A STUDY OF THEME AND TECHNIQUE

IN THE CREATIVE WORKS OF

S.E.K.L.N. MQHAYI

by

ZITOBILE SUNSHINE QANGULE

Submitted to satisfy the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of African Languages, Faculty of Arts, University of Cape Town

Promoter: Professor E.O.J. Westphal, M.A. (Witwatersrand), Ph.D. (London)

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I declare that this thesis is my own work, both in conception and execution.

Signed

Z. S. QANGULE

15th August 1979
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This work is dedicated to:

- My parents, "A.D." and "J.M."
- My wife, "V.H."
- My sister, "Z.H."
- My children, "Zijokuda"
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

- My parents, "S.D." and "J.N."—active influences which played a prominent part in Mqhayi's literary creativity. These are: the home, family, and the church. The portrayal of the man is made more realistic by excising what literary critics in general, and South posts in particular, have said about Mqhayi.
- My wife, "V.N."
- My sister, "Z.H."
- My children, "IZijekula!"

A list of Mqhayi's various comments on these add dimension to his stature. The chapter ends with a brief outline of the development of thought in Mqhayi's work. It is pointed out that each principal thought or major theme constitutes a chapter of this thesis. The first chapter serves as a thread that knits the different chapters together.

The second chapter is a study of Mqhayi's views on the nature and operation of law in Khoza traditional society. The views and techniques employed by Mqhayi in articulating his views are pointed out. Mqhayi intimates in his work that law functions in a Khoza traditional society in a manner similar to the operation of law in modern society. We have supported Mqhayi's contentions by drawing parallels with the Western legal system. It is emphasised in this chapter that "the traditional Khoza legal system is an integral part of the Khozas religious order." The idea that Khozas and other black races had no less governing than prior to contact with Whites is refuted by conclusive argument.

Chapter three is a discussion of Mqhayi's serious concern about disunity and a lack of socio-political advancement among the Blacks of South Africa and the breaking down of law and order among the Khoza people in general and among the various black races in particular. The reader's attention is drawn also to Mqhayi's concern about deteriorating relations between Blacks.
S.E.K. Mqhayi has been declared the most successful of all the modern Xhosa writers. He has been proclaimed "The Shakespeare of the Xhosa language". The showering of such praises upon a man have prompted us to study some of his major views about life and the manner of expressing these.

* The first chapter deals with the formative influences which played a prominent part in Mqhayi's literary creativity. These are: the home, the school and the church. The portrayal of the man is made more explicit by citing what literary critics in general, and Xhosa poets in particular, have said about Mqhayi. A list of Mqhayi's published works and various comments on these add dimension to his stature. The chapter ends with a brief outline of the development of thought in Mqhayi's works. It is pointed out that each principal thought or major theme constitutes a chapter of this thesis. The first chapter serves as a thread that knits the different chapters together.

* The second chapter is a study of Mqhayi's views on the nature and operation of law in Xhosa traditional society. The various techniques employed by Mqhayi in articulating his views are pointed out. Mqhayi intimates in his works that law functions in a Xhosa traditional society in a manner similar to the operation of law in modern society. We have supported Mqhayi's contentions by drawing parallels with the western legal system. It is emphasized in this chapter that "the traditional Xhosa legal system is an integral part of the Xhosa religious order". The idea that Xhosas and other Black races had no laws governing them prior to contact with Whites is refuted by conclusive argument.

* Chapter three is a discussion of Mqhayi's serious concern about disunity and a lack of socio-political advancement among the Blacks of South Africa and the breaking down of law and order among the Xhosa people in general and among the various Black races in particular. The reader's attention is drawn also to Mqhayi's concern about deteriorating relations between Blacks
and Whites in South Africa. We show how the author offers solutions to these grave problems. Towards the end of the chapter, Mqhayi emerges as a patriot and a humanist.

* The concept of patriotism receives attention in chapter four. Biographical sketches of various Black and White leaders whom Mqhayi regarded as patriots are given. These biographies help in interpreting the poems written by Mqhayi about the said patriots. Of great interest to the reader should be the various devices employed by the poet in revealing patriotic action. A consistent and comforting note in most of the poems is the assurance that the patriots who departed from this earth are alive and active in the spiritual world.

* Throughout his works Mqhayi denigrates undesirable characters and deprecates evil actions or situations. This is brought out in sharper focus in chapter five. The various techniques he uses are mentioned and discussed. The reader's attention is drawn to the following: (a) virtue is extolled in Mqhayi's writings; (b) the author "preaches the gospel of hope and faith in human progress". Thus, brief notes on the transformation of the undesirable characters bring the chapter to an end.

* Literary critics will always point out what they consider as merits or demerits in a man's creative work(s). Chapter six deals with a critical appraisal of criticisms levelled against Mqhayi as a literary artist. The validity or otherwise of the opinions expressed is discussed.

* Chapter seven is a general conclusion. The main observations are summarised and suggestions for further studies are indicated.

* It is hoped that the entire study will serve as a design or model for understanding the creative works of S.E.K.L.N.Mqhayi. For additional information on the possible value of this study, the literary critic is referred to chapter seven (pages 249-254).
C H A P T E R  O N E

THE MAKING OF A MAN :
S.E.K.L.N. MQHAYI 1875 - 1945

A. Introduction

D. P. Kunene (1967, p.13) writes:

While I agree with critics who assert that one's knowledge of the life of an author does not enhance one's appreciation of the author's writings, it seems to me that there is equally no doubt that the 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 also of any factors which being external to this social milieu yet bombard it towards a forceful, even cataclysmic, change.

The ideas expressed by Kunene have led me to write this introductory chapter. It is a biographical study of S.E.K.L.N. Mqhaya, a writer and a social reformer. Subsequent chapters will have a bearing on it.

An excellent sketch of the life and works of Samuel Edward Krune Loliwe Ngxekengxeke Mqhaya written by A.C.Jordan appears in The South African outlook, 1st September, 1945, pp. 135-138. It is entitled "Samuel Edward Krune Mqhaya". Other publications of the same biography by A.C.Jordan appear in the following:


Other biographical sketches on Mqhaya which are worth mentioning are:


It is a laborious task to write a biography of Mqhayi that is different from and loftier than the biographies listed above.

Patricia E. Scott (1976, p.38) comments, and accurately so, about the biographies mentioned above:

All the biographical sources draw heavily upon Mqhayi's autobiography, UMqhayi waseNtabozuko which was published in 1939.

Patricia Scott's bibliographic survey omits the contribution of G.B.Sinxo listed (x) above. This omission however does not detract from the fact that the quality of Scott's bibliographic survey is on a par with her previous bibliographic survey on J.J.R.Jolobe which Kunene (1975, p.139) describes as "a meticulous and superbly arranged bibliography which must by all
accounts be considered an excellent contribution to the study of an important African writer."

B. The making of the man

The home, the school and the church constitute a milieu that has a great influence in shaping up one's outlook. We shall deal with these environmental factors and assess cursorily their influence in moulding the mind of Mqhayi. Relevant data will be extracted from W.G.Bennie's English translation of Mqhayi's autobiography, *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko*. The English version of the Xhosa title is: *A short autobiography of Samuel Krune Mqhayi*. It has been edited by Patricia E. Scott (1976, pp. 5-34):

(i) The home and related milieu

That Mqhayi grew up and became, in the words of "G.H.W." (1936, p.367), "the unquestioned leader of the Xhosa writers of today", seems to be a fulfilment of prayers that were made to God when he was born. Mqhayi captures the excitement at his home and the immediate neighbourhood on the day of his birth in verse form. From this poem of ten stanzas we quote the eighth and the tenth:

8
We pray for the young man
And to the "I Am" we give thanks to,
Would He would preserve the lad
From things that come knocking,
That seek to surround him,
And prevent his succeeding.

10
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 some help to the race
To be a strength unto the race.
Amen.

Mqhayi was the only boy at home. This taught him responsibility at a very early age. It also helped him to escape from the negative influence of his age group. He ascribes, *inter alia,*
the strength of his character to this early stage of his life:

I was the only boy at home, and therefore always busy. My having no play-mates, I attribute to my avoidance of smoking and beer-drinking. Even now I always say to young people, "It is far better not to have play-mates, than to have play-mates from whom you learn bad habits that are for...

\[ \text{that do not build up body and character}\]

(p.14)

Some of the habits that destroy body and character are: indolence; dishonesty; jealousy; uncleanness; selfishness; gossiping. In his poem book *Imihobe nemibongo* (1927) Mqhayi admonishes growing children against these vices and extols such virtues as diligence; honesty; loyalty; cleanliness; selflessness; generosity. It is admirable to see Mqhayi attempting to develop strength of character in others.

Mqhayi lost his mother in early childhood. This taught him not only to fend for himself but developed in him the urge, almost a compulsion, to obtain for himself the best things in life even in the face of opposition. He tells of what happened on a certain morning when his sister went out to the mealie-fields:

That morning I saw my sister carrying a pot and going towards the fields; this was autumn. I decided at once to go also, for I had seen good things, like green mealies, pumpkins, sweet cane, and water-melon, coming from the direction of the fields; ... My father called me back, and I reluctantly returned, and sat down. After a moment's rest I said to myself, "Father would not see me go;" and I went. (p.16)

Mqhayi tells us of how he tended stock:

I always looked for the greenest pasture ... 

Again we hear the voice of Mqhayi assuming a very mature tone:

I would inspan oxen to fetch brush-wood for the gaps in the cattle-kraal; and whenever I saw a
The incidents cited above might appear on the surface to be irrelevant or insignificant in portraying Mqhayi as a writer and a leader. They assume a meaningful dimension on reflecting that as a writer and leader Mqhayi wanted, metaphorically speaking, that his people should graze in the same "greenest pasture" as other races; it was the same man who, in journalistic and creative writings, urged his people to fill in "the gaps" in their lives and development. Mqhayi's sense of duty and aspirations in childhood were transposed to a sense of both artistic and social responsibility during adulthood. Kole Omotoso (1974, pp. 54-55) says about the writer's responsibility:

I think he should act as a conscience that can keep on saying "No! No! No!" to any evil that exists in society. Even if nobody listens he should be able to keep on saying "No!" as long as he is alive.

Mqhayi did exactly this till his energies dissipated.

In complimenting S.E.K. Mqhayi and B.W. Vilakazi in particular and other writers in general for showing in their writings concern about political problems, Moloi (1973, p.201) says:

Authors are a vital part of any community. They are the ones to give forth meaning and direction to the national aspirations of the people. If they divorce themselves from the live issues of the day and what affects their people most, then the authors are dead, and the community they hope to lead is doomed. It is time that the Bantu writer expressed the aspirations and problems of his people genuinely. The works of the late Vilakazi and Mqhayi illustrate this point.

At the age of nine years, Mqhayi moved with his father to their relatives in the Kentane district, Transkei. He points out how this link with his people at Kentane was of benefit to him:
I thank my father for taking me to Kentane, for it was the means of my getting an insight into the national life of my people. (pp. 19-20)

It was, amongst other factors, the experience gained in Kentane which kindled in his mind, as he matured, the flame of nationalism which, as years progressed, ballooned and aroused in him the sentiment of patriotism. The two constituents (underlined) compounded and a great humanist was produced. Ntantala (1971, p.9) writes:

Mqhayi was a man of his people, whose social interests were very wide and as a consequence his influence as well. He was a patriot and a lover of the human race.

(ii) The school, the church and related milieu

The school and the church also developed and sharpened the qualities of leadership in Mqhayi.

He received his primary school learning at Kentane and Lovedale. He obtained his secondary education also from Lovedale from where he qualified as a teacher. That he was a brilliant student is testified in the following lines:

The minister, Rev. J.M.Auld, in the examination of schools, and at anniversaries, used to single out my sister, Jane, and me, as being the best scholars in all his schools. (p.20)

Like most promising scholars Mqhayi was severely handicapped by very inadequate financial resources. He had to work during his spare time and during the vacation period in order to supplement the cost of his education. He writes:

... to get money I used to work for the institution at 1d. an hour for three hours every afternoon, and 1/6d. on Saturday. (p.23)

He continues:
In the vacation I went to East London and took any work that came my way first whatever it was. (p.23)

Material poverty is externalised in the lines in which he tells us about his attire on his first day at Lovedale:

On Monday, I was made to put on my first trousers and jacket. Hitherto my only clothing had been a calico shirt or sheep-skin kaross, and sometimes an old jacket given to me by someone. (p.22)

An account of these experiences might again appear trivial. They become relevant when we recall that a number of leaders have humble beginnings. It is often the hard knocks of life that shape and produce a writer and leader of Mqhayi's stature.

The material suffering he experienced as a student at Lovedale was rewarded by the education he received and by the spiritual contact he made with different religious, educational and political leaders whilst he was at Lovedale and afterwards. These were: Rev. W.B.Rhubusana (vide p.23), Rev. P.J.Mzimba, Rev. E.Makiwane, Rev. I.W.Wauchope, Charles Sinxo and Rev. John Knox Bokwe (vide pp. 25-26). Referring to a number of conflicts between some of these Black leaders and some White authorities in the various spheres of life, Mqhayi writes:

These were the fore-runners of other difficulties between White and Black that I myself would go through ... in the government, church, education and social structure in general. (p.26)

Mqhayi's highest regard of the educational and religious values is expressed passionately in the following lines:

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 Xhosa.

The lines continue:
I also aimed especially at a good knowledge of the scriptures. I would pray in the veld until I wept, because it seemed that I was losing the chance of getting education. (p.20)

So burning was his desire for learning that once admitted at Lovedale, no trifle or light social occasion would absent him from school:

I kept the school and refused to stay away for weddings and activities. (p.23)

It was not, naturally, the environmental factors like the home, the school and the church only that nurtured his mind but he also possessed some other innate traits. For example, Shepherd (1955, p.122) writes:

Samuel was a boy of independent mind, lonely, observant, hard-working.

The quality underlined in the extract above was so strong in him that his sisters became very unhappy about him. He writes:

They did not like my spirit of independence, and thought that I got it from the Red boys in whose company I was when herding stock in the veld. (p.21)

The "Red boys" that Mqhayi speaks of were not the communists but the red-blanketed shepherds who were illiterate. The term can be equated with the 'noble savage' of Rousseau.

Mqhayi may have inherited the spirit of not rescinding a resolution once made from his father:

My father was a man who did not easily change his mind; he took a long time to think a thing out and then kept to his decision. (p.19)

We see the spirit of the father in the son when the latter resigned from his teaching post at Lovedale. Jordan (1973,
p.99) writes about the issue:

... during the few years in the world Mqhayi's views on South African History and how it should be taught in African schools had undergone such modification that he found himself compelled either to be false to his own convictions and teach history as the authorities would have him teach it, or to give up teaching altogether. He decided on the latter.

Mqhayi never retraced his steps to the class-room. It is presumed that this emanated, amongst other things, from the largely held view that a hesitant and subjective mind can never make a vehement plea for change. This idea permeates the pages of his creative works. This should not identify Mqhayi as an outright politician (bearing in mind that all men are political beings) but as an author who protests within the confines and licence of poetry and prose as art (C& Dathorne, 1965, p.30).

We point out that it is the duty of a writer to "conscientise" the people to whom he addresses himself. Karen L. Morell (1975, pp. 126-217) quotes Wole Soyinka, a writer and a critic himself, as saying about some of the objectives of a writer:

... first of all you have to arouse in the people a certain, well to put it crudely, a certain nausea towards a particular situation, to arouse them at all to accept the possibility of a positive alternative.

C. The man and his social services

In the foregoing discussions under B. the social rôle of Mqhayi has been stated or implied very superficially. Under C. this contribution is brought to a sharper focus:

(i) Service to immediate family in the Ciskei

Mqhayi was the only male child born to his mother and father. The death of his mother terminated his childhood at the age of nine years. As he grew up the mantle of responsibility
became more heavy on his shoulders. In one of the pages of Umqhayi waseNtabozuko he writes:

I am the head of the family, which among the Xhosa means that every orphan child in your family will be brought to you, to bring up, feed, clothe, and educate without any recompense in the future, and sometimes to find that the ones you have helped have become your enemies. (p.32)

The poverty of his people in general and of his distant and close relatives in particular oppressed his spirit. His hope for a change is expressed in the following lines:

Perhaps the Government may some day be gracious enough to assist such poverty-stricken people as we are, as they do the White farmer. (p.33)

Throughout his works Mqhayi shows that he has faith in the positive growth of the human mind and in the change of his heart. He also preaches to the Black people that they should turn to themselves for their own salvation.

(ii) Services to the Xhosa people both in the Ciskei and in the Transkei

The filial thread with his father's people in the Kentane district in the Transkei patterned itself into a cord that bound him up with the Xhosa people in the Ciskei. The following lines reveal Mqhayi's willingness to serve his people wherever they are:

When people asked me why I looked forward to going to a country like Gcalekaland, I would answer, "I go to the people of my race." (p.18)

The Idutywa, Willowvale and Kentane districts in the Transkei constitute Gcalekaland.

Mqhayi returned from the Transkei and settled at Ntabozuko
which is a few kilometres from the Kei river which separates the Transkei from the Ciskei. The filial cord was not severed. He tells us:

Again in this Ntabozuko, I am in a very central position among the Ndlambe and Gaika tribes, and I am in close contact with the Gcalekas. (p.33)

The Gcalekas are Xhosa tribes in the Transkei and the Ndlambes are the Xhosa tribes in the Ciskei. Gaika is the English word for Ngqikas, a Xhosa tribe in the Ciskei. It is in recognition of Mqhayi's services to the Transkeian and Ciskeian people that Ngcwabe (1974, p.32) lauds Mqhayi as

Gxalaba libanzi, mathwalana nesizwe emqolo!
(Broad shoulder, carrier of the nation on his back!)
(p.32)

(iii) Services to all Black races in South Africa and beyond her borders

Mqhayi was one of those Black leaders like W.B. Rhibusana, John L. Dube and others who worked towards the unification of Black people in South Africa and beyond her borders. The universal maxim: "United we stand, divided we fall" characterises his writings. This universal idea is reiterated in his very last creative and original work, the autobiography, *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko*. He says to the Black people of South Africa:

By our divisions, we still make ourselves easy prey to those who are against us. (p.28)

Yako (1954, p.66) testifies:

OkaMqhayi yena wayezama ukusibopha,
Esihlanganisa njengabantwana abangenanina.

Although Inzuzo appears to be the last publication of Mqhayi's original creative works (cf. Scott, 1976, pp. 11-12) it is not so. The volume is a collection of poems published earlier in various Black newspapers.
Mqhayi's contribution by pen and word of mouth reached such admirable heights that he was given the praise name 'The Gombo poet and poet of the race' by the editor of Abantu/Batho, a Black newspaper which was published in Johannesburg. The praise name was a modification of the original praise name 'The Gombo poet' given to Mqhayi by the editor of Izwi labantu published in East London. Gombo is the Xhosa name for East London. The editor wrote to Mqhayi and gave the following reasons for modifying his praise name:

... it is impossible for you to be the poet of a place because we have discovered that you have embraced all the Black races in your self. (p.28)

Jolobe (1965, p.123) portrays the spreading of the voice of Mqhayi from the district of East London to other parts of South Africa in captivating idiom:

Uqegu linamandla lathwal' iinzima zakwaNdlambe,
Usiba lunomdla kwiZwi labantu kwaneMvo.

(He is the ox that carried the problems of the Ndlambes, His pen is influential in the columns of The voice of the people and The opinion of the black people.)

The former newspaper was first edited by Nathaniel Cyril Mhala and the latter by John Thengo Jabavu.

The honour bestowed upon Mqhayi was very appropriate. Janheinz Jan (1968, p.190) writes:

... the palm must be given to the poet who can make himself the spokesman for his time and the interpreter of his group.

Part of the evidence that Mqhayi's work and influence permeated the borders of South Africa is to be found in the poem written by Lettie G.N.Tayadzerhwa of Rhodesia (1951, p.125) on the
death of Mqhayi. The second stanza reads:

In Mbembesi we quarrel over you,
We are jealous of you, we claim you,
We are proud of you and your work.

