature, but we can also study historical linguistics, sociocultural studies, politics, etcetera. This study addresses, among other things the challenge of allowing the South African community and literature scholars world-wide to gain access to Mqhayi's legacy. This thesis is therefore a testament to Mqhayi's early writing as well to the vision of Jeff Opland who took the initiative to collect, archive and now disseminate this poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Angelelli, C. V.** 2015. *Study on Public Service Translation in Cross-border Health Care*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of European Union.
- Beal, J. C.** 2012. "Evidence From Sources After 1500" in Nervalainen, T. & Traugott, E. C. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ballinger, M.** 1969. *From Union to Apartheid: A Trek to Isolation*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Bennie, W.G.** (ed.) 1935. *Imibengo*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Berg, B.** 1998. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. USA: Alyn and Bacon.
- Cencetti, G.** 1985. "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science". *Archivaria*.
- Dathorne, O. R.** 1976. *African Literature in the Twentieth Century*. London: Heinemann.
- D'Azevedo, W. L.** 1973. *The Traditional Artist in African Societies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Danziger, C.** 1983. *A History of Southern Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Denzin, N.K.** 1989. *Interpretive Biography*. London: Sage Publication.
- Denzin, N. Lincoln, Y.** 2008. *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Duncan, P.** 2010. Friendship and union: *The South African Letters of Patrick Duncan and Maud Selbournes, 1907- 1943*. Cape Town: Van Riebook Society.
- Finnegan, R.** 1970. *Oral Literature in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jabavu, D. D. T.** 1943. *The Influence of English on Bantu Literature*. Alice: Lovedale Press.
- Jones, F. R.** 2011. "Poetry Translation" in Gambier, Y. & van Doorslaer, L. (eds.) *Handbook of Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing company.
- Gambier, Y. & van Doorslaer, L.** (eds.) 2011 *Handbook of Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Garraty, J.A.** 1957. *The Nature of Biography*. London: Alden Press.
- Gerard, A.** 1971. *Four African Literatures*. London: University of California Press.
- Gerard, A.** 1983. *Comparative Literature and African Literatures*. Cape Town: Via Afrika.
- Gittings, R.** 1978. *The Nature of Biography*. London: Heinemann.

- Guerin, W. L., Labor, E. G. Morgan, L. & Willingham, J. R. 1966.** *A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Horobin, S. 2012.** “Editing Early English Texts” in Nervalainen, T. & Traugott, E. C. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, S. 1991.** “An Historical Overview of the Black Press” in Tomaselli, K. And Louw, P. E. (eds). *The Alternative Press in South Africa*. Bellville: Anthropos Publishers.
- Jordan, A. C. 1973.** *Towards an African Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kolawole, M. E. M. (ed) 1998.** *Gender Perceptions and Development in Africa – A Socio-Cultural Approach*. Lagos: Arrabon Academic Publishers.
- Kaschula, R. H. 2001.** *African Oral Literature: Functions in Contemporary Contexts*. Claremont: New Afrika books.
- Kaschula, R. H. 2002.** *The Bones of the Ancestors Are Shaking: Xhosa Oral Poetry in Context*. Cape Town: Juta
- Keegan, T. 2004.** *Moravians in The Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents.
- Kendall, P. M. 1965.** *The Art of Biography*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Kennedy, X. J. & Gioia, D. 1995.** *Literature: An Introduction to Fiction, Poetry, Drama and Writing*. Sixth Edition. New York: Harper Collins.
- Limb, P. 2012.** *The People’s Paper*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Mack, N. Woodsong, C. MacQueen, K. Guest, G. Namely, E. 2005.** *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector’s Field Guide*. USA. USAID.
- Magaqa, V. M. S. 2003.** “Florence Nolwandle Jabavu, Bantu Home Life” in **Daymond, M. J. Driver, D, Meintjes, S.; Molema, L. Musengezi, C. Orford, M. & Rasebotsa, B. (eds.)** *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region*. New York: Feminist Press.
- Matthews, Z. K. 1981.** *Freedom fore my people: The Autobiography of Z.K.Matthews, Southern Africa 1901 to 1968*. London: R. Collings.
- Millard, J. A. 1999.** *Malihambe: Let The Word Spread*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. 1914.** *Ityala Lamawele*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. 1929.** *UDon Jadu*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Mqhayi, S. E. K. 1948.** *Inzuzo*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

- Mqhayi, S. E. K.** 1972. *UJohn Knox Bokwe: Ibali Ngobomi Bakhe*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Munday, J.** 2010. *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. Madison: Routledge.
- Newmark, P.** 1981. *Approaches to Translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Newmark, P.** 1991. *About Translation*. Adelaide: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Newmark, P.** 1993. *Paragraphs on Translation*. Adelaide: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Nida, E. A.** 1964. *Toward a Science of Translating, with Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in The Bible*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Nida, E. A. & Taber, C. R.** 1969. *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Ntantala, P.** 2009. *A Life's Mosaic: The Autobiography of Phyllis Ntantala*. Auckland Park: Jacana.
- Masilela, Ntongela.** 2007. *The Cultural Modernity of H.I.E Dhlomo*. Trenton: Africa World
- Odendaal, A.** 1984. *Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.
- Odendaal, A.** 2012. *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and The Struggle for Democracy in South Africa*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media.
- Okpewho, I.** 1992. *African Oral Literature - Backgrounds, Character and Continuity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ong, W. J.** 1982. *Orality and Literacy*. London: Routledge.
- Oosthuizen, G. C.** 1970. *Shepherd of Lovedale*. Johannesburg: H. Kearsland.
- Oosthysen, J. C.** 2016. *The Grammar of isiXhosa*. Stellenbosch: SUN MeDIA.
- Opland, J.** 1983. *Xhosa Oral Poetry: Aspects of a Black South African Tradition*. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Opland, J.** 1998. *Xhosa Poets and Poetry*. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers
- Opland, J.** 2005. *The Dassie and the Hunter*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press
- Opland, J.** 2007. *The Nation's Bounty. The Xhosa poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Opland, J. Nyamende, M.** 2008. *Isaac William Wauchope. Selected Writings 1874-1916*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Opland, J.** 2009. *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings, 1902-1944*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

- Opland, J. Kuse, W. Maseko, P.** 2014. *William Wellington Gqoba: Isizwe Esinembali: Xhosa Histories and Poetry (1873–1888)*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu–Natal Press.
- Pan South African Language Board**, 1980. *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No.3*.
- Pan South African Language Board**, 2008. *ImiGaqo YokuBhalwa Nokupelwa KoLwimi LwesiXhosa*
- Pakenham, T.** 1993. *The Boer War*. Johannesburg: Johnathan Ball Publishers.
- Pinnock, P. S.** 1994. *Xhosa; A Cultural Grammar for Beginners*. Cape Town: African Sun Press.
- Reitz, D.** 1929. *A Boer Journal of The Boer War*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Rhodes University Cory Library for Historical Research**. 1984. *Lovedale Press Collection: RHW Shepherd Papers; Gold Fields Collection, Supplement No.1; Methodist Archives Collection, Supplement No.5*. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.
- Rubusana, W.B.** (ed.) 1911. *Zemk'inkomo Magwalandini*, 2nd ed. Frome & London.
- Scott, P.** (Ed) 1976. *Mqhayi in Translation*. Grahamstown: Department of African Languages: Rhodes University.
- Shaw, W.** 1967. *Never a Young Man: Extracts From the Letters and Journals of the Rev. William Shaw*. King William's Town: South African Missionary Museum.
- Shepherd, R. H. W.** 1933. *Under the Oaks*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Shepherd, R. H. W.** 1940. *Lovedale South Africa: The Story of a Century, 1841-1941*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Shepherd, R. H. W.** 1952. *South African Medical Pioneer: The Life of Neil*. Alice: Lovedale Press
- Shepherd, R. H. W.** 1955. *Bantu Literature and Life*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Skota, T. D. M.** 1930. *The African Yearly Register: Being an Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folks in Africa*. Johannesburg: Esson.
- Soga, J. H.** 1917. *Intlalo KaXhosa*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Stewart, J.** 1887. *Lovedale: Past and Present; A Register of Two Thousand Names. A Record Written in Black and White, but More in White than Blacks; ...with a European Roll*. Lovedale: Mission Press
- Strachey, L.** 1918. *Eminent Victorians*. Newyork: Putnam's Sons.

- Swanepoel, C. F.** 1990. *African Literature: Approaches and Applications*. Pretoria: Haum Tertiary.
- Tomaselli, K. and Louw, P. E.** (eds). 1991. *The Alternative Press in South Africa*. Bellville: Anthropos Publishers.
- Williams, D.** 2001. *History of the University College of Fort Hare, South Africa, The 1950's The Waiting Years*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Wisker, G.** 2001. *The Postgraduate Handbook. Succeed with Your MA, MPhil, EdD and PhD*. New York: Palgrave.

Journal articles

- Akbari, M.** 2013. "Strategies for Translating Idioms." *Journal of Academic and Applied Studies (Special Issue on Applied Linguistics)* Vol. 3 (8): 32-41.
- Aiwei, S.** 2005. "Translatability and Poetic Translation" in *Translatum Journal*. Issue 5.
- Baker, M.** 1990. "Linguistics and the Training of Translators and Interpreters" in M. Thelen and B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (eds) *Translation and Meaning, Part 1: Proceedings of the Maastricht Colloquium, Maastricht 4 6 January 1990*, Maastricht: Euroterm.
- Bill, M.C.** 1982. The Blanket of Darkness: Problems in Translating from a Bantu Language to English. *South African Journal of African Languages* Vol 2 (3): 91-117.
- Duranti, L.** 1989. "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science". In *Archivaria. The Journal of the Association of the Canadian Archivists*: 28: 12. Retrieved on 8/21/2013.
- Jordan, A.C.** 1973. "S.E.K Mqhayi" in *South African Outlook*. Vol. 103(1225): 99 – 103
- Kaschula, R. H.** 2003. "Xhosa Literary History: Towards Transformation in Selected Xhosa Novels." *South African Journal of African Languages*. Vol 23(2): 60-76.
- Kaschula, R. H.** 2008. "The Oppression of isiXhosa Literature and the Irony of Transformation." *English in Africa*. Vol. 35(1): 117- 132.
- Mabote, R.** 1996. "Changes in print media ownership in South Africa" in *Ecquid Novi*. Vol. 7(2): 319-326.
- Mafeje, A.** 1967. "The Role of the Bard in a Contemporary Community" in *Journal of African Languages*. Vol 6(3): pp 193-223.

- Mandende, I. P.** 2008. "Personal Naming and the Installation of Vhavhenda Traditional Leaders." *Nomina Africana* Vol. 22 (1 & 2): 169-188
- Masilela, N.** 1996. "The 'Black Atlantic' and African Modernity in South Africa" in *Research in African Literatures*. Vol. 27(4): 88-96.
- Moropa, K. Nokele, B.** 2008. "Shehe! Don't Go There!: A.C.Jordan's Ingqumbo Yeminyanya (Wrath of The Ancestors) in English." *Southern African Linguistics Studies* Vol. (1) 69-85.
- Mtumane, Z.** 2005. "The Onomastic Significance of some Xhosa Nicknames Bestowed Upon Farmers Around East London." *Nomina Africana* Vol. 19 (2) 39-53
- Mtuze, P. T.** 1993. "First Language Influence on Second Language Writing and Expression" *Perlinguam Journals* Vol. (9) 11-16
- Neethling, S. J.** 1996. "On Translating A.C. Jordan's Ingqumbo Yeminyanya into Afrikaans" *South African Journal of African Languages* (1997). Vol. 17 (1) 18-22
- Opland, J.** 1977. "Two Unpublished Poems by S.E. K. Mqhayi" *Research in African Literatures*. Vol. 8(1): 27-53.
- Opland, J.** 1990. "The Publication of A. C. Jordan's Xhosa Novel, *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (1940)". *Research in African Literatures* Vol 21(4): 135-147.
- Opland, J.** 2003. "Fighting with the Pen: The Appropriation of the Press by Early Xhosa Writers." *Orality, Literacy, and Colonialism in Southern Africa*. Ed. Jonathan A. Draper. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: E.J. Brill; Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications. 9-40.
- Peires, J.** 1980. "Literature for the Bantu revisited". *English in Africa*. Vol. 6: 155-175.
- Pityana, B.** 2009. *SEK Mqhayi: An Appreciation of the Poet as a Social Critic*. East London
- Saule, N.** 2011. "SEK Mqhayi and the Bible: Traditional poetry and essays in context." *South African Journal for Folklore Studies*. Vol. 21(2): 186- 201.
- Scheub, H.** 1970. "The Technique of The Expansible Image in Xhosa Ntsomi-Performances." *Research in African Literatures*. Vol 1(2): 119-146.
- Shober, D.** 2012. "Encouraging African Literary Biographies in the Publishing Market" in *The International Journal of the Book*. Vol 10(1): 29-36.
- Swanepoel, C. F.** 1988. "Historicity and Mofolo Chaka: A Comparison of Text and Possible Sources". *South African Journal of African Languages*. 8.1

Zhang, Q. & Wang, J. 2010. “Application of Functional Equivalence Theory in English Translation of Chinese Idioms” in *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*. Vol. 1(6): 880-888.

Theses

Barghout, M. A. M. (1990) *Translation Quality Assessment: An application of a Rhetorical Model*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Manchester: University of Salford.

Kuse, W. 1973. *The Traditional Praise Poetry of the Xhosa : Iziduko and Izibongo*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Kuse, W. 1978. *The Form and Themes of Mqhayi’s Poetry and Prose*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Jadezweni, M-W. 2013. *Aspects of IsiXhosa Poetry with Special Reference to Selected Poems Produced about Women*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Makalima, R.G.S. 1981. *An Assessment of the Educational Implications of the Development of Xhosa as a Written Medium From 1820 to 1950 – A Historical-Didactical Analysis*. An Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Alice: University of Fort Hare.

Maseko, P. 2011. *Intellectualization of African Languages with Particular Reference to IsiXhosa*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Mawonga, S. 2015. *Bilingual Teaching Practices in South African Higher Education: Making a Case for Terminology Planning*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Mona G. V. 2015. *A Century of IsiXhosa Written Poetry and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Grahamstown. Rhodes University.

Mpolweni, N. L. 2004. *The Orality Literacy Debate with Special Reference to Selected Work of S.E.K. Mqhayi*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Belville: University of the Western Cape.

Odendaal, A. 1983. *African Political Mobilisation in The Eastern Cape 1880-1910*. PhD Unpublished dissertation. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Qangule, Z.S. 1979. *A Study of Theme and Technique in The Creative Works of S.E.K.L.N. Mqhayi*. Unpublished MA dissertation: Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Saule, N. 1989. *A Consideration of SEK Mqhayi's Contributions to 'Umteteli Wabantu' Under the Pseudonym 'Nzululwazi'*. Unpublished MA thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Saule, N. 1996. *Images in Some of the Literary Works of S. E. K. Mqhayi*. Unpublished PhD.thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Schoots, L. J. 2014. *The Sociological Imagination of S.E.K. Mqhayi: Towards an African Sociology*. Unpublished Mphil thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Tisani, N. C. 2000. *Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography During the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration Through Textual Analysis*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Zotwana, S. 1993. *Literature Between Two Worlds - -The First Fifty Years of the Xhosa Novel and poetry*. Unpublished dissertation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Internet sources

Dada, L. 2015 “ANC Pioneer Honoured in the EC” in *SABC News*. Available at <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/1d99b10049fa8ae4a524efa53d9712f0/ANC-pioneer-honoured-in-the-EC> Accessed on 17 August 2016.

Plug, C. 2014 “Macvicar, Dr Neil (Public Health)” in *S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern African Science*. Available at http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1803 accessed on 15 September 2016.

South African History Online, 2011. “James Barry Munnik Hertzog” in *South African History Online*. Available at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/james-barry-munnik-hertzog> Accessed on 15 September 2016.

Time Magazine, 1944. “South Africa: The Queen of Blacks” in *Time Magazine*. Vol. XLIV(1) July, 3. Available at <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,852040,00.html> Accessed on 8 August 2016.

Dictionaries

De Kock, W. J. 1968. *The Dictionary of South African Biography*. 1968. Nasional Boekhandel Bpk. for National Council for Social Research, Dept. of Higher Education.

Dictionary of African Christian Biography. 1986 Overseas Ministries Study Center: Boston
Dictionary of African Biography African Biography. 1972. Center for Global Christianity and
Mission: Boston University Of Theology.

Kropf, A. 1915. *Kaffir-English Dictionary*. Alice: Lovedale Mission Press.

Kruger, D.W. & De Kock, W. J. 1972. *The Dictionary of South African Biography*. 1968.
Human Sciences Research Council.

The Encyclopaedia Africana: Dictionary of African Biography. 1995. United States of America:
Encyclopaedia Africana Project. Vol. 3.

The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa, Volumes 1,2 and 3. 1989, 2003, 2006. Alice: University of
Fort- Hare.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Samuel

Le ntshukumo yeyani na,
Kumadoda namanina?
Yeyanina le mivuyo?
Ngathi lixa lemiguyo?
UmkaZiwani uzele,
Umz'uzele bububele.

Kuphaliswa namahashe,
Namhla kulo Gqumahashe;
Alahliwe namagaba,
Kothukiwe lolu daba;
UmkaZiwani uzele,
Namhla' utsho ngenqebelele

Sivuye na? Sixhale na?
Sonwabe na? Sithembe na?
Kade sizala abantwana;
Namhl'uNomenti uzele,
Lo mntwana umlilele.

Masivuye naye,
Kuba besilila naye;
Samkelw'isicelo sakhe,
Kwaviw'ukugula kwakhe.
Utsho gungqu ngendodana,

What is this movement,
Among men and mothers
What is this excitement about?
As if it is the time of merriment?
Ziwani's wife has given birth,
The village is full of joy.

Horses are running about,
To-day in this Gqumahashe;
Even hoes are thrown away,
The message is startling;
Ziwani's wife has given birth,
Today she is delivered a bold one

Shall we rejoice, or be anxious?
Are we to be happy, or to hope?
We have often given birth to children;
This day Nomenti is delivered of a child,
She wept for this little one.

Let us rejoice with her,
For we wept with her;
Her petition has been received,
Her groaning has been answered.
She has been delivered of a son,

Wathi “lishumi loonyana!”

Nqakra – nqakra ke ndlezana
Sitsho nakuwe ndodana!
Nok’ izipho singenazo,
Singenazo nezibhembe,
Phila noko mntwa’kaBhedle.

Namhla, ewe, sizuzile,
Kub’uMdali simbuzile;
Lo mf’u vele ngezicelo,
Negama ke nguSicelo.
(Samuel).

UmkaZiwani uzele, —
INkosi inobubele.

Ziyaviwa izikhungo;
Ziyachithwa izilingo;
Phakamisan’iintliziyo,
KuNdikhoyo kukh’uviwo,
Lwezigulo nezicelo;
Itsho yonwabe imixhelo.

Lo mfana siyamnqulela;
NoNdikhoyo simbulela;
Ngamana wamlondoloza,
Kwiint’eziza zinkqokqoza,
Zifun’ukumfukamela,
Angaze waphumelela.

Sitsho ngeemfazwe neendywala;

And she said he is equal to ten sons,

Hail thou, with the little one
So say we the same to you, young man.
Although we are lacking in presents,
Lacking in words suitable for prayers;
Health to you son of Bhedle.

This day, yes, we gained
For we asked of the creator,
This man appeared through petitions.

And his name is “asked for”

Ziwani’s wife has given birth, —
The Lord is gracious.

Petitions are answered;
Trials are dissipated;
Lift up your hearts,
To the “I am” there is listening
To the groaning and petitions
He has caused the heart to rejoice.

We pray for this young man,
And to the “I Am” we give thanks too,
Would he would preserve the lad
From things that come knocking,
That seek to surround him,
And prevent his succeeding.

We say it of wars and beer – gatherings;

Sitsho ngeentswelo neendlala;
Sitsho ngekratshi nomona;
Nokuzigasa ngewonga;
Angaz'athande nzuz'imbi,
Ad'aphume nemibimbi.

Ngoko ke singaf'izitho;
Simcelela zonk'izipho;
Nezomhlaba nezezulu;
Nezenzulu yaz'iinzulu;
Abe luncedo esizweni,
Nempilo eluhlangeni.

Makube njalo.

(Mqhayi, 1939: 27 – 29)

We say it of poverty and famine;
We say it of pride and envy;
And of being lifted up in honour;
May he never be drawn to evil;
Until he has wrinkles.

Therefore we expect him to be preserved
We ask for all gifts for him;
For those of the earth and heaven
For those of the deep unto deep
[And he be the help to the nation]
To be the strength unto the nation.

Amen.

(Translation by Scott, 1976: 11 – 12)

Appendix B

1a A, - *Chith' I-Bhunga!* [General Smuts] (1939)

(YIMBONGI YESIZWE JIKELELE)

Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!
Uyinjengelekaz' enkulu;
Ungu Mabona elibizwa ngemva,
Kub'ubon'iziphelo zomhlaba;
Ungu Chith'ibhung' elibizwa yi Mbongi,
Kub'uchith'ibhunga lama Jamani;
Sikhukukazi'esinamaphiko;
Mthunzi wokuzimel'usapho;
Thina midak'usifincile,—
Kuba kambe thina, Singama Britani

Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!
Uyinjengele yeenjengele;
Mazikuncam'iimbukuxana;
Namhl'u Tsalitor'uphantshile,
Oka Piro womel'emcingeni,
Suke wabunguzek'u Fagani
Waduk'emsuken'oka Kempu,
Oka Malan'ujub'isiduli,
Laf'izwe lethu ngooVuk'endleleni,
Elethu zizwe maniliqonde,—
Singama Britani! Singama Britani!

Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!
Nqweme lomvundla lukrakra,
Diba nolwentenetya lutyeke!
Njengele ka njengele,—

1b Hail, - Chith'I – Bhunga! [General Smuts] (1939)

(BY THE POET OF THE NATION)

You are a hero, son of Smuts!
You are a super hero;
You are a Seer, your second name,
Because you see the ends of the world;
You are the Destroyer of secret consultations, the name used by the Poet,
Because you are dismissing the German's secret consultations;
Broad-winged hen;
The shade under which the family hides;
We black people, you have fulfilled us,—
Because, by the way, we are Britons!

You are a hero, son of Smuts!
You are a hero of heroes;
The pot-bellied should give up on you;
Today Hertzog is punctured,
The son of Pirrow dried up on a stalk,
Suddenly Fagan became friendly
Kemp disappeared in the grass,
The son of Malan passed out,
Our country will perish because of the Johnnies-come-lately,
What we say nations, do take note,—
We are Britons! We are Britons!

You are a hero son of Smuts!
The minced entrails of a rabbit are bitter,
But mix it together with that of a hare, and becomes edible
Hero of heroes,—

Kub'intamb'isaphoswe phambili;
Zatsh'e Palamente kwanuk'intsimbi!
Yaququhumb'iruluwa nedamanethi!
Yaqhauk'imiqokozo yama Jamani
Zintombi bongiselani ngomfo ka Smatsi,—
Nenze ngay'izango nani madodana.
Singama Britani! Singama Britani!

Uyinjengele mfo ka Smatsi!
Gqobhoz'iilwandle ngobungqongqotho;
Qhekez'ibhunga lamagqubusha;
Ntloyiy'ophesheya kwe Gqili ne Ligwa;
Ngqang'emaphik'angqangqasholo;
Bhubhis'ama Askar'e Mpumalanga;
Nakuma Britani ikhe yakrwela ngo zipho.
Kunamhla ziyaphuka ziyanqoza,—
Elethu midaka linye limnqongo,—
Ngoxolo ngemfazwe,— Singama Britani!

A,— Ngangemvula! A,— Ngangemvula!
Ungangemvula yinto ka Dankeni;
U Ntloko yeenkosi zonke zama Kushe;
Sixhinxilili sesi gxumeko;
Nqab'eliqilima ngoko mqhokro;
Mval'ovalel'iinkomo ze Britani.
Tye lenyhangana yo Manyano;
Gquqgis'oo Nomgogwana noo Nomanyama;
Dayidayi lwenkundla yakomkhulu;
Dayidayi lwesicaka sika Thixo.
Nangomso nangomnye,—singama Britani!
Ncincilili!!!

It is bad, the rope has been flung ahead;
There is heat in Parliament, and there was the smell of iron!
The gunpowder and dynamite exploded!
The chains of the Germans broke!
Young women, sing praises about the son of Smuts,—
And you too young men compose songs about him.
We are Britons! We are Britons!

You are a hero son of Smuts!
Break through the seas skillfully;
Break up the secret consultations of those who hide their opinions,
The spy beyond the Orange and Vaal rivers;
Honorable strong-winged man;
Destroy the Askari in the East;
Even to Britons he once made a mark with a nail;
Today sticks are breaking, there is war,—
For us, black people, there is only one word, a single word: —
During peace, during war,—We are Britons!

Hail, — Ngangemvula! Hail,— Ngangemvula!
Ngangemvula is the son of Duncan;
The Head of all the chiefs of Kushe;
A sturdy resilient fixed rod;
A strong fortress like a cleft in a rock:
The cross bar that encloses the British cattle.
A strong stone of Unity;
Chase away the Bogeymen and fearsome animals;
Uncared for son of the great place,
Uncared for servant of God,
Even tomorrow and the day after tomorrow,—We are Britons!
That's it!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“A,—Chith’I-Bhunga!”
The Bantu World (2 December 1939), 2

The Poet of the Nation,
“Hail, — Chith’I-Bhunga!”
The Bantu World (2 December 1939), 2

2a A—Gweb’inkumbi!!! (1921)

(*Yimbongi yeSizwe Jikelele.*)

Taruni mzi we Nkosi! Andikanikelwa ukuba nditete magama malunga nokunyuka kwalomkuhlane weli Gama lingasentl’ apa. Ngako oko ke andiyi kuteta—magama namhlanje, ndiyakub[a]lisa nje isizatu esandibangela ukuba ndiye kufika apo Komkulu nyakomnye (1919):—

Ndati ndikuyo lendawana yakowetu ingumnquba, ndilele ebusuku,—ndapupa ipupa,—ndapupa ngati ndibona inkungu ne langa yama-Gcaleka, kubomvu kusisiqoqobela Komkulu, ndingayazi kodwa eyona nto kungayo. Nditalaze ndatalaza ngeliso ndifuna ukubona inkosi, andandule ndiyibone; kodwa akubanga nini,—kwavela iqolombela elide kunene, lambete ingubo endingayazanga ukuba, mnweba,—ngubo yomlungu, ntonina,—ifumane yalirangaranga njekodwa: Kutiwe ke kum, ngulo Sarili ke lo,—ndamondela ukumjonga, ekude, ndikohliwe kukusondela [ng]enxa yendimbane. Uye waya kuti vu elugageni, pakati kobuhlanti nesibaya samatole, wayama ngesibaya,—ndivuke kwesosituba.

Ndenze intsuku ndingayazi into endingayenzayo ngelipupa; kodwa kwati qabu kum kakulu ndakufikelwa yingcamango eti: “Ubeyakude enze ntonina u Kumkani mini akubizayo, ukuba uke uye kuwubona umzi wakowenu kwako?”

Nditi ite yakufika longcamango kwati qabu. Kute kuba yayiseyi yinyanga yokugqibela emnyakeni (Dec. 1919), ndazimisela ukuba ndiwenze kona “Umlindo,” wokufa komdala nokutwasa komtsha.

Ndaziqawula zazizijungqe jungqe zonke ezinye izixakeko nezixakaxezi, ndilungisa indlela yolu “Uhambo.” Okunene nda[y]a Komkulu apo ngomhla wokugqibela wonyaka, (1919), ndenza intsuku

2b Hail—Gweb’inkumbi!!! (1921)

(By the Poet of the Nation)

Peace, house of the Chief! I have not been given any mandate to say words about the death of the one who bears the Name above. Therefore I will not say any words today, I will just narrate the reason I went to the Great Place the other year (1919): —

It happened that while I was at my humble home in a hut, while sleeping at night, — I had a dream, — I dreamt that I saw a crowd of Gcaleka people, in deep red garments at the Great Place, but I did not know the purpose of the gathering. I cast my eyes around, looking for the chief, I could not see him immediately; but not long after that, — a well built and very tall person appeared, covering himself with a garment that I could not identify whether it was a chief’s garment from animal skin, — a western garment, or what, — but it was just multi-coloured: Then it was said to me, this was this Sarhili, — I looked at him steadfastly, he was at a distance, I was unable to come closer because of the crowd. He went on to sit on an ox-hide mat between the kraal and the calves’ fold, leaning against the calves’ fold, — and it is at that moment that I woke up.

Days went by, and I did not know what to do about this dream; but I was greatly relieved when an idea came, that: “What would the King do the day he called you, for you to come and see your home again?”

Let me tell you, when that idea came, I was relieved. Because it was the last month of the year (Dec. 1919), I was determined to have the “night Vigil” there – to wait for the end of the old year and the beginning of the new one.

I cut up into pieces all my other commitments readying myself for this “Journey.” Indeed I went to the Great Place on the last day of the year, (1919), and I spent five days there, — we went on horseback,

zontl[a]nu,—sikwele emahashini, ndinento ka Anta Ngqika u Mlityalwa, owaziwa ngelokuba ngu Bloom. Sakwelelwa indlu yetu,—saxhelelwa kwakusa. Andiyi kuwangena ke amagocigoci am no Kumkani ogama lingasentla, kwa namapakati akowabo.

Ndabuya mna ndiqonda ukuba ndityapile ukuya kumbona u Gweb'inkumbi,—ndisatsho ke nanamhla.

Lamagama angasezantsi apa, ng[a]lawo ndawevayo kwi “Mbongi yakomkulu” ngomhla wom“Lindo.”

IZIBONGO ZIKA GWEB'INKUMBI, (1919-1920.)

Ndandi Komkulu kwa Salakupatwa, pakati kwe Nqadu ne Qwaninga, kwisi thili sakwa Gatyana (Willowvale), kwela Pesheya kwe Nciba. Ndandise mlindweni wonyaka, ekufeni kowe 1919, nokungena (ukutwasa) kowe 1920. Kwalile kanye ngexesha le 12 ekuseni, xa ndileleyo ndotuswa ngumtyangampo ote tu ngasemva kum, wasinga kanye e Botwe, ukalinywa yindoda endateta nayo kusile, yati ingu *Mda Delekile Konzana* um *Nqosini*, wati ese Botwe wabe ese Sigqebeni.

Ute egqiba ndabe ndisiti: Lomlindo wonyaka wanamhlanje ufanelekile,—lomagama alowo mtyangampo ayesenjenje:—

Taruni nkomo zika Malangana!
Zika Sikomo, zika Sopasi zo Sohoma,—
Zika Jukuty' ingalo, nx'ow' inemilenze
Yokufak' o Pato no Sandile.
Ndibuyele kwinto ka Sigcawu,
U Dad' arube njenge viti
Bombiza ngalo nok' ayindoda.

together with the son of Anta Ngqika, Mlityalwa, known as Bloom. We were offered our hut, — and an animal was slaughtered for us the following morning. I will not get into details about my conversation with the King whose name appears above, and his councillors.

I came back and I realized it was a good thing I went to see Gweb'inkumbi, — I still say it again, even today.

The words below are the ones I heard from the “Poet of the Great Place” on the day of the “night Vigil.”

PRAISE SONGS OF GWEB'INKUMBI, (1919-1920.)

I was at the Great Place at Salakupatwa, between Nqadu and Qwaninga, in the district of Willowvale, beyond the Kei River. I was at the night vigil marking the end of year 1919 and the beginning of 1920. As soon as it struck 12 o'clock in the morning, when I was fast asleep I was startled by a loud continuous sad cry coming from a man I talked to in the morning, he said he was *Mda Delekile Konzana*, a *Ngqosini*, who was between the Palace and the Council Chamber.

As soon as he finished, I said: This night vigil of the year is appropriate, — the lyrics of that sad cry were as follows: —

Peace people of Malangana!
People of Sikhomo, of Sopasi of Sohoma, —
Of Thrust-out-arm, sack with legs
For snuggling Phatho, Sandile and others.
Let me return to the son of Sigcawu,
The One who swims and chants like a light decayed piece of wood
They will call him that name though he is a man.

Ngu Sohopi, u Vanda wovalo
U Gengwa yimirula;
Kude kwabonakal' imipunga ndikude.
U Sibunu lucango, u Potela ngolomhlana—
Nday' emgodini nday' e Mnenu pesha ko Mzimvubu,
Kuze ndibuy' indlebe zikanya nje,
[Z]igqojozw' imikala ngama Mpondo.
U Siroko,—Vumba nuk' ukutshela kwembiza—

U Nobinq' umgqweto.
Rexez' agide ngomhlabulo;

Sibinza mxadini naku Mbakaz' eyase Hewu;
Kwebul' elimabal' amtuqwa;
Sigqibele tin' amakwelo siwahlohl' e Mgwali,
Utin' amakwelo sezizishunqu,
Kuze zikw'ez' i Baziya zingaliyeki.
U Zitengo, u Dubula kotuk' amahlungulu.
U Mpondo hlab' ilunda,
Lat' ukopa lehla [n]gomcacazo,
U-Njixiza, u Qauk' ehlangana inge yintamb' oluzi

Wona int' uxolo lubopayo,
Int' elingen' ukwamb' t' ingub' enani,
U kalip' ab[i] nze nangezikwili;
Intong' am yodada luka Ngoja
Ete ndiyifuna baye behlekisa.
Namhl' iramnco lindincokolele.
Lite ndifike kuqal' ezingulubeni;
Zingxa zen[t]simbi zakwa Bhulekiwe
Zokumb' umsele wamaqinga.
Bhaxesh' ilang' apo litshona kona;
Rafani ka hlal' epet' imali;

He is the father of Hopi, Vanda of anxiety
The One whose belly is opened wide by snakes feeding on insides;
Such that I can see the lungs from a distance.
The One whose backside is a door, the One who sleeps on his back—
I went to the mines and went to Mnenu beyond the Mzimvubu river,
The reason I returned back with light shining through the ears,
Is because they were pierced by the Mpondo people.
The One who is a reeking smell, — the one who smells like the burning
of the pot—
The One who dresses up in a skirt made of animal skin.
The One who commits adultery and offers for a present the flesh near the
kidneys;
The One who stabs in the jagular and at Mbakazi of Whittlesea
Tawny-coloured African black-eyed bulbul bird;
The last time we blew whistles, it was towards Mgwali,
What do you do when the whistle sounds are broken off,
So that instead they go along the banks of Bhaziya.
Zithongo, the One who shoots such that white-necked ravens are startled.
The Horns that stab the hump of an ox,
It bled so much that the blood went down the spine,
The Aged one, who snaps up and hold back together again like, a rope
made of reeds
He upsets the one whose peace binds,
The one who is suitable to wear the select blanket,
The one who is brave that he stabs with a sharpened stick;
My staff from the forest of Ngoja,
They made a joke when I wanted it.
Today the wild beast has chatted to me,
And said I arrived first by the bush pigs;
The iron crowbars of Bhulekiwe
For digging a furrow for scheming.
They are chasing the sun to where it sets;
Pay taxes, so that he always carries money;

Zwe linemigca nemifankungu;
Kutet' u Runeyi kotuk' u Sijako,
Lisiko lamadun' ukotusana.
Umtan' enkos' ontliziyo-tye,
Ubagcineni bonke ngabakowenu.
Gama lama Mfengu ngo Sotondoshe,
Ndlebe zama Mfengu nqwa nengqoto,
Unga[w]ufak' umnwe ubuy' uwurole,
Xego lafecis' ukutyuluba
Kwade kwafinyela nengcambu zombilini.
U Dad' arube yakwez' intaba !!!
Ncincilili!!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“A—Gweb'inkumbi!!!”
Imvo (21 June 1921), 7

The nation has lines and haziness at a distance;
It is Runeyi who speaks but it is Sijako who is startled,
It is customary for males to startle each other.
The child of the chief with an honest heart,
The one who keeps them all because they are your folk.
The name of the Mfengu is Sothondoshe,
The ears of the Mfengu people are just like the rough edges of a hide,
You can put a finger through, and draw it back again,
The old man danced with flexibility
So much that the roots of the belly drew up together.
The one of these mountains who Swims and sings (Dad'arube)
Dancer and chanter of these mountains!!!
That's it!!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“Hail—Gweb'inkumbi!!!”
The African Opinion (21 June 1921), 7

6.3a A, Ngangezwe!!! (1936)

Yi- Mbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele,
“*I Bhele livuthwa mva kwe litye.*”

Ibingumsebenzi wam weezomini ukwalusa amahashe ka Chief Mbovane Mabandla kunye nehlokondiba lamaphakathi akhe e Rwarwa xa inkosi ize enkonzweni e Macfarlan, ise yinto ka Makiwane umfundisi. Namhla um Hlekazi lo wangeniswa ebudikonini kunye neqela lama doda, ndikho.

Ebeya akhululelwe kowethu amahashe lawo, umzi wakowethu ukufuphi etyalikeni, ndibe yilo ngqininisha ke mna emva kwamahashe lawo.

Inkosi zama Xhosa zidibana nam sendiyilonto ngasebukhosini, azazi nakancinane ukuba li Bhele elo lihamb’ apho.

Kwakweso sithuba ndise ngumalusi wama hashe, ndikhumbula umHlekazi lo beno Mr. Jordan Makhuleni besiza kum ukuba mandibhale incwadi ngesi Ngesi iye kweli phepha labelungu eliyi “Alice Times” ndithi,—“U Rulumente makenze indlela yokuba umzi ukhuseleke kubantu abanamaqhenqa; abashenxise phakathi kwamakhaya.” Ndayenza looncwadi, yaphuma apho ephepheni, yathatyathelwa nangamanye amaphepha,—yayintuntanja lonto. Kukuze kuvulwe u Mjanyana nje!

Intlanganiso yeenkosi zom Neno Nciba isekeke phezu kwesambhantlanya esenziwa nguye mhla lonke elakwa Rarabe walidilingela kwam Dushane e Thamarha ku Menziwa, kowabo, esithi,—Akanto yena ukuba angabizela iinkosi zakhe kuye. Okwenene loontlanganiso yema umma kanye.

Mandiwapheze apha lamachapazana angewakonto. Kuthiwa kambe (Hi-nje-Thontsi??) inkosi yam leyo ifile,—yafa xa iziLimela zisisi phohlongo sinesicakathiso,—ifumen’ ibhaso ngesandla sika Qamatha seminyaka.

3b A, Ngangezwe!!! (1936)

(By the Poet of the Nation)

“One from Bhele clan gets cooked way after a stone.”

It was my responsibility those days to look after Chief Mbovane Mabandla’s horses together with those of a multitude of his councillors at Krwakrwa when the chief came to church in Macfarlan, when the minister was still the son of Makiwane. Even the day the Chief was ordained as a deacon together with a group of men, I was there.

Those horses would be untied at our home, our home was close to the church, and I would tirelessly be running behind the horses.

The Xhosa chiefs met me having had that relationship with royalty, and they had no idea that this was Bhele’s doing.

During that time, while still looking after the horses, I remember this Chief together with Mr Jordan Makhuleni coming to me and asking that I write a letter in English for the white peoples’ newspaper called *“Alice Times”* and say, — “The Government should make a plan that the community be protected from people with leprosy; and should remove them from their homes.” I did write the letter, and it was published in the newspaper, and it was also published by other newspapers, —and it just spread all over. That was the reason the Mjanyana hospital was established!

The meeting of the chiefs of Ciskei was based on a loud noise he made the day he summoned the whole Rharhabe to a meeting to Mdushane in Thamarha in Menziwa, his home, saying, — He was not worthy to call the chiefs to him. Indeed that meeting took place.

Let me stop these few worthless drops. By the way it is said, (just a few drops??) my chief who is deceased, —died when he was 89 years old, — he got years of bonus through God’s hand.

Awu-u-u!!!

Ewe kambe wena wako Mbhikazi!
Wena woka Qunta;
Siyazana thina Laundini;
Lau la Komkhulu lakwa Khuboni,—
Siyayaz' intlangano yamadoda,
Siyayaz' indibano yezizwe,
Akufang' ulinganisile,—
Usahambel' usapho lwakowenu,
Luno Mabandla no Qunta phakathi.
Wemka kunyikima Mhlekezi!
Kunyikim' oo Makhahlana noo Skhutshwana.
Yayikwa nguw' odal' inyikima;
Inyikima yezifungo zooyihlo,
ooNontongwane nama Bhukazana.
Wanduluka lihex' ilizwe Khuboni
Siyazi ke thina mathol' oNyongande,
Uyakulihexisa ngamandl' amakhulu,
Phesha kwe Yordane kwelezi thunzela,
Azi livuthwa xa kuphin' i Bhele?

Siyayaz' ind[i]bano kwelozwe,—
Oka Bovula noka Lujabe,
Sebevan' incilikithi kanene!
Ama Khuze nabakwa Dongo,
Abasahlulwanto phakathi.
Wena ngokwakho nomfo ka yihlo
Anisenabango labungakanani.
Umfo ka yihlo nditsh' u So Maneli,
Nditsh' u Jamangil'int' enkulu!
Ziyasal' ezonto kwa Mendiswa.

Hamba Nonzenzempula nditheth' imfene!

Oh!!!

Yes of course, you of Mbhikazi people!
You, son of Qunta;
We know each other, you Coloured;
Coloured of the Great Place, at the place of Khuboni, —
We know the men's gathering,
We know the meeting of the nations,
You are not dead but imitating death, —
You are visiting your family,
They are with Mabandla and Qunta in their midst.
You left when the earth is trembling Chief!
Makhahlana and Skhutshwana are trembling.
It was even you who caused this trembling;
The trembling of the vows of your fathers,
Of Nontongwane and Bhukazana.
You left when the country was unstable, Khuboni
We know, as sons of the Great wise ones,
You will unhinge it with great might,
Over Jordan in the land of the spirits of the dead,
I wonder, when does the son of Bhele clan get cooked?

We know of the gathering in that land, —
The son of Bovula and the son of Lujabe,
They are very close, by the way!
The Khuze clan and those from the Dongo clan,
Nothing separates them.
You in particular, and your brother
You don't argue about age.
The son of your father, I mean the father of Maneli,
I mean Jamangile, the great one!
Those things remain behind, at the place of Mendiswa.

Go Nonzenzempula, I mean the baboon!

Thole lesazi nesazikazi;
MaKhuze thathan' iKwezana,
Noya ngamaqulo ku Nomadolo.
Ngulube zinxaphile kuNxamazele,
Umka Mod' usil' isiradolo!
Uyazishiy' iimazi zama Bhele;
Utsho kubhentselan' i Nchwazi no Lungcu,
'Khe salaml' ubhici ngeny' iminazana;
Wez' u Nofelit' eyityeth' imfakadolo.

Awu-u-u!!!
Taruni ma Bhele ndiyagxwala;
Ma Bhele mahle ndlebe zombini,
Ndixel' inkomo ndirhol' ulwim' olude!
Lom Xhosan' uNgxiki makabhijelwe,
Uhlal' ebabhijel' abo Kathangana.
Kwangamana kwazol' eKwezana!
Kulal' iziphunzi ngase Rwarwa.
Ziyabon' iintaba zakowethu zo Mathole;
Neze Gulukuqu kunje zibek' iindlebe;
Zithi makhe siv' okuka Simolwana
Lalala namhl' ithol' lase Ntla:
Yagoduk' ingonyama yase Mbo;
Yasingis' amabombh' eluTsukela!
Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe

“A, Ngangezwe!!!”

Imvo Zabantsundu (12 September 1936), 12

Son of an intelligent and wise man and woman;
Khuze clan take over Khwezana,
You will go armed to Nomadolo.
Bush pigs which are fatigued at Nxamazele,
You are leaving, Modu, after having brewed isiradolo!
You are leaving behind women of Bhele clan;
And you let Nchwazi and Lungcu expose themselves to each other,
One day we once mediated a very serious dispute
Nofeliti came carrying her riffle over her shoulder.

Oh!!!

Peace, Bhele people I am weeping aloud;
Bhele people, with both ears beautiful,
I am drawing out a long tongue, just out like a cow!
This young Xhosa, Ngxiki, should be tangled up,
He usually tangles up those Kathangana.
I wish it could be calm at Khwezana!
Let the stumps of trees lie near Krwakrwa.
Our Mathole mountains do see;
And those of Gulukuqu, they are listening now;
They say we should listen to the son of Simolwana
The son of the North is asleep today:
The lion of the land Mbo had gone home;
He turned his forehead towards Tugela River!
That's it !!!

The poet of the Nation,
“A, Ngangezwe!!!”

The African Opinion (12 September 1936), 12

4a A Ngangemvula!!! SIR PATRICK DUNCAN (1941)

(YIMBHONGI YE SIZWE JIKELELE

Le ndedebe yaKomkhulu yase Britani ilihambahambe kakhulu eli lakowethu lasemaXhoseni, kuzo ezinyanga zidluleyo, sada safuna ukukrokra sithi, azi liva vumba lantoni na ibhaku lakomkhulu?

Ngalo lonke elo thuba iMbhongi ayiyekanga ukukhalima isithi:—

Wavel'uNgangemvula!
Wavel'uNgangemvula!!
Batsho bonke bathi “Wavela!”
Wavel'uNogumbhe imvul'enkulu,
Injombhorh'emehl'amagqangagqela:
Ivuka kwelakwa Marhaba,
Yakhumbhul'ezantsi kwelakwa Phalo.
U Zul'alidudumi yingwagqangwangqa.
Ndowel'iGqili ne Ligwa,
Ndikh'intsihlo ndiman'ukukhwitsa;
Int'elishunqule phakathi elaba Thembhu.
Yehl'uNontongwane siyijongile:
Yakh'iqwili nononyongwane:
Yakh'amatshongwe nemithombhothi:
Yafik'eGanqeni yathi “Gingqi!”
Yafik'eSinqhenqheni ya “Nqhenqha.”
Yakhwez'iNxukhwebe noNtsileni,
Yaqwakanis'iDike noMathole,—
Safun'ukukhuza sith'isemkhondweni.
Kukho nqwelo ithile yomtshangatshangiso:
Ihambha ngeendlela zeentuku:
Ithwel'amarhixirhix'abavukeli,
KwaMathole kuthiwe qabel'uQoboqobo;

4b Hail Ngangemvula!!! SIR PATRICK DUNCAN (1941)

BY THE POET OF THE NATION)

This councillor of the Great Britain has travelled extensively in our homeland, the place of Xhosa in these past months, so much that we wanted to complain, wondering and saying, what the bulldog of the great place could be smelling?

During all that time the Poet has not stopped saying rebuking words,—

Here comes Ngangemvula!

Here comes Ngangemvula!!

They all say, “Here he comes!”

Here comes *Nogumbe*, the heavy rains that wash out the ground,

A tall and strong man with big blazing eyes:

He rises up at the place of Marhaba,

And he remembered far back, the place of Phalo.

He is the Thunder that rumbles fiercely,

I will cross the Orange and Vaal Rivers.

And pick up the caper-bush to ward off evil spirits;

He who divided up the land of the Thembu right in the middle,

He went down Nontongwane with us watching him:

He dug up a ground root remedy and a bitter herb for stomach ails:

He picked up milk-bush and Sandalwood for wounds:

He arrived at Ganqeni and “fell deep in!”

He arrived at Siqhenqheni and “lay down.”

He walked alongside Healdtown and Ntsileni,

He combined Alice with Mathole,—

We wanted to approve, and say he was on the right track.

There is a certain wagon for wave-offering:

It is travelling on the trails of moles:

And it is carrying grubby rebels,

At Mathole he was told to go up Keiskamahock;

Uhl'iCumakal'ujong'eMpongo,—
 Sikhe sev'int'isithi, "Vrartarha"!
 Yatsho malunga noGqebeni.
 Safun'ukuthi heke zafumanana!
 Yaphuk'itentiva kwasal' ibhokuva.
 Yatsho yazimpanz'impimpi ye "ossewa."
 Yang'ibethwe ngezulu yinkewu!
 Ndaba zemfazwe zingxakangxaka
 Ziphath'ubuxoki nenyano:
 Ziphath'ubukroti nobugwala:
 Ziphath'iyelenqe nemenemene:
 Kanti zijong'igazi lamadoda.
 Tarhu Ngangemvula nkosi yam!
 Nt'iwel' iNciba ngebhulorho.
 Yakhwez' iThole noNdabakazi:
 Yayijonge kwelika Hintsu:
 Iphand'izikhonkwane zika Nxhito.
 Nosigoxo noGxabhagxabha,
 Yabuya ngoGompo kaNxele:
 Yabel'amaAfrik'izilili.
 Yanik'uMaDontsa nomDeyi:
 Yanik'uMzazi noGwijana:
 Yanik'uDlomo noJwarha:
 Yatsho ngentuntanja yezabelo,—
 Sada safun'ukurhana,—
 Sithi Tarhu Britani eNkulu!
 Britan'eNkulu engatshonelwa Langa!
 Weeza nebhottle neBhayibhile:
 Weza nomfundisi nesoldathi:
 Weza nerhuluwa nemfakadolo:
 Weza nesinandile nenkanunu:

⁶ Original text is *sigoxo* but in context seems to refer to a personal name,

And down Stutterheim and head to Mpongo,—
 At some stage we heard something saying, “Oh my word”!
 That was in the vicinity of Gqebeni.
 We wanted to say; good they have got each other!
 The tented wagon broke off, but the buck wagon survived.
 The army of the ox wagon was scattered.
 It was as if it was struck by lightning by a rascal!
 News about war is higgledy-piggledy
 It bears lies and truth,
 It bears bravery and cowardice:
 It bears conspiracy and treachery:
 And yet it is aimed at the blood of men.
 Peace Ngangemvula my chief!
 The one who crosses Kei River by a bridge.
 He walked alongside Thole and Ndabakazi:
 He was headed towards the land of Hintsá:
 Digging out the nails of Ngxito.
 And Sigoxo⁶ and Gxabhagxabha,
 And he came back through Gompo of Nxele:
 He apportioned to Africans places to stay.
 He allocated places to Dontsa and Deyi clans:
 He allocated places to Mzazi and Gwijana clans:
 He allocated places to Dlomo and Jwara clans:
 He made a series of allocations,—
 Such that we got suspicious,—
 We say Peace, Great Britain!
 Great Britain upon whom the sun never sets
 You came with a bottle and the Bible:
 You came with a priest and a soldier:
 You brought a gun powder and a breech-loader:
 You brought a gun and cannon:

Kanti nerhaf'iphethwe kwa nguwe.
Khuphan'ikhaba liye phambili!
Umlisela komny'umlisela.
Ith' ivili kaMakhanda-Mathathu:
U Khawulezis'amaxesh'igama layo:
UbuKumkani Bakho mabufike!!
Ncincilili! Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
"A Ngangemvula!!!,
Imvo Zabantsundu (27 September 1941), 8

Whereas even the tax also is governed by you.
Bring out the youth to come forward!
The youth to the other youth.
The wheel of Three-Headed One:
His name is “The one who Rushes the times”:
Thy Kingdom come!!
That’s it! That’s it!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“Hail Ngangemvula!!!,
The African Opinion (27 September 1941), 8

5a A! No-Ndwe!! [Mrs.M.Ballinger] (1939)

(Yimbongi Ye Sizwe)

Izizwe zixakiwe sithi ma-Xhosa zithi asinto yakha yathunywa es'gqebeni⁷ umfazi kwa-Xhosa, kuba isigqeba esi yinto nendawo yama dada. Thina ke kuthiwa sisuke sa phambanisa, sathuma umfazi ukuba aye kusimela ezinkundleni.

Thina ke siyaphendula,— sithi hayi,—Lisiko lomfana wom Xhosa ukuthi xa ooyise bangavumiyo uku bona aye kungena ngonina. Iwa hlanganise amathile, igwaqaze intokaz'asemzini, iwafak'endleleni. Kunini na ke sithetha noo bawo? Le nto ayingede yenze siphendulane kakubi na? Yiyo ke loo nto uma side samhloma umjila,— asimthumanga sigqebeni, sithi kodwa makasibuzele ezinkosini zethu ezingoo bawo,—ngako oko,—

Hamba No-Ndwe sikuthwalis'indwe!
Siyabaz'oobawo bazizijorha;
Banje ngo Tshak'abafuni hlumelo;
Babesizalela nina ke phofu?
Sibe kubuza sibe kukhala;
Zeva ngenzimb'izil'ezikhulu;
Sibe kuwela-wel'ozilwandle,—
Zatshon'eqokoben'iint'ezinkulu.

Hamba No-Ndwe sikuthwalis'indwe!
Sikuhlom'umjila wokuya koobawo;
Bona nje bahlazek'ezizweni;
Bahlazeka nakwamany'amadoda;

⁷ *es,gqebeni* original text

⁸ *No-Ndwe* is a praise name given by the poet to Mrs Ballinger. It is derived from *indwe*, a blue-crane feather that is worn by Xhosa warriors, as a headdress.

5b Hail! No-Ndwe⁸!! [Mrs.M.Ballinger] (1939)

(By the Poet of the Nation)

The nations are puzzled by us Xhosa people, they say a woman is never sent to the council meeting by the Xhosa people, because the council meeting is something for, and a place for men. It is said that we have confused things, and sent a woman to represent us in courts.

We then respond,—and we say no,— it is customary for a young Xhosa man to go through the mother when fathers refuse to understand. The woman would then exert herself and gather up the family and get it back on the right track. For how long had we been talking to our fathers? Is this not end up with us exchanging strong words? That is why we finally crowned a woman,— we have not sent her to council meeting, but we are saying she should enquire on our behalf from our chiefs who are our fathers,— therefore,—

Go No-Ndwe, we have adorned your head with a crane feather!
We know, our fathers are violent;
They are like Tshaka, they do not want an offshoot;
But then, why did they give birth to us?
Although we asked, and although we complained;
The big animals were indifferent;
Although we crisscross the seas,—
The big folk hid themselves in the shell.

Go No-Ndwe, we have adorned your head with a crane feather!
We put on you a war headgear of feather, to go to our fathers;
You see, they are just a disgrace to other nations;
They are also a disgrace to other men;

Mhla ngemkhosi bona bon'abanamkhosi,—
Baphemba ngeembengu benz'amanyampepha.
Kanti ke bazele baphul'uluthi,—
Bangama rhamnew'adl'amantshontsho;
Baswel'umnt'othi, "Nithelw'enqa!"

Hamba No-Ndwe sikuthwalis'indwe!
Le minyaka besizula sidinga,—
Sifuna Ma-a-a Mpanga-mpanga!
Uzele washiya,— Mpanga-mpanga,—
Sadla mhlaba sakhula, Mpang-mpanga!
Hamba ntomb'asenzini noko kukubi,
Noko kunzima nazizigxeko;
Naluqhushululu lwezinyeliso.

Hamba No-Ndwe sikuthwalis'indwe!
Ntak'obusi ngudade bomhambi;
Noma Gaxagax'oweza ngeenkomo;
Yakhonya kwakhony'intomb'omfo;
Zahlokom'intlangana zaxananaza!
Kwema ngom Zambesi kwema nge Rhaxanga;
Sisangqingqikazi siyangqingqizela!

Hamba No-Ndwe sikuthwalis'indwe!
Kungezi mini sifun'ukukholwa;
Nobengaqondi uyanama-nama:
Iindlebe zifun'ukugqutheka;
Oo Hamlomo bafun'ukom'amathe;
U Ma-Dangazele kalok'uyavutha!
Kux'aligqange imini nobusuku!
Wakubulisa koo Ngangemvula!
Wenjenjalo nakoo Chithamabhunga!
Kamnandi ke nawe Sangqingqikazana!

On the day of war, they don't have an army,—
They start a fire with dry cornstalks, and they make disgraceful acts,
Whereas they have given birth to a lot of offsprings,—
They are wild animals that feed on their young ones;
They need someone who will say, "People are disappointed in you!"

Go No-Ndwe, we have adorned your head with a crane feather!
In all these years we were roaming and desperate,—
We were searching a Foolish Mother!
A Foolish Mother who gave birth and left,— Foolishly,—
We ate soil, and we grew up,— Foolishly!
Go woman of the foreign land, although it is bad,
Although it is difficult with criticisms;
And there is turmoil and slandering.

Go No-Ndwe, we have adorned your head with a crane feather!
A honeybird is a sister to a traveller;
You Swift person, who came here by cattle!
They bellowed, so much that a fellow's daughter also bellowed;
The nations echoed the sound and they went out in all directions!
As far as Zambesi and as far as Rhaxanga;
She is lively, she is energetic!

Go No-Ndwe, we have adorned your head with a crane feather!
These days we want to believe;
Even those who did not understand are now convinced:
The ears have been opened;
Those Too-much-talkers have been shut up;
Mother Blaze is burning up!
She is a very bright light, day and night!
Please send greetings to Ngangemvula and others!
Do the same to Chithamabhunga and others!
Fare well, Energetic Woman!

Ncincilili-i-i!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,

“A! No-Ndwe!!,”

The Bantu World (25 November 1939), 6

That’s it!!!

The Poet of the Nation,

“Hail! No-Ndwe!!,”

The Bantu World (25 November 1939), 6

7a A,—Zwelizolile!!! (1944)
(YiMbongi yeSizwe Jikelele)

Umfo kaMalusi, oliwele (Rev. Dr. R. W. H. Shepherd) umfundisi
owongamele umzi omkhulu omdala wemfundo waseLovedale,
kuthiwa ufumene igama elitsha kuzo ezi ntsuku, elilelo libhaliweyo
ngasentla. Ibuye yacaphuka iMbongi, yathanda ukumgaxela
ngemivambo embalwa isithi,—

A, Zwelizolile!
Lizol'emva kokuzongoma!
Ntak'ezitho zilubhelu yaphesheya kolwandle,
Esiva ngay'ukub'ilanga libalele,
Ingafukam'imvul'igqobhokile
NguNgalonkulu ngaphezu koSomgxada;
NguNtonga nde zombini kunoHendesini:
Ngqongqotho yomThembu wakwaTshatshu,—
Obeth'eNcora naseQutsa;
Afuthe phantsi kwaMabelentombi.
Gqirh'eliyindoda, sadinwa ngooNontsendwana:
Baphikel'ukulamla zakufun'ukunqoza;
Hlathi likaGulandod'alinantonga kaloku.

Godus'umlisela nomthinjana wawo,—
Ngezizigqibo zikaTyhali, uSopasi;
UNgcel'ephuthi kaLwaGanda.
Hay'iwele likaMalusi,—
Oz'atheth'i "Tyala" ngeny'imini.
Gqirha lomzimba nomphefumlo;

⁹ Nation is calm (literal meaning)

¹⁰ His both arms are long (literal meaning)

¹¹ Breasts of a girl (literal meaning)

¹² Chance-takers

7b Hail,—Zwelizolile!!! (1944)
(By the Poet of the Nation)

The son of Melusi, who is a twin (Rev. Dr. R. H. W. H. Shepherd), a minister who is responsible for overseeing the big and old education institution of Lovedale, is said to have been awarded a new name these days, the name that is written above. The Poet became stirred, and went on to surprise him with a few marks saying,—

Hail,—Zwelizolile⁹!

It has become calm after thundering!

The yellow-legged bird from beyond the seas,

It is from it that we know that it is scorching hot,

If it is lying in, it means the rain has burst through.

He is the Big-armed, far more than Steward;

He is the Double-long-staffed¹⁰, more than Henderson:

Eloquent orator of the Thembu of Tshatshu,—

Who reaches Ncora and Qutsa;

And puffs below Mabelentombi¹¹.

Male traditional doctor, we are tired of the likes of Nontsendwana¹²:

They always intervene when there is a likelihood of confrontation

The forest of Gulandoda does not have a stick, by the way.

Take home the boys, together with their girls,—

Based on the decisions of Tyhali, Sopasi;

Ngcel'ephuthi of LwaGanda.

Oh! The twin of Malusi,—

He will investigate a “Case” one day.

The Doctor of the body and soul;

Ntonga-nde zombini;
Thol' loNozikhakhana linezikhakhana nalo;
Thol' loNotyalana lineetyalana nalo;
Kukud'eBhakubh'asiyi kufika!!
Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“A,—Zwelizolile!!”,
Imvo Zabantsundu (08 July 1944), 6

He is the Double-long-staffed;
The son of Scot warriors, a Scot warrior himself;
The son of the Dutch warriors, a Dutch warrior himself;
The land of Bhakubha is far, we will not get there!!
That's it!!!

The Poet of the nation,
“Hail,—Zwelizolile!”,
The African Opinion (08 July 1944), 6

9a John Henderson Soga (1941)

“Wena wakwa Songcangcashe,”
“Wakwa Dolo limdaka,
“Ntong’ enombaxa yaseQaukeni!”

U Jotelo uyise ka Soga, umJwarha ufele emfazweni ngeyama Linde (1818); uSoga uyise kaTiyo ufele kwase mfazweni ngo Nchayichibi (1878); namhla nje uNongadlela (J.H.S.) usukelwa yimfazwe ezihlalele endlwini yakhe nosapho lwakhe (yimfuza kaQongqothwane ke leyo 1941).