(Translated by F.S.M. Mncube)

(iv) Services to both Black and White races in South Africa

That, in general, Mqhayi accords praise in his works to some White leaders and that, in particular, he eulogises certain White figures in *Inzuzo* and *Imibengo* is sufficient proof that he did not discriminate in his evaluation and judgement against the White people. To Mqhayi the colour of a man was a useless and petty if not a senseless criterion when assessing the worth of a man. He worked relentlessly towards the union of races. In *U/Mqhayi wasenTabantelo* he tells of the situation of his cottage and the advantages it provided him towards achieving harmony amongst men:

... while I am in close contact with my own race, I am also in contact with the European races, and with all religious denominations who worship the living God. (p.33)

(v) Higher services

Mqhayi falls into the category of those writers whom Clark (1971, p.245) describes as being reluctantly compelled to express the thoughts of their people; he is amongst those authors who, according to Fuller (1965, p.82), are always striving to remove from society forces that dehumanize their fellow men; he is one of those literary artists whom Heywood (1971, p.8) interprets as being involved in a struggle to help society "to gain its belief in itself and put away the complexes of the years of denigration and self-denigration." The pen of Mqhayi reveals a man who wanted to accomplish the said objectives during his life-time. He admonishes his readers to heed his teachings and also intimates to them that he may sooner or later pass from this world to another:
1. Impossible for me to be always with you, since I am only human (and mortal):

2. Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later takes a trip?

3. Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later shifts residence?

4. Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later departs from home?

(Vide Ityala lamawe le 1953, p.98)
(translated by Wandile Kuse 1975, p.185)

The lines quoted immediately above may assume yet a higher meaning:
early in life Mqhayi preached the doctrine that service on earth implies ultimate service to God. There could be no valid dispute if claim could be made that in the lines quoted above Mqhayi articulates the same view.

The same idea pronounced by Mqhayi is expressed by some Xhosa poets about him in their poems on his death. We mention the poets and we quote the relevant lines:

A. Yako (1977, p.33):
1. Usathe gxada phezulu umphakathi wethu.
   (1. Our middleman has paid a short visit above.)

B. Jolobe (1965, p.122):
1. Anivanga na ukuba ihambile imbongi yesizwe?
2. Anazi na imke ngenqwel' egoqoz' emafini?
   (1. Have you not heard that the national bard has left?
   2. Have you not heard that he has left by the cart that soars high up in the clouds?)

BB. Jolobe (1965, p.122):
1. Ufudukile umphakathi enxuweni elidala.
   (1. The middleman has shifted from the old site.)

C. Tayadzerhwa (1951, p.129):
1. Kokwenu njandin' imbi yomXhosa
2. Lenjenjalo ikroti ukulwa!!!
   (1. Away, to your home you ugly son of a Xhosa.
   2. Depart like a hero after the battle!!!)
   (translated by F.S.M.Mncube)

D. Yali-Manisi (1952, p.122):
1. Zibikelen' izizwe neentlanga,
2. Bikelan' iinkosi neenkokeli,
3. Nith' imbongi yesizw' inyuselwe,
4. Ukuya kubongel' uSomandla.
   (1. Report to the various nations and tribes,
   2. Report to the various chiefs and leaders,
   3. That the national bard has been elevated
   4. To the position of declaiming praises for the Almighty.)

*Note the following about the excerpts quoted above:

(i) $gxada$ in A.1 is synonymous with $hambele$ in M.2.

(ii) $hambile$ in B.1 has more or less the same meaning as $hambele$ in M.2.

(iii) $fudukile$ in BB.1 conveys the same meaning as $fuduke$ in M.3.

(iv) $Kokwenu$ in C.1 implies the idea of going home as $goduke$ in M.4.

All the predicates convey the idea of a welcome change of place or status as is suggested by $nyuselwe$ in D.3.

*Note also the use of the following agentive nouns:
The nouns bring out the idea of an officer, an intermediary, a spokesman, a protector, a life-giving force. Mqhayi was all these things!

*The following possessives:

(i) wethu in A.1
(ii) yesizwe in B.1
(iii) yomXhosa in C.1
(iv) yesizwe in D.3

are employed to exalt Mqhayi. The poets identify him with what he served, namely the Xhosa people (C.1); various chiefs and other leaders (D.2); various nations and tribes (D.1).

*The following locatives:

(i) phezulu in A.1
(ii) emafini in B.2.
(iii) kokwenu in C.1

emphasize the idea that the heroic or the virtuous scale "the vast fatiguing heights" (cf. nyuselwe in D.3) into the heavens (cf. uSomandla in D.4). The Xhosa people believe that heaven is somewhere above the firmament.

Tayadzerhwa (1951, p.128) depicts Mqhayi performing in heaven the same duties he discharged when he was on earth:

Seyibonga kwaPhath' izitshixo!
Man' ixhentsa kuhum' uthuli!
Iwunduza ngamabal' engwe!
Already he is declaiming poems at the Caretaker's place!
He stamps upon the ground churning up dust!
He paces gracefully in his leopard skin kaross!

Qangule (1971, p.51) imagines that Mqhayi is in heaven, and that in a conference of all writers in the universe he is called upon to report on his literary exploits. The Xhosa bard and writer addresses the distinguished assembly:

Zinkosi ndabhala ITYALA LAMAWEL
ngenjongo yokubonisa indlela elalicho-
tshelwa ngayo ityalal emva, endulo.
UMQHAYI WASENTABOZUKO un gobomi
bam. Izibongo endazibhalayo zikwezi
ncwadi : IMIHBE NEMIBONGO,
INZUZO. Ezinye izibongo ndihanbe
ndizityala. Eyona ncwadi endiyi-
thandayo mna ngUDON JADU. Zikhona
nezinye iincwadi endaziguqulela
esiXhoseni ezinjengoADONISI WASENTLANGO
njalonjalo.

(Sirs, I wrote THE LAWSUIT OF THE TWINS
with the aim of showing how the
lawsuit was conducted in the
olden days. MQHAYI, OF MOUNT GLORY
is about my life. The poems I wrote
are to be found in these books:
PRAISES AND LYRICS, THINGS RARE AND
PROFITABLE. The other poems are interspersed
in my works. The book I like best is
DON OF THE JADU CLAN. There are other
books which I have translated into
Xhosa such as KEES VAN DIE KALAHARI
etc.)

D. The man and his creative works

Literary works are a means of serving the community. Patricia E. Scott (1976, pp.5-13) gives a list of Mqhayi's works in a chronological order and explains:

A chronological arrangement of an author's works enables one to see them in the context of a man's whole contribution and to mark his progressive development in thinking, interests, and style.
Scott makes a very scientific observation. We give below the list of Mqhayi's works as arranged by Scott. Where possible a brief commentary will be made about the book or on anything that relates to it:

1907 Biography

   The story is based on the Biblical story of Samson and Delilah. The book is out of print. No copy is available.

1914 Prose work

   Callaway (1922, p.237) writes:
   "The story, which is no doubt historical, belongs to the time of the great chief Hintsa, before he came into contact with the English authorities established at the Cape."

   Shepherd (1945, p.101) says:
   "This book contains much valuable information regarding legal procedure among the Xhosa, and much historical matter from the Xhosa point of view.

   The truth of what is said by the two critics is verified in chapter two of this thesis.

1921 Biography

   This book is out of print. Sogqumahashe is the praise-name of chief Nathaniel Cyril Mhala who founded and was the first editor of the Xhosa newspaper Izwi labantu which was published in East London. Chief Mhala was a great patriot.

1922 Translation

4. **Ulimo, luchazelwe izikolo zaseAfrika eseZantsi**, Nasionale
1923 Poetry


1925 Biography


Shepherd (1945, p.102) comments:

*A good biography of an outstanding man.*

1926 Biography


This book is written in memory of the Xhosa prophet, Ntsikana. It is out of print.

1927 Anthem

8. *"Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika"

Scott (1976, p.9) writes:

The first stanza of this anthem was composed by Enoch Sontonga (1860-1904), but in 1927 Mqhayi published in *Umthetheli wabantu*, issue of June 11, an additional seven stanzas. These stanzas appeared in the same year in Mqhayi's first collection of poetry, *Imihobe nemibongo*, pp.30-32.

1927 Poetry


Scott (1976, p.9) says about the volume:

*This was Mqhayi's first published collection of poems. It does, however, contain six poems by four other poets.*

1929 Novel
A.C. Jordan (1945, p.137) writes:

UDon Jadu makes very interesting and thought-provoking reading. It is true that in constructing a "bridge" between our present South Africa and his Utopia, the author idealizes away a few hard facts, but --
Its soul is right,
He means right, -- that a child may understand.

1929 Translation: Hymns


1935 Translation

13. UAggrey umAfrika, Student Christian Movement, London, 147 pages
This book is a translation of E.W. Smith's Aggrey of Africa.

Doke (1936, p.112) writes about Aggrey, the central figure:

Aggrey, who visited South Africa some years ago, captured the imagination of the African Native, and since his lamented death in New York in 1927 he has become the African's hero. The story of his life is a source of inspiration and encouragement everywhere in Africa; and this Xhosa translation should command a very wide appeal.

We wish to add that Samuel must have been greatly influenced to translate Aggrey of Africa into Xhosa because there was a lot in common between him and Aggrey. It is necessary to sketch out the similarities between Mqhayi and Aggrey regarding experience, personality attributes, aims and goals in life. These were:

(i) exposure to insults because of the colour of the skin;
(ii) each lived in an atmosphere of racial conflicts;
(iii) each regarded colour of the skin as an irrelevance in a Christian world;
(iv) each had a frank and manly demeanour;
(v) each had unquenchable thirst for knowledge;
(vi) each had intense vitality for life;
(vii) each had oratorical powers and was inclined to be verbose;
(viii) each had a great love for African people, for the White nations and for humanity as a whole;
(ix) each had a very high regard for the religious, educational and political values; and
(x) each worked to achieve understanding between all men. (Vide Mqhayi, 1964, pp. 6-27 and Smith, 1929, pp. 3-149).

1937 Narrative poem

14. UMhlekazi uHintsa, Lovedale press, 15 pages
The poem is a brief account of the famous Chief Hintsa. Mqhayi tells in a moving manner how the following:
the Britons, the Ngwane, the Thembu, the Bomvana, the Zulu and the Mfengu tribes were received cordially in Xhosaland by Hintsa.
King Hintsa, the chief character is portrayed as a unifier of Black and White races in South Africa.

1939 Autobiography

Bennie (1940, pp.203-204) says about the book:
... this is not the least interesting of Mr Mqhayi's writings, giving, as it does, not only the story of his life, but also an insight into the aims that have inspired him and the formative influences that prepared him for the work he has done and is doing.

1942 Poetry

Most of the poems contained in this volume were first published in various Black newspapers like 'The Bantu world', 'Izwi labantu' and 'Imvo zabaNtsundu'. Referring to these poems Lestrade (1934, p.123) writes:
New praise songs are more common: one Xhosa writer, Mqhayi, composes and publishes fresh ones fairly regularly. Most of the poems are written on prominent Black and White leaders who were contemporaries of S.E.K. Mqhayi.

1949 Translation

17. **UAdonisi wasentlango**, Lovedale press, 85 pages, This book is a translation of *Kees van die Kalahari* written by the Hobson brothers, G.C. and S.B. The main contribution of Mqhayi in this book is the use of very rich and expressive Xhosa idiom in general and the use of the Xhosa ideophone in particular. The book does not read like a translation. No reference has been made to this book in the body of this thesis since the themes found in it do not relate to the major themes found in Mqhayi's works.

1975 Praise poems

18. "A Velile:" and "A Silimela" Scott (1976, p.13) reports that the two poems were discussed by Jeff Opland under the title "Two unpublished poems by S.E.K. Mqhayi". Scott writes:

> This paper was read at the symposium on contemporary South African Literature. Austin, Texas, in March 1975. A revised version is to be published.


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Miscellaneous

Where textual information is incomplete in a given book reference is made to other editions in the writing of this thesis.

Evaluation

The books listed above show that Mqhayi was a prolific author and also that he belonged to the 1860-1950 literary period of Black protest writers (cf. Sole 1977, p.11). None of his Xhosa contemporaries approximates his literary contributions in terms of quality and quantity. We quote a few from Jabavu (1946, p.11):

1. W.B.Rhubusana: Zemk' iinkomo magwalandini, 1906
2. L.Kakaza: UThandiwe wakwagcaleka, 1914
3. E.Guma: Nomalizo, 1918
4. S.Sovenu (J.W.Owen): Umzingisi akanashwa, 1924
5. V.Swaartbooi: UMandisa

Jolobe (1965, p.123) acknowledges Mqhayi as one of the pioneers in Xhosa creative writing:

1. Umhlahli-ndlela ngegalelo lokuhaliweyo,
2. Into kaMqhayi imbongi yesizwe jikelele.
(1. A path-finder, a pioneer in the art of writing,
2. Son of Mqhayi, the national poet indeed.)
(translated by Mahlasela (1973, p.21))

Yali-Manisi (1952, p.107) says about the quantity and quality of Mqhayi's works:

1. Ngumbhali weencwadi zaxak' amadoda,
2. Zaxak' iizazi, zaxak' ingleqondo.
(1. He is the author of books that puzzled men of power,
2. They puzzled men of knowledge, they puzzled great minds.)

Ngcwabe (1974, p.33) acclaims Mqhayi's literary creativity:

1. Umbhali weencwadi, igqirha lesizwe,
   umxoxi weendaba,
2. Imbongi yesizwe jikelele!!!

(1. The writer of books, the healer of the nation, the news columnist,  
2. The national bard indeed!!!)

Line 1 above alludes to the period when Mqhayi contributed articles to the Xhosa newspapers, Izwi labantu and also to the time when he was the editor of Imvo zabaNtsundu, a Xhosa newspaper.

What Mqhayi writes in his editorial columns hardly throws light on his creative writings. Most of the issues of Imvo ZabaNtsundu are interspersed with his praise poems which were later on compiled into his Xhosa poem book, Inzuzo. We give below a list of poems which if they appear in some editions do not appear in others:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A.S. More&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>25 May, 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Uphunguphungu&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>24 August, 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Izibongo zikaMfi Jabavu&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>3 November, 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Kuni 1942 no 1943&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>2 January, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;UTsalitorho&quot; (&quot;General Hertzog&quot;)</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>9 January, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Umfi Howard Ben- Mazwi&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>6 March, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Aa! Gushiphela&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>13 March, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;UThunzana&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>5 June, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dr A.B. Xuma&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>1 April, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ibala lembongi&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>8 July, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Aa! Bambichanti! ! !&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>8 July, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Aa! Zanethongo ! ! !&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td>1 May, 1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* &quot;UMhlekazi uLot James Mama Kama&quot;</td>
<td>Imvo ZabaNtsundu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these poems except "Kuni 1942 no 1943" and "UThunzana" Mqhayi laments the passing away of a civic leader.

* The poem was published posthumously.
Jolobe (1965, p.123) refers to the pranks of Mqhayi during his childhood:

1. USomfekethwana zooBy George kwaMelani,
2. Uwela umlambo kanti uza netyala lamawele.

(1. One who playfully swore "By George" at Melanis,
2. One who crossed the river to return with Ityala lamawele.)

Line one refers to a humorous incident told by Mqhayi in his autobiography, UMqhayi waseNtabozuko and line 2 refers to his crossing of the river Kei to Kentane from where he amassed data for his book Ityala lamawele.

Yako (1977, p.33) echoes Jolobe when he says about Mqhayi:

1. Wahlaba kwavel' iTyala lamawele,
2. Wabhala ngawo kwavel' imihobe neziny' iincwadi.

(1. He thrust his spear (at the paper) and iTyala lamawele appeared,
2. He wrote with his spear and poems and other books appeared.)

In both lines 1 and 2 Yako equates the traditional spear that the mbongi (praise-singer/bard) carried when declaiming a poem with the modern pen. Yako applauds Mqhayi for the fruitful use of his poetic gifts.

Tayadzerhwa (1951, p.128) says that Mqhayi's works are a legacy for the Black people of South Africa:

1. Ndithi mn' ilifa nishiywe nalo,
2. Ziyindlela iincwadi zembongi.
3. Inichazele ngooyihlonkhulu,
4. Inityhilele ngeenkosi zenu,
5. Ntsikana noHintsa niyabazi.

(1. You've been left a fine heritage,
2. The poets' books are a beacon,
3. Teaching you your traditions
4. And of your ancient kings,
5. Now Ntsikana and Hintsa you know.)

(translated by F.S.M.Mncube)
Mbebe (1954, p.27) presents Mqhayi as a national hero and a literary giant:

1. Wena Ntabozuko usenzel' uzuko,
2. Kub' usigcinel' imbongi enozuko,
3. Yen' umntakaMqhayi waseNtabozuko,
4. Obhale iincwadi, obhale imihobe,
5. Oguqul'iincwadi kwinteth' abamhlophe,—
6. Wandise ulwazi kwinteth' esiXhosa,
7. Wanika uzuko kulwimi lomXhosa,
8. Yena liqhayiya kwizwe lamaXhosa.

(1. You Mount of Glory you have created glory for us,
2. Because you are the resting place of a glorious poet,
3. He the child of Mqhayi of Mount Glory,
4. He who has written books and poems,
5. He who has translated books from European languages,—
6. He who has enriched the Xhosa language
7. He who has lent dignity to the Xhosa language,
8. Verily he is the pride of the Xhosa nation.)

Note the subtle and repetitive reference to zuko (glory) in lines 1, 2 and 7 and also the clever and constant allusion to Mqhayi's literary contributions in lines 3-7. Compare line 3 with number 15 in the listed works of Mqhayi. Compare also lines 4-5 with numbers 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 of the listed works of Mqhayi. Observe the national claim in lines 1 and 8 of the excerpt quoted immediately above. The entire stanza is an appropriate eulogy to a man whose voice is so powerful that even death cannot silence it:

Khanivele kwisebe lemfundo,
Nombona uMqhayi ehleli.
Jikelezani kwizikolo zabaNtsundu,
Nomva uMqhayi ethetha.

(Visit a department of education,
There you will find Mqhayi alive;
Go to the various Black schools
You will hear the voice of Mqhayi.)

(Ntloko 1954, p.25)
Even in the late seventies the voice of a young poet, Ngcangatha (1976, p.7) still echoes the views of older poets about the illustrious career of S.E.K. Mqhayi:

1. Phay' eNtabozuko ulele umZima,
2. Igama lakh' ezingqondweni alinakucima.

(1. There at Mount Glory rests in peace he of the Zima clan
2. Never shall his name be erased from the minds of men.)
E. **THE GENEALOGY OF S.E.K.L.N. MQHAYI**

**Meaning of symbols**

- Male
- Female
- Line of descent
- Descending order of seniority
- Minor line of descent

1. **SHESHEGU**
   - (a) belonged to the ZIMA clan
   - (b) fled from Thembuland in the Transkei and sought refuge amongst the Midanges in the Ciskei
   - (c) settled in the neighbourhood of Alice
   - (d) encouraged others to join his newly adopted tribe
   - (e) was a valiant man
   - (f) became a prominent leader among the Midanges

2. **MQHAYI** of Jadu
   - (a) born of SHESHEGU
   - (b) a famous singer and dancer
   - (c) became one of Chief Maqoma's counsellors
   - (d) settled at Jadu near Seymour
   - (e) died in the battle-field during the war of Hintsa in 1835
3 A MaSuKwini

(a) Krune's wife
(b) was daughter of Hogu
(c) was an eminent doctor
(d) rejected Christian Faith for some time
(e) died converted at the age of 100 years

KRUNE (1800 - 1895)

(a) born near Guburha, Victoria East
(b) eldest son of Mqhayi of Jadu
(c) only child of the woman of the great house of the Nkabane clan
(d) female issues of the Zima clan swear by him
(e) shouldered family responsibility at early childhood
(f) was attendant of chief Ngqika's son, Kona, during his initiation period (a high honour)
(g) escaped death narrowly during the war of Hintsa in 1835
(h) settled amongst missionaries at Macfarlan near Lovedale
(i) was accused of flouting traditional norms in accepting Christian faith
(j) died an elder of the Free Church of Scotland mission

→3B Nzanzana →3C →3D Peku

(1825-1891) (unmarried girl)

(a) brother of Krune
(b) born of the daughter of Phono of the famous Ngqosini clan

(a) Nzanzana's youngest brother
(b) very religious
(c) died at Emgvali in 1904
(c) was famous for his knowledge of law and order
(d) was a counsellor of Hintsa and Maqoma
(e) was a fierce warrior
(f) crossed the Kei river with Kona
(g) was an orator
(h) worked with the missionary Rev. J.M. Auld

ZIWANI (1830-1920)
(a) only son of MaSuwnini and Krune
(b) grew up under missionary influence
(c) first settled in Gqumahashe in the Tyhumi valley
(d) taught in the Tyhumi valley
(e) moved to Centane and stayed for some time
(f) returned to the Ciskei and settled in Grahamstown where he became a leading churchman
(g) was an orator and a famous singer

SAMUEL EDWARD KRUNE L OLIWE NGXEKENGX EKE MQHAYI (1875 - 1945)
(a) only son of Ziwani and Nomenti
(b) Xhosa bard and prolific writer
(c) was a teacher
(d) became a lay preacher
(e) was a counsellor
(f) shouldered family responsibility at early childhood

(Vide Umghayi waseNtabozuko, 1964 pp 5 - 30)
From the family tree of S.E.K.L.N. Mqhayi and relevant data we deduce the following about him:

(i) Like his forbears he took great interest in religious educational and civic or political matters. (vide 1d, 2c, 3j, 3Ae, 3Bc, 3Bd, 3Bh, 3Db, 4b, 4d, 4f.)
(ii) As was the case with his father and forefather he was prominent in some sphere of life (vide le, 1f, 2b, 3Ac, 3Bc, 3Bg, 4g.)
(iii) As his relatives had established a link between the Transkei and the Ciskei people so did he (vide 1b, 1c, 3Bf, 4e, 4f 4Ad.)
(iv) The spirit of bravery that ran in the veins of some of his seniors was also injected into his own blood (vide le, 2e, 3d, 3g, 3Be.)
(v) The mantle of family responsibility fell on Samuel at early childhood as it was the case with his grand-father (vide 3e)
(vi) Like most of his filial associates Samuel had a close contact with some royal figures and other prominent Xhosa clans in both the Transkei and the Ciskei (vide 1f, 2c, 3c, 3f, 3Ab, 3Bb, 3Bf, 4Ab, 4Ad.)

It is discernible from the foregoing pages that S.E.K.L.N. Mqhayi’s background was of a very diverse nature. This explains why this "Xhosa man" of Thembu origin rose in his vocation above tribal or racial differences. If we are not oblivious of his filial cord it will not surprise us to find that in his original creative works Samuel is pre-occupied with the ideas of justice and democracy, unity, patriotism and humanism.

Conclusion

It has been intimated already that a collection and an assessment of biographical data cannot alone be sufficient in establishing the point of view from which an author sees the world around him. An analysis of the works themselves and a possession of autobiographical data will always result in a very illuminating study. This brings us to the need for stating the purpose

...
of the entire study. It is: A study of theme and technique in the creative works of S.E.K.L.N.Mqhayi.

Harry Shaw (1972, p.378) defines theme as

The central and dominating idea in a literary work; the message or moral implicit in any work of art.

There seems to be no succinct definition of the term 'technique'. Mark Shore (1948, p.9) defines it as

the means by which the writer's experience, which is his subject matter, compels him to attend to it. Technique is the only means of discovering, exploring, developing his subject, of conveying its meaning and finally of evaluating it.

We define 'theme and technique' in simplest language as being what is said and how it is said.

A number of themes are easily discernible from Mqhayi's works. These themes tend to overlap in each of his books. Some themes however are more dominant than others. We mention below the dominant theme and we give in brackets the title of the book in which it is expressed. The date of publication is also given. Each principal idea or theme constitutes a chapter:

1. 'The making of a man' (Umghayi waseNtabozuko - 1939) This has been discussed already.
2. 'Law and order' (Itvala lamawele - 1914)
3. 'Disunity and a lack of socio-political advancement among the Blacks' (UDon Jadu - 1929)
4. 'Patriotism' (Inzuzo - 1942)

We regard the four books mentioned above as the major works of Mqhayi. In elucidating a fact or in buttressing argument copious material will be drawn from the other works of the writer.
Since characters, situations and language are used by writers in evincing various themes, a fifth chapter becomes a necessity. It is entitled:

5. 'Character portrayal and depiction of situations'

Since critical opinions are always formed about some aspects of a writer's works, a sixth chapter also becomes essential. It is entitled:

6. 'An evaluation of some critical views on some aspects of Mqhayi's works'

The last and a logical chapter is:

7. 'General conclusion'

The development of thought in Mqhayi's works is not a primary purpose of this study. It is secondary and we shall therefore sketch it very briefly:

The initial dates of the publications of the four major works of Mqhayi (1, 2, 3, 4) mentioned above correspond with the development of his socio-political views:

1914 - Ityala lamawele. The writer depicts, inter alia, a state of good order that prevailed amongst the Xhosa people before they made contact with other tribes, nations and races other than Xhosas. The actual meeting between the Xhosa people and others of various origins brings the book to a close with the sad prediction that the morality of the Xhosas will break down soon.

1929 - UDon Jadu. Episodes in this book tell of a new and gloomy era for the Xhosa people. The good old order is rammed into reverse gear and evil is swept apace. Mqhayi is concerned about the decline in the social and political standards of the Xhosa people and is also concerned about various conflicts between the Black and White people. In an endeavour to resolve
the conflicts he suggests the creation of a Black state within South Africa. This is a clairvoyant suggestion. It is parallel to the idea of homelands in South Africa.

Critics could claim that Mqhayi was influenced in the writing of *UDon Jadu*, inter alia, by General Hertzog's policy of 'Native reserves' (cf Walker 1965, pp 642 - 646; Muller 1975, p 382 and p 413; Van Jaarsveld 1975, pp 351 - 352). It would appear that Mqhayi supported this policy even if for a short period. In his "UTsalitorho" ("Gen. Hertzog"), an elegy on General Hertzog, he writes in the concluding lines:

Yivumeni indoda bafo beAfrika  
Esebenze nzima inyanis'iphikwa  
Igxwagxushwa nyani iingalo zijiwja  
Kwaba kukhon'inkqubel'ifika  
Lala kamandi mfo kaTsalitorho  
Phumla wonwabe torho-torho-torho  
Thina maAfrika usicokisile  
Umsebenzi wakho usicholabile.

(Give the man his due you Africans  
He has pronounced truth despite opposition  
He has been attacked from various quarters  
Despite this he has made good progress  
Sleep well son of Hertzog  
Rest in peace, this we say sincerely  
We the Africans you have rescued  
Your work has pleased us.)

(extracted from *Imvo ZabaNtsundu*, 9th January, 1943)

1942 - *Inzuzo*. The author pays tribute in the main to some Black and White leaders who in various ways have contributed to the development of South Africa. In *Inzuzo* Mqhayi abandons his dream of a Black homeland. He advocates the noble idea that South Africa is a fatherland for all those who inhabit her. Makwela (1977, p. 131) writes:
It is . . . fitting that all South Africans should bury the hatchet and regard each other as bonafides of this beautiful country and consequently treat one another in a brotherly spirit.

The Background to the Case Between Basutu and Ndebele

J. W. Botha (1966, p. 43) cites Leo Africanus who, in the sixteenth century, wrote:

A. The inhabitants of the Black lands are bucolic people without reason, wit or skill and with no experience of anything at all; they live like brutes without law or order.

B. Westerners tend to believe that traditional African societies had no law (since they were unwritten) to hold them together.

In his Atyala Lamesela (1953, p. 72) Mqhayi explains about the traditional Xhosa people and the concept of law:

C. Imithetho kakhosa ibingeyiyo umalivyo, labo unabhala abasekude kuru; I imithetho uhevela nayo mnta avumkhuleni.

(The Xhosa laws were not written down because the Xhosa people had not yet learnt to write; the Xhosa man was initiated into issues pertaining to law from early childhood.)

Callaway (1928, p. 237) says that Mqhayi’s Atyala Lamesela was written to show the operation of law and order in Xhosa traditional society prior to the arrival of Whites. He states that the plot of the story centres around a lawsuit between twin brothers. Each claims seniority over the other. Callaway comments further and says:

D. To the ordinary European who is accustomed to look upon these people as “barbarians” the details of the case would be a revelation.
Wauthier (1966, p.46) cites Leo Africanus who, in the sixteenth century, wrote:

A. The inhabitants of the Black lands are bucolic people without reason, wit or skill and with no experience of anything at all; they live like brutes without law or order.

Larson (1972, p.51) writes:

B. Westerners tend to believe that traditional African societies had no laws (since they were unwritten) to hold them together.

In his *Ityala lamawele* (1953, p.72) Mqhayi explains about the traditional Xhosa people and the concept of law:

C. Imithetho kaXhosa ibingeyiyo ebhaliweyo, kuba ukubhala ubesekude kuko; le mithetho ubevela nayo umuntu kwasekuzaleni.

(The Xhosa laws were not written down because the Xhosa people had not yet learnt to write; the Xhosa man was initiated into issues pertaining to law from early childhood.)

Callaway (1922, p.237) says that Mqhayi's *Ityala lamawele* was written to show the operation of law and order in Xhosa traditional society prior to the arrival of Whites. He states that the plot of the story centres around a lawsuit between twin brothers. Each claims seniority over the other. Callaway comments further and says:

D. To the ordinary European who is accustomed to look upon these people as "barbarians" the details of the case would be a revelation.
The views expressed in excerpts B, C and D invalidate the opinion made in extract A. If inferior creatures like ants and bees obey some laws, it would be ridiculous to dispute or reject the existence and operation of law and order among human beings no matter at what primitive level of their development they may be.

*Ityala lamawele* is written, *inter alia*, (i) to show how law in indigenous Xhosa society was interpreted formally whenever there was a civil or criminal dispute between two or more people, (ii) to show in broad outline the nature and operation of law in Xhosa traditional or indigenous society.

We shall study the first aspect, that is, Xhosa traditional court procedure. As we do so we shall, needless to say, refer to the plot of *Ityala lamawele* and show how Mqhayi uses character or incident or both to illustrate court procedure. We shall also draw, whenever need arises, a parallel between the Xhosa traditional system and the Western or modern system.

The Xhosa traditional court provides the best guarantee for the administration of justice according to law. There is a free access to the lower and senior courts for all persons whose rights have been infringed. (cf. Hunter 1969, p.413).

The litigants have confidence in the Xhosa traditional court of law. This stems from the open manner in which the legal proceedings are conducted. In drawing a comparison with the Western legal procedure, we quote Beinart (1962) on "The rule of law" in *ACTA JURIDICA*:

> The features of fairness and impartiality and openness inspire confidence in the minds of the general public which wants to see to it that justice is done.

Those who transgress the law are brought before the traditional court. The usual procedure is for a case to be tried first by the lower court (the headman's court) and if it feels
inadequate to give judgement, the case is then referred to the senior court (the king or chief's court). If the complainant is not happy about the findings and judgement given by the lower court he reserves the right to appeal to the senior court which is the supreme and final court (cf. Hunter 1969, p.415; Seymour 1970, p.18). In the western system the rule of law, as pointed out by Beinart (1962), entitles dissatisfied litigants to appeal to superior courts of law.

We point out that when the security of the traditional state is at stake or when the dignity of the king has been offended or injured, the king may disregard normal channels or procedure. For example, when Ngqika eloped with Thuthula, the wife of Ndlambe, King Hintsa and Chief Ndlambe mobilised their forces against Ngqika whose actions were, in the Xhosa view, tantamount to sabotage against both King Hintsa and Chief Ndlambe (cf. Ityala lamawele 1953, pp.57-59). Since supreme power in a traditional Xhosa state is vested in the king or chief by the people, at no time could the king or senior chief be said to have acted ultra vires. In the western system the head of the state or delegated authority holds similar powers (cf. Matthews 1971, pp.221-239; Themaat 1967, p.140; Wade & Phillip 1935, p.670).

The complainant usually introduces a case to the notice of the king or chief or headman or counsellors by saying aloud the words: "Ndimangele" ("I lay a charge"). Anyone present at the quarters and who has a locus standi urges the ummangali (the complainant) to elaborate and says: "Khawutsho" or "Hambisa", both of these meaning "Say on" or "Tell more" (cf. Jabavu 1921, p.23; Seymour 1970, p.18; Soga 1931, p.41).

The first page of Ityala lamawele opens with Wele, a junior twin brother laying a charge against his senior twin brother, Babini. The scene is King Hintsa's place. Wele is encouraged to speak on:

Wele : Ndimangele!
(I lay a charge!)
Voice : Hambisa!
(Say on!)
Wele : Ndimangalele! uBabini!
(I lay a charge against Babini!)
Voice : Hambisa!
(Say on!)
Wele : UBabini undixhomile!
(Babini has suspended me from administering my duties (home affairs))
Voice : Hambisa!
(Tell more!)

In the western system a legal complaint against a party is lodged with the appropriate judiciary officer and is recorded. Appropriate authority studies it to ascertain if the lodged complaint deserves assessment by a court of law.

In traditional court procedure it is not only one man who urges the complainant to expatiate and who also cross-questions him on the case but many men. They may be the king's or the chief's or the headman's counsellors. They may be visitors at the royal quarters or they may be passers-by.

The Xhosa court is known as inkundla which Callaway (1922, p.237) describes as "the open veld in front of the cattle-fold at the Great Place." What Callaway calls "an open veld" is in actual fact a sacred place, a shrine. It is where elders and royal figures are buried. It is believed to be the habitat of the ancestral spirits. The jurisprudential significance of inkundla is the recognition of the ancestral spirits as intermediaries and as source of traditional law and justice. Zabala and Rossel (1974, p.16) write about the influence of the ancestors on Black people in general:

The dead have a powerful hold on the living. They control and regulate the lives and activities of the living from the grave.

We emphasize the fact that the authority of the ancestors upon the living is a delegated one. The ultimate source of law and
and justice is Qamata (God), the final point of reference.

That the western legal system is also part of a religious order is indisputable. Hahlo and Kahn (1968, p.340) write about the formal opening of court proceedings in the early Germanic period:

The meeting was opened in sacral form by the king. Solemnly the three-time old ding* questions were put to the assembly: Is it the right time and place? Are the people here? Should ding-peace be commanded?

The authors continue:

After affirmative answers by the assembly, the ding-place was closed off with ropes and ding peace was ordered. The sign of the tribal gods was put up.

The proceedings in the Xhosa traditional court are open to anyone who has a locus standi and such a person is privileged to prosecute the litigants. (Callaway 1922, p.237) writes:

The personnel of the court is practically the whole manhood of the tribe, though of course, it can only be very partially represented.

The table drawn below shows the partial representation of "the personnel of the court" that Callaway refers to. These are counsellors or prosecutors mentioned during the trial of the lawsuit between the twins in Mqhayi's Ityala lamawele:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counsellor</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Page</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ntentema</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuzile</td>
<td>Nzothwa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosani</td>
<td>Vala</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dlisa</td>
<td>Gorha</td>
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</tbody>
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* The ding was the tribal assembly.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counsellor</th>
<th>Clan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qavile</td>
<td>Mvulana</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ggomo</td>
<td>Mbamba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisizwi</td>
<td>Tshonyane</td>
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<td>Mancapha</td>
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<td>Mkrewqana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rholoma</td>
<td>Cethe</td>
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<td>Mdunywa</td>
<td>Thipha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngqokoma</td>
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<td>Malinga</td>
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<td>Mbalai</td>
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<td>Mxhuma</td>
<td>Qhinebe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siphendu</td>
<td>Zangwa</td>
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<td>Mganu</td>
<td>Dala</td>
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<td>Ndlo姆bose</td>
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<td>Maduna</td>
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<td>Sonti</td>
<td>Qhinebe</td>
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<td>Zwini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daliwe</td>
<td>Mthembu</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xolilizwe</td>
<td>Jwarha</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magqaza</td>
<td>Khwemte</td>
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<td>Mgqaliso</td>
<td>Mpandla</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phekesa</td>
<td>Nzothwa</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lalo</td>
<td>Nzothwa</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The counsellors are mentioned in regular frequency. This is done deliberately - focus on the counsellors is sustained and consequently focus on the dignity and efficiency of the Xhosa tribal court does not alter. A less skilful writer might have mentioned these officers of Xhosa traditional justice in one paragraph or page, thus losing the desired effect. For a fuller study of Xhosa clan-names the reader is referred to D.D.T. Jabavu's Iziduko zamaXhosa namaMfengu (1955).*
of age, court experience, legal expertise, sagacity, oratorical powers. They must be men of calibre and this has to be so since they are spokesmen for traditional order. Their combined knowledge and their collective approved status provide the best machinery for interpreting traditional law (cf. Hunter 1969, p.394; Schapera 1956, p.213).

In Ityala lamawele Mqhayi sketches out the qualities or personality attributes of some of the king’s counsellors:

1. Ngqokoma and Malinga are described as:

   Amadoda ebesaziwa ngokugcina illwimi zawo kulo lonke ikomkhulu.
   (Men who were renowned for keeping their lips sealed in the entire royal neighbourhood (i.e. in matters affecting it).)
   (p.26)

2. Mbali is presented as:

   igorha lasemaMpingeni.
   (the brave one of the Mpinga clan.)
   (p.7)

3. Mkurweqana is portrayed in a similar manner to Mbali:

   iqhajana elikholisa ukuba kho apha komkhulu
   (the fearless one who frequents the royal kraals regarding legal issues.)
   (p.4)

4. Wisizwi has the gift of speech:

   iciko elikhulu lakwaKhawuta.
   (the famous orator of the house of Khawuta.)
   (p.4)

5. Gqomo is described as:

   igqala lasemaBambeni.
   (the old experienced one of the Bamba clan.)
   (p.4)
6. Rholoma is equated with Gqomo:
   elinye lamaggala elaliqingqa
   induku yomsimbithi.
   (one of the old experienced men
   who was carving a stick (at the royal kraal.).)
   (p.5)

7. Mancapha is the most senior counsellor:
   inkonde yakhona.
   (the veteran and well known sage.)
   (p.4)

8. The counsellors of the headman's court must also be men
   well experienced in legal affairs. Thus Lucangwana's
   counsellor, Madume of Hegebeni, is described as:
   elinye igqala.
   (one of the old experienced men.)
   (p.6)

It can be deduced from numbers 1-8 reflected above that the
qualities sought after in traditional court personnel are:
mental alertness, tolerance; non-meddlinesseness; fearlessness;
maturity; a critical and a balanced sense of judgement; legal
expertise. Note that the umnquma stick (a stick made from the
wild olive tree) has the following symbolic connotations in
Xhosa folk-lore: protection; peace; strength; health. We thus
associate Rholoma (vide no. 6), one of the king's counsellors
with these qualities. "The carving of the stick from the wild
olive tree" is an associative or externalising device. For a
similar interpretation of the wild olive tree symbol, the reader
is referred to the following books in the Bible: Samuel 15:30;
Matthew 21:1; Matthew 24:3; Mark 11:1; Mark 13:3; Luke 21:37;
John 8:1; Acts 1:12 and Genesis 7:11.

The western judiciary system also lays emphasis on the calibre
of the interpreters of the law. Beinart (1962) writes:

   It is part of the rule of law that justice be
   administered by a free, independent judiciary
   composed of men sufficiently trained in the
law, administering justice openly and that their decisions shall be reasoned and rationally justified. (my emphasis)

Callaway (1922, p.237) says about the court personnel in *Ityala lamawele:*

A great deal of the actual work of the court is evidently done by what we should call "committees", consisting of men with long heads and long years.

The parallel between what Beinart says and also what Callaway says places emphasis on the manner in which legal knowledge is imparted to officers of the law. In the traditional system the approach is practical and informal. In the western system the method is practical and formal. (my emphasis)

Jabavu (1921, p.23) says about the cross-questioning of either the complainant or the defendant in Xhosa traditional courts of law:

More exquisite here is the cross-examination of the plaintiff with its cumbrous and unlimited repetitions, merciless sarcasm and dry raillery.

We endorse partly what Jabavu says by citing relevant dialogue in Mqhayi's *Ityala lamawele:*

1. Testing the seriousness of the attitude of the complainant (*Wele*)

   Voice: Uthi umangele? (You say you are laying a charge?)
   Wele: Ewe (Yes.) (p.1)

   compare with:

   Fuzile: Uthini na mfana? Uthi umangalel' uBabini? (What do you say young man? You say you are laying a charge against Babini?)
2. Ascertaining parentage of litigants

Ntentema: UBabini lowo ngokabani?
(Whose son is Babini?)
Wele: NgokaVuyisile.
(He is the son of Vuyisile.)

compare with:

Fuzile: Ningabafo bakabani?
(Whose sons are you?)
Wele: Singabafo bakaVuyisile.
(We are the sons of Vuyisile.)