Siyambulela uThixo ngokumgcina lo mfo le minyaka ikuma 80, esisiqhwala; kanti umgcinele le misebenzi ingakanana asenzeleyo. Hayi makanconywe namhla nje u Somandla, “wenze kakuhle!”

Kuninzi okubhaliweyo ngayo le ndoda, ngakho oko andisayi kuba saya kude nayo mna, noko bendingakhe ndithi tyi isithutyana nayo, njengoko singawakulo nkomo thina kwa noomawokhulu bethu! Ngoko ke,—

Ewe kaloku kuyavakala!
Lide langqukrulek’ ixhego lomXhosa,
Likhumbul’ iimini zamzuzu.
Hamba siqhwala soNongadlela,
Mpondo zephela ziyamazama,
Zezomzond’ ezinamanqanam,
Kant’ ezomkhombe zilandelelene;
Gwaqaza ngophondo kant’ uyalungisa!
Ngqombo yoNo Santso;
Ntokaz’ enwele zinde,
Ebisakuphekel’ uSandil’ eMgwali,

¹⁴ *Nongadlela* is a praise name literally meaning “the one who walks with a limp”

¹⁵ An idiom translated literally, meaning, “a chip of the old block.”

9b John Henderson Soga (1941)

“You who comes from Songcangcashe,”

“One from Dolo limdaka,

“A forked staff from Qawukeni!”

Jotelo the father of Soga, of the Jwarha clan, died during the Battle of Amalinde (1818); Soga, the father of Tiyo also died during the War of Ngcayechibi (1878) (The Ninth Frontier War); today Nongadlela¹⁴ (J.H.S.) is pursued by a war while in his home with his family (that is resemblance in manners of Qongqothwane¹⁵),

We thank God for keeping this man being a limp; for 80 years, and he kept him for the lot he did for us. No, the Almighty has to be praised today, “He did well!”

There is a lot written about this man, therefore I will not dwell on him, although I could little distance with him, because we are fellows, even our grandmothers! Therefore,—

Yes, it is clear!

The old man of Xhosa had finally succumbed,

He remembered the past days.

Go, limping man, Nongadlela,

Whiskers of a cockroach are making repeated moves,

They are of like those of a mimosa beetle, they have columns

But those of a ship are on top of each other;

You hit with your whiskers, yet you are fixing things!

The dark brown son of Nosantso;

A woman with long hair,

Who used to cook for Sandile at Mgwali,

Tarhu nto ka bawo!
Ndikhumbul' ivenkile kwa Luqongo;
Singoo Nocanda ngokobizo lwethu,
Sawashiy' amaNgqik' ebhekabheka;
Sifundisile kwelakwa Jojo,
Kwakhanya kumaHlubi namaXesibe;
Hayi kodwa kwelakwa Moni,—
Kwa Gambushe nakwaJalamba.
Zaquqhumb' iintlants' eXhorha,—
Iintlantsi zeLizwi nokhanyo!
Le ndod' ifuze kulonina.
Apho kubethwa kuvokotheke;
Ayalishiya nekowayo,—
Apho kubethwa ngentong' eneembaxa.¹³
Tarhu Songcangcashe masishiyane,—
Siyakubonana kade ngomso.
Ncincilili!!!

YIMBONGI YESIZWE

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“John Henderson Soga,”
Imvo Zabantsundu (19 April 1941), 2

¹³ *eneembaka*

Peace Son of my father!
I recall the shop at the place of Luqongo;
We were land surveyors by profession,
We left the Ngqika people looking around;
We taught at the land of Jojo,
There was light at the Hlubi and Xesibe people;
But not at the land of Moni,—
At the place of Gambushe and of Jalamba.
The fire sparks at Xhora exploded,—
The sparks of the Word and light!
This man has taken after his mother's people.
Where they do things in grandeur
He did not leave his home behind either,—
Where they hit with a forked staff.
Peace Songcangcashe, let us bid each other farewell,—
We will see each other anyway tomorrow.
That's it!!!

BY THE POET OF THE NATION

The Poet of the Nation,
"John Henderson Soga,"
The African Opinion (19 April 1941), 2

10a Anazina ukuba Kumke i Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli? (1906)

I Nkosi u Kona Maqoma igodukile ngomhla wesi-Xenxe kuyo lenyanga yom-Sintsi. Xa nditshoyo andishumayeli mpanga uyakotusa, kuba sizaze izitunywa kwanyakenye, kuwo onke amaziko, zihamba zishumayela le Nkosi ukuba iyagula. Kute kulonyaka sakubona esikubonayo samelwa kukuba sibuye sidale kanjalo, yaye i Nkosi ngoku seyiluncalasi ngokwayo ukukumbula elozwe linoyise, seyisitsho futi ukuti ayisayolelwa nto kweli lizwe.

Umka xa ayindoda enkulu, ezele yimihla esondele kakulu ekulwini. Livela tanci kuyise, u Maqoma no Noxina unina, ngapandle kwentombi u Tase esekoyo nangoku. Wayete u Kona lo ngenxa yengqondo yake uyise wammisa ukuba abe yinkulu, koko ama Komkulu akatandanga ukulapula isoko kuba wayeko u Namba, unyana wom-Tembukazi. Akapezanga noko u Kona ukuba yeyona Nkosi inesizinsi neveleleyo kulomzi wase Kunene.

Ukwenjenje oku kukushumayeza ne Lawo Lentaba kuba ubeyi Nkosi yalo nalo, ndisiti:

Lawo Lentaba!
Lawo Lentaba!!
Ubizwe wasabela,
Namhl' u Roji ka Jingqi,
Usiza mva kwantombazana
Kub' esiza mva ko Tase.
Taru mzi wacomkulu!
Az' unashwa lanina

¹⁶ *Lawo* was used for coloured in South Africa but is now considered derogatory

10b Don't you know it is the chief that has left Israel today? (1906)

Chief Kona Maqoma went home on the day of the 7th this month of September. When I say this I am not preaching a death notice that will be shocking, because we knew the messengers from last year, walking around in all main places of governance, preaching that the Chief is sick. It happened that this year when we saw what we saw, we were faced by the situation that we had to ordain again, and the Chief himself was now burning with desire, missing that land that has his fathers, saying it several times that he no longer enjoys anything in this world anymore.

He leaves when he is a big man, full of days that were very close to hundred. He is the first born to his father Maqoma and Noxina his mother, except for the girl Tase that is still alive even now. It happened that this Kona, because of his brains, his father ordained him as the first born, but the councillors of the Great Place didn't like to break the established custom because there was Namba, the son of Thembu wife. Kona didn't stop the least to be the chief with fixedness and prominence in this Right hand house.

To do this is to also preach to the Lawo¹⁶ Lentaba (Coloured of the mountain) because he was also its Chief, saying:

Lawo Lentaba!

Lawo Lentaba!!

You were called and you responded,

Today Roji the son of Jingqi,

The one comes after a girl

Because he comes after Tase.

Peace, house of the great place!

What kind of misfortune

Lomz' wakulo Ngcweleshe,
Lityala n' umtan' akutandwa nguyise?
Taruni ma Mbombo—
Taruni Midange—
Taruni ma Jingqi—
Nomzi wakulo Dumash' awunatyala.
Kub' uzitandel' elo Lawana,
Lon' elo lentombi ka Matu.
Igodukil' i Nkos' enkulu
Iyokuhlala no Tixo namhla,
Ibihamba naye kakade,
Iyokulaul' izizw' ezilishumi,
Ibilaula zona kakade.
Iyekwab' amafusi namanxowa,
Ibingumabi wawo kakade,
Iye kutwal' isitsaba namhla,
Ibingumtwali sitsaba kakade.
Awu! safa tina Bantu!!
Kub' ebetob' imvula lakubalela,
Ati bizan' amagqob'ok' ahlangane,
Nime ngoka Ram noka Dukwana,
Ngowo Nonxuba noka Nzanzana
Kanti kondulukwa seyingamadyaga.
Hamba kambe Law' elinetongo,
Jwabu lasikwa lancwatywa ngu Rune,
Pantsi kwe Qanda pesha kwe Xesi,
Ntlahl' ing' ingatengw' inikw' abatandwayo
B'ululu macal' exama,
Nkunz' enq'ukuva yakulo Tase,
Engahlabanga nto kwakweye Zembe,
Ityide kodwa nakweka Mlanjeni,

¹⁷ *Lawana* is diminutive form of *Lawo*

Does this home of Ngcweleshe has,
Is it a crime when a child is loved by the father?
Peace to you all Mbombo clan-
Peace to you all Dange clan-
Peace to you all Jingqi clan
The house of Dumashe is not guilty.
Because they liked that Lawan¹⁷a
The one of the daughter of Matu.
The great Chief has gone home
It has gone to stay with God today,
He has walked with him anyway,
He has gone to rule ten nations,
He has ruled them anyway.
He has gone to distribute wastelands and sites,
He was its distributor anyway,
He went to get the crown today,
He carried the crown on his head anyway.
Oh! We are dead, we people!!
Because he delivered rain when there was drought,
He would say call all the converts to meet,
You stop at the son of Ram and of Dukwana
Son of Nonxuba and of Nzanzana
But then, when they leave they will be rushing
Go Lawo with a vision,
Whose foreskin was buried by Rune,
Under the Qanda beyond Middledrift,
The one whose complexion could be bought and given to the loved ones
Glide quietly at the sides of a hartebeest
Round bull of the home of Tase,
He didn't stab anything even in the War of the Axe
But was also central in the War of Mlanjeni,

Kuze kube sitshobozo na Pesha kwe lwandle,
Siti “Hamba kambe xa kutshiwoyo,”
Wasa kusilibala ngentsikelelo,
Wasa kusilibala ngamatamsanqa,
Wakusikumbula nangexesha lemvula!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe,
“Anazina ukuba Kumke i Nkosi Namhlanje kwa Sirayeli” *Izwi
Labantu*, (18 Sept 1906), 4

As a result there was a big noise overseas too,
We say “Go when it is so said,”
Don’t forget to give us blessings
Don’t forget to give us fortune,
Remember us too during the time of rain!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“Don’t you know it is the chief that has left Israel today?”
Voice of the People, (18 Sept 1906), 4

**11a Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi
Ncwana B.A. (1924)**

(Yimbongi Yesizwe jikelele)

Yatsh' indlu yase Kolejini!
Yhu!! Yatsh' inabantu pakati!!!

Emva kweminyakana esibôzo i Koleji yabantsundu, e Fort Hare, sibona namhlanje, singeka kumbuleli luto, sekusiti gqi lama gama abafana babälwe ngasentl' apa, kusitiwa balupumelela poqo ololuviwo lubekwe emva kwa magama abo. Yasotusa nge mihlali lonto:

Seva simcing' umfo ka Bôta;
Seva simcing' umfo ka Dyoba;
Seva simcing' umfo ka Colwepi;
Seva simcing' umfo ka Jabavu;
Saye singamlibel' umfo ka Weru;
Saye singamlibel' u Somgxada.
Amadod' awazis' umnikelo,—
Ezinyaweni zika Sandile.

Ewe, asotusile amakwenkwe, azenza mnandi intliziyo zabantu bakowawo, nezohlanga lwawo oluntsundu, luyavuyisana nawo, luti: Seningamana ningapumelela nakwezingapaya indawo,—kuba:

“Akulelwe kuyahanjwa,”
“Kungahlutwa nje kulanjwa,”—
“Sishiywa elobubanjwa,”
“Sisinga kwelokubanjwa;”
“Qondisisa mfo ka Mbanjwa,”
“Kuba naw' akukuvinjwa.”

**11b Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi
Ncwana B.A. (1924)**

(By the Nation's Poet)

The College has burnt down!
Wow!! It burnt down with people inside!!!

After eight years the College for black people, at Fort Hare, today we see, before we even realize it, suddenly emerging these names of the young men written above, and it is said that they had passed convincingly the degree that is reflected after their names. That startled us with excitement:

We thought of the son of Botha;
We thought of the son of Dyoba;
We thought of the son of Colwephi;
We thought of the son of Jabavu;
We hadn't forgotten the son of Weir;
We haven't forgotten Stewart.
The men who brought offerings, —
At the feet of Sandile.

Yes, the boys startled us, and they brought pleasure to the hearts of their people, and to those of their black nation. The nation is congratulating them, saying: We wish you success even in places yonder, —because:

“People are not sleeping, but are walking,”
“That there's no plenty food, and there's famine,—
“Is because we are left captives”
“Heading towards captivity,”
“Confirm son of Mbanjwa,”
Because you too will not be denied.”

U Zachariah Matthews ngum Tshwana ngoyise nonina; uvele ngemfazwe yama Bülu(1900). Wazalelwa kwele Mbokotwe, e Dayimani, ezindongeni zomlambo wamaroti, i Ligwa. Ngowe 1916 ube kwi High School, e Lovedale; ngowe 1918 ungene e Kolejini; ngowe 1919 upumelele i Matriki. Imfundo yokuqala yona uzuzene nayo e Kimbili; ngo 1923 upumelele le B.A., waye esakwinele kububazi bobutitshala, nakwi M.A.

Bek' incá ke kulondawo
Ungamtati nje nge Lawo;
Kub' uzalwa ngaba Tshwana
Bengenawo namxutyana;
Watsho kamnandi Zakeyi,—
Wakwapula nezikeyi!
Ud' uncotule nemiti
Ngenxaso yomfo ka Smiti,
Ot' efile wab' eteta
Efundisa esebenza.
Tsi! Seva vumba la Bokwe!
Lomfo makanxityw' i lokwe.

U Edwin Ncwana uzalelwe kwisikolo esidala sakwa Wesile Ndlovukazi, ngo Lindipasi (1896); uzalwa ngumfundisi wase Wesile u Ncwana, owayeye kufunda apo e Lesseyton. Imfundo yokuqala yonke uyifumene e Bensovale, ade wapumelela kudidi lokuqala i P.T. C. ngowe 1916; ngowe 1917 ube se Kolejini ejonga ngqo kulo mbasa ayinzatyelweyo namhla, ejonge nakwizifundo zezi Bâlo, ate wabizelwa kuzo yi Mvana ngokwayo, ngentôngo. Seleye kuwuqala ke lomsebenzi e Qonce, kowabo e Wesile:

Awu
Latsho shush' itole lesilo

Zachariah Matthews is Tswana from both his father's and mother's side; he was born during the Boer War (1900). He was born in the land of Mbokothwe, in Kimberley, in the banks of the river of brave men, the Orange River. In 1916 he was in High School at Lovedale; in 1918 he started at the College (Fort Hare); in 1919 he passed Matric. He got his primary education in Kimberly; in 1923 he passed his B.A., and he was still longing to sharpen his skill in teaching, as well as to get M.A.

Stop right there
Don't take him for a Coloured person;
The young man is born by the Tswana clan
They don't have even a tiny amount of mixed blood;
You said it nicely Zacharias—
When you broke the yoke fasteners!
You even pulled out the trees
Through the support of the son of Smith,
Who, whilst dead was in fact speaking
And teaching and working.
Gosh! We smelt the smell of a Goat!
This man should be dressed in a frock.

Edwin Ncwana was born in an old Methodist school in Lesseyton, during Rinderpest plague (1896); born by the minister of the Methodist Church, Ncwana, who went to study at Lesseyton. He got all his primary education in Bensonvale, he passed P.T.C. with first class in 1916; in 1917 he was in Fort Hare looking directly at the crown he is being awarded today, also looking at Divinity studies to which he was called at a very early age, by the Lamb himself. He has already gone to start this job in King Williams, at his home, the Methodist church:

Oh
The son of man said passionately

Itöle le Hlubi le Reledwane!
Labeta ku Ndlovukazi;
Labeta ku Ndofela;
Labeta e Mhlahlane;
Labeta ku Qelekequshe.
Ndakangel' ukuquma kotuli
Kudiben' i Ngonyama zontatu,—
Eyakwa Juda neyakwa Ngqika,
Eyakwa Ngqika neyakwa Bungane
Zekube kabini katatu kwedini!!!

Tina ke lukòmokazi asazinto; sibûla nezandla, asazinto kanye, kanye,
ngakwizinto zemfundo ye ncwadi. Siti ukuze sibe nama nakanibe
kuba kuxa sesibona imisebenzi,—ngako oko:

Nenze kakuhle ke makwedini,—
Wenjenjal' umtan' akutunywa.
Etunywa nguyise nasisizwe.
Akahamb' eviliz' eventshuza;
Akahamb' ecim' amasele;
Ubalek' ati yapuka tambo,
Asimbel' isinq' abe singqane,
Abuy' engekacimi namate.
Zekutiwe lenkwenkw' iyagidima,
Ingakufanel' ukutunywa komkulu,—
Kulomhlaba nakumhlab' Ozayo.
Hambani ke bafana bam
Ningarori nina ndinigqibile.
Itsho kun' Imbongi ye Sizwe.

Wena mfundi walemigcana akwazinto; kuba akubangako, ubone, uve,

¹⁸ Literal translation from isiXhosa which means to go and come back quickly

The son of the Hlubi clan, of the Reledwane clan!
He hit at Lesseyton;
He hit at Ndofela;
He hit at Mhlahlane;
He hit at Qelekequshe.
I looked at the dust rising
Three Lions were charging at each other —
One from Judea and one from Ngqika,
One from Ngqika and one from Bhungane
Let it be twice or thrice young boy!!!

We women, we know nothings, we flay our hands, we don't know exactly about things related to education. It is only when we see results of works that we get a clue, —therefore:

You did well, young boys,—
A child does similarly when he is sent.
Sent by his father and by the nation.
He doesn't walk lazily swaying the hips;
He doesn't give enema to the frogs along the way;
He runs and says "You might as well break, bone!"
And digging his waist into the soil, he runs with swiftness,
And returns even before the saliva dries out¹⁸
So that it is said, this boy runs,
He is fit to be sent to the great place, —
In this world and in the World to come.
Go then my young men
Don't complain, I am done with you.
The Poet of the Nation thus says to you.

You, the reader of these few sentences knows nothing; because you were

xa lamakwenkwe anyinatwayo, exovulwa, esenziwa lento ke ayiyo namhla. Nam andingekuxeleli nto, kuba lonto sisipotshongela sesaunge, into etsho kungati kukuza kwe “Nabulele” esizibeni; into enezaqwiti nenqwitela ngati kukuza kuka “makanda-mahlanu.”

Sive tina ngesandi sendudumo!
Ngesandi sesand' esikulu!
Kwabetwa, kwabûlwa, kwaqungqutwa,—
Kwaqum' izisi.
Kwaleny' amadangatye!
Kwanuk' u Mto no Mtomboti;
Kwanuk' umhlwa no Mhlonyane;
Kwanuk' u Mtati no Mnikandiba;
Kwanuk' i Ntsema ne Ntsihlo;
Kwanuk' i Ruluwa ne Salfure;
Kwanuk' u Mavumbuka no Sindiyandiya,—
Kwatshixiz' umti komny' umti.
Kwakal' um Dlebe no Mdlambila,
Kwakal' icangci nomkece;
Kwakal' ubedu nesinyiti;
Kwaququmb' intsimbi nelitye;
Kwaqekkek' imbokotwe neduku;
Uhle ngesikau u Profesa Kori,
Evel' e Rini kwelika Nxele,
Ebizwa ngemibõbõ nangemilozi,
Ufike wabûla-bû bú-bù ngebãyi!
Sakala sati “kuhle ntonina namhla?
Yatsh' indlu yase Kolejini!
Yatsh' inabantu pakati!!”
Kutiwe kuti san' ukukála,
Namhl' amakwenkw' ayashwanyiswa,

not there to see and to hear when these boys were fortified, firmed, and made what they have become today. I, myself, might not tell you anything, because that was a huge uproar, like the coming of a huge fairytale antelope in a deep pool in a river; one accompanied by whirlwinds and hurricanes just like the coming of the snake with five heads.

We heard by the sound of thunder!

A deafening sound!

There was beating, killing and thrashing, —

A cloud of smoke rose up.

Flames leaped out!

There was smell of burning shrub and sandalwood;

There was smell of corrosion and wormwood;

There was foul smell of Sneezewood and *Mnikandiba*;

There was stench of euphorbia tree and caper-bush;

There was smell of gunpowder and sulphur;

Mavumbuka and Sindiya stink;

There was grinding of a tree against another.

There was a sound of ironwood and the dassie-eater,

There were sounds of cymbals and tinkling metal;

There were sounds of copper and iron;

There was an explosion of iron and rock;

There was cracking of the grinding stone a stone dresser;

Professor Cory went down hastily,

Coming from Grahamstown, the land of Nxele,

He was called by loud speakers and by whistles.

On his arrival he thrashed out fires with a blanket!

We called out and said “what has happened today?

Fort Hare has burnt down!

It burnt with people inside!!”

We were told not to cry,

Today the boys have been given the first piece of the meat of sacrifice,

Ayosisw' ayafinyiswa,—
Ayagatyisw' ayagediswa,
Ayagqwagqw' ayomelezwa.
Ngezindudum' aqiniswa' imibilini,
Kuz' angotuki mhla-ngakwena.
Ngezi zando kubetw' amaqum' emvelo;
Lamadangaty' atshis' ubudenge;
Ngalemisi kugxotw' ishwangusha
Neshologu lase Afrika—
Lokut' opambil' abuyel' umhlanzo.
Nge ruluwa nesalfure kudutyulw' inkolo,
Ngo Mavumbuka kuhlanj' imibilini;
Ngo Sindiyandiya kwenziw' itelezi.
Intonina? Ndiyek' abafu basetyenziwe—
Kuba bazakupat' indaba zesizwe;
Kuba bazakugcin' imfihlo zobu kumkani;
Kuba bazaku nqalash' inyewe zohlanga.
Taruni mzi wenkos' andibongi makwenkwe,
Ndivakalis' umotuko wesizwe,
Umotuko wovuyo,—
Kub' i Afrik' ipezil' ukuba mnyama,
Ukukanya kungen' esizweni,—
Nobukumkani bamazulu bufikile.

NCINCILILI!!!

Imbongi Yesizwe jikelele,

“Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A.,”
ImvoZabantsundu (10 June 1924), 7

They are given roasted meat, their noses are being wiped, —
 They are warned to keep out of danger, they are cleansed,
 They are singed, and are being strengthened.
 With these thunderstorms their insides are made strong,
 So that they are not terrified the day things swell up.
 With these hammers, their natural swellings are being banged in;
 These flames are burning stupidity;
 With these smokes misfortune is being driven away
 And the evil spirit of Africa—
 That causes the one ahead to come back for cleansing.
 With gunpowder and sulphur, the beliefs are being shot at,
 With Mavumbuka the insides are being cleansed;
 With Sindiyaandiya the cleansing mixture should be made
 What? Leave me alone, these men have been shaped up—
 Because they are going to handle the matters of the nation;
 Because they are going to keep the secrets of the royalty;
 Because they are going to scrutinize the affairs of the nation.
 Peace, honourable people, I am not praising the boys,
 I am transmitting the shock of the nation,
 The shock of happiness, —
 Because Africa has ceased to be dark,
 The light has entered the nation, —
 And the kingdom of heaven has come;
 THAT'S IT!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
 "Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews B.A. Edwin Mtobi Ncwana B.A.",
The African Opinion (10 June 1924), 7

12a U Mhlekazi u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala. (1924)

“Yintonale kufa ququlurandini, ufakwe yinina wen’ ap’ ebantwini.

(Yi Mbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele).

U Sonzobo ogama limbi lingu Libalele, unyana ka Mhala Ndlambe, akaseko; ufe sisifo sika Tixo, ngenyanga yom Dumba, (23rd Feby., 1924), wancwátyelwa emancwàbeni akowabo e Mncotsho, kwisi Qingata se Qonce.

U Sonzobo lo ngunyana ka Mhala, osemhlana ku Kondile (N.C. Umhala), kunina omnye, u Mtsekazi, intombi ka Matiwane, engudade bo Mhlontlo um-Mpondomisekazi. Uqale ukulibona ilanga ekungeneni kwe Xinira e Gqunube, pantsi kwalo Ntaba ka Gqebeni (Umhalla’s Kop), isentlanganweni yesi Qingata se Qonce ne Monti ne Qumra, apo likona nencwâba lika Ndlambe. Unyaka lowo yayi ngowesi “Xengxe” (1846). Lenkosi yaluswe seyingu nongqovu ngowe 1868 kuba ama Ndlambe ayelinde ukubuya ko mkuluwa wayo emfundweni.

Ngokubùbà kuka Libalele lo upelile umlibo wakulo Gaxa,—i Xhiba; kuba ifa ingenanyana, wabe umkuluwa wayo wayengazalanga naye.

Ukwenziwa kwawo lomlibo namhlanje, bekuya kufuneka ama-Ndlambe atabate ukuzola,—ake enze kuhle ukuya ezimantiyini,—ku xulwe kwindlu Enkulu (kulo Ndilatashe), okanye kwindlu yase kunene (kulo Gqwaru).

Ngawo ke lamacápaza ndiya peza, kuba andinamhlaba ungako enkundleni apa.

Ndibek’ ilitye ke ngoko ndigxwal’ emswaneni ngokwe nkomo nditi:—

12b Chief Sonzobo Libalele Mhala (1924)

“What is this you, death, you useless thing, what has placed you in people?”

(By the Poet of the Nation).

Sonzobo, whose other name is Libalele, the son of Mhala Ndlambe, is no more; he died from God’s illness during the month of February, (23rd Feb. 1924), and he was buried at his home’s cemetery in Mncotsho, in the District of King William’s Town.

Sonzobo is the son of Mhala; he comes directly after Kondile (N.C.Umhala), from the same mother Mtsekazi, the daughter of Matiwane, sister to Mhlontlo; an Mpondomise woman. He was born where Xinirha and Gqunube meet, below the Gqebeni Mountain (Mhalla’s Kop), it is in the District where King William’s Town, East London and Qumra meet, it is also where the grave of Ndlambe is. That was the year of the Seventh Frontier War, called the War of the Axe, (1846). This chief was already grown up when he went into circumcision in 1868 because the Ndlambe people were waiting for the return of his elder brother from school.

The death of Libalele brings to an end the genealogy of Gaxa’s side of the family,— from the Chief’s supporting wife, the *Xhiba* house; because he dies without a son, and his elder brother didn’t have children either.

In the formation of this genealogy today, it would be necessary that the Ndlambe people be calm,— and should be cautious about going to the magistrates’ courts,—and should rather take from the Great House (from Ndilatashe’s home), or from the right hand house (from Gqwarhu’s home).

With these few lines I rest my case, because I don’t have a much ground in the courtyard. I put a stone in respect of the deceased, and therefore I am bellowing as cattle do over another one’s death, and I say:

Au!!!

Kanindive ma Ndlambe ndiza kuteta,—
Njengoko ndike ndatsho ngezolo ne zol' elinye.
Kanindip' indlebe kancinane
Ndapul' amasebe andiyikuzika.

Awu,—

Walal' umfo ka Mhala no Mtsekazi,
Indod' ezalwa nga bant' ababini,—
Izalwa ngum Xosa nom Mpondomisekazi.
Int' ekulala kuhle,
Int' ekulala kumbambalala,
Int' ekulala ku nomkita,
Kundembebele njengo kuka Ndlambe,
Kundembebele njengo kuka Rili,
Int' ezalal' emhlabeni ngesiko,
Zatob' imvula yokondl' abantwana,
Zaputum' i Lizwi ukwenz' isinqulo,
Zashiya namazw' okugcin' umpefumlo.

Itinin' iramente ka Nonteta,—

Umfazi wama Mfen' intombi ku Mangwevu?
Itinin' iramente yabantywiliseli?

Isitinina eyo Mzi wama Tiyopiya?
Kuba lenkos' ibingum Krestu olukuni?
Masimncwábe pina ma Ndlambe,
Kunjanina ngase Tyalikeni?
Hayi, ngat' akuyi kulunga
Simncwábe pina ma Ndlambe u Sonzobo?
Mncwábeni kweso singa sakokwabo,
Kuz' avane na mawabo ngemipùnga.
Nxayipina ku Nowawe uyisekazi?
Nok' asiboni tyala laluto.

Oh!!!

Hear me out Ndlambe people I am going to speak,—
As I said yesterday, and the day before yesterday.
Please lend me your ears just for a little while
Let me just break off the branches, I won't go deep.

Oh,—

The son of Mhala and Mtsekazi has gone to sleep,
The man born of two people,—
He is born of a Xhosa man and an Mpondomise woman.
One whose sleep is beautiful,
One whose sleep is extraordinary,
One whose sleep is comely,
It is stately and dignified like that of Ndlambe,
It is stately and dignified like that of Sarhili,
They laid down on earth in a customary manner,
They brought down rain to feed children,
They grasped the Word as a way of worship,
They even left words to preserve the soul.

What does the congregation of Nontetha say,—

The wife to the Mfene clan, the daughter to the Ngwevu clan?
What does the congregation of the Baptists (those who immerse in
water) say?

And what does that of the House of Ethiopia say?

Because this chief was a devout Christian?

Where should we bury him, Ndlambe people,

How about next to the Church?

No, it does not seem appropriate

Ndlambe people, where should we bury Sonzobo?

Bury him in that thorn-tree forest of his home,

So that his soul and that of his folk be in harmony.

How far should he be from Nonawe his paternal uncle?

At least we don't see anything wrong there.

Nxayipina ku Mtsekaz' unina?
Hayi, ngati noko kungalunga.
Nxayipina ku mkuluwa wake?
Wayicān' inqu ndawo kulondawo,
Kuba bebenge baf' ukubekana,—
Banga fanel' ukuvuka ndaweninye.

Taruni ma Ndlambe,—

Akukonto nditeta yona,
Sendifumane nje ndishwalaza,
Kub' umlungu selenga pambili,—
Sebengapambil' u Notile no Giladile,
Amadod' aselengawo kuteta.
“Kalok'int' ayibetwa ngankana.”
Make sive kambe nto ka Madosi;
Make sive kambe nto ka Duna;
Make sive kambe nto ka Ntsonkota;
Make sive kambe nto ka Ngcenge;
Siv' ukuteta kwa ma Ndlamb' amatsha!
Make sive kambe Sileku ka Kaka,
Make sive kambe nto ka Qasana,
Make sive kambe nto zo Nondwangu,
Make sive kambe nyana ka Anta.
Siv' ukuteta kwa ma Ndlamb' amatsha!
Soke sive kambe nto ka Nokala;
Soke sive kambe nto ka Gqamlana;
Nawe ka Lubisi nawe ka Zozo.
Siv' ukuteta kwa ma Ndlamb' amatsha!
Andikushiya nganto nto ka Mngwe,—
Andikushiya nganto Xakax' upahla,—
Andikushiya nganto mfo ka Tutu,—
Ndingakushiya nganto mfo ka Koyana,—
Siv' ukuteta kwa ma Ndlamb' amatsha?
Teta sive Henkile ka Ndayi!