3. Verifying filial relationship between the litigants

Ntentema: Uyintoni kuwe uBabini lowo?
(What is Babini to you?)
Wele: Ngumkhuluwa wam.
(He is my elder brother.)

compare with:

Fuzile: Uthi uBabini ngumkhuluwa wakho?
(You say Babini is your elder brother?)
Wele: Ndibe ndisitsho, Nkosi.
(I have been saying so, Sir.)
Fuzile: Ngoku uthini?
(Now what do you say?)
Wele: Ndisatsho, Mhle.
(I still say so, Sir.)

In the dialogue given above Mqhayi makes different characters
(counsellors) ask the same question to establish a certain fact. The "cumbrous and unlimited repetitions . . . ." which Jabavu speaks of is in actual fact a means of verifying the truth. The "merciless sarcasm and dry raillery" that Jabavu mentions is not acceptable in a Xhosa traditional court of law. We have evidence of this in Ityala lamawele when Siphendu becomes bitterly sarcastic. The court intervenes:

Kuhle, kuhle, Siphendu,
inkundla ibisaphulaphula.
(Contain yourself Siphendu, the court is still listening.)

(p.9)

The attitude of the traditional court of law regarding elimination of rudeness or mockery during cross-questioning conforms with that of the western system. Hoffmann (1970, p.322) points out that judges have frequently emphasized that parties and their representatives should be allowed a wide latitude in asking questions which may be relevant to any of the matters at issue. Questions cannot be disallowed merely because the witness has already answered a similar question in chief, because asking a witness to repeat his evidence is one of the ways of testing the accuracy and truth of what he says. Hoffmann points out that the court has a discretion to stop tedious cross-examination which can have no purpose but to exhaust the witness. A cross-examiner is required to be gentle towards the party he is cross-questioning.

In Ityala lamawele Wele tells those who cross-question him that in reality it is he who is the senior twin and not his brother, Babini:

Ngumlomo wabantu lowo,
ungenguwo owam.
(It is the people who say so, and not I.)

(p.2)

Wele seeks the machinery of traditional law to resolve the conflict between himself and his brother. He tells those who cross-examine him:
1. Uthe kanti uBabini ukholosile,
2. Ndithe kanti nam ndikholosile.

The lines mean that each of the twin brothers is claiming seniority over the other. Mghayi portrays the conflict between the brothers who were born by the same mother more or less on the same day by juxtaposing or balancing the syntactical-semantic units in the first line to the syntactical-semantic slots in the second line.

We illustrate:

Line 1: deficient verb + conjunctive + noun + verb,
do 2 : deficient verb + conjunctive + pronoun + verb.

Schematically this could be written as follows:

\[ 1 = a + b + c + d, \]
\[ 2 = a + b + cc + d. \]

Although the claim between the brothers seems to be of equal strength, it is in fact not so. Note the difference between C and CC (viz. kanti nam) in 1 and 2 respectively.

In traditional court procedure the king or chief or headman sends, after a complaint has been lodged with him, a counsellor or messenger to the defendant to get further particulars regarding the complainant's statement or allegation(s). If the case has been examined already by the inferior court, the king or chief sends his messengers of the court (imisila) to get additional information regarding the case from the headman who presided over the case in the junior court (cf. Hunter 1969, p.415; Seymour 1970, p.18).

In Ityala lamawele the case has been examined and tried already by the junior court over which headman Lucangwana presided. Wele informs the senior court:
The law of primogeniture exists and operates in the western legal system.

Lucangwana arrives at the king's place and the king spends the greater part of the night with Lucangwana discussing the case.

In case of an appeal to a superior court in the western legal system, it is only the record of the case that is transmitted to this court. The presiding officer in the court of first instance does not have to avail himself of the proceedings in the superior or appeal court.
In the Xhosa traditional system the king or chief and the counsellors study the case referred to the senior court closely. If the king or chief's court is satisfied that it can examine the case after consultation with the headman, he instructs the umsila (messenger of the court) to summon the litigants to appear before the court on a date set for the trial of the case (cf. Schapera 1956, p.214; Soga 1931, p.42).

In the western legal system various methods are employed to secure the presence of a person in court. His presence may be secured by means of oral warning; written notice; summons or even by arrest. The type of the method to be employed depends entirely on the gravity of the case.

In *Ityala lamawele* King Hintsa satisfies himself that the nature of the case warrants a trial by his court. Mqhayi writes:

> Kuthe kaloku andululwa amadoda
> ukuba abambe esizweni, abambe
> exela ukuba ngosuku lwesithathu
> yimbizo komkhulu.

(Then men were instructed to go about announcing to the nation that on the third day of a specified week would be held the trial of the case.)

(p.6)

Whereas in Xhosa traditional procedure the king, who is the presiding officer, has to satisfy himself if the nature of the case warrants a trial by his court, it is not so in the western legal system. The attorney-general and not the presiding officer decides whether a particular case has to be heard in a superior or inferior court.

In Xhosa traditional procedure, each party (complainant and defendant) brings on the trial day his own witness and may even choose his own spokesman. (cf. Hunter 1969, p.415; Schapera 1956, p.215; Seymour 1970, p.17).

In *Ityala lamawele* Babini's witnesses are his two paternal uncles, Phekesa and Lalo, and Wele's witness is his maternal
uncle, Mgqaliso (vide pp.7 and 33 respectively).

One may assume that the position of the spokesman in traditional procedure is analogous to that of a legal representative in the western legal system. In both the traditional and western legal systems a litigant is unlikely to choose one who may prejudice his case.

When the actual trial begins in a Xhosa traditional court, the complainant is asked to make a statement of his charge against the defendant after which the defendant is called upon to meet the accusation (cf. Hunter 1969, p.415; Schapera 1956, p.215; Seymour 1970, p.17).

We are told in *Ityala lamawele* that Mbali, one of the king's counsellors:

> Usuke waselesingisa kuWele (Undimangele) ukuba aqhubele inkundla into ekungayo.

(Thereupon he turned to Wele (the complainant) and asked him to tell the court what the matter was all about.)

(p.7)

Again we are told:

> Kusingiswe kuBabini ukuba atsho okwakhe.

(The court turned to Babini (defendant) to present his own case.)

(p.7)

In both the Xhosa traditional and the western legal systems, he who alleges bears the burden of proof. Hoffmann (1970, p.357) says about the operation of the latter system:

> If a person claims something from another in a court of law, then he has to satisfy the court that he is entitled to it.

Attention is drawn to the fact that in Xhosa traditional court
procedure there is no one appointed specifically to act as a public prosecutor. There is no counsel for either ummangali (the complainant) or for ummangalelwa (the defendant). The counsellors together with the king or chief or headman form the court. They cross-examine both litigants in order to draw from them the actual facts or truth. Legal aid is provided by the court through the king's counsellors and the public who quiz the litigants (cf. Jabavu 1921, p.23; Seymour 1970, p.18; Soga 1931, p.42). Benson (1976, p.14) points out that the Xhosa traditional "representation system" has a decided economic advantage over the western system:

The high cost of law puts justice out of reach of most people. Often attorneys, junior counsel and senior counsel, all have to be paid for going over the same ground.

Wele having laid his charge against Babini, the latter replies to the Xhosa court:

A. 1 ... andinanto ndiyaziyo kuba
2 nam ndikwabiziwe. Ntwana
3 ndisenenakani layo yeyokuba
4 ndizelwe ngubawo uVuyisile
5 ngenkazana yasemaMpandleni.
6 Ndiliwele, ndiliwele nominawa wam
7 lo undinkqangisayo namhla.
8 Baye besithi ke ababezalisa uma lowo,
9 ivela-tanci ndim, uWele sisiza-mva.
10 Sikhula nje ke, sikhula kuyiloo nto.
11 Sisaluka nje, saluka kungekho ntetho;
12 Umntu wonke wazi loo nto.

(A. 1 ... there is nothing I know because
2 like you I have been called here. The little
3 I know is that I am born
4 of my father, Vuyisile, through
5 the woman of the Mpandla clan.
6 I am a twin, I am a twin to my younger brother
7 who today is claiming seniority over me.
8 And the midwives who helped mother deliver us
9 say I appeared first, Wele came after me.
10 As we grew up, we grew up the position being so.
11 When we were circumcised, there was no argument.
12 Everybody knew that.)

(p.7)

Since customs are observed and are accepted widely among the Xhosa people and Xhosa courts are influenced by them in their judgements, they have the force of law. They are however not law.

In cross-questioning Wele, Mxhuma asks him:

(Do you know that it is a custom, that a person born first is the heir apparent here in Tshiwo's land (Xhosaland)?)

(p.8)

The evidence given by Teyase, one of the midwives, seems to support the opinion that it is Babini who is the senior twin. She reports to the court as follows:

B. 1 "Uyive lo mfazi inimba
2 ngoLwesibini ekuseni . . .
3 lithe liphuma ilanga,
4 labe elinye iwele selivelise isandla.
5 Ndafumana ndaqubula ingadla
6 ndawutsheca umnwe, ucikicane;
7 suke ndathi ndakuyenza loo nto,
8 saphinda satshona isandla.
9 Kuthe ekuphumeni kwelanga ngoLwesithathu
10 lavela eli sithi lelikhulu."
11 "UBabini lo ke?"
12 Ubuze watsho uMxhuma.
13 "UBabini lo ke.
14 Sibe kuqwalasela ingqithi,
15 unotshe!"

"This woman felt the labour pains on Tuesday early in the morning. . . . by sunrise, one of the twins was already showing a hand out. I quickly took a knife and cut a finger, the small one; consequent to what I had done, the hand retracted into the womb. At sunrise on Wednesday there appeared the twin we regard as the senior."

"This very Babini?"

Mxhuma asked.

"This very Babini.

We looked at the hand for a cut finger, but we could not find one!"

(p. 11)

The evidence given by Teyase weighs heavily against Wele's claim. Both traditional and modern interpretations of the law of primogeniture concur: "The legal personality of an individual comes into existence at his birth. The one who receives this legal personality first is the heir. Before complete birth, the unborn foetus (even if it has appeared first partly and then has retracted into the womb) is no person but merely part of the mother. The juristic requirements for the existence of a person as a legal subject or being are: completion of birth - there must be complete separation between the mother and the foetus, whether this is achieved by natural or artificial means. Before birth the foetus is part of the mother or her bowels. The unborn foetus cannot correctly be regarded as a person." (cf. Digesta D.35.2.9.1; D.28.2.12Pr.; D.25.4.1.1.)

Custom and tradition however favour Wele's argument. He tells the court:

C. 1 . . . inkosi igatyulelwanga ngumphakathi izigcawu;
2 isiko lakowabo lengqithi yena ulamkele kuqala;
3 ubukhulu ubuthenge ngenkwili;
4 waluke kuqala mini baluka;
5 umzi lo wakowabo ugcinwe nguye.
(C. 1 . . . the counsellor (the junior) paves the way for his chief (the senior);
2 the finger-cutting ceremony was performed on him first.
3 he battered seniority from him with a nkwili (a rare species of bird);
4 his fore-skin was cut first on the circumcision day;
5 it is he who looks after their home.)

(p.22)

Wele's argument is so strong that he wins the sympathetic operation of the consciences of most men. Mqhayi writes:

D. 1 Ebhotwe phaya athi amadoda
2 xa azithethela odwa, athi
3 akufika kule ndawo yomdlanga,
4 asuke agwebe ngeentliziyo,
5 noko angatshoyo ngomlomo.
6 Athi kanjalo akufika kweli
7 lizwi likawele, lokuthi
8 yinkosi into egatyulelw
9 izigcawu ngumphakathi,
10 asuke aphelelwe ziinyaniso.

(D. 1 In the royal hut when the men
2 talk amongst themselves about the issue,
3 when they weigh the argument about the
4 cutting of the fore-skin, inwardly they give
5 the nod to Wele although they do not say
6 it by word of mouth. And when they weigh
7 the argument that the junior paves the way for
8-9 the senior their mouths run dry for
10 facts.)

(p.18)

The idea that the junior in status must precede the senior extends from life to death. In USogqumahashe (1921, p.5) Mqhayi mentions a number of people whose death appropriately preceded that of chief Nathaniel Cyril Mhala. These men were counsellors and key figures in Xhosa civic affairs and according to Mqhayi they were best qualified to usher the chief into the next world.
In traditional legal procedure court decisions are often quoted as the basis for argument. An unwritten store of these interpretations functions as reference material. (cf. Hahlo and Kahn 1975, p.214; Mönnig 1967, p.319; Soga 1931, p.41). Mqhayi uses Ndlombose, one of King Hintsa's counsellors to pronounce this principle. He says to the court:

Makubaliswe, makuyiwe emva, makulungiswe.

(Let us tell stories, let us refer to the past, let us put the matter right.)

(p.10)

Mqhayi uses Ndlombose for the second time to say aloud a traditional principle regarding court procedure. Ndlombose says to the court:

. . . . le nto makhe ifunelwe iinkonde
hleze ithi kanti yinto eyakha yakho.

( . . . . this issue warrants a consultation with sages lest a similar case once occurred.)

(p.14)

The supreme court of Xhosaland remains baffled. There is no one who can recall to mind a similar case. Soga (1931, p.41) says about baffling traditional court cases:

In intricate cases which necessitate a reference to precedent on some obscure point, tribal authorities on law are consulted, and failing them law authorities of neighbouring tribes are asked for advice. Under these circumstances hasty judgements are avoided lest a wrong decision should unfavourably affect the prestige of law.

What Soga says in the extract immediately above is analogous in western legal procedure to calling an expert witness (my emphasis) when the court cannot, without calling such a witness, arrive at a just and fair decision.

The court is unanimous that men should be sent to Nqabarha (Willowvale) and ask Khulile Majekke, the oldest man alive in
the whole of Xhosaland, to come and give his opinion about the case at the court of King Hintsa. Mqhayi writes:

Kutyunjwe amadoda amathathu
aya kuya apho eNqabarha kwMajeke -
UMalinga Xhego, umNzothwa;
UMxhuma Matyeni, umQhinebe;
noLucangwana Nyathi, umKhwemte.

(Three men were nominated
to go and fetch Majeke from Nqabarha -
it was Malinga Xhego of the Nzothwa clan;
Mxhuma Matyeni of the Qhinebe clan;
and Lucangwana Nyathi of the Khwemte clan.)

(p.15)

Having arrived at King Hintsa's court of law, Khulile Majeke gives the following evidence regarding a lawsuit between twins:

E. 1  Kuthi ukusonjululwa kwabo bantu
2 bavele ngalanga linye,
3 kujongwe lowo uvelo tanci.
4 loo nto seyide yamiseleka
5 ingamiswe bani;
6 yanga ngumthetho ukuba
7 ozalwe tanci abe yinkulu lowo.
8 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
9 Loo nto iyaphikiswa
10 iphikiseke kwamanye amawele.
11 UNkosiyamntu liwele kuyise,
12 liwele elincinane;
13 ubukhulu bafunyanwa nguye,
14 wabuthatha ehleli umkhuluwa
15 wakhe uLiwana
16 kuba wabunana ngecongwane.
17 Athi wona amanyange
18 makabuthathe, ubananise kade;
19 aye ke nawo ezekela kwezingaphambili iindawo.
20 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
21 Asizizenzo na into eyenza ubudala,
22 kwanje ngokuba nenkulu ethe qelele
23 kwabanye iyahlukana nobukhulu bayo
24 xa ifike yangumntwana ngezenzo?
(E. 1) When resolving the conflict between
2 people born on the same day,
3 it is considered who is born first.
4 It has become an established fact though
5 no particular person has proclaimed it so,
6 it has come close to being law that
7 he who is born first becomes the heir.
8
9 This accepted order is disputable
10 and can be reversed in the case of other twins.
11 Nkosiyanmuntu was born of his father a twin,
12 he was a junior twin;
13 he took the position of seniority,
14 he earned it while his brother
15 Liwana was still alive
16 because he (Liwana) exchanged it for a beef steak.
17 The sages resolved that he (Nkosiyanmuntu)
18 should accept it for he (Liwana) had exchanged it;
19 they based their interpretation on a previous
20 incident.
21
22 Is positive contribution not the mark of seniority
23 as is evidenced by the fact that an irresponsible
24 heir
25 forfeits his position of seniority
26 if he acts like a child?)

The table worked out below shows how Babini gradually gains
ground against Wele as well as how he loses it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>(ii)</th>
<th>(iii)</th>
<th>(iv)</th>
<th>(v)</th>
<th>(vi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>B10</td>
<td>E1-7</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>D8-9</td>
<td>E9-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>B10</td>
<td>E1-7</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>D8-9</td>
<td>E9-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>B10</td>
<td>E1-7</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>D8-9</td>
<td>E14-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>B10</td>
<td>E1-7</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>D3-4</td>
<td>E21-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>B10</td>
<td>E1-7</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>D3-4</td>
<td>E21-24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Explanation of symbols and signs used in the table above:

A is the extract in which Babini replies to the court,
B is the extract in which the midwife gives evidence,
C is the excerpt in which Wele presents his argument,
D is the excerpt in which the counsellors reveal their feelings,
E is the passage in which Khulile Majeke addresses the court.

The arabic numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 etc. refer to the number of
the line in the excerpt cited.

The arrow pointing thus → shows the strengthening of Babini's
argument against Wele.

The arrow pointing thus ← shows the weakening of Babini's
argument against Wele.

The Roman Figures (i), (ii), (iii) indicate the phase of
strengthening of Babini's argument.

The Roman Figures (iv), (v), (vi) indicate the weakening of
Babini's argument.

In traditional court procedure, the complainant and defendant
as well as the witnesses for both are asked to recuse themselves
before judgement is given. The pros and cons of the case are
stated to the king or chief or headman by the counsellors.
The counsellors voice their collective opinion to the king or
chief or headman (cf. Hunter 1969, p.416; Seymour 1970,
p.19). In Ityala lamawele, Mqhayi writes:

Kwesi sitshuba ke kuthiwe
makhe bakhwelele abanini-tyala.
(At this stage the court
asked the litigants to recuse themselves.)
(p.23)

When the court resumes after adjournment, the king or chief or
headman pronounces judgement in his capacity as an executive
head (cf. Hunter 1969, p.416; Seymour 1970, p.19; Jabavu 1921, p.23). In **Ityala lamawele** King Hintsa addresses Wele on the decision arrived at by the court:

Hamb' ugoduke ke,
uye kukhangele kwa elo thole
ubulikhangele kakade,
ugcine olo sapho lukaVuyisile.

(Go home then,
go and administer the same affairs
as you have been doing,
Look after the family of Vuyisile.)

The king then addresses Babini as follows:

Uyeva ke mfo kaVuyisile omkhulu,
uwavile amasuka-ndihlale ale
nkundla ngenxa yemu;
ulivile ilizwi eliphathiswe
umninawa wakho yile nkundla.
Goduka ke, ufike uncedisane naye
ngokucina usapho olo lwakowenu.

(Take notice then of what has been said, senior
son of Vuyisile,
You are aware of the trouble taken
by this court in order to resolve your conflict,
you are aware of what the court has said to your
younger brother.
Go home then and co-operate with him
and look well after the Vuyisile family.)

Regarding judgement or verdict in traditional courts, Suttner (1973, p.3) says:

These courts want to arrive at a settlement rather than pronounce judgement.

Callaway (1922, p.238) and Jordan (1973, p.100) say that the verdict in **Ityala lamawele** is given in favour of Wele. There seems to be no adequate motivation for their point of view.

They are perhaps both influenced by the fact that after pronouncement of judgement by King Hintsa, Wele embraces the king's leg with both arms (p.37). This is the general practice amongst most Xhosa tribes when judgement is given in favour of one. Monica Hunter (1969, p.416) mentions a slightly different but
basically and symbolically same approach:

When judgement is pronounced he who has won the case approaches the chief and kisses his hand.

We concur with Jubase (1967, p. 34) regarding the pronunciation of verdict in Mqhayi's *Ityala lamawele*. He writes:

Mqhayi's subtlety lies in the fact that according to the decision, none of the twins won the case. The language in which the decision was given was such complicated Xhosa verbiage that it was difficult to agree on whose favour the court had decided.

The manner in which King Hintsa gives verdict in *Ityala lamawele* seems to be rather in line with what Suttner (1973, p. 3) says. Vide the quotation above.

We submit that in *Ityala lamawele* the Xhosa traditional court is not sure in whose favour it should give judgement. Each party is instructed to return home and it appears from the tenor of King Hintsa's judgement that in respect of both parties, the status quo ante is to be maintained. This appears to be analogous to the western legal system's absolution from the instance. Absolution is granted when the plaintiff fails to adduce evidence sufficient enough to find in his favour. In other words, the defendant has no case to meet (cf. Hoffmann 1970, p. 351).