How far should he be from Mtsekazi his mother?
At least it seems as if it could be appropriate.
How far should he be from his elder brother?
You hit the truth there,
Because they respected each other greatly,—
It would befit them to resurrect in the same place.

Peace Ndlambe people,—
I am not saying anything,
I am just mumbling,
Because the white person already ahead,—
Notile and Giladile are already ahead,
The men who are already there as speakers.
“Yes of course, you don’t vent secrets to strangers”
By the way, let us let us hear from you, son of Madosi;
By the way, let us let us hear from you, son of Duna;
By the way, let us let us hear from you, son of Ntsonkotha;
By the way, let us let us hear from you, son of Ngcenge;
Let us hear the speaking of young Ndlambe people!
By the way, let us hear from you Sileku son of Kaka,
By the way, let us hear from you, son of Qasana,
By the way, let us hear from you, sons of Nondwangu,
By the way, let us hear from you son of Anta.
Let us hear the speaking of young Ndlambe people!
We will hear from you, by the way, son of Nokhala;
We will hear from you, by the way, son of Gqamlana;
You too son of Lubisi and son of Zozo.
Let us hear the speaking of young Ndlambe people!
Not to mention you, son of Mngwe,—
Not to mention you, son of Xakax’upahla,—
Not to mention you, son of Tutu,—
Also not to mention you, son of Koyana,—
Let us hear the speaking of young Ndlambe people!
Speak and let us hear Henkile son of Ndayi!

Teta sive nto ka Mjuza;
Teta sive mfo ka Mvalo!
Matol' entsika zomzi ka Ndlambe,—
Siv' ukuteta kwa ma Ndlamb' amatsha!
Ndingaze ndinigqibena nto ka Gxavu?
Ndingaze ndinigqibena nto ka Mjo!
Mfo ka Ncapayi ndinga nigqiba na?
Ngubanin' onga wagqibay' ama Ndlambe?
Lingubanina lon' igama lika yise?
Litsh' ixêgwana elikade liqanana,—
Siti, kungani ma Ndlamb' amatsha;
Kungan' ukuyidibanis' inteto;
Kungan' ukuwak' umz' owileyo,
Kungan' ukuvus' ixhanti lakulo Gaxa!!!
NCINCILILI!!!

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele,
“U Mhlekezazi u Sonzobo Libalele Mhala,”
Imvo Zabantsundu (25 March 1924), 3

Speak and let us hear son of Mjuza!
Speak and let us hear son of Mvalo!
Sons of the pillars of the house of Ndlambe,—
Let us hear the speaking of young Ndlambe people!
Will I ever finish mentioning all of you son of Gxavu?
Will I ever finish mentioning all of you son of Mjo?
Son of Ncapayi, will I ever finish you all?
Who will ever finish mentioning all Ndlambe people?
And who is the father's name?

So says the old man who used to boast,—
We say, it is up to you young Ndlambe people;
It is up to you to unite talk;
It is up to you to re-build the ruined homestead,
It is up to you to re-build Gaxa's parental home!!!

NCINCILILI!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
"Chief Sonzobo Libalele Mhala,"
The African Opinion (25 March 1924), 3

13a Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa No William Cebani Mtoba (1913)

*Yintonina Kufa Nakumbana ndini,
Ufakwe Yinina wen' ap' Ebantwini?*

Ndite sendiyitumele imidana apa engo “Gosa Ukufa,” ndeva ngepepa lako ukuba lompakati ugama lingasentla naye uhlaselwe yi “Ngqeqan’ emanqinana,” ndotuka Mhleli, ngohlobo endingasotuki ngalo ngalemihla.

U Tunyiswa ubesele luhlantlalala lomzi, ngoko ituba aliyi kundivumela ukuba ndide ndifike kwintlalo yase kaya ngaye. Lomfo nakuba simdumise ngokuba yi Mfengu, kucacile kona ukuba yi Mfecane, i Ngwane, umntu ka Matiwana. I Mfecane ngulamoya wase Mpumalanga owakaulezisa ama Mfengu ukuba aze kufika kamsinya kweli lizwe; ukuba ama Mfengu ayenga kauleziswa kangako ukuza kufika kweli lizwe, ngekusalaula ubumnyama nanamhlanje kweli lasema Xhoseni, kuba ngelingekasi tyutyatyutyi i Lizwi no Rulumente ngesamana ukungqeta; ewe, ngekukongona ngoku kusatetwa imvumelwano pakati kwetu namagwangqa. Isizwe usikonze ngenkonzo yobutitshala iminyaka emininzi; i Bandla lakowabo lase Wesile ulikonze wada wali Gosa iminyaka emininzi. Ubesele eyindoda, uzale umlomo. Ngumfo obesiti xa atetayo uve ngati ulwimi olu lukulu kunomlomo lo, lunge lulukuni kanjako.

Le ngqungqutela afa esayibambile, usuka kude nayo; nguye u Nobhala Omkulu wayo kwiminyaka ema 28 eyadlulayo. Akuko nto abene qayiya ngayo. Kangango kuyitanda kwake ebengakatali nokuba imdla imali, namaxesha ake anqabileyo. Ube nezibakala ezininzi azixelayo, esiti ezo zizinto ezenziweyo zokunceda isizwe. Ngo 1912 ubepindwe wanyulwa ukuba abe ngu Nobhala Omkulu, enyulelwa iminyaka emitatu ngoko mteto. Nonyaka nje ubeyimemele e Monti kwade kwakabini ingavumi kudibana; kute ngoku kwesitatu zalunga

13b The late Jonathan Tunyiswa and William Cebani Mtoba (1913)

*What is it Death, you little flea,
What has placed you in people?*

When I had already sent few lines here about the “Steward Death,” I heard through your paper that this councillor whose name appears above was also attacked by a “small naughty dog with little feet,” I was shocked Editor, in a way that I am no longer shocked these days.

Tunyiswa’s homestead was already left uncared for, therefore time will not allow me to go as far as home life about him. This man, although we made him well-known as a Mfengu, it is obvious that he is a Mfecane, a Ngwane, Matiwana’s man. The Mfecane is that wind of the East that hurried the Mfengu to arrive quickly in this country; if the Mfengu people were not hurried that much to arrive in this country, the darkness would still be governing even today in the land of the Xhosa, because the Word wouldn’t have spread through us and the Government would still be persistently standing aloof cautiously; yes, it would have been only now that the agreement between us and the whites is being discussed. He served the nation through teaching for many years; he served his home’s Congregation of the Methodist Church until he became a Steward for many years. He was a man, a complete man. When he spoke, he would sound as if the tongue is bigger than the mouth and also tight as well.

This conference that he died still convening, he comes from far with it; he is its Secretary General for the last 28 years. He was proud of it more than anything. He liked it that he did not care even if it was costing him a lot of money and his time that was scarce. He raised a lot of issues, saying those were things that were done to help the nation. In 1912 he was re-elected to be the Secretary General, legally elected for three years. This year he called the meeting to be in East London two times; without success; but only at the third time was it successful and things

izinto, yadibana.

Ndite Mhleli ngokotuswa ngu lomphanga, ndapangapanga ndifunela ekutini asingebi na isihlobo somzi sisenzakalise ngempato e Monti; yinina ukuba sibuye ngokugileka? Ndifumene noko ukuba hai,—imbeko abenayo ibe yemfanele kunene; izidlo ubezifumana kula tafile, ingeyiyo le yetu; indawo yake yokulala yayiye ketiweyo. Ezingxoxweni akubangako magilegile aluto; umcimbi omnye esimqetule kuwo bekunye nenkosi yake u Chief N.C. Umhalla, oke wagula naye emveni koko, ibe ngoka Nokoleji; baqetulwa kakuhle ke nakuwo ngeliti: Yayigqibile ngaye u Nokoleji lo ngo 1906 kwa Komani; baxola ke nabo bakoyiswa nje ngamadoda engxoxo. Sendizibamba umxhelo ngokuti, sahlukana ukuchitakala kwayo, sibulisana, sitetana kamnandi nomfi lo siwu ncoma umpunga omhle obukule ntlanganiso. Ndiroriswe kukungabuyi kwencwadi endibe ndimtumele emveni koko.

Kule yokugqibela u Mr. Tunyiswa simtume ukuba aye kukhuza usapo lo Mhleli Gomna Sandile, simtume ukuba kanjalo abhale incwadi yokukhuza usapo lomfi u Cebani Mtoba; engesimgunyazise njengo Mbhali ukuba asele lukhuza umhlaumbi nolwake usapo ukuba sasinofifi ngayo.

Ngoko ke Mhleli Omhle, egameni lalowo mnye nababini abaya kukolwa yile midana, sibeka ilitye pezu kwale ndedebe sisenjenje:—

Yafel' edyokweni inkab' amalanga!

Kad' ihlab' udiza ihlab' impakata,
Ib' ibet' elundeni kweziny' inkunzi,
Ibet' emva komkono kwizapusela.

Lafel' edyokweni itole le Mfecane!

Itole lenkunzi yase Lundini,
Bafumane bak' umkany' abangoma Xosa,

work out.

When I was shocked by this death notice Editor, I hurriedly wondered if in East London we might have hurt the friend of the community; otherwise why would he come back hastily? I found out that no,—he received the respect he deserved; he got the meals at that table, not the one that was ours; his sleeping place was the best. In the discussions there were no hiccups; the only instance where we overthrew him and his chief N. C. Umhalla, who also got sick after that, was the case of the College Fort Hare; and they were overthrown nicely with the idea that: The Conference had made a decision about the College in 1906 in Queenstown; and they were also happy when they were defeated like this by the debating men. I am consoling myself by saying, we parted after the meeting was adjourned, and greeting each other, chatting nicely with the deceased, and praising the favourable atmosphere that was in that meeting. I became suspicious when the letter I sent him after that was not replied to.

In the last conference we sent Mr Tunyiswa to conduct a service of condolences to the family of Chief Gonya Sandile, and also write a letter to express condolences to the family of the late Cebani Mtoba; we would have also mandated him as a Secretary to maybe console his own family if we had a clue about this.

Therefore Honourable Editor, on behalf of the one or two who will be satisfied with these few lines, we put a stone on this honourable man like this:-

It died on the yoke, the ox that has seen many moons!

It used to charge on the maize stalk and on the maize side shoot

It used to charge on the hump on the back of other bulls

It charged behind the foreleg in weaklings.

It died on the yoke, the calf of Mfecane!

The calf of the bull from the Drakensberg

The Xhosa people just watched,

Bebesaka ngaye, boya. beny' intaka.

Lafel' edyokweni itole le Ngwana!
Alibizanga mntu liti ndibambise;
Nakumadodan' omzi wase Monti
Libize ihashe liti ndalupele.

Wafel' edyokwen' u Makad' ebona!
Hayi kodw' umhla wase Tala kwedini,
Hayi kodw' umhla wase Hewu kwedini,
Hai kodw' umhla wase Gcuwa kwedini,

Yafel' edyokwen' intang' emadoda!
Cinga ngomhla wase Bhai kwedini,
Cinga ngomhla wase Rini kwedini,
Ungamlibal' u Ndlovuku[a]zi kwedini

Nditi uwel' edyokwen' u Jolitanga!
Uputunyw' apa yingqeqan' emanqinana,
Umvab' iluhonyo ngase mangcwabeni,
Kwanga kuncinci yamshiy' elutulini.

Yafel' edyokwen' ingqongqoto yohlanga!
Makumenyw' ingqungqutelakaz' enkulu
Umz' upelile yint' engabonwayo,
Kuzokugwetyw' isono acengek' u Tixo.

Yafel' edyokweni indod' enamava!
Namhlanje ku Gose o-vuk' endleleni
Kwakuvele pin' ukuf' oku kanene?
Tina silutuli no Moya we Nkosi.

Wafel' edyokweni oqal' amazinga!

They had been building with by him, feathers of another bird.

It died on the yoke, the calf of Ngwana!

It didn't call, saying carry this with me;
Even from men of East London
It didn't approach even a horse and say I am aging

He died on the yoke, a veteran!

But oh boy! The day of Tala,
But oh boy! The day of Whittlesea,
But oh boy! The day of Butterworth.

He died on the yoke, man of men!

Oh boy, think about the day of Port Elizabeth,
Oh boy, think about the day of Grahamstown,
Oh boy, don't forget Lesseyton,

I say Jolitanga died on the yoke

He is fetched here by a small naughty dog,
The one who is an empty leather milk-sack next to the grave,
It looked small, and it left him in the dust.

It died on the yoke, the eloquent orator of the nation!

A huge conference has to be convened
The nation is finished by this invisible thing,
The sin will be punished and God will be persuaded.

It died on the yoke, the experienced man!

Today the one who served the charge came out of the blue
By the way where does this death come from?
We are the dust and the spirit of the Lord.

He died on the yoke, the one who was starting to age!

Eli Gosan' u Kufa masilinceteze;
Kwa nase Nkosini seliroreleka,
Utsh'u Hezekiele 18: 32.

Yahamb' into ka Tunyiswa bafondini!
Iye kugabula kwela bafi namhla,
Kuba kuma Xhosa sekusisitati,
Kuba kuma Mfengu sekuzikumbuzo.
Umkil' u Jonatana nto zakowetu!
Umk' epet' umkontwan' omfutshanana.
Ekutiwa yi Gospel' igama lawo,
Uyakugwaz' unin' agwaz' impakata.
Kumk' igora namhla ngecala letu!
Nalap' ehadesi bokala bekalile,
Bat' i Mfecane namhlanj' ivukile,
Bat' u Ngwan' uze wavuka wadl' ibele.
Hamba ke bawo hamba ke Nkosi yam!
Wose uteta no Sawa nge Bhili leyo,
Woteta no [Gonya]ngo khuzo olo,
No Mtoba wose uteta ubuso ngobuso.
Hamba ke bawo hamba ke nt' enkulu!
Nati sibiziwe besingayi kumangala;
Uz' ube ndlela ntle ngemini yovuko;
Ngwan' epantsi siyakukulandela.

S.E. Mqayi,
"Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa no William Cebani Mtoba,"
Imvo Zabantsundu (7 October 1913), 1

This Little Servant, Death, we must slander;
It is suspicious even to the Lord,
So says Ezekiel 18: 32.

He has left the son of Tunyiswa my fellow men!

He has gone to raise curtain in the land of the dead today,
Because to amaXhosa it is the start,

Because to the amaMfengu it is celebrations already.
Jonathan is gone, my folk!

He left holding a small short spear in his hand.

By the name Gospel,

He will stab the mother and stab the offshoot of the maize
A hero has left by our side today

Even here in Hades they will cry several times
Saying the Mfecane wars are back again,

Saying Ngwane woke up and sucked the breast.
Go father, go my Lord!

Please speak to Sauer about that Bill

Please speak to Gonya about that ceremony to console the bereaved

Even to Mtoba, speak to him face to face

Go father, go you great one!

Even us if we were called we wouldn't be complaining;

May you have a beautiful journey on the day of resurrection;

Fallen Ngwane, we will follow you.

S.E. Mqayi

“Umfi u Jonathan Tunyiswa no William Cebani Mtoba,”

The African Opinion (7 October 1913), 1

14a U Chief James Mama (1911)

“Razulani ingubo Zenu nibhinqe ezirwexayo”

Kwinyanga yokuqala yawo lomnyaka ubalulekileyo, ndive ngamhla utile ukuba elinyange li[nco]runelwa ukubizwa kumzi Opezulu, kutiwa Inkosi kudala liyikonza ebunzimeni, namhla liyakudliswa umhlala pantsi. Ndavutulula ke isidanga ndenjenjeya ukuya kuqonda ukuba lonto iyiyo zindaba zomoya kusinina? Ndaye ndisenzela ukuze sendibamba isandla, ndiyaleze nemiyalezo emihle kwelo Bhotwe lama Bhotwe ukuba kungaba kunjalo. Okwenene ke ndifike e Mnqaba apo Inkosi [icambela] ixhoba, yaye kodwa isiti lusuku into engekamiseleki.

Ndibuze ukuba kanene sekulapa nje kungokuba entanga nina? Ute akasakumbuli ntanga yake kuwo onke ama Gqunukwebe. Ndibuze ukuba wayentanga nina ukusinga kwemiJadu e Tala? Ute wayesel'eyindoda kade. Ndibuze ukuba i Lizwi wayesel'elamkele na? Ute ewe, kwase kufikeni kwabafundisi e Twecu. Ndibuze ukuba uyamazi na u Makapela, unyana ka Noyi, owayeko yena kwa ukusinga kwama Ngqika e Tambo, nokubuya kwawo ngo Mankazana, nokungcwatywa kuka Ntsikana e Twatwa? Ute uyeva ngaye u Makapela lowo, engamazi ngakumbona; malunga nezinye indawo ezo uyazazi wayesel'eko kade ngalomaxesha. Ute xa alapo ndasendiyekela ekutini: “Ngugxa kaRarabe!” (Angatsho ke um-Xhosa sukuba umntu sele moyisile ngobudala. Ite inkosikazi yake ngokuqula, “Anikuze nimfumane lowo mntanam, nam ndendele kuye ndisisibhunga engaka kade yena, seyindim nje owalupalayo kunaye.” Inkosikazi yakhe leyo yahle yamondlalala kwasemva koko, iyintombi yakwa Maqoma kulo Tetafuti.

Elixesha induluka ngalo lenkosi lixesha le Nzilo, xa unyana ka Tixo ase Ntlango. Usuku ibe ngumhla wama 31 kwinyanga yo Kwindla (March), ngolwesi Hlanu evekini. Lemidana ke Mhleli yeyokuvuyisana naye kuba enyuselwe kwezi Pambili na Pezulu

14b Chief James Mama (1911)

“Tear your blankets and gird up with sack cloths”

During the first month of this important year, I heard one day that this elder was about to be called to the Home Above, it is said that he had been serving the Lord in difficulty for a very long time and today he was being offered retirement. I shook off dust from my garments and headed to find out if this was that true or if it was just rumor? I was doing that so I could also be able to shake hands and to send messages to that Palace of Palaces, if that was true. Indeed I arrived at Mnqaba where the Lord was communicating with the victim, and, however, saying it was only the day that had not been established as yet.

I asked how old was he by the way, at that stage? He said he could not remember anyone of his age in all of Gqunukwebe people. I asked how old was he when Jadu tribe went to Tala? He said he had long been a man. I asked if he had already accepted the Word. He said yes, even on arrival of the minissionaries in Twecu. I asked if he knew Makapela, son of Noyi, who was there even when the Ngqika tribe went to Tambo, and during their coming back through Mankazana, and the burial of Ntsikana in Twatwa? He said he does hear about that Makapela, but not in sight; and about the other things, he knows about them and he was already there during those times. At that point, I stopped and said: “He is of the same age as Rharhabe!” (When the Xhosa person says that, they mean that person is older than them). His wife said jokingly “You will never find out my child, even when I married him as a very young girl he was this old already, but it is me who is aging than him” His wife prepared his death bed soon afterwards, a woman from Maqoma clan in Thethafuthi’s home.

The time this chief is departing is Lent, when the son of God was in the desert. The day was the 31st of March, on a Friday. These few lines Mr Editor are to congratulate him because he has been raised to Significant and High places,—

indawo: —

Kwafumana kwemanga:
Kwafumana kwenqadalala:
Kwapakati kokulila nokungalili.
Oyakulila maz'abulawe
Kuba lomhla ngumhla wendaba.
Makubik'wemaziko, —
Kokona kode kutinina gxebe:
Xelani kwa Lautyu kwa Mngqenge kwa Mndlela.
Mayisuk'indodan'inenqwemesha
Iwuhlome ku Maqoma kulo Teta
Nguy'owobikel'abakulo Mbombo.
Ama Mbomb'owuwez'iNciba
Kuma Gcaleka ka Kaut'omhle,
Niti "Komkul'umkuhlane sewupambili."
Ama Gcalek'owuhlabel'ama Hala
Ama Hal'angazilibal'izibhaxa zawo
Ama Gcina, ama Tshatshu nama Ndongwane.
Ama Ndlambe obikelwa wona ngencwadi
Oka Mtsekazi wayeweziw'emva kwe Ngqaule,
(Nangona ndisitsh'andimncomi ngamfundo)
Seleyakuti yen'akangel'iMiqayi nemi Dushane.
Abafundisi sobavisa bona kwangencwadi.
Soyihlab'e Mkangiso siyihlab'e Nxukwebe
Bobhaza ke bona ngengcingo nangemibane,
(Nakuba ndisitsho andibancomi ngakutumekelela).
Ad'ev'u Hagile no Lampulo
Inkunz'ezinkulu zakwa Wesile,
Ama Mfengu no watumela ngoka Ntengo
(Kanti nay'andimncomi ngaludumo);
Noti Dlamini kwaka Njokweni.
Noti Radebe kwaka Mhlambiso,

Everyone was just astounded!
Everyone was just perplexed!
It was between crying and not crying.
The one who dares to cry should be killed
Because this day is the day of news.
Let it be announced to the villages under his rule,—
I mean to say, what will finally happen:
Announce it at the place of Lawutyu of Mngqenge, of Mndlela.
A young man should put on waistcloth and leave,
To announce it to Maqoma at the home of Thetha
It is him who will announce it to the people of Mbombo's home.
The Mbombo people will take it beyond the Kei River
To the Gcaleka people of the kind-hearted Khawuta.
Say, "At the Great Place the illness has advanced."
The Gcaleka people will announce it to the Hala people
The Hala people should not forget their other branches
The Gcina, the Tshatshu and the Ndongwane people.
It will be announced to the Ndlambe people by letter
The son of Mtsekazi was sent overseas after Ngqawule,
(Although I say so, I do not praise him for being educated)
He will go look for the Mqhayi and the Midushane people.
We will inform the ministers by letter as well.
We will announce it at Mount Coke and at Healdtown
They will spread the news with telegrams and fastmail,
(Although I say so, I do not praise them for their willingness to be sent).
Until Hargreaves and Lamplaough,
The great bulls of the Methodist Church, hear.
To the Mfengus you will send the son of Ntengo
(But I do not praise him for fame either),
You will say Dlamini to the people of Njokweni.
You will say Rhadebe to the people of Mhlambiso,

Noti Kuboni kwaka Mabandla,
Nibe nisenzel'ukuze ngenteto nivane,
Kub'ol'udaba ludaba lokupangalaliswa.
Namhla inkosi zibizene,
Namhlanj'amanyang'ahlangene,
Kuhlangen'unyange no Nyange-lemihla
Namhlanj'u Tix'uyakuxelelwa
Isimo selizwe uyakusiviswa;
Imini zamzuzu ziza kubuyiswa,
Namhlanj'imvula sizakuyinikwa.
Eyokuqala kude kube yeyamva.
Oruxeshe nenkumbi bazakugxotwa.
Incindi nexoshomba zizakupeliswa.
Namhla kunyuk'indoda yokuteta,
Ekad'iteta kwizifundisi,
Ekad'iteta emaziko,
U Tixo kad'exelelwa ngabantwana,
Abat'ukuteta batekete.
Umzi maujonge Pezulu kuzakulunga,
Nibona kusenjenjenje kuk'int'ezayo,
Ningaqondi nje inkul'int'ezakufika,
Ingxox'ibambene ema Zulwini,
Inkew'enkulu kuyavakal'ukub'ibhungiwe,
Kutiw'izakubotshw'inyawo nezandla,
Ijulw'ebunzulwini basebunzulwini,
Isigwebo yiminyak'eliwaka
Sihleli kungeko mlahlekisi.
Kanjalo kutiw'uyabuy'u Mangaliso
Ingonyam'enkulu yezakwa Juda:
Kut'iw'ibiziwe luluntu lomhlaba
Oko wati wanyukela lwenz'isimbonono,
Luti: "Ubukumkani bakho mabufike."
Abase nyangeni ngati bebengavumi

You will say Khuboni to the people of Mabandla,
You will be so doing so that you could understand each other,
Because this issue is an issue to be spread wide.
Today the chiefs have called each other,
Today the people of old have gathered,
The gathering is of ancestors and the elders today;
Today God will be given a report
He will be informed about the state of the nation;
The old days will be brought back,
Today we will be given rain.
From the first until the last one.
Caterpillars and locusts will be chased away.
The tree sap and the maize blight will be stopped,
Today a man who is a speaker has gone up,
One who spoke in the ministers' fraternal,
One who spoke in different villages.
For a while God has been given news by children,
Who speak in imperfect speech.
The family must look to the one Above, it will be well.
When you see things turning out this way, something is coming up,
The fact that you do not understand, something massive is on its way,
The discussion is hot in Heaven,
It is obvious that the great fellow has been discussed in private,
It is said that both his feet and hands will be tied up,
And he will then be thrown in the deepest of the deep;
The sentence is thousand years.
It remains standing, without anyone misleading.
And again, it is said that Wonder is coming back
The big lion of Judea:
It is said that the human race called it,
Ever since he went above, the human race cried in lament.
It says: "Thy kingdom come."
It seems as if the ones in the moon were refusing

Besiti: “Kauhlale Mesiy’usadiniwe,
Ubufik’umagazan’ukuvel’ehlabatini!”
Abase zinkwenkwezini bebewatsho nabo;
Yasombulula yon’inkwe ka Mariya,
Inkunkutel’enkulu yase Nazarete.
Aba bo Mama babizelw’ezonyewe
Abakanyukeli kulala basaya kuqanana.

Ke mfondini ndiyoyika kuyakuqaqek’ amahlebo:
Qond’ukub’enyuke ngexesha lenzilo.
Wafik’u Nyana ka Tixo esese Ntlango.
Umbuyo babuye sebebobabini,
Inteto seyivene, ingxoxo seyinye.
Isimo somhlaba sizakupenduka:
Makubikw’emaziko kuqiniselwe:
Namhla kumk’inkosi kwezakwa Xhosa,
Namhla kumk’inyange kwawakwa Palo;
Ohlel’e Bhotweni uyakuba sepempeni,
Onyembezan’uzakuhlek’iziqarala,
Ibiziwe yasabel’ingwevu ka Mama.
Int’efundise yada yasakaza,
Zabeta zonk’invaba zakotela,
Zatsho zonk’intlanga zazuz’zicwili,
U Dolo guq’e Tala, dolo guq’e Mnqaba.
Ikaya lazo zonke inkunzana
Ezihamba zivutel’amaxilongo.
Iye kudl’umhlala-pants’int’enkulu—
Int’ewuhlel’umhlaba yawuhombela,
Yati kwiziqamo yadl’izilumkela,
Yapil’ubom obude ubom obunyulu,
Amehl’engazang’abe luzizi,
Indlebe zingazange zibe ndunyuva:
Abebhola ngebesiti: “Uskorishile

Saying: “You should stay Messiah, you are still tired,
You were covered in blood when you arrived from the earth!”
The ones in the stars were also expressing the same view;
The son of Maria came with solution,
The big and all-powerful one from Nazareth.
Mama and company have been called for those matters
They have not gone up to sleep yet, but they are going to negotiate with
pride.
Well fellow, I am frightened, the secrets will be revealed:
The fact that he went up during Lent,
And arrived while the Son of God was still in the Desert,
And on return come back together,
Talking the same language and the discussing same issues.
The state of the earth will change:
Let it be firmly announced at the villages:
Today a chief amongst those of Xhosa has left.
Today an elder from the land of Phalo has left:
The one who lives in a Palace will be in a shack,
The one who is crying will laugh out very loud,
The old man of Mama has been called and he responded.
A man who ministered abundantly
All the missionary societies benefitted from his teachings
So much that all nations got their fair share,
The one who’s Knee kneels at Tala, and kneels at Mnqaba.
The home of all the young bulls
Who go about blowing trumpets.
The great man has gone to retire—
The one who lived in the world graciously,
Who from the fruits, ate selectively,
And he lived a long life, a life that was pure,
His eyes never got hazy,
His ears never got blunted:
The footballers would say: “He scored,

Ugongqoze wapum'epet'ipini.”
Abomdudo ngebesit’ “unomxhino
Zikululen’izintlu zada zamncamela”
Oke wamlilel’azanukwe ngamagqira.
Akaye kufeni uy’ekupileni,
Udlul’engcwabeni way’ebomini,
Ushiye ukufa way’eluvukweni,
Uye kupatisw’izizw’ezilishumi.
Kambe mfo ka Cungwa tina siyavuya,
Site kwa sakuva satimla sanqula,
Sati huntshu! Kuwe wen’ubabelweyo!
Kambe nkomo ka Kwane uyazi ke wena,
Lomhla ngumhla wetu wokuziyaleza,
Kuwe ke wen’use Nyanganweni,
Haleluya!!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“U Chief James Mama,”
Imvo Zabantsundu (13 June 1911), 3

He made a reverberating noise and got out with a bat in his hand.”
The dancers would say, “he has stamina
Take off brass wire bands, he has no match.”
Whoever cries for him should be accused of witchcraft by diviners.
He has not gone to death but he has gone to live,
He passed the grave and went to life.
He left death behind and went to resurrection,
He went to be assigned to lead ten nations.
But then son of Chungwa, we are pleased,
When we heard we sneezed and prayed,
We said victory! To you the one who has been blessed!
But then son of Khwane, you know,
Today is our day of commending ourselves,
To you, the one who is Above.
Hallelujah!!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“U Chief James Mama,”
The African Opinion (13 June 1911), 3

15a U Magengelele Unyana ka Msolo (John Rigney) (1908)

Inqombo yo Nosantso kwezinyanga mbini zidluleyo zesi silimela sitsha, ibusise ngasigadungu sitile sivela ngakwa Nyauz' okad' akile, ezasipaliswa kwa yilencitakalo sifuna inkonzwana. Leveki ke yiveki yokunduluka kwaso ukusinga kwelakwa Nobengula apo incwadi zaso zipale zapala zayibeta kona indawo yokubek' unyawo. Ukwenjenje oku kukugqusha indlela yeso sidwangube sakulo Ngqungqushe ndisiti:

Ndlela ntle ke Magengelele
Ndiyakunqulela,
Ndlela ntle sigadangu sika Msolo
Hodi linamagaqa sukani ngasemva.
Ngubo yintlaninge ziluwalala
Mandl' angange mvubu yase Mzimvubu
Mapat' entsimbin' ang' upat' epepeni,
Mapat' epepen' ang' upat' entsimbini,
Masom' isi Nguni ang' usom' isi Mpondo
Masom' isilungu ang' usom' isi Xosa
Magaush' i Gqili ang' ugaush' u Mtata

Ncwadi zise kaya zinge zeze Koleji
Mabodl' ijiki bati kugqum' ibubesi
Ndlela zikwa Hala zisuk' e Nyandeni
Zibe zikonyel' isizwe esikwa Gompo.
Ndod' eyinyati ndod' enobugqi
Ndod' eliqili Yehla ngerwarube;
Kubi Magengelele kubi!
Kubi mfo ka Msolo kubi!
Kubi ezintombini bezikuqelile

15b Magengelele, the son of Msolo (John Rigney) 17 March 1908

The dark brown one of Nosantso, in these past two months of the new year, made an offering with a certain strong well-built man who was coming from the direction of Nyauza who was long established in that area, who was caused by dispersal to wander about in search for any small church. This week then, is the week of his departure heading towards Nobengula land where his books wandered about and found a place to put up the foot. By doing this I am pounding the path of that honourable man of the home of Ngqungqushu, saying:

Go well Magengelele

I pray for you,

Go well the strong well-built son of Msolo

Antbear with lumps, get away from the back.