In proving to the western world that Xhosa people had laws governing them prior to contact with European races in South Africa, Mqhayi constructs a plot which has a traditional milieu and which is parallel to a story that has a western setting or theme. Referring to this manipulation of literary material, Callaway (1922, p. 237) writes:

In "the case of the twins" the younger born is seeking, like Jacob of the old, to wrest from the first-born twin-brother the rights of primogeniture. As with
Jacob, it is only in early manhood that the claim is made, and probably, as with Jacob, his mother is behind him. But, unlike Jacob, Wele the younger twin, is the big and hairy man, while Babini, the first born, is small and smooth skinned.

We also add that the story of *Ityala lamawele* makes fascinating reading because both characters and incidents are well orchestrated (cf. Qangule 1974, pp.25-27). This brings us to the end of the discussion of court procedure.

We now make a study of the general nature and operation of law in traditional Xhosa society:

Law in Xhosa traditional society operates through a tunnel of authority. It is very important and absolutely necessary that one understands the structure of this authority in order to be able to understand very clearly the operation of the rule of law. Suttner (1968, p.3) says that

one must see the functioning of the courts against the background of the entire tribal order.

The "tribal order" which Suttner speaks of is proclaimed by Mqhayi in *Ityala lamawele*. Immediately after judgement has been pronounced by King Hintsa, Zolile, the court bard (alias Mqhayi) declaims the following praise poem:

A. 1 Ngemihla yakudala, mini kwavel' iintaba,
2 Kwabekw' umntu wamnye wokuphath' abanye.
3 Kwathiwa ke loo mntu ngumntu wegazi,
4 Kwathiwa loo mntu yinkonyana yohlanga,
5 Kwathiwa loo mntu makathotyelwe luluntu;
6 Aze athi yen' athobele uQamata;
7 Apho kuya kuvel' imithetho nezimiselo,
8 Aya kuth' akuzigwenxa, kugalungelelani,
9 Kube ziziphithiphithi nokuphambana koluntu,
10 Ibe nguqulukubhode ukuphambana komhlaba.
In olden times before mountains appeared,
One person was appointed to rule over others.
That person was proclaimed a royal issue,
That person was designated a calf of the nation,
It was decreed that he be obeyed by the people;
It was commanded that he in turn should obey God;
From whence all orders would come
And on transgressing them, disorder would ensue,
There would be turmoil among the people
Strife and utter confusion would be given free reign upon this world.

It can be deduced from the excerpt quoted above that Mqhayi considers:
(a) that traditional Xhosa law originated simultaneously with the creation of the world (lines 1-2);
(b) that this law is designed to operate and to be observed in terms of a hierarchical pattern (lines 2-6);
(c) that the king is under the law because it is the law that made him king (lines 2-3);
(d) that the people are under the king because he is their servant (lines 4-5);
(e) that the strength of the people is the king and the strength of the king is the people - the source and binding power is God (lines 2-6);
(f) that both the king and people are free and powerful when they are the servants of God, the Supreme Power (lines 2-7);
(g) that the traditional Xhosa legal system is an integral part of the traditional Xhosa religious order (lines 1-7);
(h) that in the hierarchical order, God the Creator is the final point of reference (line 6). Cf. also Placid Tempels (1969, p.61);
(i) that the law was made by God and is therefore infallible. Transgressing this law is punishable (lines 7-10).

The order portrayed in lines 1-6 could be compared to lines 1-8 of the "Degree speech by Ulysses" in Shakespeare's Troylus
and Cressida (1955, pp.42-43). Lines 8-10 are reminiscent of lines 9-13 of the "Degree speech by Ulysses". The Shakespearean lines run as follows:

1. o, when degree is shak' d,
2. (Which is the ladder to all high designs)
3. The enterprise is sick. How could communities,
4. Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,
5. Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
6. The primogenitive, and due of birth,
7. Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
8. (But by degree) stand in authentic place?
9. Take but degree away, untune that string,
10. And hark what discord follows: each thing meets
11. In mere oppugnancy. The bounded waters,
12. Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,
13. And make a sop of all this solid Globe.

The "Degree or hierarchy statement" appears in the other creative works of Mqhayi. In UDon Jadu (1967, p.82) Mqhayi describes the operation of the rule of Law in the ideal state of Mnandi (Place of sweetness) as follows:

B. 1 Ngoko uza endodeni
2 umnthetho ovela komkhulu
3 ukuze yona yenze usapho
4 lonke lwayo lwuthobele, -
5 abantwana beve oonina;
6 oonina beve iinkosi;
7 iinkosi zive kuThixo.

(B. 1 So then it is explained to the man
2 the law that is passed at the royal place
3 and he in turn instructs the family
4 all the members of the family to obey it, -
5 the children to obey their mothers;
6 their mothers to obey the chiefs,
7 the chiefs to obey God.)
In *Ityala lamawele* (1953, p.63) Mqhayi describes the maintenance of order in tribal society in a similar manner as he describes it in *UDon Jadu*:

C. 1 Kuz' intsaph' ive oonina;
2 oonina bev' amadoda,
3 Amadoda ev' iinkosi,
4 Iinkosi ziv' uQamata.

(C. 1 And the children should obey their mothers;
2 Their mothers should obey the men,
3 The men should obey the chiefs,
4 The chiefs should obey God.)

In the poem "Aa Mhlekazi omhle!" ("Hail thee Honourable One!") in *Imibengo* (1971, p.20) Mqhayi writes:

D. 1 Asinamthetho nabuciko;
2 Somlomo sизidanele,
3 Kuba sakunikel' umva,
4 Wena, Nkulu yeminyanya;
5 Yasinikel' umva ngoko
6 Neminyanya yamawethu.

(D. 1 We cannot offer any explanation for our lawlessness
2 You Great Legislator, we suffer shame
3 Because we have turned our backs on You,
4 You, the President of the ancestors;
5 As a consequence the ancestors
6 Have turned their backs on us.)

The idea that law and order as symbolised by Xhosa monarchy or royalty is as old as the creation of the world (cf. excerpt A of the degree speech by Mqhayi, lines 1-4) is echoed by Ngani (1952, p.37). He addresses Xhosa kings or chiefs as

E. 1 Iint' ezavela mhla kwavel' ilanga;
2 Iint' ezadalwa mhla kwadalw' iintaba.
Mqhayi's idea that God or the deity is the final point of reference or appeal is expressed in Mqhayi's "Aa! Mhlekazi omhle!" (1971, p.21). In this poem the bard bemoans the violation of the proclaimed order of God by the Black people of South Africa, which unlawful act, he alleges, has resulted in their political weakness. The poet welcomes Jesus Christ as the Redeemer:

(F. 1 Hail the king!
2 So sayeth the corpulent ones -
3 So sayeth the Black people,
4 So sayeth the Black generation,
5 So sayeth the ones who originated with the law.
6 So sayeth your humble servants,
7 We welcome you Father,
8 We welcome you the Almighty.)

The hierarchical or pyramidal order discussed or mentioned in the various excerpts (A, B, C, D, and excepting E and F) from Mqhayi's works can be illustrated diagrammatically by means of the "master chart" drawn below:
Interpretation of signs and symbols:

(i) The arabic numbers 1-6 indicate the level or node of authority;
(ii) the arrows that point downward show the descending order of authority;
(iii) the brackets imply that the level or node in the pillar of authority in the relevant excerpt has not been mentioned specifically by Mqhayi but is presumed to exist;
(iv) the letters of the alphabet A-D indicate the excerpt or book in which the hierarchical order is reflected.

**General interpretation**

The "master chart" speaks for itself: God is the Supreme Force (cf. Tempels 1969, p.61). Since God is the Supreme Power He is therefore "the final point of reference and appeal" when disorder occurs (cf. Mbiti 1969, pp. 205-206). Immediately below God are the ancestors. Since they are in the neighbourhood of the deity it is appropriate that they should act as mediators between God and those living this side of eternity (cf. Qangule 1973, pp. 9-10). Below the ancestors is the king. He acts as a link between the people and the ancestors. Patterson (1953, p.363) describes the king or chief as

> the national intermediary link between the past and the present in tribal life.

and in acknowledging this fact Monica Hunter (1969, p.391) writes:

> Inkosi nguyise wabantu.

> (A chief is the father of the people.)

Immediately below the king or chief are the heads of the families, the men or husbands. The mothers and children follow in that order. The hierarchical order as reflected in the "master chart" is determined by divine status, power, age and sex (cf. Mbiti 1969, pp.205-206).

The map of the pyramid of authority (cf. "master chart") can be divided into three zones, namely: (i) The higher zone (level 1 of the "master chart"); (ii) the intermediate zone (levels 2 and 3 of the "master chart") and (iii) the lower zone (levels 4, 5 and 6 of the "master chart"). Thus the pyramidal structure constitutes a unit and a unity (my emphasis). Ideal behaviour in terms of the "master chart" is thought expressed or action executed in accordance with one's status or fixed position. It is essential that an individual should be in harmony with the
It is intimated early in *Ityala lamawele* that the pyramidal order shown in the "master chart" can be threatened with disruption. Wele is used as an instrument to suggest this. In laying a charge against Babini he says:

Ke kaloku ngoku engekhoyo umn1n1mzi yinkohla ukuhambisa imicimbi yomzi kuba akukho uvumayo ukubuya ngomva; sobabini sithi siziinkulu.

(Now that the family-head is no more it is difficult to administer home affairs because neither of us is prepared to step down; each one of us claims seniority over the other.)

(p.1)

Such a situation in terms of the pyramid of authority is very undesirable and should not be allowed to operate. Wele is used again to echo this feeling. He says to those who cross-question him:

Yaziinkunzi zombini ke ezo into ezingenakuba buhlantini bunye kulunge nto.

(Then you have two bulls kept in one cattle-fold, a situation which cannot promote order.)

(p.2)

In terms of the "master chart" and in accordance with the excerpt quoted immediately above, one of the twins breaks the law. No one should, regarding the pillar of authority, attempt to acquire unlawfully more status and power than one already holds. To do so is to become very ambitious. Unbridled ambition in a person is a perversity, not a virtue.

We have stated already that the pyramidal order constitutes a unified whole (*vide* "master chart"). The "whole" can be kept intact and compact when the people at the various levels in the
lower zone (vide "master chart") have mutual respect for each
other. "Mutual respect for each other" is a rule of law. It
imposes limitations on the liberty of each senior person and of
each junior individual. It operates in the interest of the
entire community.

In *Ityala lamawele* Babini violates the rule of law. Mqhaye
uses Wele to show how Babini breaks the law. We are told:

1 Ubale
2 iinkomo ezintathu
3 eziphumileyo kumaxesha ngamaxesha
4 zisiya kubantu ngabantu
5 / zingaziwa izici zazo.

6 Ubale
7 intonjane yodade wabo uNozici
8 awathi uBabini akavuma
9 ukuyikhupha inxaxheba yezizwe.

10 Ubale
11 ukugxotha kwakhe amadoda angooyisekazi
12 awayeze ngeendawo zokulungiswa komzi
13 njengoko indoda enguyise yonakala.

(1 He mentioned
2 three cattle
3 which Babini gave out at different times
4 to different people
5 for unknown reasons.

6 He mentioned
7 his sister's "adulthood" ceremony
8 during which Babini refused
9 to give out tribal meat due to some Xhosa clans,
10 He mentioned
11 the fact that Babini turned away his uncles
12 who had come to arrange for a ritual ceremony
13 as the old man, their father had passed away.)

(pp.22-23)

Babini violates the law as follows: he does not consult with
his brother (lines 1-13); he does not respect his mother and sister (lines 1-7); he undermines the authority of his paternal uncles whose status is at par with that of his late father (lines 11-12); he does not respect the dignity of the Xhosa community and as such he offends the status of the king (lines 6-9); he does not revere the departed spirits or ancestors (lines 12-13); he flouts the entire Order proclaimed by God.

The diagram drawn below is an alternative illustration of Babini's discordant behaviour. His behaviour is contrasted with the order reflected in the "master chart":

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of authority</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>God ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(ancestors) ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>king ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>people(father) ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(mother) ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(children)(Babini) ↓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The long arrow that points upward indicates that Babini's conduct does not promote facile relationships, it does not uphold the family community and the social structure. It is bad because it runs counter to smooth administration; it is frightening and condemnable as it transgresses God's law.

The pyramidal order accounts for the communalistic or corporate structure of Xhosa society. The rules of conduct, if observed, cement the tribe into a solid social unit. About the maintenance or observance of the rules of conduct, Mqhayi writes in *Ityala lamawele* (1953, p.72):
It is deducible from the excerpt quoted immediately above that in traditional Xhosa society everybody is associated or related to everyone else. If a person commits a wrong, personal relationships are at once involved because the individual is part of the corporate body. It is interesting to note similar deductions made by Mönnig (1967, p.301) in connection with the Pedi:

Any breach of the norms is believed to affect adversely not only the wrongdoer but also the entire tribe.

The idea of corporate life or action in Xhosa traditional society is discernible during the trial in Ityala lamawele. After laying a charge against Babini, Wele says:

1 Ndithe le nto
2 mandiyizise kokweth' apha
3 size kuyiconjululelw.

(1 I decided
2 to bring this issue here at my home
3 so that it can be resolved for us.)

(p.1)

In replying to the accusations levelled against him, Babini says:

1 Zinkosi
2 nani manene akokwethu ....

(1 Sirs,
2 and the honourable people of our home.

(p.7)

As the tempers threaten to flare up during the trial, Ndlombose,
one of the counsellors stands up to pacify the people and says:

1. Tarhuni zidwesha,
2. makube litarhu,
3. makungabi ntshiyintshiyi,
4. makungabi tyala.
5. Abantwana aba babambeneyo
6. bazalwa sithi.
7. ..............................
8. abantwana aba ngbethu,
9. abalamli sithi.

(1) Let there be peace honourable ones,
2 let peace rule,
3 there should be no raising of eye-brows,
4 let no one feel offended.
5 The children who are now in dispute
6 have been begotten by us.
7 ..............................
8 these children are ours,
9 we are the arbitrators.)

(p.10)

We hear Ndlombose for the second time saying:

1. Akukho sifuna ukumona kwaba bantwana,
2. ngabethu,
3. siyazula, - siyazula, - siyazula.

(1) We do not want to be prejudiced against anyone
2 of these children,
3 they are ours,
4 they are born by us - they are born by us - they
5 are born by us.)

(p.13)

Khulile Majek gives evidence and addresses the court:

1. Zinkosi,
2. nani nonke sizwe!
(sirs, and you, the entire Xhosa nation!) (p.23)

In pronouncing judgement, King Hintsa says to Wele:

1 Athi ke,
2 amawenu la ayile nkundla ....

(1 They say then,
2 this your people who constitute this court .... ) (p.26)

The underlined possessive in each extract conveys the idea that the individual belongs to the larger group, the nation, mentioned in line 2 of Majeke's utterance. Mqhayi uses different characters at different points of the novel to emphasize the same idea. The sequence in which these characters (namely Wele, Babini, Ndlombose, Majeke and Hintsa) appear, assumes an ascending order of social importance. This has a climacteric effect on the mind. The pattern is shown in the diagram below.

A collective concern is portrayed in general by the use of figurative language. The scene at the royal kraal on the eve of the trial is captured in the following lines:

1 Zithe iimpobole zama;oda
2 ngobo busuku azagoduka;
And the men renowned for bravery,
that night, they did not return home;
they slept at the royal kraal.
And the issue regarding the young men
was a subject of much heated debate.

The scene on the morning of the trial is pictured by use of forceful figurative language. Group interest in the trial is depicted in the following lines:

In the morning, the following day,
the crowd of people came like a swarm of locusts.

That the Xhosa traditional court prefers older witnesses to younger ones relates to the theme of seniority (cf. "master chart"). Since ancestral spirits whose habitat is the very court of law (inkundla) are believed to participate in some way during the court proceedings and help the living resolve a conflict, they are believed to have more influence on those who are nearer to them in status. Belief is very strong among the Xhosas that ancestors or "the living dead" rarely appear, if ever at all, to the younger members of the Xhosa community.

In Ityala lamawele Mqhayi brings out the age factor regarding witnesses:

Kubuzwe kuTeyase
ukuba ngubani na omnye
umfazi omkhulu owayekho ekuzaliseni.
Uthe ke yena nguSingiswa.
(The court asked from Teyase who the other senior woman was who helped the mother deliver the twins. She replied that it was Singiswa.)

We are given the following credentials about Majeke, the expert witness:

1 Kuthe ekukhangelweni
2 kwafumaneka ukuba ungaphambili kuKhawuta,
3 uyise kaHintsa,
4 zaye kodwa iintanga zikaKhawuta
5 zisemi apha phakathi komzi.
6 Uthe uKhulile yena waluka noPhalo -
7 izilimela zakhe zobudoda zodwa
8 zisekhulwini elinelinci kanobom.

(1 It was deduced from various factors 2 that he was older than Khawuta, 3 the father of Hintsa, 4 there was a good number though of Khawuta's 5 contemporaries in the neighbourhood. 6 Khulile reported that he was circumcised with Phalo - 7 his years of manhood alone 8 were well over a hundred years.)

The authenticity of the evidence that Khulile Majeke is going to give is validated in advance by the following: (a) He has been incorporated formally into Xhosa society (its norms - legal, political, religious values etc.) earlier than anyone present in the court (lines 7-8); (b) that he is a contemporary of King Phalo, the great grandfather of King Hintsa (lines 2, 3 and 6) is an additional dimension to his image of a Methuselah of the Xhosa nation. His long life span and illustrious career as suggested in the description

abe lo mfo eyimvumi,
eyimbongi, nobuggira
bukwakho kanobom bemichiza.
(and this man is a great singer, he is a praise-singer, and has a knowledge of traditional medicine.)

(p. 21)

become more illuminated when contrasted with heroic but departed Xhosa royal figures whose line of descent is set out by Mqhayi on page (iv) of the preface to Ityala lamawele:

```
Xhosa
  ↓
Malangana
  ↓
Nkosiyamntu
  ↓
Tshawe
  ↓
Ngcwangu
  ↓
Sikhomo
  ↓
Togu
  ↓
Ngconde
  ↓
Tshiwo
  ↓
(late great grandfather) Phalo (contemporary of Khulile Majeke)
  ↓
(late grandfather) Gcaleka
  ↓
(late father) Khawuta
  ↓
(the ruling king) Hintsa
```

It can be deduced from the chart drawn above that, although Majeke is still alive, his rightful place is among the departed heroes (cf. "master chart" second level, p. 67). We observe accordingly that Khulile Majeke is not merely a source of legal information for the traditional court, but serves as well as a
link and mediator between the living tribesmen (King Hintsa and his people) and the ancestors (cf. "master chart" level no. 2, p.67) who in turn will communicate with God and help resolve the current conflict between the twins. This explains why Ngaye Zekela declaims the following lines on the departure of Khulile Majek from Nqabarha to Butterworth (King Hintsa's place of residence):

Hamba nesholog' elo lakowenu,
Hamba noQamata lowo waseluhlangeni.

(Go along with the help of your ancestor,
Go along with God of creation.)

(p.19)

It must be pointed out that the Xhosa people believe, as most Blacks do, that disorder in the lower world, the habitat of men (cf. "master chart" levels 3-6, p.67) invokes anger in the higher world, the home of spiritual beings (cf. "master chart" levels 1 and 2, p.67). All efforts to resolve conflicts in the lower world will abort if the spirits which have been offended have not been appeased. The conflict between men in the lower world is often interpreted as a form of punishment inflicted by spiritual beings upon men for a wrong committed. This explains why Mxhuma, one of the prominent counsellors, asks when the court seems to have reached a deadlock:

Lo mzi wawungakhuzwanga na?
Utheni na ukukhuzwa kwawo?

(Was the "lamentation" ceremony not held in this family?
How was it conducted and by whom?)

(p.10)

Mxhuma refers here to the family of Vuyisile, the father of the twins. The ceremony or ritual should have been held in honour of the deceased, Vuyisile. During the "lamentation" ceremony or ritual condoleance is expressed at the passing away of a person. If the deceased is a senior member of the family his spirit is propitiated to look upon and guard the lives of those who live this side of eternity. If this has not been done as is the case with Vuyisile (vide Ityala lamawele 1953, p.43)
it is believed that the bereaved family will suffer some punish­ment.