The one who has abundant and long, loose garments

The one who has energy equal to that of the hippopotamus of Mzimvubu

The one who touches the iron as if touching paper,

The one who touches the paper as if touching iron,

The one who speaks isiNguni as if speaking isiMpondo

The one who speaks English as if speaking isiXhosa

The one who prides himself about the Orange River as if priding himself about Mthatha

The one whose books at home are like those of a College

The one who burps traditional beer, and they say it is the lion roaring

The one whose roads are in Hala from Nyandeni

And they bellow for the nation that is at Gompo.

A man who is a buffalo, a man with magic

A cunning man who went down with haste;

Its terrible Magengelele, it's terrible!

Its terrible son of Msolo, it's terrible!

It's terrible for the girls, they were accustomed to you

Bezikubona nakude ngebal' ubungqombo.
Zikulozele ngamabhovu ubuxhaga.
Unomsinga le webhequz' elinchita.
Upalal' umkita wakuling' ukuncuma
Hamba ndlela-ntle nkewu, hamba ndlela-ntle
Ngamana lwakugcin' utshongo lomtaka mfundisi
Ngamana wakatwal' umpako womtaka Tiyo,
Zidl' utuli zonk' int' ezikuginyel' amate.
Uzipate ngokomntu pakati kwentlanga
Kubantu benkosi baka Mzilikazi,
Kumzi wakomkulu wase Matshona.

Ungawulibal' umzi wase "Zwini Labantu."
Umz' obuwutanda use kulo Ngqungqushe
Noyintloko yawo, nomncinane wawo.
Shologu lakowetu! Shologu lakowetu!!
Uz' umkangele nank' u Magengelele!! !
Ncincilili!!!

GOMPO.

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
U Magengelele Unyana ka Msolo
Izwi Labantu (17 March 1908)

They saw you even from afar by your yellowish-red complexion
They saw you by rounded moustache.
You are attractive to look at, a dark industrious person.
Attraction spills when you try to smile
Go, fare well fellow, go fare well
May the ground roasted mealies from minister's child last you
May the provision of the son of Tiyo see you through,
They bite the dust, those that are envious of you
You behaved like a man amongst nations
Within the people of Chief Mzilikazi,
In the house of the great place of Matshona (the royal house from the
West)
Don't forget the house of "The Voice of the People."
The house you loved while you were still at the home of Ngqungqushe
Even its head and its young one.
Spirit of our ancestor! Spirit of our ancestor!
Watch over him, here is Magengelele!!!
That's it!!!

GOMPO.

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
U Magengelele Unyana ka Msolo
The voice of the People, (17 March 1908)

16a U=Dalindyebo. (1911)

*Taruni mzi wakowetu ndiyalandula,
Namhlanje izandla ndiyazibhulabhula.*

Mhla kuyakuze kuhlaliwe pantsi kutetwe, kuyakuze kucace ukuba lomzi ka Tembu yeyona nkulu yesizwe sika Ntu. Tina ma Xosa koza kucace ukuba sizizinci; kodwa ke ebuncini betu, ikomkulu lika Ntu silibusile, inkosi siyihlanganisele emilonyeni yenkanunu njenge khaka, ekude kwadlavuka tina ukuze intolo zide ziphumele enkosini.

Namhlanje ngalemidana ndibulisa unyana wentombi ka Sarili, u Dalindyebo, unyana ka Ngangelizwe, ka Mtirara, ka Ngub'enchuka, ka Ndaba, ka Zondwa, ka Madiba, ka Tato, ka Hala,ka Dlomo, ka Nxeke, ka Ntande, ka Mguni, ka Bomoyi, ka Sampu, ka Ntongakazi, ka Tembu, obuya ebewele waya kwelinye icala lomhlaba. Nditi:

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Kulomhlab'unezaqwiti nenqwitela,
Kulomhlab'unemintsantsa nemihadi,
Kulo mhlab'unonogumbe nenyikima,
Kulo mhlaba wadlokova waxaka no Satana.
Kungezimini nje lisikohlile,—
Apo singabeka kon'into zet'ezinqabileyo,
Apo singababeka kon'abantwana begazi.
Nxhe Mhlekezi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Ukuba besinamagqala namhla ngebalisa;

16b Dalindyebo (1911)

*Peace my fellow people I refuse.
Today I throw up my hands.*

The day when everyone will sit down and talk, it will be apparent that this house of Thembu is the oldest of the nation of *Ntu*. It will be apparent that, we the Xhosa, are the youngest; but in being the youngest, we served the great place of *Ntu*, we defended the chief from the mouth of a canon, like a shield, and it was only when we were completely battered that the arrows reached the chief.

Today with these few lines I greet the son of the daughter of Sarhili, Dalindyebo, the son of Ngangelizwe, of Mtirara, of Ngcub'engcuka, of Ndaba, of Zondwa, of Madiba, of Tato, of Hala, of Dlomo, of Nxe kwa, of Ntande, of Mguti, of Bomoyi, of Sampu, of Ntongakazi, of Thembu, who is coming back after having crossed over to the other side of the world. I say:

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
In this world with hurricanes and whirlwinds,
In this world that has hollows and dips,
In this world that has great floods and earthquakes,
In this world that shook uncontrollably, confusing even Satan.
These days we are confused,—
About where we could put our precious goods,
About where we could put the royal people,
Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
If we had old, wise and experienced people, today they would narrate

Ukuba besinamatola ngelesixelela:
Ukuba besinamadodana ngelebon'imibono:
Kuba zonk'izinto namhlanje zigqibile,
Zonk'inkwenkwezi zethu zalatile,
Zonk'intshukumo namhla zishumayele,—
Zit'izinto maziye ngendawo zazo.

Nxhe Mhlekaazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Kwavel'u Tile wayinkwenkwezi yetu,
Wapum'emtonyameni kowakwa Ndaba;
Wat'esalata wab'umz'ulibele kupumputa,
Namhlanje kusile siyamnqhinela.
Uvelil'u Dwane waligqib'ilizwe,
Wazifika zonk'izipelo zelimiweyo.
Ude wafika kwa Ndab'ukuz'axole,
Kub'uzuzisw'umhlatyana wokutyal'utanga

Nxhe Mhlekaazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Kuvél'u Rubusana kwimi Dange,
Ute ekwimi Ngqalasi wabe kwimi Dushane
Uhamb'egxumek'amatye kowakwa Ndlambe;
Uke waqubeka nakuti ma Ngqika
Ude wapepela kwa kowakwa Zondwa
Ukuz'abe nokuzimis'inyawo,
Yaqaqamba kalok'inkwenkwezi yake.

Nxhe Mhlekaazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle

stories;

If we had seers, they would tell us:

If we had young man, they would have visions;

Because everything today has come to an end,

All our stars have given an indication,

All the movements today have spoken out,—

They say all things should go to their places.

Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea

Even though we do not have a place!

Tile appeared and he became our star,

He came from the royal house of Ndaba;

When he indicated, the household was dithering,

Today we are alert, and support him.

Dwane appeared and he went all over the world,

He reached all the ends of the universe.

Only when he reached the place of Ndaba that he was at peace,

Because he was given a small land to grow pumpkins

Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea

Even though we do not have a place!

Rubusana appeared from the Dange tribe,

He was in the Gqalasi, and at the same time in the Dushane tribes

He went around erecting stones in the land of Ndlambe;

He continued even with us Ngqika tribe

He finally escaped to that of Zondwa,

So that he could plant his feet,

And indeed his star shone bright.

Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea

Noko nati singenandawo!
Uyabona ke Ndyeb'inkwenkwezi zigqibile
Sekukuwe namhl'uxel'int'emayenziwe¹⁹.

Tina ma Xhosa silikhaka lak'elikulu
Namhla sipokopalala zintolo zotshaba.
Ohleka tina selehlele'ehlekiwe;
Kuba nezinja ziyabusa ngoku konkota.
Ziti hau-hau zakubon'umnt'ozayo.
Nxhe Mhlekaazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Oka Mpini usate gxad'esiqitini.
Latwas'i Bhung'e Mpumalanga.
Ap'eziny'inkwenkwezi zitwasa kona.
Hlabelan'umzi ka Majola ku Matiwana,
Nixelel'abakwa Nyauza kulo Ngqungqushu.
Nit'inkunzi namhl'ivela kwezinye inkunzi,—
Ixesha lokubal'inkwenkwezi lifikile.
Nxhe Mhlekaazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Namhl'ukutet'akuko kutshabalele,
Nati maciko ngalemuni samulekile;
Inkwenkwez'ibinze yamisa ku Cofimvaba
Icolwe ngamakwenkwe abesemtshotshweni,
Ayitat'awakwa Ntsasan'ayivalela.
Azi zimzinge nganin'umnta ka Ngangelizwe
Iqungquluzile nje i Tayitile yelaba Tembu?

¹⁹ Original text *emyenziwea*

Even though we do not have a place!
You see Ndyebo, stars have decided
It remains with you today to give instructions about what needs to be
done.

We, Xhosa people, we are his big shield
Today we are swarming with arrows of the enemy.
The one who laughs at us is already laughed at,
Because even the dogs are serving by barking
They bark, woof-woof, when they see someone coming.
Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
The son of Mpini has quickly gone to the island.
The council meeting has started in the East.
Where the other stars begin.
Announce to the house of Majola at Matiwana's,
Tell the people of Nyawuza at the home of Ngqungqushu,
And say the bull today comes from other bulls,—
The time to count stars has come.
Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
Today there is no talking, it has died out,
Even we eloquent people, on this day we are dumbfounded,
The star travelled and stopped at Cofimvaba
It was picked up by boys, who were at a night gathering,
The Police took it and locked it up
I wonder why they are after the son of Ngangelizwe
When the Crown of land of the Thembu lays down exposed?

Nxhe Mhleleazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Namhlanj'inkos'ivel'ekupeleni komhlaba,
Iye yalibon'ilang'apo litshona kona:
Kazi lizikokazi lingangantonina²⁰,
Singeyeliseli kulo lamagqwir'angakanana!
Baye bamjojis'ubugqi wazekeka,
Bamtyatya kaloku ngokwenkom'edini
Kuz'avuk'atimle ati "Itsi!!!"

Nxhe Mhleleazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Nani maz'olwandle siyanibulela,
Siti "Maze ningadinwa nangomso."
Nati iminenga yenu soze siyitantase,
Mini yoz'ihambele kweziny'ilwandle.
Nok'ingezikhulu zikolisa ngakuhamba
Asizazi inguqunguqu zomhlaba.
Enkosi maza olwandle.

Nxhe Mhleleazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Lomntwana simzele ngo Novil'unina,
Samondla samqeqesha ngobo bumpata,
Samfundisa samqukumbela sizezo zidenge,
Ukuba besine Bhotwe ubeya kuhlal'entla;
Nasempen'apo makanyuselwe pezulu,

²⁰ Original text *lingangantonina*

Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
Today the chief came from the end of the world,
He saw where the sun sets:
I wonder how big the furnace is,
Can we not throw in it these many sorcerers!
They made him sniff magic snuff and he was overpowered,
They cut him open like a beast given for an offering
As a result he woke up and sneezed!!!

Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
You too, waves of the sea we thank you,
We say “You should not be tired even tomorrow.”
We too, we will carry your whales with tenderness,
The day they visit other seas.
Although they rarely explore,
We do not know the changes of the world.
Thank you waves of the sea.

Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
We gave birth to this child through his mother, Novili,
We nursed and disciplined him even if in a clumsy manner,
We taught him to the end even though we were unwise,
If we owned a Palace he would be sitting in a prominent place;
Even in that shack, he should be raised higher,

Angabi semazants'amaziko,
Angabi ngumvakwendlu kananjalo.
Nxhe Mhlekezazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Sesotemba Pezulu apo kusingwa kona.
Apo zivela kon'intonga zesizwe.
Apo kupum'amakhakha ohlanga.
Apo kuvel'amatende obomi,
Kwanemibete engcwengekileyo.
Apo kupum'intsikelelo namatamsanqa.
Apo buvela kon'ubukhos'esinabo.
Nxhe Mhlekezazi!

Mtuleni mazas'elwandle
Noko nati singenandawo!
Indlov'asint'ixakwa mboko wayo.
Nditi ngunyana simkaule samzala,
Sati ngu Dalindyebo igama lake,
Ubhexesh'ilang'aliqal'e Mpumalanga,
Namhl'uye walibhexesh'e Ntshonalanga.
Ukongez'umzi ka Palo wakulonina,
Yada yagqush'indlela kukubinza kwe nkwenkwezi.
Pendula Bawo zikuzinge ngoluto.
Ziyateta zit'ixesha lifikile,—
Ncincilili!!!

S. E. KRUNE MQAYI.

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“U -Dalindyebo”,
Imvo Zabantsundu (07 November 1911), 3

He should not be below the furnace,
He should not be behind the house either.
Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
We will trust the Heavens where everyone goes
Where the weapons of the nation come from.
Where the shields of the nation come from.
Where the source of life comes from,
And the pure dewdrops.
Where blessings and fortunes come from.
Where the royalty we possess comes from.
Peace Chief!

Load him off waves of the sea
Even though we do not have a place!
The elephant is never burdened by its trunk.
I say, he is a son we conceived him and gave birth to him,
We named him Dalindyebo,
The one who drives the sun, starting from the East,
Today he drove it in the West.
To grow the house of Phalo, his mother's home,
To the extent that the road became trampled by the arrival of the star.
Respond Father, they are after you for a good cause.
They speak saying the time has come,—
That's it!!!

S. E. KRUNE MQAYI.

The Poet of the Nation,
“U=Dalindyebo,”
The African Opinion (07 November 1911), 3

17a U Dr. R.T. Bokwe (1934)

(Yi Mbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele).

Akuba efikile kweli lizwe u Gqirha lo ugama lingasentla,—wenzelwe imbutho enkulu e Dikeni, kwa Ntselamanzi, kowabo. Emva kwaloo mbutho uthe gxa e Rautini, we gxa e Natala, we gxa nakwamanye amacala,—kuloko imihlola ayimvumelanga ukuba emke ekhaya kwa Ngqika,—ithe,—“Hay’ indoda yint’ e Gxolox’ ekhaya.”

Okunene u Gqira lowo, unyana ophakathi ka Rev. Jno Knox Bokwe, ulifumene inxowa e Xesi, kuma Gqunukwebe (Middle Drift), kwa kufuphi no Mhlekezi, u Archie V. Sandile, owambek’ izandla mhla wafika.

Ezi zibongo uzizuze mhla wehlela e Qonce kuma Ntinde; nase Monti kuma Ndlambe,—esenzelwa iintetho zeziyalo, nezokusokwa, nezokubukwa, nezokubuliswa!

Imbongi ye Sizwe ke kwezo zithuba isuke ngokumnik’ igama lobugqira,—yamtyabeka nangamany’ amacokoza isenjenje:—

CAMAGU “GXOLOX’ EKHAYA”!

Nas’ isimanga se Gqira!
Ngu Gxolox’ ekhaya igama lalo.
Ngu Tandw’ efik’ elibizwa ngunina;
Ngu Dorotile Bokw’ elibizwa ngumndilili;
Yinkunzi yenkunzi zakulo Mali;
Yinkunzi yenkunzi zama Mbhalu,
Zithi Malitshe ka Nqeno xa zifungayo.
Yint’ etyhoboza kuvalwe ngentsimbi;
Ival’ i-Fotele yade yaqilingela.

17b Dr. R.T. Bokwe (1934)

(By the Poet of the Nation)

After the above-mentioned Doctor had arrived in this country,—a massive assembly was held on his behalf in Alice, at Ntselamanzi village, his home. After that assembly he dashed to Johannesburg, dashed to Natal, and to other places,- but mysteries did not allow him to leave his home, the place of Ngqika,-mysteries said,—“a man is one who feeds closer to home.”

Indeed the Doctor, the middle son of Reverend Jno Knox Bokwe, found a building site in Middle Drift, in the place of Gqunukwebe tribe, closer to Chief, Archie V. Sandile, who ordained him (confirmed him as a member) the day he arrived.

He got these praises the day he went to King William’s Town at the place of Ntinde tribe; as well as in East London at the place of Dlambe tribe,- and he was showered with speeches, presented with gifts, admired and also welcomed!

It was at that time that the Poet of the Nation just gave him a doctoral name,—and decorated him with other spots like this: —

PEACE “GXOLOX’EKHAYA”! (THE ONE WHO FEEDS CLOSER TO HOME)

Here is the wonder of a Doctor
His name Gxologx’ekhaya, the one who feeds closer to home.
He is the one Loved on arrival, the name used by his mother;
He is Doctor Bokwe , the name used by the rest of people;
He is the bull of bulls of Mali’s home;
He is the bull of the bulls of Mbalu tribe,
They swear by *Malitshe ka Nqeno*.
The one who forces his way through iron bars;
Fort Hare was closed, fastened tightly.

Tyushu gqi ngapaya kwezithabazi!
Inobugqi ebufumene kwa Zulu!
Hayi, Ngangam ndigaqe ngedolo,
Mbhalauli nge bhulankethe;
Nzongonzongo yesiziba.

Hlahlindlela yama Ngqika;
Hayi, le Ndlovu yadlambadlambeka!

Asigqir' ukusolwa lulwandle.
Ulwandle yinkosi yemilambo,
Nawe yiba yinkosi yamagqira;
Bafe ngumon' abanezixhiba.
Tina siqhel' amagqir' omlambo,
Siqhel' awezingwe nawabade.

Siqhel' atwasa ngamaxhontana,
Siqhel' anezidlokolo zemfene,
Siqhele tin' amagqir' agula yimi zimba.
Taru mfondin' usixakile;
Umzi ka Pal' uwuze ngecala lenchuka.

Ubaxakile nabase mlungwini,
Siteta nje bazizi nkamamunge,
Indaba ngengcingo ziyahambelana,
Inqwelo zemimoya ziyabuzana.
Zithi Ngubanina le Gxolox' ekhaya?
Phonoyi lentombi yama Ngwane:
Ngahlab' udiza ngahlab' impakatha!
Mfondin' unobugqi bakulo nyoko.
Kukude kwa Mdushan' asiyi kufika,
Tarhu nkazana ka Sophothela!
Tina sinamasend' usiqqwesile!

He broke through to reach the fine plains!
He has magic which he got from Zululand!
Oh no, the One Short like me on knees bent,
Mbalauli with a blanket;
The Dark Depths of the Pool.

The One who initially opened up the road of the Ngqika tribe;
Oh no, this Elephant danced uncomfortably, but with rhythmic
movements!

A powerful doctor so much that the sea will not reject him.

The sea is the chief of the rivers,

You too, be the chief of the doctors;

Those with grudges die of jealousy.

We are familiar with the doctors of the river,

We are familiar with doctors who wear leopard cloaks and a head
ornament.

We are familiar with ones become diviners by growing their hair long,

We are familiar with ones who wear headgears made of baboon skin,

We are familiar with doctors who are sick in their bodies.

Peace fellow, you are confusing us;

You have deceived the House of Phalo by approaching it with the
hyena's side.

You also confused the white people,

They are destitute and forsaken as we speak,

News is moving around through telegrams,

Air wagons are conversing with each other.

They are asking: Who is this *Gxolox' ekhaya*?

The handsome son of the woman of the Ngwane tribe:

The one who charge on the maize stalk and on the maize side shoot!

Fellowman, you have magic from your mother's house.

The place of Dushane is far away we will not reach there,

Peace, woman of Sophothela!

Those of us with testicles, you have dominated us!

Vumani bafondini! Siyavuma!
Vumani madoda! Siyavuma!
Litsh' igqir' eliyindoda! Siyavuma!
Lenkazan' isitsibatsibe kakubi! Siyavuma!
Hayi nditi isitsibatsibe sadangala! Siyavuma!
Mayinukwe lent' ingekajoki!
Ingekajok' imbol' esedolweni! Siyavuma!

Mntanam ungaze wendel' e Gqireni!
Wobakhona kukuhlal' utwel' ulugxa.
Mntanam ungaze wendele kwa Mbhila,
Wobakhona kukuhlal' emweweni.
Mntanam ungaze wendele kwa Nyosi,
Wobakhona kukuhlal' uchithakala!
 Tarhuni mabandla ka Kwane!
Lomvalo siyavum' ukuniboleka.
Kub' ukhe watetelw' amagama ngu Velile.
Wawutetel' amagam' amahl' abuhlungu!
U Velile ngumzukulwana ka Gonya,
Yimbhishimbhishi leyo yase Cwarhu.
Libethelen' u Mhlahl' elo Gqira!
Liyakuxentsa limbhulule liyafana kwa namanye.

Libetheleni mabandla ka Cungwa!
Alitwase mlanjeni litwas' elwandle.
Liyoyikeka kwizilo zomlambo;
Ziyaloyik' iingwenya neengonyama!
Hamba tol' lom Mfundisi sikuvulile!
Umfundisi yinzwan' enkulu ka Colwepi.
Hamba sivuma siphosa ngemva!
Hamba kwedini Silo sika Mhlola!

²¹ Translated literally, meaning to allegedly accuse someone of witchcraft

Do consent fellow men! We consent!
 Do consent men! We consent!
 A male doctor said so! We consent!
 This woman jumped over us repeatedly! We consent!
 No, I mean she jumped over us that we became lethargic! We consent!
 She must be smelt ou²¹t before she comes after us with persistence!
 Before she comes with persistence the red ochre that is in the knee! We
 consent!
 My child, never marry a Doctor!
 Will you afford to always carry a digging iron rod on your shoulders?
 My child, never marry in the house of Mbhila (dassie),
 Will you afford to live on a rocky hillside?
 My child never marry in the house of Nyosi,(Bee),
 Will you afford to always get dispersed!
 Peace, honourable men of Kwane!
 We agree, we will lend you this crossbar.
 Because Velile said some words about it.
 He spoke beautiful and painful words!
 Velile is the grandson of Gonya,
 He is a strong well-built man of Cwarhu.
 Sing the song of the diviners for the Doctor!
 He will dance, and reveal harmful magic portions, he is like other
 diviners.
 Sing for him, honourable men of Cungwa!
 He was not initiated in the river to become a doctor, but in the sea.
 He is scary to the river animals;
 Crocodiles and lions are scared of him!
 Go, son of the Minister, we release you!
 The minister is the great handsome son of Colwepi.
 Go, we give consent, you are close!
 Go, boy, strange beast!

Hamba Gqir' eliyindoda!
Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele,
“U Dr. R.T. Bokwe,
Imvo Zabantsundu (25 December 1934), 3

Go man-Doctor!
That's it!!!

Poet of the Nation,
“Dr. R. T. Bokwe,
Imvo Zabantsundu (25 December 1934), 3

18a Umfi Howard Ben-Mazwi (1943)

“Aabo ke banengqiqo bakhazimle njengokukhazimla kwesibhakabhaka.” Dan. 12:3.

Umhla wokuqala kwi nyanga yom Dumba kuwo lo mnyaka (1: 2: 43), umzi waseMonti usebenze umsebenzi omkhulu kunene, wokuphelekelela lo ugama lingasentl’ apha, ukumsa kwindawo yakhe yokugqibela ezweni, alishiye nge 30 January, 1943.

Watsh’ umzi waphithizela!
Abantu baxokozela!
Amacik’ akabi nazwi,—
Ngokumka komfo kaMazwi.
Zay’ imfama zimlilela;
Izilima zimbongela;
Othuswe sithonga sompu.
Kunduluk’ umfo kaMazwi!
Emva kokutheth’ amazwi;
Wayolela wacokisa,
Uhambo waluzukisa.
Kwasisankxwe ngamahlwempu,
Ngumf’ obehlal’ esangweni.
Komkhulu esigqebeni,
Kwesakwa Ndabazabantu,
Kwisihohela soluntu.
Emva phaya kumGwelane.
KwaAnta engemncinane:
Ewe, ngumfo wakwaNkomo.
Umzi wamafuya-nkomo.
Ngombuso wobutitshala
Akubangakho matyala:
Ngombuso kaRhulumente

18b The Late Howard Ben-Mazwi (1943)

“Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament.”
Dan. 12:3.

On the first day of the month of February this year (1:2:43), the community of East London held a organized very big ceremony of bidding farewell to the one whose name appear above, taking him to his final place in this world he left behind on the 30th January, 1943.

The community is agitated!
People are noisy and confused!
Orators have nothing to say
About the departure of the son of Mazwi.
The blind wept for him;
The crippled wailed for him;
The poor made a deafening noise,
They were startled by the gunshot noise.
The son of Mazwi has departed!
After having uttered some words;
He carefully gave a dying charge,
He honored his departure.
He used to sit at the entrance.
In the council at the Great Place,
The Council of domestic Affairs,
In a big assembly of people,
Back there at the Gwelane tribe,
At the place of Anta, he was not insignificant:
Yes, he is the son of Nkomo clan.
The home of cattle-breeders.
During his service as a teacher,
No cases were laid against him:
During the service of government,

Kunge kutyiw'ipamente.
Ngombuso werhamente,
Iyeka Krist' i-Arhente:
Uthath' uyis' umfundisi.
Wema wayam' umSindisi,
Tarhuni mzi wamaNkomo!
Namhl' isililo yintsholo.
U Hawad ubethandeka.
Ebuzweni ubefuneka.
Tarhu nawe MaMaduna!
Sitsh' izandla sizibula;
Nawe Belekaz' elihle,—
U Thixo wenze kakuhle.
U Hawad' uyakhazimla:
Aph' akhon' ebengezela;
Itsh' imisebenzi yakhe:
Awon' amanqhina akhe.
Alubane amaNkomo!
Alubane amaNkomo!
Angehl' evela ngasentla.
Ez' esiphathel' amandla.
Ngesihlez' eNxokotsheni!
Ngesisesetolongweni!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“Umfi uHoward Ben –Mazwi”,
Imvo Zabantsundu (06 March 1943), 4

It was a sweet life.
During his service to the congregation,
Jesus' Congregation:
He took after his father, the minister.
You stood up tall and leaned against the Savior,
Peace house of Nkomo people!
Today the wailing is resounding.
Howard was loveable.
In nationhood was desirable.
Peace to you too Mother Maduna!
We say so washing our hands;
You too beautiful woman of the Bhele clan,—
God has done well.
Howard is bright:
He is dazzling with brightness, wherever he is;
His works give testimony:
His reliable witnesses.
Nkomo people are a firebrand!
Nkomo people are a firebrand!
They come as if they appear from above.
They brought us power.
We would still have been at Nxokotsheni!
We would still be in prison!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
"The late Howard Ben –Mazwi",
The African Opinion (06 March 1943), 4

19a Umfi Rev Solomon Kuze (1931)

(Yi Mbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele.)

Kwisituba seveki ezimbini pambi kwe Nzilo (Lent), kuwo lomnyaka we waka elinama kulu ositoba anamanci matatu anamnye, we Nkosi yetu (1931) i Bhunga le Komkulu eli Pezulu linqwenele ukuba kubeko omnye wo nyana baka Adam pakati kwabo nge xesha elizayo le Nzilo, ayinikwe lombeko. Iqashiso ke lipume nomfo ka Kuze obengu Mbingeleli pambi ko Somandla, kwezo Ntaba zika Mehla, ezanikelwa ko Mhle ka Nyawo, aba Fundisi ngu Mhlekazi u Ngolombane (Sandile) into ka Ngqika enkulu.

Ute obuzileyo apo e Bhungeni ukuba kuyakutiwanina ukwenzeka oko ituba lesaziso ngati selilifutshane nje? Ite impendulo “Wosel’ ebizwa ngesikawu (nge speshili), kuba selehleli ekulungele oko njenge joni la Komkulu. Okunene ute ese dyokweni ngomhla lowo, waliya ilizwi elimbizayo. Ute akuti “Ndiyavuma Mhlekazi, kodwa mandike ndibulise, ndizolise nolu luse kaya usapo ne Ramente.” Labuya ilizwi elo lisiti,—“lento iyakuba luzuko kuyo i Ramente leyo nakuye u Mhlekazi u Sandile umnini weli nxo wa. Malunga nentsapo yona seyoxelelwa ngendlela eziqelekileyo zemvelo eziya kutsho zibe luzuko nakuyo kwimin ezizayo zamva.”

Ibe ngawokugqibela ke lawo.

Ute um-Fundisikazi efika ukuvela emsebenzini wake wemihla, wafika engasapotele, kuba sel’ exelelwe nge ndlela zemvela,—ibenguye nowokuqala ukubona ukuba kuko isigidimi somzi Opezulu esibe sike safika, waza umBingeleli owalenza naso i Dini elo lokugqibela.

Ngako oko,—

Awu!!!

Zasala zahlokom’ i Ntaba zo Qoboqobo,
Zahlokoma mfo ka Kuze;

19b Umfi Rev Solomon Kuze (1931)

(By the Poet of the Nation)

In about two weeks before Lent, in the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty one of our Lord (1931), the Council of the Great Place Above wished that one of Adam's sons be amongst them during the following Lent, and that the honour be given to him. The son of Kuze was the chosen one, who was the Priest before the Almighty, in the Mountains of Mehlala, that were handed over to the Priests, the Ministers by Chief Ngolombane (Sandile) the eldest son of Ngqika.

Someone asked from the Council, how would that happen, given such a short notice? The answer was "He will be called immediately because he is already up to it as a soldier of the Great Place. Indeed when he was on duty during that day, he heard the voice that was calling him. When he said 'I agree, Sir, but let me bid farewell, and comfort my family at home, and the Congregation.'" The voice came back saying,—"this will be an honour to the whole Congregation, as well as to Chief Sandile the owner of this land. As far as the family is concerned, it will be told in the usual ways that will be an honour even to it in the latter days.

Those were the last words.

When the Wife of the Minister arrived from her daily job, she was anxious because she could sense it, —she was also the first one to realize that there was a messenger from the home Above that had arrived earlier, and with whom the Priest did the last Sacrifice.