Mxhuma (p.10) asks by whom the "lamentation ceremony" was con­ducted. This is a very relevant question in terms of Xhosa traditional law and order. The departed, if senior, have to be propitiated through appropriate intermediaries. Approaching them directly would imply breaking the chain of seniority and thus disturbing harmony (cf. "master chart" p.67). The most appropriate authority to officiate in the "lamentation ceremony" is the king, the father of the nation (cf. "master chart", level 3, p.67).

In Ityala lamawele, urgent need to hold "the lamentation ceremony" at the house of Vuyisile, the father of the twins, is expressed. Mqhayi writes:

1 ...iNkosi yesusa uFu zile Thinga into yasemaQadini
2 noMdunywa Hela, into yasemaNyeleni,
3 ukuba baye kuxela ukuba iNkosi
4 iyeza kwinyanga ezayo ..........
5 izela ukukhupha intsapho kaVuyisile ehlathini.
6 ........................................
7 Lide lafika ixesha lokuba iNkosi iye kwaVuyisile,
8 lwamiswa nosuku.
9 Ngeli xesha yayise izixela ingwevu enkulu ......
10 ........................................
11 Le nkomo ayibanga namikhwa mininzi ..........
12 ........................................
13 Ize ithi kusasa, xa ziphumayo,
14 ime esangweni ijonge emnyango kokwayo,
15 ithathe amathamo abe mabini mathathu
16 yandule ukuthi gwiqi ukuhamba .............
17 Kuthe ngosuku olungaphambili komhla lowo ....
18 yabonakala imikrozo eya kwaVuyisile ........
19 INkosi yona ifike ekumkeni komhla ngezolo;
20 ithe ifika nje iNkosi leyo,
21 wabe uGunguluza sel' emi esangweni ..........
22 Kubonakele ukuba umsebenzi mawuqale .........
Okunene ke uGunguluza uthethelwe
amagama ambalwa, warhintyelwa ngentambo,
wakhahlelwa, wahlatywa esiswini njengesiko,
wwatsalwa umxhelo.
Uphuze amathamo ambalwa esikhalo,
watsho, "Bho-ho-ho-ho ...................!"
wandula ukufa, wahlinzwa.
Litshone elo kusenziwa amalungiselelo engomso ....
zaye imbiza sezingenasiphele .............

(1 ... the king sent Fuzile Thinga of the Qadi clan
2 and Mdunywa Hela of the Nyeleni clan,
3 to report that the king
4 would be visiting the following month ....
5 would be coming to the house of Vuyisile to end
officially the mourning period
6 ......................................................................
7 The time for the king to visit Vuyisile's house
drew near,
8 and the day for the occasion was set down.
9 By this time the old ox had a premonition of what
was to happen to it .......
10 ......................................................................
11 The beast now did not show much signs of having a
premonition
12 ......................................................................
13 And then it would in the morning, when others go out,
14 stand at the entrance to the cattle-fold and look
at the door of the hut,
15 and then it would bellow twice or thrice
16 after which it would turn and go away .........
17 On the day preceding the great one ..........
18 a chain of people could be seen going to Vuyisile's
place ..........
19 The king arrived towards sundown the previous day;
20 and as soon as the king arrived,
21 Gunguluza stood at the entrance to the cattle-fold ...
22 It was decided that the sacrificial ceremony should
commence
23 And as is customary Gunguluza was offered to the
departed
24 in very few words, and a rope was tied round him,
was pulled down, was stabbed in the stomach in the customary way,

his aorta was pulled to snap it.

He bellowed a few times,

sounding "Bho-ho-ho-ho .............................!

thereafter he died, and was slaughtered ......

Before sundown preparations were already afoot for the following day ....

and the pots formed an endless line along the cattle-fold.)

(pp. 43-46)

The procedure followed in the idini (the sacrificial ceremony) in the excerpt from Ityala lamawele corresponds fairly well with the general or formal procedure and interpretation given by Mqhayi in Idini (The sacrificial ceremony) (1928, p.20). The author writes:

1. Ixesha lokuhlatywa kwenkomo
2. likholisa ukuba sekujikeleni kwelanga,
3. inqandwe ingeniswe kwangelo xesha
4. sekusombelelwa umhlahlo, ingoma yamagqirha:
5. iya kubanjwa ngentambo emilenzeni nasemikhonweni
6. inatyiswe ukuze isisu sivele kakuhle:
7. kuya kuvela kaloku othile
8. ayihlabe esiswini enze inxueba
9. ekuza kufakwa kulo ingalo
10. ukurhola umxhelo,
11. izame nzima ide iwuqhaywule
12. ngelo thuba lonke ke inkomo leyo iyabhonga.
13. Ibhonga nje ke inkomo leyo
14. kukhona umzi uphithizelayo,
15. unxolayo, unqulayo
16. kuba isikhalo eso besifuneka kakade.
17. .................................
18. kulilwe kuvuywa kuba ngesikhalo esiya,
19. kukuxela ukuba inkomo
20. yamkelekile kwabadala.

(1 The time for killing the ox
2 is usually towards sunset,
it is tended and driven to the cattle-fold
and umhlahlo, the witch-doctor's song is heard:
it will be tied in both front and hind limbs,
it will be felled down so that the belly shows well:
some particular individual will come forward,
stab it in the belly causing a gaping wound
through which the arm will be pushed
and then the aorta will be pulled out,
it will be persevered till the aorta breaks into two,
during the entire action the ox is bellowing.
As the ox bellows
the crowd of people is moving to and fro,
everyone is talking, everyone is worshipping,
the bellowing fulfills their wishes,
.................................
people cry with joy because the bellowing
signifies that the offering
has been accepted by the ancestral spirits.)

In "Aa! Sifuba sibanzi!" in: Imibengo (1971, p.190) Mqhayi writes about the coming of Jesus Christ:

Lo kumkani uzayo ngumbingeleli,
Yinkomo yedini noMenzeleleli
Uz' epheth' igazi lokwenz' intlawulelo.
"Lingekeho igazi, alukh' uxolelo."
(This king who is coming is a priest,
He is the sacrificial beast and a Saviour.
His blood will be sacrificed for our salvation,
"Without blood there is no remission of sin."

The lines quoted above bring us to the comparison made by Mqhayi between the Xhosa traditional sacrificial ceremony or ritual ("the spilling of blood for the ancestors") and "the spilling of Christ's blood" on Mount Calvary. This is to be found in Mqhayi's book Idini (1928, pp.20-21). Below is a table showing the comparison made by Mqhayi in the said book:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Scripture Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Inkomo indala</td>
<td>Genesis 3:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The ox is old)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ixhelwe ngokonakala komzi</td>
<td>Isaiah 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The beast has been slaughtered because of existing conflicts between family members)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Le nkomo yalathiwe ngoosiyazi</td>
<td>Matthew 27:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(This beast has been chosen by those who have supernatural powers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Injalonje le nkomo ibhungiwe</td>
<td>John II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(And also a discussion has been held about the beast)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lo msebenzi ufune umbingeleli, iqgirha</td>
<td>Mark 15:34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(In this ceremony the traditional doctor must officiate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Isenzile isikhalo ekujikeni kwelanga</td>
<td>John 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The beast bellowed late in the afternoon)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ixhelwe luhlanganisene usapho</td>
<td>Matthew 23:47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(It was slaughtered while the entire family is together)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ithe yakukhala kwagalwa kwangulwa</td>
<td>Matthew 27:52-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(When it bellowed the people started worshipping)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ithe yakuncwina bavuka ababesebelele phantsi</td>
<td>John 19.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(When it bellowed in subdued sound the dead rose up)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Inxeba layo lisesiswini</td>
<td>John 6.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Its wound is in the belly)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Yakuba ifile inyama yayo iyadliwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(When it is dead its flesh is eaten)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The parallel drawn between Xhosa traditional society and Western society regarding procedure and meaning of the sacrificial ceremony is food for thought. We are not concerned though in this chapter about the validity or otherwise of the comparison made but we draw the attention of the reader to the brilliant effort that gives the traditional Xhosa ritual a universal dimension.

We have given the sacrificial ceremony (idini) prominence because it is, needless to say, a religious ritual that is performed in order to restore order in an individual, family or community. We have stated already in this chapter that 'the traditional Xhosa legal system is an integral part of the traditional Xhosa religious order' (vide p.63).

The development towards achieving order and unity in the family of Vuyisile in particular and in the community in general is shown prior to the holding of the idini ceremony when Babini is asked to marry Noili, the daughter of Nyaba of the Jwarha clan (vide Ityala lamawele 1953, p.39). Marriage in Xhosa traditional society is one of those institutions which, inter alia, brings the individual into a harmonious relationship with his immediate family, the community and the ancestral world. Its significance can be best summed up in the words of Mbiti (1969, p.162):

> If you don't get married and have children, who will pour out libation to you when you die? This is a serious philosophical concern among traditional African peoples. Unfortunate therefore is the man or woman who has nobody to 'remember' him (her) after physical death. To lack someone close who keeps the departed in their personal immortality is the worst misfortune and punishment that any person could suffer. To die without getting married and without children is to be completely cut off from the human society, to become disconnected, to become an outcast and to lose all links with mankind.

As the story of Ityala lamawele draws to the end, the words of Mahlasela (1973, p.8) echo in our minds. He writes:
Ityala lamawele (The lawsuit of the twins) is a masterly treatise of court procedure in which Mqhayi has been able to show to what extent and amount of trouble the Xhosa court can go in order to arrive at a fair and just decision in a court case (cf. also Jordan 1973, p.100).

The length of time taken in discussing a serious case can be deduced from the foregoing discussion. Mqhayi uses a number of characters to voice out the fact that the Xhosa traditional court of law takes a very long time to resolve a complicated issue especially if it relates to the pyramidal order reflected in the "master chart".

During cross-questioning in Ityala lamawele, Wele replies to Fuzile:

Esi sisilimela sesithathu, nkosi ndiyisa le ndawo kuLucangwana.
(This is the third year, Sir, that I have taken this issue to Lucangwana.)

(p.4)

Later on Nqwakuza says in an informal gathering:

Kukho umfana apha iminyaka mitathu esiphethe ezandleni esithi ufuna ubukhulu phofu ezelve esisinci.
(There is a young man here who for three years has pressurised us claiming seniority although he is born a junior.)

(p.6)

After the decision has been made to send for Khulile Majeko, Bhukwana, the bard says:

Ndaza ndalubon' uzwathi lwetyala!
Ndaza ndalubon' uzwathi lwetyala!
Kwasa saxhinxa, kwasa safak' ithwathwa.
(What an extraordinary long case I have witnessed! What an extraordinary long case I have witnessed! Each morning we are harnessed, each day we are on the road.)

(p.15)
Before pronouncing judgement, King Hintsa addresses Wele as follows:

Sekumasuku iinkosi ezi zam zemkayo emakhayeni azo kuba waza kuthi mawukhangeliswe umcimbi onqabileyo.

Kukhangelwa wona ke ziqinqitha nje ezi ntsuku.

(It has been some days that these people whom I serve left their homes because you requested that we should help you resolve a very unusual case.

Many days have been spent studying it.)

(p.26)

Note that Wele is the plaintiff; Nqwakuza is a counsellor and therefore a symbol of law and order; Bhukwana is the praise-singer and therefore a social critic and a repository of traditional values. The status of each character lends weight to what he says. The image of King Hintsa is used as a stamp to register in the mind of the reader the fact that proclaimed order cannot be reversed. This is a masterful technique.

Mqhayi uses a similar technique to emphasise strongly the same view, namely that order in the chain of authority is not easy to reverse - Wele tells the counsellors that Lucangwana says that:

akukho sinci sakha s Jal a izinto zomzi ikho in ku lu. (there is no junior that has ever administered home affairs while the senior is still alive.)

(p.3)

In his evidence Babini says, inter alia:

Baye besithi ke ababezalisa uma lowo, ivela-tanci ndim, uWele sisiza-mva. (And the midwives who helped my mother deliver us say I appeared first, Wele came after me.)

(p.7)
The younger sister of the twins says in support of Babini:

Eyinkulu nje uyinkulu; 
nokuba seyinguMajeke
akayi kude aqethule
isigwebo sikaLucangwana.
(That he is the heir cannot be changed;
even Majeke
will not reverse the
judgement passed by Lucangwana.)
(p.18)

And indeed Majeke will not commit himself with a definite answer. He says to the court:

Ndishiya mfungumfungu njalo ke 
zinkosi zam ukuze nizibonele ngokwenu.
(I leave the matter confused as it is
my fellowmen for you to arrive at your own
conclusions.)
(p.25)

In a more definite tone, King Hintsa addresses Babini as follows:

Uyeva ke mfo kaVuyisile omkhulu ......
(Take notice then of what has been
said senior son of Vuyisile........
(p.27)

In concluding this chapter we wish to state that traditional Xhosa society is governed by law as is the case with all societies whether they are literate or illiterate. The purpose of this law according to Hahlo and Kahn (1973, p.25)

is to maintain peace and order in society.

The law is channelled through a pyramid of authority. The chief interpreters of the law seem to be the headman's, the chief's and the king's counsellors. The interpretation of the law, the verdict arrived at - all this is directed at maintaining order and unity among the people. When the conflict between the two brothers in Ityala lamawele has been resolved,
co-operation and healthy relationships between them become so strong that the Xhosa tribesmen exclaim:

Umanyano ngamandla! 
(Unity is strength!)

In his letter dated 26 July 1976, Professor J. Westphal writes to me and says:

We emphasize the fact that Ityala lamawele was not written only to show court procedure in Xhosa traditional society, but also the operation and nature of Xhosa traditional law in a broader context. Gérard (1971, pp.54-55) writes:

Mqhaya's purpose was by no means merely ethnographic or antiquarian. The theme of justice is an important one in all literatures, as justice and law are the foundation of the social order.

It follows that literary criticism must and does lean heavily on socio-political disciplines, but in turn may provide insights of value to them. What Professor Westphal says in the lines above cannot be disputed.

Throughout his works Mqhaya is deeply disturbed by "disunity" among the Blacks and is also concerned about the structures placed upon their "socio-political advancement". He returns to these themes time and again. He suggests a number of solutions to the various problems that beset the Blacks. Mqhaya's ideal state, "Kwandi" is one of the ideals which the author writes for black political development. Our discussion will lead up to this.

Mqhaya's concern for unity and uplift of his people is discernible in the seventh stanza of the Black national anthem, "Mzoli sikwel" "Afrika" ("God bless Africa"). N.D.T. Tshabangu (1924, p.3) states that only the first stanza of the anthem was composed by Enoshe Kgotonga; the rest came from the pen of Mqhaya. The seventh stanza runs as follows:
CHAPTER THREE

DISUNITY AND A LACK OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT AMONG THE BLACKS

In his letter dated 28 July 1978, Professor E.O.J. Westphal writes to me and says:

Literature must be related to the social, cultural and political circumstances from which and out of which it is created at any given time. Just as it receives inspiration from these circumstances so also can it throw much light on the spiritual ideals and motives of these circumstances.

The letter continues:

It follows that literary criticism must and does lean heavily on socio-political disciplines but in turn may provide insights of value to them.

What Professor Westphal says in the lines above cannot be disputed. Throughout his works Mqhayi is deeply disturbed by 'disunity' among the Blacks and is also concerned about the strictures placed upon their 'socio-political advancement'. He reverts to these themes time and again. He suggests a number of solutions to the various problems that beset the Blacks. Mqhayi's ideal state, 'Mnandi' is one of the ideals which the author offers for Black political development. Our discussion will lead up to this.

Mqhayi's concern for unity and uplift of his people is discernible in the seventh stanza of the Black national anthem, "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika" ("God bless Africa"). D.D.T. Jabavu (1934, p.3) states that only the first stanza of the anthem was composed by Enoch Sontonga; the rest came from the pen of Mqhayi. The seventh stanza runs as follows:
Sikelel' amalinge ethu
Awomanyano nokuzakha
Awemfundo nemvisiswano
Uwasikelele.
(Bless our efforts
Of union and self uplift
Of educational and mutual understanding
And bless them.)
(translated by Jabavu)

Authors before Mqhayi have written on the theme of disunity among the Blacks. B.W. Vilakazi (1942, p.271) says of Rubusana's Zemk' iinkomo magwalandini! (There goes away your heritage you cowards!):

Dr. Rubusana in his book Zemk' iinkomo magwalandini! has already seen this, and the air of his book is a protest against Bantu disunity.

It is worth stating that Mqhayi was influenced by prominent Black leaders and writers such as Rubusana, Bokwe and others (cf. Kuse 1976, p.187) in his literary career.

In UDon Jadu the theme of disunity on various levels among the Blacks is brought out in the diverse conflicts between Dondolo, the protagonist and his antagonists, namely the police, robbers, ostriches, a puff adder, Boers, dogs, boys and girls (pp.7-25). It is not action only which brings out the themes but also the use of language and other literary devices.

Dondolo meets the antagonists at varying points during his journey from his home, which is his aunt's residence in town, to his destination thirty miles away (p.7). In the incident "Amapolisa" ("The police") Dondolo tells us:

1 Ndithe ukuba ndithi ukuyinikela umva
2 idolophu, ndabona amapolisa amabinǐ esiza
3 ngakum ekhwele kwiinkabi zamahashe,
4 phambili ilipolisa elimhlophe
5 emva ilipolisa elimnyama.
Just when I was leaving the town, I saw two policemen coming towards me mounted on horses. In front it was a White policeman and following him was a Black policeman. When the White policeman reached me he asked me for a pass (a reference document) according to the English language. I replied in Xhosa saying, "I have never carried that thing." On saying so the Black policeman asked angrily "Why? For what reason? What are you? Are you a Coloured?" I replied, "I am a Jingqi." When I said this, it was as though the Black policeman had long dismounted.
and went for me saying
"How dare you! You think you are going
to break the law, on the pretext that you are Jingqis!
What is this thing?"
Just when he advanced carrying handcuffs
I pushed him away forcefully saying:
"Away from me, do not humiliate us so!"
In reaction to this act, the White policeman
renouncingly went his way
and spoke to his colleague saying
"Let him go!"

Dondolo regards the carrying of a pass as an affront to his
dignity and integrity (lines 10 and 14). The protest against
the carrying of a pass by the Blacks can be traced back to the
early days of the occupation of the Cape Province by the British.
A.C.Jordan (1973, p.97) quotes a Xhosa poet and journalist,
William Gqoba, as saying:

Why should a pass be forced upon people who
have demonstrated in every way that they are
loyal British subjects .............
Let there be some difference now that we are
British subjects. We cannot be made to
carry passes when the White man does not.

If the manner in which the White policeman approached Dondolo
gives no ground for complaint (probably as suggested in line
8, he was an English policeman), that of the Black policeman
is definitely very impolite and dehumanising (vide line 21).
Dondolo (Mqhayi) resents the denigration of a man by another
man, and especially by one of his own group. Inflicting humilia-
tion upon your own kind implies loss of identity and weakening
of the group to which you belong.

The reactionary and hostile attitude of some Black policemen
in general comes under the strong attack of Wilfred Cartey
(1971, p.111):

Often the Black policeman or attendant or
simply the Black man who is marginal to both
groups, but in the employ of the larger, is even more brutal than whites. He carries out his duties with alacrity and brutish force, with an inhumanity to his own kind.

Regarding the South African Black policeman, Brookes (1934, p.258) says that

the native policeman is the chief sinner in the ill-treatment of men of his own colour.

Jabavu (1934, p. 289) does not exempt some South African White policemen from displaying a severe attitude towards some Black "offenders":

I have seen an arrested native seized by the scruff of his coat and unnecessarily jerked in all directions by a White policeman in a disgusting fashion. This exhibition is not essential in the maintenance of the law.

Dondolo's encounter with the police and what Wilfred Cartey, Brookes and Jabavu say in the excerpts above make a very interesting if distressing comparison: The role of the Black policeman as an "attendant" is hinted at in lines 4 and 5 of Dondolo's story. The depiction of the Black policeman as "the chief sinner in the ill-treatment of men of his own colour" and the portrayal of his "inhumanity to his own kind" is implied in lines 15-20. The White policeman's instruction "Myek' ahambe!"("Let him go!") (line 27) is an ironic twist. It emphasizes the abhorrent behaviour of the Black policeman. Mqhayi employs a very subtle device: the positive action of the White policeman stresses the negative attitude of the Black policeman.