Therefore,—

Oh!!!

The Mountains of Keiskammahoek made resounding sound,
They made a resounding sound, son of Kuze;

Yat' intlokoma yabet' ezangcibeni,
Zat' izangcibe zayibhangx' imilambo;
Wasebez' umntu pantsi wati,—
Umkil' u Solomon ka Kuze.
Wotuk' omny' ebamb' isifuba wati,—
Az' atinin' oka Gontsana?

Hay' i Komkul' eli Pezulu!

Hay' kodw' i Komkul' eli Pezulu!

Wasuk' u Nyhitinyhiti wazigquma nge nkungu.
Kwanga kumhla kwaf' u Teba;
Wasuk' u Qoboqobo wamazama;
Apamban' amazw' okuteta,—
Bat' abaheden' ubenentshaba;
Sati tina ne Nkosi yake.
Bat' abahedeni ubulewe,—
Sati tin' upunyuziwe,
Mhla latokombis' ilanga,
Layigob' imisebe yebembe,
Yanga yintomb' ibonw' ebuhlanti.
Hay' ke bet' i Komkul' eli Pezulu!

Hamba wena kwe ka bawo,
Umise kakuhle ku Qoboqobo;
Ku Qoboqobo Nyhitinyhiti;
Ku Nyhitinyhiti ne Nqolonqolo;
Ku Nqolonqolo ne Gwiligwili.
Usaya kumisa kakuhle pambili!
Kwelo Bhunga umenyelwe kulo;
Kwele Kerubim ne Serafim;
Kwelozwe lingasafuni langa,—
Kub' ilanga selipantsi kwenyawo.
Hamb' ugoduke kwedin' akowetu,—

The resounding sound hit the rock cliffs,
The rock cliffs sent the noise through the rivers in all directions,
Someone whispered softly and said,—
Solomon Kuze has departed.
Another was shocked and, holding their chest, said, —
What should the son of Gontsana be saying?
Oh, the Great Place Above!
Oh, but the Great Place Above!

Nyhitinyiti just covered itself with mist.
It was as if it is the day Teba died;
Keiskammahoek became unstable;
Words were exchanged,—
The heathens said he had enemies;
We said he had his Lord.
The heathens said he was bewitched,—
And we said he has been rested,
The day the sun bowed its head,
It lowered its lashes, cast them down,
Like a girl admired in the kraal by the marriage negotiating party.
Oh fellows, the Great Place Above!

Go then, my father's lad,
You did well in Keiskammahoek;
In Keiskammahoek Nyhitinyhiti;
In Nyhitinyhiti and in Nqolonqolo;
In Nqolonqolo and Gwiligwili.
You will still do well where you are headed!
In that Council, where you have been invited;
In the land of Cherubim and Seraphim;
In that land that does require sun anymore,—
Because the sun is already underneath the feet,
Leave, and go home young lad of ours, —

Nam ndibiziwe bendingakumangala.
Hay' kodw' i Komkul' eli Pezulu!
I Komkul' eli Pezulu!!
Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele,
"Umfi Rev Solomon Kuze,"
Imvo Zabantsundu (17 March 1931), 8

Me too, if I were called I would not decline.
Oh, the Great Place Above!
Oh, but the Great Place Above! !
That's it!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“The late Rev Solomon Kuze,”
The African Opinion (17 March 1931), 8

20a Umfi Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda (1915)

“Ngokuba ulutuli uyakubuyela kwase lutulini.”

“Ndibhala ndikwazisa ukuba umhlobo wako u Radebe akaseko.” La ngamazwi afike kum nencwadi emapiko amnyama. Andibanga saba namlomo wokutini nakutini, nokwenjenje oku Mhleli, sendihlaula ityala kuba ndalibeletayo.

Umfi lo ngummi omdala wase Ngqushwa, akulele kuyo; ube yindoda epambili kwi nkonzo yakowayo yase Wesile. Ukusekwa kwe Ngqungqutela wenziwa u Mongameli (President) wayo, kude kube namhlanje nje ufela kwezo dyokwe. Kute ngenxa yengqondo yake, udumo lwake lwapumela nakwamanye amazwe, wada waba yindoda engencinane pakati kwesizwe jikelele.

Mna ke ngoku nditi lamacapazana alandelayo ase zantsi kakulu kunaye, ubefanelwe ngamagama avakalayo kunoku:—

Ndicela uxolo kufa,
Nditsho mna nzala ka Efa.
Nditete kuteta ngawe,
Ndati uyi “ngqeqana” nawe.
Namhla ndilila kakulu,
Kuzani kumk’ umnt’ omkulu!

Ndilwe kakulu no Kufa,
Pofu ngumtunywa u Kufa;
Akuzenzeli ngokwako
Utunywa yi Nkosi yako.
Namhl’ elinxeba linzulu;
Kuzani kumk’ umnt’ omkulu!

Zenibe zizwe nivile!
U Mqanda kutiw’ ufile.

20b The Late Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda (1915)

“Because you are dust, to dust you will return.”

“I write notifying you that your friend Rhadebe is no more.” These are the words that came to me in a letter with black wings. I did not have any words to utter, even in doing this Mr Editor, I am just paying a debt, it is the responsibility I have carried on my back.

The deceased is an old citizen of Peddie, where he grew up; he was a leading man in his home church, the Methodist. When the Conference was established he was made its President until he died today; still under that yoke. Because of his intellect, his fame penetrated other nations, until he was no longer small within the nation generally.

On my part now I say, the following few words are far lower than him, he deserves more substantive words than these:-

I ask for forgiveness, death,
It is me, the offspring of Eva who says so.
I have said something about you,
I said, you too are “a coarse-haired, small-footed dog”,
Today I am weeping abundantly,
You all, pay your condolences, a great person has departed!

I have fought a great deal with Death,
Anyway, Death is a messenger;
You are not doing it for yourself
You are sent by your Master.
Today this wound is deep;
You all, pay your condolences, a great person has departed!

Nations, you should have heard!
It is said, Mqanda is no more.

Uputunyw' apa yi Nkosi.
Iyakumongez' ubukosi.
Esi siganeko sikulu:
Kuzani kumk' umnt' omkulu!

Nivile na madodana,
Ngoyihlo kwa Ntsonganyawana?
Elenu ke litinina?
Namhla impilo ipina?
Sekusaziwa li Zulu:
Kuzani kumk' umnt' omkulu!

Wemk' umkonzisi ntsizana!
Wemk' umluleki-bantwana!
Wemk' umcebisi wesizwe!
Waya kwelinye ilizwe;
Silahlekelwe kakulu:
Kuzani kumk' umnt' omkulu:

Ube yityuw' emhlabeni:
Ube yintsik' ebuzweni:
Ube libhax' ebuntwini:
Engumqol' ebu Krestwini:
Yivani nani kwa Zulu:
Kuzani kumk' umnt' omkulu!

Ube ligor' emfazweni:
'Ke sazapul' ekulweni:
"Ndivela kwelakwa Juda."
Angatsh' ke uya tyuda.

²² *Ntsonganyawana* is a term used by Xhosa people and it figuratively means 'death'

He was fetched here by the Lord.
He is going to increase his royalty.
This occasion is enormous:
You all, pay your condolences, a great person has departed!

Did you hear, young men,
About your fathers who are lying dead with feet folded^{22?}
As for you, what do you have to say?
Today, where is life?
It is only known by the Heaven:
You all, pay your condolences, a great person has departed!

The one who made the dejected to be of service has left!
The one who was a disciplinarian of the children has left!
The one who was an advisor to the nation has left!
He left for another country;
We have lost greatly:
You all, pay your condolences, a great person has departed:

He was the salt of the earth:
He was the pillar of nationalism:
He was a crutch to humanity:
And a backbone to Christianity:
Hear you too in Heaven:
You all, pay your condolences, a great person has departed!

He was a warrior in war:
We once broke sticks fighting:
“I come from Judea.”
When he says that, he is unyielding.

Zaw' intwan' ezizitshoyo:
Ang' uzombelel' intsholo.

'Ke sazapula kwa Ndaba,
Wat' umntu zenzeni indaba:
'Ke sazapula kwa Ngqika,
Wat' umnt' iyavuk' i Afrika:
Zanuka kuma Ranuga,
Wat' umntu kwaqal' ukulunga.

'Kutsho bawo nditi hamba:
Nok' usishiya silamba:
Ufezil' ukwenz' idini.
Ngesoko lase zulwini:
Inkosi uyikonzile,
Ubalek' ulufezile.

Ngoko ke ndiyabhotisa
Kumkosi wama Lungisa,
Ongene pakati kwawo,
Ongqonge i Nkosi u Bawo:
Nditsho ke ndiziyaleza,
Nesizwe ndisiyaleza.

Maye-maye-maye-e-e!
Maye-maye-maye babe-e-e;
Nitsinina? Nits' ufile?
Hau! vuka Hadeb' afile!
Ngehl' uf' ushiy' okungaka.
Ngehl' uf' ukushiya na ba?
Ama Ziz' amputsumile.
Ats' uyabizwa ngu Njokweni:

The young men with pride fell:
As if he was singing a harmonious song to them.

We once broke sticks at the place of Ndaba,
Someone said, make yourselves newsworthy:
We broke the sticks at the place of Ngqika,
Someone said Africa is arising:
There was discomfoting smell for the outsiders.
Someone said, it is beginning to be good.

So, I say, father go:
Although you left us in hunger;
You have successfully made a sacrifice.
With an established custom from heaven:
You served the Lord,
You have successfully run the race.

Therefore I greet
The army of Righteous people
In which you entered,
Which is surrounding the Father, the Lord:
I say so, committing myself in your charge,
I also commit the nation.

Oh my, my!
Oh my, my God!
What are you saying? Are you saying he is dead?
Wow! Wake up Rhadebe, you are not dead!
You can't just die and leave behind so much.
You can't just die to leave behind these too?
The Zizi clan fetched him.
They said he was called by Njokweni:

Inyewe komkulu zimile.
Zimile nats' e Hofisini:
U Mants' uts' upin' u Tomose?
Vuka Hadeb' ukambe.
Ikalitshi selibotshiwe.
Kuyaxok' ukuts' ufile.
Ngez' ufe Hadeb' omhle,
Ngeze wafa! Ngeze wafa!!

S.E. Mqayi,
Imbongi YeSizwe Jikelele
“Umfi Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda,”
Imvo Zabantsundu (6 April 1915), 3; (13 April 1915), 1

Private talks at the great place have stopped.
They have stopped too at the office:
The Magistrate is asking for Thomas?
Wake up Radebe and walk.
The carriage is already been assembled.
It is a lie to say you are dead.
You cannot die, fine Radebe,
You can't die! You can't die!!

S.E. Mqhayi,
The Poet of the Nation,
“The late Thos Mbilatsho Mqanda,”
The African Opinion (6 April 1915), 3 (13 April 1915), 1

21a Umfi u Mpondombini.

(Ngu Nzulu Lwazi.)

Kwisi Qingata sase Qonce kwelase Koloni, kuko ilahleko enkulu eyenzekileyo kuma Ndlambe; leyo ke yinto yokub'ub'a kwenkosi yesosizwe, e Mncotsho. Lenkosi ayinaminyaka mininzi isipete esisizwe,—iminyaka ingaba mitatu kupela; zaye inkosi ezimbini ezipambi kwayo le zingalihlalanga ilizwe, siteta u Kondile, (N.C. Umhalla), nomninawa wake u Sonzobo.

U Mpondombini lo, ogama lakowabo bekutiwa ngu Msintsi (kuba wazalelwa pantsi komti wo Msintsi e Kobonqaba²³ kwelakwa Centane), ngu nyana ka Makinana, isijora esikulu sika Mhalla; u Makinana lowo ngumtana ekwake kwako ingxwabazo enkulu pakati kwama Ndlambe odwa,—kwahlulelene u Kumkani u Mhalla no Kumkanikazi u Nohute um Tembukazi intombi ka Ndaba. Uti u Nohute ngokungazali anikwe amawele kwenye inkosikazi kutiwe makaziketele owake unyana, oyakuba ngowake, suke u Nohute umka Mhala, akete u Makinana lo, amondle, amaluse ade abe yindoda, kufuneke ngoku edolelwe ebukosini ngokutsho kwenkosikazi u Nohute,—luhle apo udiwu; ama Ndlambe esiti,—hayi lo Makinana uzalwa ngum Xosakazi, akanako ukuba yinkosi yetu, waye u Mhala naye ekwelo. Waye u Nohute nolunye urozo lwamapakati esiti, ayinanto lonto oko nje anyiswe ibele lenkosazana intombi ka Ndaba,—seleyinkosi. Side elotyala lasiwa ku Sandile e Mkubiso (Burns Hill). Waligweba u Sandile ngokuti,—“Okunene nanimnika ubukosi u Makinana ngokumanyisa ibele lentombi ka Ndaba!”

Lo Mpondombini ke ngunyana omkulu okoyo ku Makinana lowo,—unaye unyana ongalwanga noko kumfazi womtshato ushiya

²³ *Kobongaba*

21b The late Mpondombini (The Two-Horned)

Nzulu Lwazi (Deep-Knowledge/Science)

In the District of King William's Town in the Cape Colony, there is a great loss that occurred to the Ndlambe people; and that was the death of the chief of that nation, in Mncotsho. This chief did not have many years ruling this nation, —it could have been for three years only; and the two chiefs preceding him did not live long either, we mean Kondile, (N. C. Mhalla), and his younger brother Sonzobo.

This Mpondombini, whose original name was Msintsi (*Erythrina Caffra*/Kaffir tree) (because he was born under the Kaffir-tree in Khobonqaba in Centane), is the son of Makinana, a very powerful person of Mhalla; this Makinana is the child about whom there was a huge squabble amongst Ndlambe people—there was a division between king Mhalla and Queen Nohute the Thembu woman, daughter of Ndaba. It happened that, because Nohute could not have children, she was given twins from another wife from whom she was asked to choose for herself a son, who would belong to her, and Nohute the wife of Mhalla chose this Makinana whom he fed and sent to the initiation school to be a man; and now he was supposed to be enthroned, irregularly, into royalty according to Nohute, the wife,—that was when the quarrel started; the Ndlambe people saying, — no, this Makinana was born by a Xhosa woman, he cannot be our chief, and Mhalla himself was supporting that. Nohute and a number of other councillors were saying, that does not matter, the fact that he was suckled from the breast of a princess, the daughter of Ndaba, he was already a chief. We finally brought that case to Sandile in Burns Hill. He passed a judgement by saying, — “Indeed you gave Makinana royalty by suckling him from a breast of the

intombi. Umninawa²⁴ wake u Silimela, uko kwa Centane—nguye indoda eyake yampitizelisa umkuluwa lo wayo, yoyiswa noko kuba ngabamfazi mnye.

U Makinana lowo yincam yawo onke ama Ndlambe (kulo Ndilatashe), lawa ase Dutywa ngawase Kunene, ka Smiti Mhala (kulo Gqwaru). La ama Ndlambe ase Mncotsho, agqibe yonke i Koloni le, li Xhiba, kulo Gaxa, kuba abafazi baka Mhala babe lishumi linabafazi ababini (12). U Mhala ke ngunyana ka Ndlambe, abe u Ndlambe eyinto ka Rarabe, ka Palo, ka Tshiwo, ka Ngconde, ka Togu.

Lomfo uwashiyileyo ama Ndlambe ngo October lo ngumfo omhle kunene, ngapakati nangapandle; umfo oti “Gazi,” kumntu wonke ateta naye; umfo ongenakete laqaba namntu wasikolo, obatata bonke ngamfaninye. Bekuxa akumashumi omahlanu eminyaka yobudala, aneminyaka yomitatu ngapandle (53), kuba uzelwe ukub’ub’a kuka Maqoma (1874), waluka ngo Qweta (1894), nakuba bekungabonakali njalo, kuba umfo mncinane enkange lekweni, emhle.

Umnchwabo wonganyelwe ngu Mfundisi wase Tiyopiya u Rev. J. Mtoti, encediswa ngowase Babatizi u Rev. Mashologu, kuko o Messrs. Robt. Haya, no Wm. Siyo bakwa Gasela; kuko u Mr. Mac. Jabavu wakwa Ntinde. Lamadoda abe namazwi awenzayo okuwuk’uza umzi wama Ndlambe, emva ko mncwabo. U Sibonda C.C. Madosi no Mr. S.E.R. Mqayi babucaze kakuhle ubom bomfi u Mhlekezazi lo pakati kwalondimbane yabantu encwabeni.

“U MPONDOMBINI”

Inkosi yama Ndlambe, yona le besiyishumayela ukusweleka ngo

²⁴ *Uninawa*

daughter of Ndaba!”

This Mpondombini, therefore is the eldest son of Makinana, — he does have a son who was not from the marriage, and he comes before a girl. His younger brother, Silimela, is in Centane, — he was the man who caused confusion with his elder brother, but then he was defeated because they are of the same mother.

Makinana is at the top of all the the Ndlambe people (at Ndilatashe’s home), those in Dutywa are of the House of the Right Hand wife, of Smith Mhala (at Gqwaru’s home). These Ndlambe people in Mncotsho, who are scattered all over the Cape Colony, are from the supporting wife from the *iXhiba*, at Gaxa’s home, because Mhala had twelve wives. Mhala is the son of Ndlambe and Ndlambe is the son of Rharhabe, of Phalo, of Tshiwo, of Ngconde, of Togu.

This man who left the Ndlambe people this October is a very handsome man, inside and out; the man who says “Same Blood” to everyone he speaks to; the man who does not discriminate between ochre and the educated people, who regards everybody as one. He was 53 years of age, because he was born on the year Maqoma died (1874), and was circumcised during Gqwetha (1894), but his age did not show, because he looked young and handsome.

The funeral was presided over by the Minister of the Ethiopian Church, Rev. J. Mtoti, helped by Rev. Mashologu of Baptist Church, there were Messrs. Robt. Haya, and Wm. Siyo of Gasela; there was Mr Mac. Jabavu from Ntinde. These men gave speeches to console the Ndlambe community after the funeral. The Headman C. C. Madosi and Mr S. E. R. Mqhayi gave a beautiful narrative on the life the late Chief to the multitudes at the funeral.

“MPONDOMBINI, THE TWO-HORNED”

The Chief of the Ndlambe people, whom we announced his death in

October (eye Dwara) lo; into ka Makinana ka Mhalla ka Ndlambe,—
ibisenjenje i Mbongi yakhe,—

Lavel' igwangq' elilub' elu!
Lavel' itole lenkuz' ezinkulu!
Itole lenkuz' ezindala,
O Jiyis' uwuca,
U Sozikolokote,—
U Hlati le Rura lamulekile!
Itol' lo Soziqitshiqitshi,
U Magenga ngamkont' emazibukweni!

Ngu Mpondombin' igama layo,—
Kub'olunye lutwal' umzi wakulo Gqwaru,
Olunye lutwal' owakulo Ndilatashe;
Kant' inkankan' ise mtonyamani,—
Emtonyaneni Komkulu kulo Gaxa!
Lomlung' u Ode makenziwe mkulu,
Makenziwe mkulu siti ma Ndlambe;
Kub'ukwazil' ukuyib' al' incwadi,
Wayib' al' incwadi yawel' i Gqili;
Wayib' al' incwadi yawel' i Ligwa;
It' iyabuy' incwadi yabuy' itimla,—
Yabuy' isiti, “Itsi! Itsi!! Itsi!!!”
Sanduluk' isapusela sajub' elundini,
Yasal' inkunz' enkulu ka Makinana!
Ngabeta ngamnqayi kulama Ndlambe matsha,—
Kwezimbukushesh' o Madosi
Kwezintwana zo Ntsonkota nezo Mbovane!
Kwezintwana zo Lubisi nezo Ngcenge!
Kwezinqayi zo Ncapayi nezo Papanal!
Zinanin' ukusinik' isapusela zithi yinkunzi?
Lomlung' u Giladile makadunyiswe

October; the son of Makinana, of Mhalla of Ndlambe, —his Praise Poet used to say this, —

There comes the one light in complexion!
There comes the calf of the big bulls!
The calf of the old bulls,
The likes of Jiyis'uwuca
The father of Zikolokote,
The Forest of Rura is astounded!
The calf of the fathers of Ziqitshiqitshi ,
The One Who Makes Way with the spear in fords!

His name is Mpondombini, The Two-Horned, —
Because the other one carries the home of Gqwarhu,
The other one carries that of Ndilatashe;
Whereas the skull of the beast is opposite the kraal's opening
Opposite the kraal's opening at the home of Gaxa!
This white person Auld should be exalted,
He should be exalted by us, the Ndlambe people;
Because he managed to write a letter,
He wrote a letter and it crossed the Orange River;
He wrote the letter and it crossed the Vaal River;
When the letter came back it came sneezing, —
It came back sneezing “Tsss! Tsss!! Tsss!!!”
An orphaned calf took off and it landed in the horizon,
And the old bull of Makinana remained behind!
He hit the young Ndlambe people with a fighting stick, —
He hit the hefty people Madosi
He hit the youngsters of Ntsokotha and those of Mbovane!
H hit the youngsters of Lubisi and those of Ngcenge!
He hit the bald heads of Ncapayi and those of Papanana!
How could they give us a calf and call it a bull?
This white man, Gillard should be glorified

Kub' ukwazil' ukuzibon' izinto,—
Ute koka Duna "Pum' ebubondeni!"
Wak'al' oka Duna way' ezibukweni!
Kutiw' ezibukwen' unyanisil' u Giladile
Akumbonin' ukuba lomntan' uyabulawa!
Ubulawa ngamadun' akowabo
Anxamel' ukubuliswa ngokwawo!
Puma mfo wakwa Quluba,—
Wakwa Hlat' ema Mfeneni!
Umgcin' umzukulwana ka Nohute
Ka Nohute wakwa Ntabamhlophe.
Hayi ke bet' ama Ndlamb' amatsha!
Akakwaz' ukuyondl' inkedama;
Ayamlahl' umtan' akufelwa nguyise.
Namhl' alahl' u Sokufekema,—
Az' ayeshoba ntonina mhla ngomiselo?
Ez' equb' inkabi yenkomo,—
Yagoduka kwa ngamanqin' ayo?
Kawutsho mfondini ka Ntamo!
Nawe ka Hlosana kawupendule!
Naniyawashoba ntonina bafondini?
Taru Bawo ngqomb' o Nohute,—
Andenzi kubonga ndenz' ukubalisa;
Hayi kodw' ama Ndlamb' amatsha!
Hay' ama Ndlamb' amatsha!
Ama Ndlamb'amatsha!

Ncincilili!!

Imbongi Yesizwe Jikelele,
"Umfi u Mpondombini,"
Umeteli Wabantu (29 October 1927), 7

Because he was able to see things, —
 He said to the son of Duna “Get out of headmanship”
 The son of Duna shouted and went to the ford!
 At the ford it was said Gillard was telling the truth
 Can’t you see that this child is being killed!
 He is killed by his kinsmen
 They, themselves, are rushing to be greeted!
 Get out, son of Quluba, —
 Of the Hlathi clan, of the Mfene clan!
 And look after the grandchild of Nohute!
 Of Nohute of Ntabamhlophe.
 Oh no my friends, the young Ndlambe people!
 They cannot feed an orphan;
 They abandon a child when his father dies.
 Today they are abandoning Sokufekema, —
 What evil were they heralding on the day of enthronement?
 They came driving a cow from behind, —
 Did it go back home on its own hoofs?
 Spit it out, son of Ntamo!
 You too son of Hlosana please respond!
 What evil did you actually heralding, you fellow men?
 Peace Father, the one with reddish complexion of Nohute
 I am not praise-singing, I am narrating a story;
 But, oh no young Ndlambe people!
 No, young Ndlambe people!
 The young Ndlambe people!

That’s it!!

The Poet of the Nation,
 “The late Mpondombini,”
Speaker of the People (29 October 1927), 7

22a Umfi u Nkwati Bika (1907)

(YIMBONGI YAKWA GOMPO)

“Ngokolo u Henoki wemkiswa ukuba angaboni kufa Heb. 11.5.”

Le ingasentla yitekisi ashumayele kuyo lomkokeli we Ramente yase Rabe ese Monti, kwi Cawa ete kanti yeyokugqibela yake kwelilizwe lentsizi nezilingo. Xa ebeshumayela ukankanye o Mosisi no Elija amadoda awemkiswa ngendlela ezizodwa, eteta esenjenjalo nje lompakati andazi nganto mna ukuba uteta selenomsila wengwe omfikeleyo,—naye akazi,—nezihlobo zake azazi.

Kute ke ngolwesi Ne (23rd May) kuyo locawa, wafikelwa sinxoshanxosha sesigidimi esingamnikanga neyure enye yokubopa impahla yake,—semka naye; salala nati sisiti: Umke naye engafanga kuba ubehamba naye kakade.” Imbangi yokuba sitsho ke tina kungenxa yokuba kule Monti ubeyindoda evana nama Bandla onke embedesho, nentlanganiso zonke, nabantu bonke, abadala nabatsha, abafundileyo nabarwada, abagqobhokileyo nabangemakolwa; andazi ukuba ubetenina ukuba nesipo esinjalo ukunqaba. Kusuku olungapambi kokuba anyuselwe, ubeteta nam, ndinenye indoda ecaza into ayiyo ngokwase mbusweni weli lizwe,—ndandingazi mna ukuba uzicazela ukuba zendibe ngoku ndibhala ngaye ndenjenje,—naye wayengazi, kuba noko ndimtemba kuba besipants[a] ukwazana ingontsi,—ngeleke wahleba kuba indim.

Kuloncazelo yake kwakuko nenkosi yake ekwanguntanga wake u Chief Bloom Mlityalwa Anta, abazalwa ngamininye, yati kanti intanga yake leyo ize kumbona okokugqibela. Babulisana kusasa kuba omnye egoduka wafahla omnye ngokokuhlwa.

Ngokuzalwa lomfo ngu Mtembu um-Kuma, into ka Bika into ka

22b The late Nkwati Bika (1907)

(POET OF GOMPO)

“By faith Enoch was taken away so he could not see death Heb. 11.5.”

Above is the text this leader of the Congregation of the Presbyterian Church in East London preached on, in the Service that happened to be his last in this world of sorrows and temptations. When he was preaching he mentioned Moses and Elijah, men that were taken away in unique ways, while this councillor was speaking that way, I didn't know that he had already had the tail of a leopard, - he also didn't know, - and his relatives didn't know either.

On Thursday (23rd May) during that week he was visited by an over-hasty messenger who didn't give him even one hour to pack his belongings, —and left with him; and we went to sleep saying: “ He left with him, not having died because he was walking with him anyway.” The reason we say that is because in this East London he was a man who got along with all the Congregations of worship, with all the gatherings, with all the people, old and young, the educated and the raw, the pierced and the non-believers, I don't know how he happened to have such a scarce gift. On the day before he was lifted up, he has been talking to me, I was with another man and he was explaining what he was in the governance of this land, - I didn't know that he was telling me these so that I would now be writing like this about him, - he didn't know either, because at least I trust him because we nearly knew each other's deep secrets, - he would have whispered because it was me.

In his explanation there was also his chief that was the same age as him, Chief Bloom Mlityalwa Anta, who was born on the same day as him, it so happened that his mate had come to see him for the last time. They greeted each other because the other one was going home, and the other one departed that evening.

By birth, this man was Mthembu, Mkuma, the son of Bika the

Kwayiba. U Kwayiba lowo wazeka intombi ka Ngqika udade bo Anta kanye eseseba Tenjini. Unyana walontombi u Bika wakulela ku lo Gwelane, kuba wati ngokuhleleleka kowabo, wacitakalela ebukweni apo uyise, ngeloxesha amaGwelane ayesese Ntsikizini, e Tunxe no Daliwe wonke. Kude kwayincitakalo ka Ncayecibi u Bika enamatele enkosini yake, engumntu owanikwa u Bobozayo yinqu ka Sandile, u Bobozayo ke ye[y]ona nkulu kwa Anta, kulo Ndlovu uyise ka Mdukiswa lo upeteyo ngoku.

Apo ke u Nkwati lo afumenene kona ne Lizwi le Nkosi kulapo e Teko kwinto ka Gadudu umfundisi wake angazange amshiye ngasemva.

Iminyaka ngoku elapa e Monti imalunga ne 15. Kweloxesha lonke njengendoda enamabhongo ubenako ukuzivutulula ukuba awalungele lamaxesha, nemfundo wayifumana. Namhla umke eshiya umhlolokazi kunye namakwenkwe amabini nentombi enye u Violet,— bekuxa yena ayindodana ekuma 45 iminyaka yobudala. Igqira lite konakele ubucopo. Umpefumlo upumele ezandleni zomfundisi wake abengaziguquli ngaye, u Rev Dr Rubusana, wanchwatywa nguye engqongwe yintlaninge yabantu ngomhla wokuzalwa kwe Nkosazana oyi 24th May.

Kwasala kuqauk' [imbeleko] nto ka Kwayiba!
Sadl' imbadu kanti sewunomsila wesilo,
Wateta ngo Henoki kant' uyazikwekwa
Ubuti sakutinini' ukuqonda

²⁵ *Umsila wesilo* is an equivalent of a summon brought by the messenger of the court

son of Kwayiba. That Kwayiba married the daughter of Ngqika, a sister to Anta, just when he was still in the land of the Thembu. The son of that daughter, Bika, grew up in Gwelane's home, and because of poverty at his home, his father was forced to migrate to his in laws, during that time the Gwelane clan was still in Ntsikizini, in Tunxe and the rest of Daliwe. Until the dispersal of Ngcayechibi, Bika was attached to his Chief and he was given Bobozayo by Sandile himself, Bobozayo is the real first born son of the house of Anta, at the home of Ndlovu father of Mdukiswa who is the ruler now.

Where Kwanti also got the Word of the Lord was at Teko, he got it from the son of Gadudu his minister that he never left behind.

It is about 15 years now he is in East London. During that whole time as an ambitious man he was able to brush himself up to match with these times; he also got education. Today he left behind a widower with two boys and one girl, Violet, — and this is when he was 45 years old young man. The doctor said the brain was damaged. He died in the hands of his minister whom he liked very much, Rev. Dr Rubusana, and he was buried by him surrounded by a lot of people on the day of the birth of the Princess, the 24th May.