The rejection of the pass by Dondolo is expressed emphatically by the use of the demonstrative of the second position loo (that) in line 10 and also by the use of the impersonal noun, nto (thing) which follows it. Note also the effect achieved by the use of the negative, indicative mood, remote past tense: Andizange ...... (I never ......) in line 10. Pride for one's
identity and contempt for the endeavour to sink this is expressed emphatically in lines 9 and 14.

The undesirable action of the Black policeman is also illuminated by contrasting or juxtaposing certain grammatical, syntactical or semantic units or elements, for example:

(a) eli lakowethu limnyama + eli lomlungu limhlophe
(b) lakumbula kum esiqwini + lahlaba kwangendlela
(c) lithetha lisithi + labhekisa kuwalo ....
(d) lithe ukuba lisondele + ndalisunduza

**Interpretation:**

(a) Dondolo (Mqhayi) states the obvious for effect. Black does more harm than White to Black.
(b) Motion towards the intended victim (uncomplimentary action) is counterbalanced by motion away from the object (complimentary action). The intended victim here is Dondolo.
(c) Strong and impolite attitude is counterbalanced by polite and reasonable attitude.
(d) Note the effect achieved by the use of antonyms sondela in "lisondele" and sunduza in "ndalisunduza". The former denotes undesirable movement and the latter desirable action in terms of the context.

In the diagram below the Arabic letters represent the intervening spaces or lines in which the grammatical, syntactical or semantic units discussed above occur. The minus sign (-) shows the negative attitude of the Black policeman and the plus sign (+) represents the positive attitude of the White policeman:

```
a-  b+
  
c-  d+  d-a+
  
b-  c+
```
Cartey is echoed in the condemnation of the Black policeman by Miller and Dreger (1973, p.498). They write:

The primary drawback to being a Black policeman is that he is an outsider to both the Black and the White communities. He arrests Blacks for acts that they do not feel are crimes.

It must be emphasized that Mqhayi, Cartey, Miller and Dreger, Brookes and Jabavu do not suggest that the Black policemen should not perform their duties. They deprecate the manner in which they do so.

After the confrontation with the policeman Dondolo reflects upon the incident:

1 Ndihlabile nam ndahamba indlel' am,
2 ndahamba ndiyicinga le nto
3 yoku kungxanyelwa kwam
4 kangaka ngoyena wakowethu umntu
5 koko ndibuye ndakhumbula ukuba kanene,
6 impilo yalo mfo wakowethu,
7 neyentsapho yakhe,
8 ikuyo le nto, . . . . . . . . .

(1 I also cut through going my way
2 and I thought about this thing as I travelled,
3 of being charged at
4 so much by one of my nation,
5 however I came to remember that by the way
6 the life of the man of my nation
7 together with his family
8 depends upon this thing, . . . . . . . )

(p.8)

Ndihlabile, ndahamba and ndahamba in lines 1 and 2 have the same meaning. The repetitive use of similar statements portrays the undaunted spirit of Dondolo. The use of the somewhat "internal rhyme" in nam and indlel' am brings out one internal quality in Dondolo, namely courage, a refusal to be broken down by external forces symbolized in both the Black and White
policemen. Abhorrence of an undesirable situation, as in the previous excerpt, is captured by the use of a demonstrative qualifying an object, for example le nto in lines 2 and 8. The words kangaka and ngoyena express the degree of comparison and are juxtaposed to each other. The two are further juxtaposed to wakowethu, a possessive construction. Thus juxtaposition of certain grammatical units is a device employed by Mqhayi to arouse our feelings to a repugnant situation.

Although we scoff at the behaviour of the Black policeman, we are soon made to suspend our judgement when Dondolo observes:

1 . . . ngaphandle kokungqavula enjenje,
2 akukho kunyuselwa nakuthembeka
3 kungakanani kuye . . . . .
4 Yacaca intetho ethi:
5 "Akukho ukwayama ngomfo olambayo."

(1 . . . without growling like this,
2 there is neither promotion nor trust
3 that he can receive.
4 Thus the adage became clear:
5 "You cannot rely upon a starving person.")

(p.8)

We interpret the five lines quoted above as follows: Lack of economic power has reduced the status of a Black man to the level of an animal. Like a dog that is faithful to its master the Black man turns and bares his teeth at his own kind (line 1). Economic deprivation has cost the Black man his sense of social balance as well as his sense of political direction (lines 2 and 3). The Black man has lost his manhood, he is depersonalised (lines 1-3). The use of the proverb in line 5 shifts the issue from a smaller dimension to a larger one. It lends credulity and strikes a universal note to Dondolo's (Mqhayi's) utterance. The author's indignation or revolt is unmistakable.

The demoralising effect of economic poverty upon the Blacks is expressed if very strongly and boldly in UMqhayi waseNtabozuko
(Mqhayi of Mount Glory - 1964, p.67). The author writes:

Babe baninzi kuthi
abathengisa ngobuzwe babo
ngenxa yokulamba;
yaye imivuzo ibanjwe mpela yona.
(There have been many of us
who have sold away their nation
owing to starvation;
their wages have been very meagre.)

It becomes clear from the early pages of UDon Jadu and throughout his other works that Mqhayi is one of those writers who cannot remain silent about a hurtful situation. His sensitive attitude and those of other writers is condoned by Alosi Moloi (1973, p.201):

...the artist, especially the novelist,
should not remain insensitive to the problems of the day.

In the incident "Izigebenga" ("Robbers") Dondolo is waylaid by robbers in the middle of a forest. He tells us:

1 Nazo iinto zombinisezimi kakuhle;
2 enye kuzo iliLawu, ezi zingasemva
3 bendithetha nazoikwaziinto zombini.
(1 There are two things already well positioned;
2 one of them a Coloured, the ones behind me
3 I have been talking to are also two things.)

(p.9)

Dondolo assures his would-be assailants that he will definitely die with one of them. He tells them to draw up a will before the fight starts and as he pretends to be looking for a pen to draw up his will, the robbers flee because the Coloured robber has warned:

Irhol' ipistol' bafondini!
Irhol' ipistol' bafondini!
(It is taking out a pistol fellows!
It is taking out a pistol fellows!)

(p.9)
There are similarities between this incident and the previous one. In both there is an attempt to injure the dignity of a Black man by another Black man (men). He traces the action of the Black offender(s) to poor material conditions. Loss of restraint or self-discipline is shown in the presence of foreign elements. In both incidents the spirit of the would-be victim (Dondolo) is characterised by the refusal to be crushed! The rejection of the action of the robbers is brought out by the repetitive use of the impersonal pronoun into (a thing) (Cf. iinto (things) and ikwaziinto (it is still things) in lines 1 and 3 respectively.)

The incident entitled "Iinciniba" ("Ostriches") links up with the previous incidents in the chain of protest against Black disunity. Dondolo takes a short cut through a farm. Two ostriches that are fighting nearby see him. Dondolo reports:

1 Zithe zakundithi mandla, zawulibala
2 ngelo phanyazo umcimbi wazo
3 ezibe zingavananga ngawo,
4 zasukela lo wasemzini - undim.

(1 When they saw me, they forgot
2 there and then about their differences
3 about which they could not agree
4 and chased the foreigner - that is, I.)

It is generally agreed upon that ostriches are very cowardly (cf. Phyllis Harrison-Ross 1973, p.7). The ostriches are portrayed in this incident as being more rational, more nationalistic, more brave and united than the Xhosa people. The antithesis between the ignoble behaviour of higher beings (the Xhosas) and the noble action of lower creatures (the ostriches) is a satire of the most superb kind.

The incident "Irhamba" ("The puff adder") is a story within the story entitled "Iinciniba" ("Ostriches"). Dondolo is chased by the ostriches, jumps over a fence and lies on the grass to
gain his breath. He hears the hissing of a snake and, realising that he is lying upon a puff adder, he jumps up and kills it. He equates the behaviour of the snake with the behaviour of the Blacks who, when planning to liquidate a suffocating situation, talk loudly. They thus draw the attention of their opponent and their plans are foiled.

Dondolo makes a comparison between the behaviour of the puff adder and that of the Blacks and ultimately accords higher respect to the puff adder than to the Blacks:

1 Ndibe kufuna kwawakowethu amadoda namadodana,
2 nakwabakowethu abafazi neentombi,
3 ongaba uyinxaholo ede yaphuma nezinyo
4 ngenxa yokulwela uhlanga lwakowabo,
5 andafumana nosuke uzwane okanye uzipho lomnye,
6 hayi, andafumana nosuke unwele ngenxa yamakowabo.

(1 I looked for a parallel from my people old and young men,
2 and from my peoples' married women and girls,
3 for one with maimed looks to the extent of losing a tooth
4 as a result of fighting for his nation,
5 I could not find even one who lost a small toe or nail,
6 no, I could not find even one who lost hair fighting for his people.)

(p.18)

In the excerpt quoted above, a grammatical, syntactical or semantic pattern brings out Dondolo's (Mqhayi's) strident voice of protest. The pattern has been designed as follows: use of a predicative plus two nouns in a descending order of cultural importance (line 1); use of a predicative (which is implied) plus two nouns in a descending order of social significance (line 2); use of predicatives plus a noun (line 3); use of a predicative plus a possessive (line 4); use of a negative statement plus two nouns in a descending order of cultural preference plus a possessive (line 5); use of a negative statement plus a noun plus a possessive (line 6). The predicative statements
and the nouns mentioned bring out the apathy of the Black man
and the possessives reveal Mqhayi's deep concern about this
state of apathy.

If Mqhayi is subtle in deprecating lack of unity among the
Blacks in *UDon Jadu*, he becomes blunt and uses scorching idiom
in *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1964, p.67). He writes:

1 Imvisiswa no kuthi ayikho;
2 sisezisulu zeentshaba zethu.
3 Uyazenzela umfo oMhlophe;
4 athabothe oMnye
5 abethe abanye ngaye;
6 athabothe lowa ngomnye unyaka,
7 akatse abanye ngaye.

(1 There is no unity amongst us;
2 we are easy prey to our enemies.
3 The White man manipulates us with ease;
4 he takes this one
5 and uses him against others;
6 he takes that one in another year,
7 and uses him against others.)

The skill with which the White man manipulates the Black man
is brought out by the use of semantic units which have a syno-
nymous connotation. This clever technique is discernible in
lines 4-7:

(a) athabothe
(b) oMnye
(c) abethe
(d) abanye
(e) ngaye;

The arrows couple up the semantic units which have the same
meaning. It is typical of Mqhayi to repeat himself in infinite
variety when exposing and condemning an undesirable situation.

In *Ityala lamawele* (*The lawsuit between twins* - 1914, p.120) Mqhayi writes about Black disunity with a vein of optimism:

> ... iphelile imihla yokuthelekiswa kwethu thina zizwe ezINtsundu, kuba leyo yeyona ndlela satshatyalaliswa ngayo zizizwe ezimhlophe.

> (... gone are the days of causing a conflict between the Black races, for this has been the supreme way by which we have been destroyed by the White races.)

In the same book (*Ityala lamawele*) the author suggests a direction for the Blacks:

> ... masiyikhonze le Afrika sibambene ngezandla, njengokokuba izizwe ezimhlophe sizibona zisoyisa izizwe ngobunye.

> (... let us serve this Africa and hold hands together, emulating as we do White races which have triumphed over others through unity.)

(p.122)

The conflict in *UDon Jadu* assumes, as is the case with the excerpts taken from *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* and *Ityala lamawele*, an inter-racial plane. After killing the puff adder Dondolo is immediately confronted by Boers on horseback. They treat him in a very humiliating manner. He is rescued from the situation by the arrival of Black migrant labourers.

Dondolo journeys on and arrives at the house of another Boer and his family. Here he is treated very cordially and leaves the house in high spirits. It is evident from the conversation between Dondolo and the second Boer family that the latter mix with Blacks often.

The idea that contact between races promotes harmony is intimated by Mqhayi in his autobiography *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko*
Ekufikeni kwam eDikeni
ncafika
kufundwa ndawonye ngamakhwenkwe
aNtsundu namHlophe.
Intle loo nto,
iyinzuzo nengenelo kumacala omabini.

(When I arrived at Lovedale Institute
I found that
both Black and White boys
studied together.
This was a good system,
it benefited both sides.)

The prevention of conflict between Blacks and Whites can be
achieved inter alia by an adoption of a positive Christian
attitude by both groups and by a complete abandonment of a
negative outlook.

Dondolo (Mqhayi) effects his release from the first Boer family
by summoning the help of Black migrant labourers who are
returning home. The flight of the entire Boer family including
the Black servants from the approaching Black migrant workers
is captured by use of appropriate symbols:

Zaqhumis' uthuli iinkabi zamahashe
inguyise phambili yekoko
ukuya kwela kwantsiza.

(The stallions churned up dust,
their father leading, and they
disappeared into oblivion.)

The lines do not suggest the wilting away of the worthless
only, but the melting of the illusion of race superiority.
The Boers flee even before their spiritual and physical powers
are put to a practical test. The other possible interpretation
which we can make of the 'flight incident' is that Mqhayi
illustrates to the reader that it is moral blindness emanating
from racial misconceptions or bias which alienates the first
Boer family (excluding the Black servants) from the moral
universe and leaves them bereft of any guiding light in the
obscurity of the cloud of dust that separates them from the same and same world of the second Boer family (including the Black servants), the universe of rational men.

Mqhayi suggests in a subtle manner that erosion of the dignity of the Black man by any factor or element will be put to an end by a united Black force. Thus Dondolo (Mqhayi) describes the Black migrant labourers who come to his rescue as follows:

\[ \text{\ldots ndibone umqokozo omde wemiDaka emnyama.} \]
\[ \text{(\ldots I saw a long chain of Black men.)} \]

(UDon Jady, p.15)

It must be pointed out that Mqhayi does not suggest that Blacks should secure economic power and political unity and out of these create a weapon to exterminate the Whites. On the contrary the author makes a plea for racial co-operation. For example in "EzeZwi labantu" ("Of the voice of the Black people"), a poem appearing in Rubusana's Zemk' iinkomo magwalandini, 1906, p.455, Mqhayi writes:

\[ \text{UmXhosa nomlungu makuvisiswane, Mazikhandwe izikhali zibe ngamakhuba.} \]
\[ \text{(The Xhosa and White man must live in harmony. Sharp weapons must be changed into ploughs.)} \]

The same theme is expressed in Mqhayi's Inzuzo (1974) in the poem entitled "Esandlwana" in which the poet gives an account of the battle between the English and Zulus at Isandlwana. The poet pleads for cessation of hostilities between the two races:

\[ \text{Wozani maBhritani sigezan' izingozi! Khandani izixhobo nizenz' amakhuba.} \]
\[ \text{(Come Britons, let us bathe one another's wounds! Turn the sharp weapons into ploughs.)} \]

(p.93)

Note how in both poems Mqhayi contrasts the weapon which destroys life with the plough which is used to sustain life. Note also
that Mqhayi is of the strong opinion that Black and White races are interdependent.

Thus in UDon Jadu the Black employees in the farmstead of the first Boer family, the Black migrant labourers who return from the mines and come to the aid of Dondolo are a reminder that the European community in South Africa is economically dependent on Black power. It has to rely upon Black labour in the farming areas, the mines and industry in general. To this extent it does not appear feasible to separate the races. It seems impossible for the Whites to dispense completely with the services of the Blacks. It appears equally not possible for the Blacks to live exclusively without the Whites. Our interpretation is based further on the following observation: The Boers flee from the Blacks. These Blacks return from a White owned industrial complex where they have earned a living. The Boers flee with other Blacks. This shows interdependence between Blacks and Whites.

The theme of a human or Christian love between races is also illustrated in Mqhayi's Ityala lamawele, a novel which, according to Phyllis Ntantala (1971, p.10)

was first published in 1914 a year after the Land Act of 1913, by which the African people were crowded into 13% of Crown land.

The quotation cited here is relevant at this point. If what Ntantala says is irrefutable, the excerpt then serves as a flashback and by a way of contrast it evokes pathos on what is to follow: Chief Ngqika sends men to Hintsa, king of the Xhosas, to inform him that a White race has been seen "emerging from the sea" and that at the time it is living along the coast of Xhosaland. The messengers also inform King Hintsa that the White race appears adept at war. King Hintsa tells the messengers to report to chief Ngqika as follows:

... maze alwenzele ububele, lude luzibonise ngokwalo ukungabi bantu; luthi ukuba lungabantu abanobulumko,
The wholesomeness of King Hintsa's message assumes loftier political and religious dimensions especially when it is weighed against the said Land Act.

In *Ityala lamawele*, Mqhayi extends the arm of friendship and co-operation not to the White races only but to the Black foreign races as well. When the Mfengus and other destitute tribes arrive in Xhosaland they are reported to King Hintsa and his reply is:

1. Look well after those people;
2. You belong to them, they belong to you.
3. Give them something to eat,
4. Offer them some old clothes to wear,
5. Treat them kindly, let them realise that you
6. Are different from their previous persecutors;
7. Do not toss them about.

The central theme in lines 1 - 7 immediately above can be condensed in Mqhayi's own verse in the historical poem, *UMhlekazi uHintsa*:
Bathi dibana Mfengu nomXhosa!

(It is wished that the Mfengu and the Xhosa people should unite!)

(p. 14)

Note that the need for inter-tribal or inter-racial unity is stressed by the juxtaposition of two possessive constructions (line 2).

The belief that the Black races in South Africa, namely Xhosas, Zulus, Pedis, Tswana, Tsongas, Vendas and Swazis originated from one source (both geographical and genetic) was firmly implanted in Mqhayi's mind. In Ityala lamawele (1914, p.81) he writes:

Zonke ezi ntlanga zikule Afrika isezantsi,
no ko zingadibene yo ngentetho,
zidibene khona ngeli gama lokuba
umntu ngu"Ntu". Loo nto ke
yenza ukuba iingqondo zethu
ziye ekuthini sasiluhlanga olunye
apho sasivela khona.

(All the tribes in South Africa, although they do not speak one language, their languages nevertheless are derived from the common root "Ntu". That leads us to surmise that we were one nation where we were originally.)

In the excerpt quoted above Mqhayi refers to the root -ntu to show that we should not lay emphasis on compartmentalising the Black races of South Africa. In Umfundisi uJohn Knox Bokwe (1972, p.51) Mqhayi condemns some Black leaders who are instrumental in causing tribal or racial divisions:

... iimfundl zibulelene
zasibulala nesizwe
ngalo olu calulwano.

(.... the educated people have destroyed each other and have destroyed the nation as well by supporting tribal or racial segmentation.)

It is an empirical fact that there are similarities in the Black languages of South Africa; it is also an established
fact that the speakers of these languages have common cultural backgrounds. The differences that exist between them are in degree rather than kind.

It must be emphasized again that Mqhayi in his theme of unity is not trying to create a tide of Black nationalism to 'drown' the White races in South Africa. Instead he wishes there to be unity between Black and White races. In "Umfi UMhlekazi Seeiso Griffith" in Inzuzo (1974, p.41) the poet declaims a poem on the passing away of King Seeiso Griffith of the Basotho people. The death knot is used by the poet to knit together all races in South Africa:

1 Silila nani beSuthu,
2 Ningumzalwana kwanathi:
3 ayalil' amaBhritani
4 Ngomhlobo ngxesh' elibi;
5 Kulil' onk' ama-Afrika,
6 Lo mntwana ubelithemba,
7 Tarhuni mzi wakwaMshweshwe, –
8 Wothukil' umzi kaPhalo.

(1 We mourn with you Sotho people,
2 You are related to us:
3 The Britons lament with you;
4 About a friend during this, your hour of need;
5 All Africans are bereaved,
6 This child was the hope of the people,
7 Be comforted people of Mshweshwe, –
8 The house of Phalo is shocked.)

Note that line 3 does not refer exclusively to people of English descent but symbolises all White people in South Africa which at the time was a British colony. The entire verses were inspired by a depressed and sincere heart, and the repetition "silila" ("we cry") in lines 1, 3, 5, testifies to a somewhat melancholy strain.

Dondolo's journey takes us to the incident entitled "Amakhwenkwe" ("Boys"). Herdboys have put sticks across Dondolo's path,
intent to molest him should he walk over these. He does so but they do not molest him as they are afraid of him. Some of the boys are between eighteen and twenty years of age. He scolds them for not attending school:

Ndithethe naba bantwana andalinganisela, ndada ndangathi sendithetha nooyise babo.
(I spoke to these children strongly as if I was talking to their fathers.)