The baby blanket broke, son of Kwayiba!
We engaged in conversation but then you already had an animal tail²⁵,
You spoke about Enoch but then you were referring to yourself
How did you think we would understand

Singento zinabulumko nje tina zidalwa!
Sadl' ubom belizwe imini yonke
Wabucotela wedwa ng[o]ncwalazi
Ubom belizw' elizayo lo Lwaganda
Ungamvisanga nomfundisi wak' omtandayo,
Ungahlebelanga no Nongaye umkako.
Sakuyitinina lento kulo Gwelane?
Sakutinina kulo Ndlovu kulo Mdukiswa?
Sakutinina kumka Bika unyoko,
Umfaz' owabulalekayo ngenxa yako?
Sixeleleni kaloku nina bagqibe bodwa?
Siyitinina lent' ukuyixel' ebantwini
Kude kuye eziramenten' obukokela zona?
Lisikohlile ke tina nto zikohliweyo kade,
Kubi, mfo ka Kwayiba kubi!!
Kubi sakubhekabheka kubi
Kub' umk' ungatshongo nokuti Hureh!
Ndaba nam bendipendule ndati Hureh!!
Ungafa kunge kuf' igwalana tole lom-Tembu
Akubinze ngenkwenkwez' akutenina awa kowenu?
Akuhlabe ngengqanda akuteni awakowenu?
Ufe ukufa kuka Abenere pambi ko Jowabi?
Ubungayitand' int' embi kwizwe lent' ezimbi,
Wati kanti sewuqwenelwa ngabasemandleni.
Bebekoyik' abaseli bendywala;
Kwati kanti kufunw' abanjalo Pezulu.
Bebekoyik' abant' abanolunya;
Kwati kanti kufunw' abanjalo Pezulu.
Bebekoyik' abant' abakohlakeleyo;
Kwati kanti kufunw' abanjalo Pezulu.
Bebekoyik' abaf' abangamagwala;
Kwati kanti kufunw' abanjalo Pezulu.
Tole lomzi waseluhlangeni

Having not being wise creatures!
We enjoyed life all day
You sneaked towards it alone in the early evening
To the life of the next country of Lwaganda
Without even telling your minister whom you love dearly,
Without even whispering to Nongaye your wife.
What are we going to do about this at the home of Gwelane?
What are we going to say at the home of Ndlovu and of Mdukiswa?
What are we going to say to the wife of Bika, your mother,
The woman who suffered because of you?
Tell us, you, who decided alone?
How do we tell this to people
And the rest of the congregants you led?
We are perplexed those who are already perplexed,
It's terrible, son of Kwayiba, it's terrible!!
It's terrible when we look around, it's terrible
Because you left without even saying Hoorah!
I would have also responded and said Hoorah!!
How can you die as if it is a little coward that has died, the son of Tembu
Did your folk stab you with a star, or what?
Did your folk stab you with a spear, or what?
You died the death of Abner before Yoab?
You didn't like what was bad in the land of bad things,
You happened to be desired by those in authority.
Drinkers of beer were scared of you;
It happened that those were the ones needed Above.
People with malice were scared of you;
It happened that those were the ones needed Above.
People who are cruel were afraid of you;
It happened that those were the ones needed Above.
Men who were cowards were scared of you;
It happened that those were the ones needed Above.
Son of the house of the nation

Silibona ngemikondo ukubhek' eJoredane,
Zeningaxeli ndaba kubakafuli
Hleze kuvuywe ngamagishima namagishimakazi.
Hamba nkewu woselebona ngemizil' u Qomoyi
Abon' ukuti ibisenjenj' indod' eyamzalayo,
Hamb' usibulisel' apo pambili
Ko Henoki ko Elij' abo no Mosisi
Wobulisa nalapo ku Tixo ukuba yinkos' ebulisekayo.
Uti siti makasipate kakuhle.
Uti siti makasip' imvula ngexesha layo.
Uti batsh' oruxeshe basemhlabeni!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
"Umfi u Nkwati Bika"
Izwi Labantu (4 June 1907)

We see it with trail towards the Jordan,
Don't tell the sorcerers
In case the male and female enchanters agree.
Go fellow Qomoyi will see by footsteps
He will see that the man that gave birth to him did things this way,
Go and send greetings to the ones ahead
To Enoch, to Elijah and Moses
Greet God too if he is the chief that is greetable.
Say he should handle us with care.
Say he should give us rain during its time.
Say, so they say the destructive caterpillars of the earth!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
"Umfi u Nkwati Bika"
The Voice of the People (4 June 1907)

23a Umfi u Rev. Chas. Pamla (1917)

“Akabi nakufunyanwa ke, ngenx’ enokuba u Tixo wamfudusayo.”

Pambi kokuba ndimbone ngeliso umfundisi lo, ndandise ndimazi kakade ngokuva izenzo zake. Ukumbona kwam ngeliso, akuzange kube saba nanto ingakanani kongeza yona, kuba izenzo zake zazise zivakele, zamxela, zamfeza kwati cwaka. Kakade ke umntu ugwetywa agwetyelwe ngenzeno zake, kwelipakade nakwelo lizayo.

Umhla wama 24 kwinyanga ye Silimela, yi Cawa leyo yesitatu emva kokuqubisana nge Bhunga iziqu ezi Tatu zobu Tixo; kute kanti ke kwelo Bhunga kubhungwa inkabi endala le, ukuba ize kwenza ingxelo ngezinto ezitile zesimo somhlaba ngelixesha. Kutshiwo kwatiwa kokona yose iba li Dini lendawo ezitile zehlabati: iqame ezondawo zombini.

Akubangako sigishimi sokuya kumcebisa ukuba makayolele; kuba kutiwe leminyaka ima 82 ibiseyili bhaso elo, ukuba ebengekayoleli angaba ebengayi kuba sayolela.

Malunga nendlela yokumka kwake, akubangako xhala ngayo; kuba no Henoki sambona engaseko, sasesisazi ukuba umke Naye kuba ebehamba Naye kakade.

Tina ke namhla sinovuyo, kuba sisazi ukuba ingxelo ayakufika ayenze ubawo, ayikuba yingxelo embi ngati, ewe, ingxelo yake iyakuba yeyokusibuzela,—ngoko ke sibeka ilitye ngemihlali, sisenjenje:—

Au,—

Lade laputunyw’ inyange lakowetu,

Inyange lakowetu kwa Radebe:

Kwa Gob’ izembe kwa Mtimkulu.

Siyazi ke tina bekunzim’ ezulwini,

23b The late Rev. Chas. Pamla (1917)

“Well, he couldn’t be found because God moved him away”

Before I could see this reverend with naked eye I knew him already through his deeds. Seeing him with naked eye didn’t add anything much, because his deeds had already been heard, they reflected him, and completed him totally. Of course, a person is judged and punished because of his deeds in this world, and also in the one that is coming.

The 24th June, was the third Sunday after the three bodies of God came together at Council; it so happened that at that Council this old bullock was privately discussed, that he needed to come to give a report on some things relating to the state of the land at this time. It was said, that would be the right time for him to be the Sacrifice to certain aspects of the world: and be fruitful in those two areas.

There was no messenger to go and advise him to say a dying wish; because it was said that these 82 years were just a bonus, if he had not said a dying wish by then, he would no longer have said it.

About how he left, there was no worry about it; because even with Enoch he had already vanished when we noticed, and we already knew that he left with Him because he had been walking with him anyway.

As for us we are happy today, because we know that the report father will give about us on his arrival will not be a bad report, his report will be making an enquiry on our behalf, - therefore we put a stone with joy, doing it like this:-

Oh,-
Our ancestor has finally been fetched,
Our ancestor from the Rhadebe clan:
From the place of Gob’izembe, the place of Mthimkhulu.
For we know, it was difficult in heaven,

Kubizwe yena nje kubizw' obeng' angabizwa;
Kubizwe yena nje kubizw'umnini-kwazi,
Kubizwe yena nje kubizw' indod' esebenzileyo.
Kubizw' oyakwenz' ingxel' ezeleyo;
Kuba wayenikw' italente zambini:
Zachuma nditeta zapupuma.
Nditeta waxin' umnt' esandul' ukuxina,
Zatwala kamashumi, kamakulu, kamawaka.
Zavulek' indledlan' ebezilucinya,
Zahanjw' indlel' ebezingasahanjwa,
Bacuthek' ohola bakwantshabalalo.
Besivula ngaye tina boma-Wesile—
Sivul' ubobo sivul' uhlololwane.
Sigenga ngay' indlel' ezisekweneni,
Sigqore kwa ngay' emixaukeni;
Ubengalata ngom-Simbiti kuvel' izibuko,
Kuvel' amazibuk' ezinzongonzongweni,
Atsh' ezintshinyeleni kupum' izitombo,
Kube zindlel' ezitongotongweni zentsunguzi.
Kube zindlela zokuhamb' u Mesiyasi,
Kuba kalok' ubenedamaneti yo Moya,
Ube nolugxa lwekofoti lwentsimbi.
Ubeqengq' imbokotwe nelitye,
Apul' isiqandulo neduku,
Ubeqengq' imbiza zomqomboti,
Alandelis' imipanda yotywala.
Tina base Bhaiy samvuma kudala;
Nati Ngqush'emnyama siyamazisisa;
Tina ma Gqunukweb' asimpiki ngaluto,
Nati mi-Dushane ngaye singakuxelela.
Kukuma-Ndlamb' apo wake wangcacela,
Benomfundi noka Rubusana,
Zake zasind' imbiz' okwemin' enye,

In calling him, they called the one who wished to be called:
In calling him, they called the one owns knowledge,
In calling him, they called a man who has worked.
They called the one who will give a full report;
Because he was given two talents:
They flourished, I mean, they overflowed.
I mean he worked with purpose and determination,
They bore in tens, in hundreds, in thousands.
The paths that were narrow opened up,
The roads that were not travelled were travelled,
The broad roads to hell become narrow.
We, the Methodists used him to open up way—
We opened the dense thorn tree, and we opened the ribbon bush.
We used him to open wide paths in overgrown areas,
We used him to break off branches in rocky mountains;
Once he pointed by a long Staff, a river ford would appear,
The river ford appear in waters of unfathomable depth,
When he hit the dense vegetation, seedlings would grow,
The roads would appear in very dark dense forests.
The roads would be for Messiah to walk on,
Because he had a dynamite of the Spirit,
He had a crowbar made of a cultivator and iron,
He rolled over a grinding stone and a stone,
Broke a grinding stone pecker and the stone itself,
He rolled pots of traditional beer,
And also followed up with barrels of alcohol.
We, people of Port Elizabeth recognised him a long time ago;
And we too, black Peddie, we know him very well;
We, Gqunukwebe people don't oppose him in any way,
And we too, Dushane people, we can tell you about him.
It is towards the Ndlambe people where he once moved stealthily,
Together with his disciple and the son of Rubusana,
The pots were saved just for one day,

Nangani kwasa ngomso ziqekeka,
Wadorosha—waqwita—watshaya—
Kwajulek'idemoni kwasind'umpefumlo.
Wat' umntu "Kwa Ngqungqush' apo kusadliwa ngendeb' endala!"

Tina kwa Gcaleka ngu Ndabamlonyeni;
Nakuti ma Bhaca ngu Nomgogwana;
Tina ma Mpond'usunik' uvubukululo.
Nakuti ma Xesibe ngu Nomanyamanyama.
Ngumjongi wezono ngezarwadi.
Ngumfundis' ongabukhosi kwakuye,
Kwabakwa Mafu kuma Reledwane,
Ku Mashwabadi ka Zulu:
Ubawo wam ingqang' ase Tshoxa.
Awu! Xa kulapo ke ngiyehluka:
Masiliguguny' itsambo lenkomo yakwa Tswane!
Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi Yesizwe,
"Umfi U Rev. Chas. Pamla,"
Imvo Zabantsundu (14 August 1917), 3

Although when it dawned the following day they were already breaking,
He prepared the pipe he stroke a light and smoked—
The demons were cast down violently, and the soul was saved.
Someone said “At Ngqungqushe they are still eating out of an old
trophy!”

To us, at Gcalekaland it is Mouthnews;
Even to us Baca people it is a Bogeyman;
We, Mpondo people you give us sadness
Even to us Xesibe people, it is a Fearsome imaginary animal.
He is someone who looks at the sins with shaded glasses.
He is a minister that could still be royalty,
To the Mafu people and to Reledwane people,
To Mashwabadi, son of Zulu:
My father the great man of Tshoxa.
Oh! Just there I differ:
Let us pick the bone of the cow of Tswane
That’s it!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“The Late Rev Chas. Pamla,”
The African Opinion (14 August 1917), 3

24a Umfi u Thomas Ntintili. (1911)

MHLELI,—Awu! Kambe into zomhlaba! Kuze kwavakala kuti ukuba u Tommy akaseko naye elizweni. Lemidana mayise iba lilitye esilibeka pezu komzimba wake:

Enentlahla, enamandla,
Wabizwa ke ngu Somandla.
Enge Mfengu engem-Xosa kok'engumntu.
Wagoduswa wasishiya,
Wasingiswa ku Mesiya,
Engem-Roma engem-Tshetshi engum-Krestu.

Engena sixhiba mntwini,
Emsulwa esimilweni,
Etandeka eluntwini ngobubele.
Zovuya k'iKerubimi
De zigcob'iSerafimi,
Sibe tin'emhlabeni silahlekelwe.

Lil'usula ka Sikhundla
Ungamdeli Onamandla
Lento umntu ayizikot'inxeba layo.
Xa sitshoyo siyakhuzo
Ehlatini sikukhupa,
Sikucenga, sikukhot'inxeba lako.

Kukuhlala kuka Tixo
Ukutat'abatandwayo.
Au! kambe may'enzek'intando Yako.
Goduka ke mfo ka Mpetshu
Ushiye lamacebeshu.
Azukiswe Onamandla, adunyiswe.

24b The late Thomas Ntintili. (1911)

Mr Editor,—Oh! Such are the matters of this earth! It came to our attention that Tommy is no longer in this world. These few lines should be the stone that we put on top of his body:

He was youthful, he was energetic,
 He was called by the Almighty.
He was not a Mfengu, nor a Xhosa person but was a human being.
 He was taken home, he left us,
 He was taken to the Messiah,
He was not a Roman Catholic, nor an Anglican, but was a Christian.

 He didn't have a grudge against anybody,
 He was pure in character,
He was loved by society for his kindness.
 The Cherubim will be glad
 The Seraphim will be elated,
While we on earth would have lost.

 Weep but wipe, child of Sikundla
 Do not despise the Almighty
A human being never licks their own wound.
 By saying this we are comforting you
 Taking you out of the forest,
We beg you, we are licking your wound.

 That is God's way of doing things
 To take the loved ones.
Oh! But then, let Thy will be done.
 Go home son of Mpetshu
And leave these hazards behind,
And let the Almighty be glorified and praised.

S.E. MQAYI.

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“Umfi U Thomas Ntintili”,
Imvo Zabantsundu (1911) 4

S. E. MQAYI

The Poet of the Nation,
“Umfi U Thomas Ntintili”
The African Opinion (1911),4

25a Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana (1914)

UKUPOSA ILITYE

“Banoyolo abo bamenyelwe esidlweni somsito we Mvana.”

Ndite ndakubon’ ukuba ndipi eluhambeni, ndeva ngamanye amahambanandlela ukuba lompakati ugama lingasentla ushiye konke abenako, akacola nesipeliti, wafahla kweli lizwe wasinga kwelo lamanyange. Ndite ndakuba lonto ndiyivile, ndati noko ndoya kungqina ngawam amehlo, kuze [se]kusiti ukuba kunjalo okunene ndibeke igada ndicamagushe. Ngamhla mnye okunene ndenjenjeya ukusinga e Mgqakwebe Pantsi kwama Hlati, ndifike okunene umpakati lowo elele kobandayo, ejongiswe ngakwi “Ntaba ka Ndoda.”

Ndibuzile ukuba wenze ziyalezo zinina? Kutiwe ke: (1) Uyaleze futi kunyana wake omkulu, ukuba agcine usapo lwakokwabo ne Bandla alipeteyo: nosapo olo uluyaleze kakulu ukuba lumtobeke unyana wake omkulu, nase Bandleni wenjenjalo. (2) Uyaleze wada wabandezela ukuba imfundi ezipume ezandleni zake zimenzele ilitye pezu kwengcwaba.

Umhla anduluke ngawo umpakati lo ngowama 22 kwi nyanga yo Mnga (December, 1913): ubudala ekuma 76.

Ibali lalomfo Mhleli, selenziwe kakuhle ngunyana wake apa epepeni le MVO ukwenjenje oku nam seyikukwalek’ umsundulo, nokulandeza, andiyi kuba sangena kuyapi ke ngoko ebalini lake. Inkonzo akonze ngayo esizweni ibe yeyobutitshala nobushumayeli buka Kristu, ade u Rulumente wampumza ngokumnika umhlala-pantsi (pension). Usapo lwake ulufundisile kakulu, nakuba bekuko kum indawana yokumdela engati unobubele kakulu ebantwaneni, andizange ndide ndibe nangqiniseko yakuba kunjalo.

25b The late Wm. Kobe Ntsikana (30.06.1914)

THROWING A STONE²⁶

“Blessed are those who are invited to the ceremonial meal of the Lamb.”

When I realized where I was in the journey, I heard about other travellers that this councillor whose name appears above has left everything he had, did not pick up even a safety-pin, just departed from this world and went to that of the ancestors. After I heard that, I thought I would go to confirm with my own eyes, so if it happens to be true I put a clod of soil, and appease the ancestors. On that same day I headed for Pirie Below the Forests, and found that the councillor was indeed sleeping in the cold (dead) and positioned towards “Ntaba kaNdoda.”

I asked what orders he gave. It was said: (1) He repeatedly ordered his elder son to look after his family and the Congregation he was leading: and he also ordered the family strongly to obey his elder son, and he also did the same to the Congregation. (2) He impressed upon the intellectuals that came out of his hands to erect a stone over his grave.

The day that this councillor departed was the 22nd in the month of December (December, 1913): at 76 years.

The Story of this man Mr Editor has already been given well by his son here in iMVO, in doing this too is just to add and rehash that which has been said already, therefore I won’t be getting into details of his story. The service he rendered to the nation was that of being a teacher and preachings of Christ, until the Government retired him by giving him pension. He educated his children extensively, and in me there was a bit of undermining him because it appeared as if he was too kind to his children, although I never ascertained if that was true.

²⁶ Throwing a stone in the Xhosa culture refers to visiting someone’s grave (if one did not attend the funeral) and putting a stone to pay tribute.

Abalesi bako Mhleli bayakulindela ukuba ke ngoku ndibanike imibono endiyibonileyo: kanti ke namhla ndiyalandula.

Xelela abafundi bako mnumzana!
Yiti kubo namhlanje ndiyalandula,
Ndiya landula mna nyana ka Ziwani:
Mna wazek' ityala ngokubon' izinto,
Izint' ezingabonwanga ngabanye.
Ndi ke ndati mandimenyelw' intlombe,
Kubeko nomdlali wohadi kwakuyo.
Kutiw' amadodan' onk' emkile
Aqabela ngenkalo zase ndlolotini,
Obuya min' u Mesiyas' abuyayo;
Kuba kutiw' amany' abalek' enopawu.
Waye yen' ezaz' ezizezake.
Taruni ke mawaba ndiyalandula.

Lengqeqana mna ndati mayincetezwe
Sixel' u Hezekiya mini wayinceteza;
Makumeny' ingqungqutelakaz' enkulu,
Kubulaw' zonk' izono acengek' u Tixo.
Yinin' ukub' umz' upele yintw' engabonwayo?
Yin' ukub' umz' upatwe yint' evuk' endleleni?

Ngak' ubek' imihla ye Ngonyama yeza kwa Juda,
Ngak' ubek' imihla yetole lentombi yase Nazarete;
Int' eyatimb' indodana yase Nayini
Mhla lengqeqana ya[y]iyawa gonyamela;
Int' eyahlut' intombi ka Yahiro wendlu yesikungu
Mhla lengqeqana yayiyawa zibengela;

Int' eyat' u Lazalose makavuk' elutulini
Mhla lengqeqana yayiyawa mxhelel' impetu;

Your readers Editor will now expect me to give them the visions
I saw: but today I refuse.

Tell your readers, sir!
Say to them, today I refuse,
Me, son of Ziwani I refuse:
Me who committed a crime by seeing things,
Things that were not seen by others.
I once said a diviners' ceremony should be convened for me,
And that there be a harp player as well.
It is said that all young men have left
They went over the ridge in search of traditional beer,
They will come back the day Messiah returns;
Because it is said that others ran away with markings.
For he knows those that are his.
Peace then, honourable men I refuse.

I said this small naughty dog with little feet should be slandered,
Like Ezekiel did the day he slandered it;
Let a huge gathering be convened,
And all sins should be destroyed, and God be persuaded.
Why should the community perish from something that cannot be seen?
Why should the community be intimidated by something coming from
nowhere?
Bring back the days of the Lion of Judea,
Bring back the days of the son of the daughter of Nazareth;
The one that captured back the young man of Nain
The day this small naughty dog with little feet overpowered;
The one that snatched the daughter of Jairus of the house of worship
The day this small naughty dog with little feet, as usual, cut meat for
himself;
The one that said Lazarus should rise from the dust
The day this small naughty dog with little feet slaughtered him for

Luhlohlo ke wena ndiyakuxelela
 Ngezomin' ibingenzi ngokutanda kwayo;
 Zezo mini k'ezi ndithi mna mazibuyiswe,
 Kuba nengonyama leyo ngu "Manyuweli,"
 Oko kukuti nantso pakati kwa "Bantu."
 Makutetwe nayo yinin' ukub' isiyekele?
 Ukutsh' oko mawaba nditi ndiyalandula.

Ikwesile kamb' int' enkulu yasema Cireni,
 Isima mhlab' e Mgqakwebe Pantsi kwe Hlati,
 Yemka pakati kwama Hleke kulo Ntlushe,
 Yemka kubantu bokupambukela kwayo
 Yemka ngokwaba Postile be Nkosi ;
 Kub' imkele kwizwe lo Bizo lwayo;
 Kuba kaloku ikokwayo ngumzi ka Tyali,
 Ngumzi ka Tyali e Mngcangatelweni,
 Ngabantu bako Nibe kunye nabelungu,
 Ngabantu be Xhiba ikokwabo bo Ngqika.
 Ngoko lompanga mawushunyayelwe:
 Makuti kusemaziko kube kukwi mbedesho,
 Kutiw' oka "Gaba ute ukuzukis' i Nkosi
 Namhla nje wayizukisa ngokufa"
 Kuma Fritshatshi nobikel' u Makalara,
 U Makalara nanko Pesha kwamanzi.
 Kwabase Nteteni nobikel' u Hendisini
 U Hendisini nanko kwelika Tyali e Dikeni.
 Kwabase Tshetshi nobikel' u Atshibishopu
 U Atshibishopu ke nanko e Bhotwe
 Kuma Babatizi nowuhlaba koka Piyose;

maggots;
 It is a long list, I tell you
 During those days it was not doing things as it pleased;
 It is those days that I say they should be brought back
 Because even that lion is "Emanuel,"
 That means, there it is, amongst "People."
 Let it be spoken to, why is it leaving us on our own?
 By saying this, honourable men, I say I refuse.

The great son of the Cirha clan has gone,
 The resident of Pirie, Below the Forest,
 He left the Hleke clan, the home of Ntlushe,
 He left the people from whom he had found refuge
 He left like the Apostles of the Lord;
 Because it is the land of his Calling that he left from;
 Because, by the way, his home is the house of Tyhali,
 It is the house of Tyhali in Mngcangathelo
 They are your people Nibe, together with the whites,
 They are the people of one of the royal wives,²⁷ the home of Ngqika.
 Therefore this death notice should be publicised
 At places of chiefs, and at places of prayer as well,
 Let it be said that "the son of Gaba, in glorifying the Lord,
 Today he glorified Him by dying."
 To the people of the Free Church, tell Maclear,
 Maclear is over the waters.
 To the people of the United, tell Henderson
 Henderson is in the land of Tyali in Alice.
 To the people of the Anglican Church, tell the Archbishop
 The Archbishop, is in the Palace
 To the people of the Baptist Church, you will announce it to the son of
 Piyose;

²⁷ IsiXhosa text uses *ixhiba*, which means the king's third wife, whose role is to mediate when there is quarrel between the wife of the Great house and the Right hand house

Kuma Rarabe nowufaka koka Hapu.

Nabo bobabin' e Gqubeni ku Ntinde.
Kuma Wesile nowuhlaba ku Hagile,
Ama Topiya wona sowa xelela,
Sesohamba nawo xa sihamb' emaziko.
Ukutsh' oko mawaba nditi ndiyalandula

Lent' intaka yint' edlalel' emhlambini;
Upina ke lomhlambi mandidlalele kuwo?
Int' endiyibonileyo mna ndakukangela,
Lomntu namhlanj' akafang' ubiziwe;
Umenyelw' esidlweni somsito we Mvana,
Ute ese Rabula kwafik' isi Tunywa,
Sati: "Ndandidibene nawe apa na?"
Site sakutsho waputuzel' ukugoduka.
Ut' efik' ekaya wab' ebiz' usapo,
Waluyolela, walubopa, waluyala.
Say' isitunywa sesitete saliweza,
Eliti: "Umenyiwe esidlweni se Mvana
Ngoko yibako ngomhla wama 25,

Ngokub' i Mvan' ikumbuz' umhla wayo
Umhla wayo wokuzalwa emhlabeni.
Yaye kwakon' ifun' amadod' aqondileyo
Okunik' ubungqina ngezinto zomhlaba
Ukuz' uk' uguqulwa kube kucacile.
Kuba kaloku lomhlab' uzakuguqulwa.
Isimo sawo sizakwenziwa sitsha,
Nentlanga, nelwimi, zizakuqokelelwa.
Kuk' isizw' esipetweyo e Bhungeni,
Kwi Bhung' elino Mesiyasi pakati,
Kutiwa masakunjulwe sipakanyiswe:

To the people of the church of Rharhabe you will pronounce it to the son of Hapu.

There they are, both of them, at the oldest district/head office of Ntinde.

To the Methodists, announce it to Hargreaves,

We will tell the people of Ethiopian Church,

We will go with them when we go around chiefs' places.

By saying this, honourable men, I say I refuse.

A bird, by nature, plays with others in a flock;

Where is this flock then that I should be playing in?

What I saw when I searched is that:

This person today is not dead, but has been called;

He has been invited to the ceremonial meal of the Lamb,

The Messenger arrived while he was in Rhabula,

It said: "Is it here where I met you?"

When the Messenger said that, he then went home in haste,

When he got home he called the family,

He gave them a dying wish, comforted, and commanded them.

By then, the messenger had already spoken, sent the word across

The word said: "You are invited to the meal of the Lamb,

Therefore, be present on the day of the 25th.

Because the Lamb is reminding you about its day,

The day of its birth on earth.

And again, it requires men of intellect,

To give testimony about the things of the earth.

So that the change could be clear.

Because, by the way, this earth will be changed.

Its form will be made new,

And the nations and the languages will be brought together.

There is a nation that is being planned at the Council,

The Council that has Messiah in it,

It is said that it should be remembered, and be lifted up:

Isizw' eso [s]esakwa Mteto ka Mteto.
Nal' ilizwe lipahlwe yimilambo.
Ngoko ke lompakati umenyiwe,
Umke selesipete isaziseleli.
Nengubo yomsito selenayo.
Ngoko k' ilizwe siti malixole.
Usaye kuqanan' izinto zokumiwa kwelizwe,
Nezokumiwa kwelizw' elizayo;
Ngoko ke tina sesite makahambe.
Wofika belapo abakowabo,
Wofik' elapo nay' u Nokonongo.
U Nokonongo imaz' egush' ibele;
Wofik' elapo u So-Jiba inkosi yake,
U Mbambo ngapa, mbambo ngapa mqolo pakati.
Kauhambeke ngoko ndod' enkulu,
Zosal' imfundi zilikangel' *ilitye*.
Kub' owoyisay' uyakunikw' ility' elimhlope.
Sitsho siti hamba ke kulungile,
Kumka wena nje kumk' indoda.
Kwa kulungile e Gwali ngemini zoyihlo,
Kwalunga kwa Gqumahashe wakufika ;
Nakuma Hleke tina asidelanga nto ;
Nakub' izinto zingemhla ngakwena.
Kuba kalok' into ayibetwa ngankana :
Ukutsho siyakukapa Mhlandla-ndlovu,
Siyakukapa ma Gqenez' eqamtweni,
Siti le Joredane mauyiwele;
Masakusilibala apo Komkulu!

That nation is of the Law of Law.
Here is this nation, flanked by rivers.
So then, this councillor has been invited,
He left already carrying his identity proof.
Also, he already has the attire for the ceremony.
Therefore, we say to the nation, be at peace.
He has gone to communicate matters related to occupancy of the land,
And of occupancy of the land to come.
So then, we have already let him go.
His folk will be there when he arrives.
Nokonongo will also be there when he arrives.
She, Nokonongo, who has the breast hidden;
Father of Jiba, his chief, will be there when he arrives,
He, Ribs this way, ribs that way, backbone in the middle.
Go then, great man,
The intellectuals will remain searching for the stone.
Because he who triumphs will be given a white stone.
So we say, go, it is fine,
Because with you leaving, a man is leaving.
It was fine at Gwali during the days of your forefathers,
When you arrived at Gqumahashe, things went well;
Even to the Hleke people, there is nothing to undermine;
Although things are not as they were in the days of plenty,
Because you do not tell secrets to strangers:
In so saying, we are accompanying you, Mhlandla-ndlovu,
We are accompanying you Gqenez'eqamntweni,
We say, cross this Jordan;
Please do not forget us there, at the Great Place!

“BAZALWANA SITANDAZELENI!”

Ncincilili!!

“Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana,”

Imvo Zabantsundu (30 June 1914), 1

“BRETHEN, PRAY FOR US!”

That’s it!!

“Umfi u Wm. Kobe Ntsikana,”

The African Opinion (30 June 1914), 1

26a Umfi u Provincial Wm. Gcule (1926)

“Yinton’nale Kufa nakumbana-ndini!”

“Ufakwa yinina wen’ ap’ ebantwini?”

(Yimbongi YeSizwe—Jikelele)

Site sisahleli e Debe lika Marela into yasema Cwereni, ekungeneni kwawo lo mnyaka, seva kugoqoza inqwelo ekuhamba kubi; sayibona imbi kunene yona ngokwayo, yaye ibope amahashe amabi kakulu, alu[t]jutu, waye nomqubi wawo engavumi kuqeleka emehlweni, ingumfo owambete ingubo ezimnyama, engacocekile kanye. Ngasemva kwayo lenqwelo kwaku landela uyanga-yanga lwesibiba esingabanga nako nokulujonga, nokulufanisa ukuba ingaba yintonina. (Sityil 6: 8).

Simbuzile lomfo ukuba uvela pina? Ute uvela kwi komkulu eli Pezulu.

Simbuzile ukuba uyapina?

Ute ufuna umzi wento ka Gcule, yase Sitatwini, engu Mongameli no Mveleli kumzi ongqindilili kunene wase Tiyopiya.

Simbuze igama lake?

Ute igama lake ngu “Kufa” umkonzi omdala we Komkulu lama komkulu

Asibanga nabuganga bakulubuza olu yanga-yanga lwesibiba esilandela emva kwake—sisuke soyika.

Okwenene ke igoqozile inqwelo leyo yonda ngomzi wo Mfundisi lowo, ufike umfo lowo waposi ipepa lolusu (parchment) kumfundisi apo—weshwaka ke asibange sibuye simbone, yena, nenqwelo, namahashe, kwa nesibiba eso.

Umbala welipepa ube buzulura, laye linevumba eli nembiza, pofu elityafisayo. Kutiwa kwabanye uti kwa ukulibona oku elopepa asuke abone izinto ezingabonwayo eve inteto ezingaviwayo ngabanye abantu.

26b The Late Provincial Wm. Gcule (1926)

“What is it with you Death, you little flea!
What has placed you in people?”

(By The Poet of the Nation)

At the beginning of this year, while we were sitting in Debe of Marela, the son of Cwera, we heard a dreadful sound of a wagon; it also looked really dreadful, to it was harnessed dreadful-looking horses, ashy-pale in colour, and its driver was unfamiliar to the eye, he was fully clad in black garments, very unclean. Close behind this wagon followed a dark hazy heap, something we couldn't even look at, we could not even recognise what it was. (Rev. 6:8).

We asked this man where he was coming from. He said he was coming from the Great Place Above.

We asked him where he was going.

He said he wanted the house of the son of Gcule, of Sithathu clan, the President and Bishop of the well-established Ethiopian Church.

We asked him his name.

He said his name was “Death”, an old servant of the Greatest of the Great Places.

We didn't have courage to ask this dark hazy heap following close behind him—we became frightened.

Indeed the wagon rattled along, and made way to the house of the Reverend and on arrival the rider threw a parchment to the reverend there—he then vanished and that was the last we saw of him, himself, the wagon, the horses and also that hazy heap.

This paper was bluish in colour, and it had an attractive smell, but that had a weakening effect. It is said that, other people, at the sight of the paper, they just see things that are not visible to others, and hear voices not heard by others.

Elipepa beli bâlwe imibâlo emininzi engabanga nakufundwa mntu; ibe mibini qa imigca ebenoku fundeka, nayo ayaqondwa ukuba iteta ukutinina—yayisiti:—

“Ayakugob’ amadod’ anoburoti—”

“Zinqwile zonk’ intombi zengoma”

(Ntshum. 12: 3-4).

Kute kwa oko kwapauleka ukuba u Mongameli lo uyayiva yena into etetwa yile ncwadi; uyayi qonda nentsingiselo yale migca ivelileyo mibini; koko akatandanga kutsho. Sitsho kuba ute wanxuba wanxungupala, wanga angazifeza izinto ezifuna ukufezwa, malunga nekaya lake nomzi wase Tiyopiya. Babe kusuka bemnqanda abantu ukuti Mongameli kauzole uyafa sozisukela nati indawo ezitile nezitile—hayi; wanga ubetwe elu pondweni u Mongameli!

Enye yendawo ezite zabaluleka ate umfundisi lo wanga angayifeza, ibe kukutshatisa intombi yake e Rini, nesizolana somfo ka Fobe wasema Tshaweni. Ndamgqibela kweso situba ke mna ukumbona, ndise Dikeni, edlula yena evela emt[s]ha[t]weni, epezulu enqweleni yomlilo. Samkuza sonke tina sasilapo sati: “Yinile Mfundisi uya - - fa!” Usuke wasi búla- búla ngamazwi, samyeka ukumbuza, sajika sambuka.

Kwesi situba ibe bubu di-di-di ukufuna incutshe ezinga funda lombâlo, nezinga nceda olutyafu asuke wangenwa lulo ngoku u Mongameli. Kubeko abatible, abadala, abati lombalo unoku fundeka ngokuti umntu atabate amatâmo omhloniyane kusasa nangokuhlwa ajoje umgubo we tshongwe ezimpulweni, njalo-njalo. Kodwa yonke lonto ayincedanga nto; kude kwabonakala ukuba ngoku (ngokwesiko

²⁸ This is a literal meaning referring to when someone is obsessed to something

This paper was written extensively but no one could read it; except for only two lines that were decipherable. Even though that was the case, their meaning was obscure—they read thus:—

“Brave men will bend down—”

“And all the maidens of song will crouch down.”

(Eccl. 12: 3-4).

It was noticed from the onset that the President understood what was in the paper; and he also understood the meaning of the two sentences that were decipherable; but he chose not to say anything. We say this because he became anxious and depressed, but wished accomplish all the things that needed to be accomplished regarding his household and the Ethiopian Church. Although people tried to stop the President, asking that he be calm because of ill-health, and even offered to sort out some things— but no, it was as if the President was hit on the horn!²⁸

Another important occasion that the minister wished to accomplish was to officiate at the wedding of his daughter in Grahamstown; she was getting married to a very humble son of Fobe of the Tshawe clan. That was more or less the last time I saw him, I was in Alice, and he was passing by from that wedding ceremony, and he was on a fire wagon. All of us who were there were alarmed, we exclaimed from astonishment, and we said: “What! Reverend you are dying!” He just thrashed us with words, and we stopped asking him, and we ended up admiring him.

At this moment there was a lot of scuffling around to find experts who could read the writing, and who could also help with the weakness that the President was suffering from. There were some elders who said the writing could be read by letting one drink a mouthful of wormwood mixture in the morning and evening, and take snuff of ground herbs, and so on. But all that could not help. It eventually became evident that

labadala) u Mfundisi lo makatiywe elinye igama—kutiwe ngu “Mkuhlane.”

Okunene ke utwelwe ngoku lo Mkuhlane yekoko ukusiwa e Qonce, apo kwakucingelwa ukuba zobakona ingcali zokuwufunda lombalo; kodwa hayi, kubonakele kaloku ukuba mawubuyele kwase kaya

Kute kwesi situba wabe umbalo sewucacile kaloku,

Kofundileyo
Nakongafundanga;
Kumntwan’ omncinane
Nakumntu omkulu;
Kwincutshe yezinto
Nakosi siyata.

Ekute okunene ngomhla wama 21 kwi nyanga ye Tupà (21st August), watiywa igama lokugqibela umfo ka Gcule, kwatiwa “ngum fi”

Asibanga satanda ukuhlala naye emva kweli gama, sisuke sase sizalisa isiteto esidala esiti: “Ude ubuyele emhlabeni kuba utatyatwe kuwo; ngekuba ulutuli uyakubuyela kwase lutulini.”—Genesis 3: 19.

Yinkonzo ezukileyo leyo, nebantu baninzi kunene, esayi hambisa ngomhla olandelayo, ongu Mhla we Nkosi—eyi Cawa leyo ye 12 emva ko Mtriniti.

Hi—awu!
Alitshonanga lingena ndaba!
Wayiwel’ i Yordane
Mfo ka Gcule kwa Cisana;
Nobonan’ apo no Dwane,
Nike niwavus’ amavo;
Nidl’ imbadu kube mnandi—
Ngokuba kuko mvuni—Msa!
Ugama limbi lingu Kufa!

(according to the custom of the elders) the Reverend should be given another name—and be called “Disease.”

In deed Disease was carried to King William’s Town, where it was assumed there would be experts to read this writing; but no, it was not to be; it became evident that it should go back home.

However, at that moment the writing had become decipherable,

To the educated
And to the uneducated;
To the young
And to the old;
To the expert of things
And to the unwise.

Indeed it happened that on the 21st August, the son of Gcule was named for the last time, and he was called “deceased.”

We did not wish to remain with him after this name, we just confirmed the old saying that says: “Till you turn to the ground, for out of it you were taken; for dust you are, and to dust you shall return.”—Genesis 3: 19.

It was a glorious and well-attended service that we held the following day, which was the Day of the Lord—the 12th Sunday after Trinity.

What—oh!
The sun did not set without news!
You crossed Jordan
Son of Gcule of Cisana clan;
You and Dwane will see each other there,
You must bring up great ideas;
Engage in conversation, and let it be good—
Because there is a harvester—Mercy!
His other name is Death!

Silibonil' iqing' enenza lona
Iqinga lokulw' intshaba
Nibek' umzimba wotuli
Umzimb' ongenwa kukufa
Nitaf' umzimba womoya
Won' unga ngenwa-ngenwa nto
Ziqale zifamle intshaba
Nizuz' ap' ulomelelo
Ngokuba kuko mvuni—Msa!
Ugama limbi lingu Kufa!

Hamba ke Mongameli—
Ubuyi nkomo yenqoma kakade;
Wakuli kumbul' isiko lakowenu,
Isik' elidala lama Xosa—
Wakulu hambel' usapo kwakuhlwa
Usapo lwe Bandla nosapo lwe Kaya
Ulungis' ingxaki,
Kub' akuko kufa;
Kodwa luk' uvuko.
U Tix' aka Tixo wabafileyo,
U Tixo ngu Tixo wabapilileyo.
Ngokuba kuko mvuni—Msa!
Ugama limbi lingu Kufa.

U KUMBULELE
NO NGQENGELELE.

Ewe, kanitsho ke madodana!
Nigxalatelene nje
Ngubanin' osele nekaya?
Ngubanin' obuyis' i Afrika?

We recognised the trick you do
The trick to fight the enemies
You place the body of the dust,
The body that is inflicted with death,
And you take the body of the spirit,
The one that cannot be inflicted with anything,
And the enemies begin to fumble
And it is from there that you gain strength
Because there is a harvester—Mercy!
His other name is Death!

Go then President—

You were the cow that was lent to us, anyway;
Do remember the custom of your home,
The old custom of the Xhosa people—
Do visit your family when darkness comes
The Congregation and home families
Sort out the problems
Because there is no death;
But there is resurrection.
God is not the God of the dead,
God is the God of the living.
Because there is a harvester—Mercy!
His other name is Death!

ALSO CALL TO REMEMBRANCE
NGQENGELELE.

Yes, spit it out young men!
Why do you scurry together in haste?
Who is remaining behind at home?
Who is bringing back Africa?

Kuyalilwa mfo ka Ngqengelele,
Ayalil' ama Gqunukwebe;
Luya kulilel' usapo luka Cungwa,
Obusalu fundis' ukulima—
Hamba ke noko mfo wam
Kub' ut' u Kufa ubiziwe.

U Kufa lo ngubanina?
Engu nyana kabanina?
Lent' anj' ukutabalaza,
Yonk' impil' eyipalaza:
Lamagunya unawo na?
Wayenikwe kangako na?
Usese mtetweni na ke?
Masim' inyawo kwelo ke.

Hi? Nawe Dolfasi mfo wam!
Kunyanisiwe n' ukub' ungu Mfi?
Ngani? Ngokutini?
Ison' esi masigxotwe
Sicitwe nasema Botwe!
Bayakulilel' abafundisi;
Luyakulilel' u Manyano;
Ayakulilel' ama Ncotsho;
Ayakulilel' ama Ndlambe.

Ndimem' imbizo enku-u-lu!
Komncinane nakomkulu;
Ndiyimem' ezazeleni,
Zomnye ngamny' ezingontsini,
Ngexesh' asapanyazayo.
Imitamb' isabetayo:
Lomf' u "Kufa" makagxotwe

The people are crying, son of Ngqengelele,
The Gqunukhwebe clan is crying;
The Cungwa family is crying for you,
The one you were still teaching farming—
Go then my fellow,
Because Death says you have been called.

Who is this Death?
Whose son is he?
That he is so resistant,
He destroys all life:
Does he have this authority?
Was he given that much?
Is he still doing according to law?
Let us stand up to that.

What! You too Dolfasi my fellow!
Is true that you are Deceased?
Why? How?
This sin must be chased away,
It must be destroyed even in Palaces!
Ministers are crying for you;
Church unions are crying for you;
Ncotsho clan is crying for you;
Ndlambe clan is crying for you.

I am calling a huge gathering!
For the young and old;
I am calling on consciousness
Of each one of you, in hidden corners of your hearts,
That while he is still blinking
And the veins are still pumping:
This man “Death” should be chased away,

Lent' ayaziwa e Botwe.

Imbongi ye Sizwe—Jikelele,
“Umfi u Provincial Wm. Gcule,”
Imvo Zabantsundu (5 October 1926), 4

This thing is not known at the Palace.

The Poet of the Nation,—
“The late Provincial Wm. Gcule,
” *The African Opinion* (5 October 1926), 4

27a Umfikazi u Frances Nonhi Mkencele (1908)

(Yimbongi yakwa Gompo).

“SILILA NABALILAYO.”

Usapo lwalemihla lonakele. Kodwa noko i Nkosi ayiyekanga ukuvelisa abantwana abafuze abasendulo. Lo ke ebengomnye wabanjalo. Kute kwakwinyanga yesibini yalomnyaka, xa lentombazana ibikwisi Xeko se Ngcwele, yafikelwa yincwadi epuma kwi Kaya laba Ngcwele, eli Pezulu ibhalwe ngamagama egolide umbalo oti:

“Cula ntombi yase Ziyone! vuya ugcoobe ngentliziyo yonke ntombi yase Yerusalem! U Yehova uyisusile imigwebo yako; uludedisile utshaba lwako; u Kumkani wo Sirayeli, u Yehova, upakati kwako, akuyi kuba sabona lishwa.”

Ite incwadi le ayafihlakala kwa oko, zati indaba zayo zawupitizelisa kakulu umzi, wamenywa unina e Bolotwa, bapitizela abafundisi namagqira, efunda ukuba lombalo ungaba uteta ukutinina. Kude kwati kwiveki yesibini ye Nzilo, yamenywa Pezulu, ukuba yona ize ingazili; kuba: “Bengenako abantwana begumbi loMtshakazi ukuzila xa Umyeni anabo.”

Ukwenjenje oku andilili ; kuba asiselulo usapo lokwenjenjalo ; noko ke siyakufa ngumsi, kuba kaloku u Franny:

Eyintombi yama Mpandla
Engumtshana kwa Ndarala ;
Ecokisiw' ukudalwa
Waqulunqwa ukondliwa.

27b The late Frances Nonhi Mkencele (1908)

(By the Gompo Poet)

“WE ARE CRYING WITH THOSE WHO ARE CRYING.”

The children of today are corrupt. But at least the Lord has not stopped to create children who have taken after those of the olden days. This one was like one of those. It happened that in the second month of this year, when this young girl was in the City of Saints, she received a letter from the Home of the Saints, the one Above, written in gold letters, writing that reads thus:

“Sing girl of Zion! Be happy and rejoice with all your heart daughter of Jerusalem! Jehovah has removed all judgements against you; he has put your enemy out of the way; the King of the Israelites, Jehovah, is within you, you will not see misfortune.”

This letter was not hidden from the onset, its news caused a stir in the community a lot, her mother was called from Bolotwa, the ministers and doctors were confused, trying to read the meaning of this writing. Finally, during the second week of Lent, she was called Above, so that she does not fast; because: “The children of the room of the Bride are not meant to fast when the Groom is with them.”

By doing this I am not crying; because we are no longer the offspring to do that; but we will die of smoke, because by the way Franny:

Was a daughter of the Mpandla clan
Was a niece of Ndarhala;
Was perfectly created
She was fed properly.

Ufundiswe ngamabhongo
Watsho wegabu ngezongo,
Wabanced' abafundisi
Wamkolisa u Msindisi.

Waneratshi elingcwele
Wazitoba kwizihlwele.
Ntombi ndini ka Mkencele,
Ufile na akulele ?

Akufang' ugodukile
Waya kwasel' egqibile ;
Nale Mbongi wayishiya
Kub' ucishe u Mesiya.

Idini ke ulenzile
Indlel' ak' ibingelelwe.
Ma-Ndungwana zungalili
Sewenzelwe isilili.

Ubizwe kunye ne Lente
Ye Pezulu i Ramente
Ewe Franny 'butandeka
Wafunwa ke, sakuyeka.

Sewofundisa usapo
Olungcwele pezul' apo,
Olupantsi lushiye
Inzwakaz' itshatiwe.

²⁹ The figurative meaning is that she was empowered.

You were educated with ambition
And the nutrients reached up to the waist²⁹,
You helped the ministers
You pleased the Saviour.

You had pride that was holy
You humbled yourself to the multitudes.
You, daughter of Mkencele,
Are you dead, aren't you sleeping?

You are not dead you went home
You went to the ones who have already finished;
You left behind even this Praise singer
Because you chose the Messiah.

You made the sacrifice
A sacrifice has been offered for your journey.
Ma-Ndungwana please don't cry
You have already been prepared a place.

You were called together with Lent
By the Above Congregation
Yes Franny, you were lovable,
But then you were needed, and we let go of you.

You would then have to teach the children
The holy one up above,
The one down below has been left behind
The fine woman has been married.

Ma-Tshatshu nina pilani
Lilani, ewe, vuyani!
Olundwendwe luzukile
Lomsebenz' upakamile.

Ramente ndin' e Pezulu,
Bandla ndini Lama Zulu!
Siyayibona noko lonto,
Noko sizint' ezingento!

Abayityuwa yomhlaba
Banyunywa ngokwamaxoba.
Singalili singatini ?
Masixole sifuze ni ?

Hamba ngoko ntombazana
Uyekuvum' u Hozana
Nesihlwel' esinozuko.
Esigwaba ngamapiko.

Oloyi ke Mtakokwetu :
Litsh' elokugqiba letu
Oloyi ke mtaka mama!
Ngen' e Kay' udlisw' i Mana :

Imbongi ye Sizwe—Jikelele,
“Umfikazi u Nonhi Frances Mkencele”,
Izwi Labantu (7 April, 1908) 4

You Tshatshi clan be well
You cry, yes, be happy!
This visitor is honourable
This occasion is of a high standard.

You congregation that is Above,
You congregation Of Heavens!
At least we see that,
Although we are nothing!

The ones who are the salt of the earth
Are stolen one by one like victims.
How do we not cry?
Let us be comforted, then what do we take after?

Go then young girl
Go to sing Hosanna
With the multitude that is gracious.
That sings with wings

Oloyi, Child of my home!
Says our last word
Oloyi child of my mother!
Enter Home and be fed Manna.

The poet of the Nation,
“The late Nonhi Frances Mkencele”,
The Voice of the People (7 April, 1908) 4

28a Umfikazi uMbokazi (1902)

“Ubewenzela Amahlwempu izivatho”
Kanisifundis’ingoma’ okulila,
Kanisenzel’ingom’ esijwili,
Esonnt’ ofileyo nembambazelelo.
Be[zi]zakutinin’ intombi zakwa Juda?
Bebesakutinin’ abazukulwana baka Sirayeli?
Bebesakutinin’ ukwambat’ intlakantlaka?
Bebesakutinin’ ukuguy’ inwele nendevu?
Bebesakutinin’ ukugwala nokugomba?
Zintombi zasema Xhoseni sililiseni ngentombi ka Pamla!
Ibiwavatis’ amahlwempu akowetu,
Ibingumqeqeshi wentsapo ye Afrika,
Ibingumkupi wohlang’ ebudengeni,
Ibiligora, ibiliciko
Ibitandeka, ibiyindoda
O! betu senzeleni ingom’ okulila!!
Taruni mzi wakwa nyawontle,
Kwakuwe mzi womfundis’u Pamla.
Ibimnandi emzini intombi yako,
Ibifundisekile, ibiqeqeshekile,
Makube cosi mzi wasema Hlubini,
Kube camagu bantu bakowetu esibe simtanda,
Hamba ke sisi, hamba ke Mbokazi,
Ubizelwe ukuyakuncedisa kumahlwempu elozwe!!!
Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele
“Umfikazi uMbokazi”
Izwi Labantu (12 August 1902: 3)

28b The Late Mbokazi (1902)

“She clothed the poor/She made clothes for the poor”
Teach us a song of lament,
Sing us a song of lament
Lament for a dead person, and for consolation
What would the women of Judea say?
What would the grandchildren of Israel say?
How could they cover themselves with ragged garments?
How could they shave hair and beard?
How could they be cowards and run away sneakingly
Women of Xhosaland cry with us for the daughter of Pamla!
She clothed the indigent of our land
She was the teacher of children of Africa
She was the rescuer of the nation from foolhardiness
She was a heroine, an eloquent person
She was endearing, she was a man
Oh! My fellow man, sing us a song for lament!!
Mercy on you, minister’s fraternal
To you as well, house of Reverend Pamla
Your daughter was good to her in-laws
She was well-trained and disciplined,
Let it be Hlubi people
Let there be fortune for us whom we loved
Go girl, go Mbokazi
You are called to help the indigent of that land!!!
The Poet of the Nation
“The late Mbokazi”
Izwi Labantu (12 August 1902: 3)

29a Uphumlo LukaMavigala (Dr. MacVicar) (1938)

(Yimbongi Yesizwe Jikelele)

Sekuzinyanga ezithile kuvakele ukuba u Mavigala (Dr. MacVicar) wase Lovedale, kubonakele ukuba makaphumle emsebenzini wakhe wokongamela i Hospitale yase Dikeni (Victoria Hospital),—uphumle ke: siyalandelisa thina xa senjenje,—sivuma ukuba maka phumle; noko singaziyo ukuba yintonina lento ababafo bakowethu banje ukuthanda kwabo ukuya kuphumlela kude anathi:

Siyavuma! Siyavuma!
Sithi Dorotile siyavuma!
Kumzuz'uphath'izidlanga;
Kumzuz'uqubul'amagronya;

Kumzuz'ubumb'iintuku nobulongo
Kumzuz'ukhand'iingcambu namaxolo;
Kumzuz'usil'amagqab'emithi;
Kumzuz'uqab'usez'utula;
Phumla Dorotile, phumla,—

Phumla mfo ka Mavilanga!

Siyavuma! Siyavuma!
Sithi Dorotile siyavuma!
Waafikela kummango wegcegeceya,
Uvel'esazulwini se Afrika;
Nakwi Ntaba zakowenu zama Skhotshi:
Wawupheth'iNgcambu nom Nyanya,—
Wawupheth'um Nyanya ne Ngcambu!
Konk'oko kungahoywe bani,
Kungekho nosondel'egcegeceleyeni,

29b The Retirement of MacVicar (Dr. MacVicar) (1938)

(By The Poet of the Nation)

It has been for some months now that it was announced that Dr. MacVicar of Lovedale, would retire from his job as superintendent of the Victoria Hospital in Alice,—and indeed he has retired: by doing this, we are following up,—agreeing that he should retire; although we do not understand why our brothers like retiring far away from us:

We give consent! We give consent!

We say we give consent Doctor!

It has been a while that you handled evil charms;

It has been a while that you have removed harmful tumours from the sick;

It has been a while that you shaped moles and cow-dung

It has been a while that you have been crushing roots and bark of trees;

It has been a while that you been grinding tree leaves;

It has been a while that you been applying, giving and injecting medicine;

Rest Doctor, rest,—

Rest son of MacVicar!

We give consent! We give consent!

We say we give consent, Doctor!

You landed in the area of stink bush,

Coming from central Africa;

And from the Scotch Mountains of your home:

You were carrying a Root and Incantations,—

You were carrying Incantations and a Root!

And no one was concerned about all of that,

And no one came close to the stinky bush,

Phumla! Phumla! Phumla mfo ka Mavigala!
Kwasa kwahlwa—kwahlwa kwasa,
Wasebenz um Nyany'Omkhulu!
Yasebenz'iNgcambu yee Ngcambu,
Yasibiza yasiqhoba,—
Zaphel'iinkolo neenkolelo;
Sabashiy'oo Siyavumisa;
Zavel'iintwanazana zafunda;
Zabhutyul'amanya neemvanya,—
Phumla, Dorotile; Phumla!
Phumla mfo ka Mavilanga!

Kwazalis'oo Mavigal'ezweni,—
E Nchwazi ku Zibi no Zali;
Ku Mhlambiso noo Qhuma;
Koma Regu nozi Ncerha;
Koo Mqalo noo Makhalisa;
Koo Mavuso noo Ngwabeni;
Koma Sheshegu noma Rhoxa,—
Phi-na phi! Phi na-phi! Awu! Hayi,—
Phumla Dorotile, Phumla!
Phumla mfo ka Mavigala!

Gwangqel'ibomvu lendoda,
Sabunxathu nganabom,—
Bunzwana bomfo zinkomo.
Komelel'ebutatakeni,—
Kwakhany'esinyameni³⁰;
Lazal'izwe ngabongikazi!
Kwalwa ukufa nokuphila,—
Yaw'imikhuthuka macala;

³⁰ *Esinyomeni* original text

Rest! Rest! Rest son of MacVicar!
Morning came, night came —night came and morning came,
The Incantator toiled!
The Root of all Roots worked,
It called us and beckoned us,—
The beliefs and creed vanished;
We left the Diviners;
Young girls emerged and started studying;
They cleansed out all the bad residues of meat, and of beer,—
Rest Doctor, Rest,—
Rest son of MacVigar!

The country was full of MacVicars
At Ngcwazi, Zibi and Zali;
At Mhlambiso and at Qhuma;
At Regu as well as at Ncerha;
At Mqalo as well as at Makhhalima;
At Mavuso as well as at Ngwabeni;
At Sheshegu and as well as at Rhoxa,—
Everywhere! Everywhere! Oh! No,—
Rest Doctor, Rest,—
Rest son of MacVicar!

A reddish white man,
He is kind of ugly not by mistake though,—
It is the man's cattle that make him handsome.
There was strength in weakness,—
There was light in darkness;
The country was filled with nurses!
There was war between death and life,—
Those worn out feel from both sides;

Zabon'iimfama zahamb'iziqhwala;
Zoluk'zifombo zatheth'izidenge;
Wath'umntu ngu Mavigala! Ngu Mavigala!
Yaphuma nephin'ilay'inkewu,—
Phumla, Dorotile, Phumla Gqira,
Phumla mfo ka Mavilanga!

Nathi masikunqulele;
Nawe kad'usinqulela;
Watsh'i Dike lali Cibi,—
Elo lase Betesayida.
Kad'uthandazel'abav'inimba!
Kad'uthandazel'abashiy'ilizwe;
Kad'unqulel'abathiy'u Thixo;
Phila nawe, hlala wonwabe,—
Yiba nemihl'emnand'emide;
Buhlaziyek'ubutsha njengokhozi,
Ukugcin'um Nyany'Omkhulu;
Zidl'uthul'iintshaba zakho!
Sikubonga sikuncoma,—
Wenze kakuhle kakhulu!
Kwizwe lethu lakwa Xhosa!
Wenze kanye ngokwendoda;
Wasitwala wasicenga;
Wasinyamazela kanye.
Ngoko phumla ndod'enkulu!
Phumla nto ka Mavigala!!!
Ncincilili!!!

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“Uphumlo luka Mavigala”,
The Bantu World (18 June 1938), 6

The blind saw and lame walked;
Those with hunch-back were straightened and dumb spoke;
Someone said, it is MacVicar! It is MacVicar!
The fellow came out with his bat,—
Rest Doctor, Rest Doctor,—
Rest son of MacVicar!

We should also pray for you;
You have also been praying for us;
You turned Alice into a Pool,—
That one of Bethesda.
You had been praying for those in labour!
You had been praying for the deceased;
You had been praying for those who hate God;
You too, be well, retire and be happy,—
May you have happy and long days;
May your youthfulness be revived like an eagle,
May the Great Incantator keep you;
Your enemies should eat dust!
We thank and praise you,—
You have done very well!
In our country of Xhosa!
You did exactly like a man;
You carried and pleaded with us;
You tolerated us greatly.
Therefore rest great man!
Rest son of MacVigar!!!
That's it!!!

The Poet of the Nation,
“Uphumlo luka Mavigala”
, *The Bantu World* (18 June 1938), 6

30a U-Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog (1943)

(Yi Mbongi ye Sizwe Jikelele)

Vuma ndikukhaphé bawo Tsalitorho;
Kade bekwenz' uNomanyama werhorho;

Yiva ndisitsho ndisith' usebenzile;
Thina midaka sith' usincedile.
Sikuthiye kakhulu ukuxokiswa:
Sikwa ngakuthandi kwa nokukhohliswa;
Wen' akuzang' ubenze obo buqhinga;
Weema njengendoda umfo wokucinga.
Ufik' amaAfrik' elusal' ezweni,—
Ekwiminqutyanqutyan' ezizweni;
Engakuz' azane nanini nanini,—
Ekukudla komfo kweemini ngeemini.
Ufike watyhila, waxela, wanqanda,—
Kwathiw' usigwinta umz' uyawukhanda,—
Wadyojwa ngodaka walirhinirhongo,
Kwaqhatshuzw' iintuli nangamaxilongo.
Mandiyeke gxebe ndonga ndiyagxeka.
Izinto mfo womfo wena ziyenzeka;

Kutyiw' iziqhamo zomsebenzi wakho,—
Owawenza nzima kwa zintshaba zakho.
Yivumeni indoda bafó beAfrika!
Esebenze nzima inyanis' iphikwa;
Igxwagxushwa ngani iingalo zijijwa;
Kwaba kokukhon' inkqubel' ifika.
Lala kamnandi mfo kaTsalitorho;
Phumla wonwabe torho-torho-torho;
Thina maAfrika usicokisile;

30b Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog (1943)

(By The Poet of the Nation)

Allow me to accompany you, father Hertzog;
It has been a while now that they have been making you a fearsome
animal;
Hear me out, you have worked hard;
As black people, we say you have helped us.
We detest being lied to:
We also loathe being deceived:
You never did such cunning.
The thoughtful man stood up like a man.
He arrived when people of Africa were scattered all over the country,—
In small huts among nations;
They had never known each other:
They were an easy prey to others.
On his arrival he brought light, you communicated and you interceded,—
It was said he is a murderer, he is trampling the nation,—
His character was bemired, it became filthy,
Trumpets raised up dust.
Let me give in rather, it will sound as if I am criticizing.
Things happen, you son of a man;

People are reaping the rewards of your work,—
Even your enemies are benefitting from the work of your hard labour.
Salute the man, sons of Africa!
A man who worked hard when the truth was repudiated?
He was bullied, and his arms were twisted;
It was then that advancement started.
Sleep well son of Hertzog;
Rest and be happy, *tog-tog-tog*; please- please-please,
We, people of Africa, you treated us extremely well;

Umsebenzi wakho usixolisile.

Imbongi yeSizwe Jikelele,
“U-Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog!”,
Imvo Zabantsundu (09 January 1943), 6

Your work has pleased us.

The Poet of the Nation,
“U-Tsalitorho: Gen. Hertzog!”,
The African Opinion (09 January 1943), 6