(p.23)

Mqhayi's regard of the educational value as an instrument for uplifting the self and one's nation is traceable to his early childhood at Kentani. He writes in *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1964, p.47):

Ndandimcela kabuhlungu uThixo ukuba makangandiyekeleli ndibe yinto engafundanga.
(I prayed hard to God that I should not falter in my efforts to obtain education.)

Mqhayi realised the fact that if the Black youth did not make use of the educational opportunities open for them, they would lag behind White youth, both in material and spiritual advance. Thus in the incident entitled "Amakhwenkwe" in *UDon Jadu*, Dondolo (Mqhayi) says:

1 ndicinge ukuba kanene
2 iyawa ngabantwana besizwe sam
3 aba bangafundiyo, abantwana
4 bezizwe sebephambili.

(1 . . . I reflected upon the fact that
2 it is the children of my nation
3 who do not attend school, children of
4 other nations have made great academic strides.)

(pp. 22-23)

Dondolo (Mqhayi) arouses in the mind of the reader and in the mind of every parent, a similar state of discontent and disquietude.
"Iintombi" ("Girls") brings us to the last one of Dondolo's encounters with human and animal characters. As in the previous episode, Dondolo (Mqhayi) is concerned about Black youth, in this case girls, who waste away their time in picking wild fruit instead of attending school (vide UDon Jadu, pp.23-25).

The incidents occurring in Part I of UDon Jadu are described with such forceful realism that the reader becomes convinced that the narrator, Dondolo, is in actual fact Mqhayi himself. Gérard (1971, p.58) writes:

In his autobiography, Mqhayi explains that the idea for UDon Jadu can be traced back to his school years at Lovedale. He used to make frequent visits to his father in Grahamstown, and during those trips, he had to pass through the little town of Alice. There it was, he tells, that he became aware for the first time of the antagonism between Black and White.

Douglas Grant (1951, p.423) says about the novelist and his material:

the novel is a judgement on experience expressed in terms of character.

In Part II of UDon Jadu, Dondolo again starts a journey from home, not to visit his uncle's home this time but to tour those areas which were grateful to him for advising their children to attend school, thus making their area very progressive. Together with a team of men he visits Zathuza town amidst cheers. They meet the town council which, because its members had read a constructive criticism of Black affairs in a speech made by one of them, asks for their advice. They get on so well that by the time they leave, a "Youth Association" is formed, recruiting offices are built, and so on.

On their way to Mgudu, they pass through a beautiful agricultural area which Dondolo recognises as the place where he was nearly murdered in a forest which now is no longer in existence.
When they reach Mgudu, they are again heartily welcomed. They are such a good social influence that by the time they leave for Zuba, decisions have been taken to secure a medical doctor, to open a training centre for nurses, and to solicit government aid.

They leave Mgudu and rest at a place which Dondolo recognises as that at which he met up with ostriches and the puff adder. They also go via a home which Dondolo knows to be the house of the Boer who treated him well. It now belongs to a Black man. With the aid of people of that area, a sum of six thousand two hundred rand is collected for the advancement of industry there.

As they reach Mnandi, a tornado hits them. In spite of their sustaining minor injuries, a meeting is held the following day. They collect twenty thousand two hundred rand for advancement of industry. It is after this remarkable progress that Dondolo and company return home. However three of them go back to Mnandi to fill very important posts (vide UDon Jadu, pp.28-64).

Interpretation

Differences of opinion between Blacks and Whites at Zathuza are settled amicably by means of dialogue (vide UDon Jadu, p.33). We deduce from the deliberations held at Zathuza that Mqhayi believed in the vital principle that a just view can only be arrived at when White and Black leaders consult together. Judgements will always be more or less fairly impartial and balanced if the views of both sides are represented directly. It is by conferring with each other that either racial group can come to understand the disabilities of the other group. Old Zathuza town has been bulldozed out of existence and with it the history of its hostility and reactionary elements.

It is not only Zathuza that has been transformed into a new and better place in which to live, but also Mgudu (the hide-out of the robbers). At Mgudu the Blacks devise means to achieve economic independence and these plans are accomplished.
Throughout his works Mqhayi protests against the economic subservience of the Blacks. Economic strength implies, needless to say, political power. In *Ityala lamawele* Mqhayi warns:

Kodwa asiveli eYurophu
noko siwaxhome kangaka
nje amehlo khona,
silindele usindiso lwethu eYurophu.

(But we do not come from Europe although we look forward to help from Europe.)

Land is, amongst other things, a source of economic power. Thus in the novel, *UDon Jadu*, the fertile farm belonging to the kind Boer has been bought from him for Black utilization (*vide* *UDon Jadu*, p.39). Physical separation of races, according to Mqhayi, is in itself a policy which Blacks and Whites may accept. It is possible on the basis of complete mutual respect. Neither side should take the best and leave the worst for the other. There should be no question of rich land being set aside for some, ending where poor land zoned for others begins.

In Part II of *UDon Jadu* Mqhayi teaches that Blacks in South Africa should be primarily agents and not reactors; they should be operative forces and not resultant states; they should be active and not passive. Frustration comes from active resignation as it is active, and resignation is passive. The Black people in South Africa will have to determine their destiny just as Dondolo and his men did in this novel, and as Mqhayi has suggested Blacks should do in the other works cited.

The storm is of symbolic significance in the construction of the plot of *UDon Jadu* and in the evincing of the theme. Dondolo's journeys in *UDon Jadu* have, metaphorically speaking, been characterised by intermittent storms. It is appropriate therefore that a violent storm should break out just before the people of Mnandi (the neighbourhood in which Dondolo and his men preached about self-realization and harmony between races) are granted self-government. Significantly the storm is preceded
by a picture of the sun high up in the sky (vide *UDon Jadu*, p.43). Thus we have a juxtaposition of the constant (the sun) and the inconstant (the storm). In terms of plot and theme, the political views of Dondolo and his men are as fixed as the sun is in the solar system. The storm (the characters who oppose them) is a passing phase. The further implication is that any social or political struggle entails suffering. We can also interpret the storm and fire as a purgative process, the punishing and the removal of the undesirable.

We summarise Part III of *UDon Jadu* as follows:

(i) The people of Mnandi are granted self-government. Great Britain assumes guardianship of the new state.

(ii) The new state encourages immigration.

(iii) Experts in various spheres and disciplines are invited to Mnandi to help develop it.

(iv) The constitution of Mnandi allows women to go to parliament but they decline this on the grounds that there is enough work for them to do at their homes.

(v) Mnandi is a Christian state and Christ is the 'President' of the ancestral spirits.

(vi) Ministers of religion work in collaboration with the officers of the state.

(vii) Education at Mnandi is made compulsory. The first official language is Xhosa and English is the second one.

(viii) Traditional rites such as the circumcision ceremony are supervised by a magistrate and a minister of religion.

(ix) At Mnandi divorce is prohibited by law.

(x) The importation or sale of liquor is also prohibited by law. Home-brewing is allowed but anyone found drunk in
public places risks confinement to a lunatic asylum for a period of seven days. There are no prisons at Mnandi.

(xi) People who are sentenced to penal servitude receive wages for their labour.

(cf. Jordan 1973, p.101; vide also UDon Jadu, pp. 65-92.)

**Interpretation**

Mqhayi was opposed to the separation of races. When he makes Jesus Christ the President of the Ancestors he wants to unite the people in the multi-racial state of Mnandi through God the Creator of the universe and all the people in it. Jesus Christ is made the Saviour of both Blacks and Whites.

Throughout his works Mqhayi points out that there is nothing pagan about Black traditional worship. In *Ityala lamawele* (1914a, p.127) he writes:

> Kuthiwa amaRoma anqula uMariya, ngokusuka acele yena abe ngumthetheleli; kuthiwa amaSilamsi anqula uMohamete ngokuse amcele njengomthetheleli; ngokunjalo thina maXhosa kuthiwa besinqula iminyanya, kanti besiyinika imbeko nje kodwa, siyixhelela namadini, sicenga ukuthethelelewa kusomandla, uNdikhoyo. (It is alleged Roman Catholics worship Mary, just because they worship God through her; it is alleged Moslems worship Mohammed just because they worship God through him; likewise we Xhosa people have been accused of worshipping ancestral spirits, and yet we only accorded them respect, and made sacrificial offerings to them, beseeching them to plead our protection to the Almighty, the Omniscient.)

In the European form of religion Jesus Christ is the medium just as the ancestors are the media. There is logic therefore in recognising Jesus Christ as the President. The measure secures for the ancestors who are the media a holy bond and a very strong supernatural tie. At Mnandi neither form of religion
is extolled above the other because Mqhayi does not want to superimpose either race upon the other.

Acceptance of Christ by both Blacks and Whites as President of ancestral spirits implies the opening of church doors to everyone irrespective of race. This idea of a religious syncretism is aimed at the suppression of discrimination within the church and also at the eventual extinction of separatist churches. Brookes (1936, p.32) says:

Separatism has been the result, to a very large extent, of the presence of the colour bar within the Christian church.

We applaud Mqhayi for his practical and meaningful approach to the vexing problem of religion. His views are in line with what Lloyd (1955, p.64) suggests:

Religion must arise out of a people's total life situation; it must speak directly to the people within the context of their whole existence; within the context of their past history, their present experience, and their future destiny.

The form of religion proposed by Mqhayi for adoption at Mnandi helps resolve the conflict between Blacks and Whites. A scepticism of the European form of religion has been expressed by some critics in the present century. Mazisi Kunene (1970, p.10) says about the European missionary:

He preached about a God whose repugnance for the ways of the pagans proved to be based on English criteria. Indeed his disapproval in most cases closely matched the interests of the British Empire.

Sundkler (1961, p.19) writes:

... the African has put up a strong resistance to the mission's attempted conquest. The independent Zulu churches may well be regarded as a symptom of an inner revolt against the White man's missionary crusade.
When Mqhayi makes Xhosa the first official language at Mnandi, he injects into the minds of the Blacks the spirit of self-respect. He wants other races at Mnandi to accord the Xhosas the same recognition they accord themselves. Spencer (1963, p.10) explains the role of language in social relationships as follows:

The language question is intimately bound up with the problem of the respect we bear other people and of our own respect. If we despise the language of a people, then by that very token we despise that people. If we are ashamed of our own language, then we must certainly lack that minimum of respect which is necessary to the healthy functioning of a society.

As early as the first half of this century Mqhayi realised the significance of the Xhosa language as a nation builder. G.B.Sinxo (1935, p.1) writes:

When most of the educated Africans in the Cape as well as Europeans controlling Native education looked down upon Xhosa, Mqhayi stood up for our language and by pen and word of mouth created a Renaissance in our literature.

In UMqhayi waseNtabozuko (Mqhayi of Mount Glory - 1964, p.31) the author scoffs at the Mfengu teacher who changes Xhosa names of places into English. The Mfengu teacher thinks that the use of English is a cardinal measure of his worth as a South African citizen.

A number of prominent South African linguists have pointed out the significant role of a language in nation building. Easy and relevant reference can be made to the publications of the following scholars: Ziervogel (1956, p.10) and Louw (1969, p.10).

English will be the second official language at Mnandi. The answer for this can be found in the words of Lee (1976, p.8):
it is not the English people that count, but their language which is of the greatest importance in the world of commerce and travel.

The recognition of a Black language and of a European language at Mnandi must be interpreted as a measure to create dialogue between races. One who speaks a certain language belongs as well to the community of people who speak that language.

F.L. Billows (1961, p.102) states:

Language is a social affair; it is the most important binding element in society.

Mqhayi prohibits the sale of European liquor at Mnandi. He sees it as the destroyer of the Black nation. Earlier Xhosa writers have protested against the sale of European liquor to Blacks. Jordan (1973, p.89) cites a Xhosa short story writer who personifies European liquor and comments:

Among other things he (European liquor) has made young men age before their time and die. He has picked on the most beautiful girls, destroyed their virginity, deprived them of their youth and beauty.

The women of Mnandi will, in spite of change in the traditional role and status of husband and wife consequent upon modernization of the family, retain their basic traditional role. The division between men and women will remain largely undisturbed. The husband will remain, in keeping with his biological make-up, the instrumental leader of the family while the wife, also in keeping with her biological nature, will still be pre-occupied with the internal integration of the family (cf. Motshologane 1974, p.34).

Ministers of religion will work jointly with magistrates. This is very appropriate if we remember that religion and politics are some of the pillars of a nation.
Mqhayi proposes that the circumcision ceremony at Mnandi should be carried out as by the Jews as a holy ritual rather than be stamped out as a pagan custom as was the view of the early missionaries. In UMqhayi waseNtabozuko Mqhayi reports that he once interrupted his studies at Lovedale Institute and entered the circumcision school. One of the leading figures in church matters rebuked him for the decision he had taken:

Umnum. u - J.K.Bokwe
igosa elikhulu labefundisi
wakha wandinika kakhulu engamazwi
ukuthi ndifunde imfundo
ndize ndibuye ndiyi
kwenza iintlondi zabahedeni.

(Mr. J. K. Bokwe, the chief steward of the ministers of religion once gave me verbal chastisement, because after pursuing education I took a backward step and followed a lane to heathenism.

The view that the circumcision ceremony is not a heathen practice but instead a holy ritual comes out in the poem "UNkosazana Minah Thembeka" in Inzuzo (1974, p.70). Mqhayi writes:

Zuzixelel' izizwe neentlanga, -
Thina kwNtu besihlala noThixo,
Sisity' esandleni sakh' esihle,
Sisalusa sithombisa;
Ehambahamba phakathi kwethu,
Simnyusel' amadini nemibingo
Esezel' amanqath' eenkomo zethu •••

(You should tell the nations and races, - We Africans stayed with God, eating from His hand which is beautiful, circumcising, celebrating attainment of adulthood by girls; paying dowry, giving women away in marriage; He (God) walking about amongst us. Giving sacrifices to Him, propitiating Him And He in turn inhaling the smell of fat from our cattle •••

The symbolical value of the circumcision ceremony has been discussed by many anthropologists. Suffice it to say that there is a firm belief amongst the Xhosa people that full maturity and
responsible leadership can be achieved only after one has undergone this rite. In **UMqhayi waseNtabozuko**, the author writes:

> Engqondweni yam ndedwa, ndandiqonda ukuba ndiya kuba ngumsebenzi kweli lizwe lakowethu lasemaXhoseni - umsebenzi kwizinto zelizwi; kwezentlalo yasemakhaya; kwezombuso; nakwesemfundo. Kwamhlophe kum ukuba andiyi kwenza nanye yezi zinto iphumelele, ndingabanga yindoda.

(In the depths of my mind I realised that I would be a worker in this land of my people, Xhosaland - a worker in things pertaining to religion; things pertaining to home organization; politics, and also education. It was clear to me that I would not be able to do anything successfully if I were not a man.)

(p.58)

**Conclusion**

If, according to G.-C. Mutiso (1974, p.20) Black leaders are not sure whether to embrace Black values exclusively and reject White values, S.E.K. Mqhayi advocates in all his works the merging of both Black and White values. This reveals the depth of his soul, the richness of his spirit and the broadness of his humanity. Phyllis Ntantala (1971, p.14) says:

> To Mqhayi, the new culture was in no way incompatible with traditional African cultures. If anything the two were complementary and he (Mqhayi) saw in their fusion an emergence of a new culture . . . . one that all South Africans, both Black and White could be proud of.
CHAPTER FOUR

Patriotism

The word "patriotism" is derived from the Latin word "patria" meaning one's native country (cf. Merchant and Charles 1957, p.396). It has other connotations like: the soil of the land in which one dwells, one's fatherland, one's father's land. It arouses many emotions, feelings and sentiments such as: loyalty to one's country; love for one's country, a sense of pride in one's land of birth; an uncontrollable sense of attachment to one's country; a sense of and a state of preparedness to sacrifice and even die rendering duties to one's country (cf. Gove 1959, p.1656; Murray 1909, p.559; Preble 1958, p.925).

Hayes (1906, p.9) complements the views of the scholars quoted above. He goes further and traces the emotion or sentiment of patriotism in men:

In one form or another, it appears to be instinctive with man, a natural part and essential prop of his gregariousness. It is basic to human life in family, in locality, in society. Man being man, it is natural of him to be loyal to some ideas and ideals which occur to him and which he thinks good.

Hayes is aware of the fact that ideas cannot be nurtured in vacuo. He writes:

But most such ideas do not germinate spontaneously within him. Rather they are carried to and seeded in him by his fellows.

Seligman (1949, p.26) points out that there is no agreement about the meaning of the following:

(i) "one's country"
(ii) "one's fellow-countrymen"
(iii) "service to and sacrifices for the fatherland".

In a very terse manner Seligman writes:
Most civil wars - those of secessionists or home rulers against unionists or nationalists, of colonials against the mother country, of catholics against protestants, of republicans against monarchists - have been wars between patriots.

Seligman's views make an interesting study especially when we relate them to some of the conflicts between Blacks and Whites that Mqhayi depicts in his works. In the following battles: "Thaba Nchu", "Thaba Bosiu", and "Esandlwana" in Inzuzo (pp. 84-93 respectively) Mqhayi alleges that these were wars of dispossession. The author takes a decisive view, namely that the Blacks were the rightful occupiers of the lands and that the Whites were the invaders or intruders. In "Esandlwana", for example, Mqhayi writes:

Kwavel' umfo phesha kolwandle!
Weza ngegunya nendelo;
Wacim' izithethe namasiko;
Wakhathaz' uZul' ezihlalele
Waqumba kakhul' okaMpande,

(There came a man from overseas!
And came full of might and spite;
And abolished (Zulu) customs and traditions
And disturbed Zulu in his peaceful life
And greatly provoked was Mpande.)

(p.91)

Needless to say the foreign power is described as being the aggressor (cf. also Bulpin 1956, pp.147-170; Msimang 1976, pp. 1-91).

Regarding the definition of the concept of patriotism, all the scholars cited previously are silent about the position of those who are not born and bred within a specified geographical area and who subsequently enter a given terrestrial unit and make it their permanent home.

For the purpose of this study we shall accept as patriots, irrespective of race, colour 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 (cf. Jordan 1973, pp. 99-102). 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.

In our study of patriotism in Mqhayi's works the definitions of the concept of patriotism given by the scholars cited previously will serve as our anchor. We concede that it is difficult to arrive at a uniform explanation of any given concept. Suffice it to say that patriotism is a compound of the following principal constituents: "loyalty", "duty", "service", "fellowship", and "honour".

The theme of patriotism in Mqhayi's works is to be found in the main in his poetry works, namely Imihobe nemibongo and Inzuzo. The vein of patriotism is felt in his prose works, namely UDon Jadu, Ityala lamawele, Umfundisi u-J.K.Bokwe, USoggumahashe and UMqhayi waseNtabozuko. The last three mentioned books are biographies. Mqhayi's patriotic spirit is unmistakable in his creative contributions that grace the pages of the anthology, Imibengo edited by W.G.Bennie.

Metaphorically speaking, the seed of patriotism was sown in Mqhayi's mind when stories of heroic feats were told to him about his forefathers at early childhood. Association with prominent leaders (both Black and White) also served to generate in him the spirit of patriotism (cf. UMqhayi waseNtabozuko, 1964).

The "seed" actually germinated in him during his schooldays at Lovedale Institute. In UMqhayi waseNtabozuko (1964, p.58) Mqhayi writes:

1. Engqondweni yam ndedwa, ndandiqonda
2. ukuba ndiya kuba
3. ngumsebenzi kweli lizwe lakowethu ....
In my opinion I felt that I was going to be a worker for my own people in my country, a worker for the Gospel; for social services; in politics; and in educational matters.

(Patricia Scott (1976, p.24) citing the translation of W.G. Bennie)

So strong was this view in Mqhayi that he articulates it in almost all his original works. In UMhlekazi uHintsa he addresses all races in South Africa and says:

Ngoko masenz'uqilima ngemfundo,
Masenz'uqilima ngezentlalo,
Masenz'uqilima ngezeLizwi.

(Let us be bound by common educational aims, Let us be bound by common social ends, Let us be bound by common religious goals.)

(pp 14 - 15)

We deduce from the excerpt quoted immediately above that Mqhayi regards patriotism as one of the principal reasons for the existence and continuation of men. In Umfundisi UJohn Knox Bokwe (1972, p.65) he says about the prime duties of a man:

Umsebenzi wendoda unxulumene nesizwe sayo.

(What a man does must relate to the interests of his country.)
It can also be inferred from the extract previous to the one above that Mqhayi had an intuitive or perceptive feeling, and rightly so, that true patriotism implies services rendered to a people dwelling in a country irrespective of tribal or racial origins (line 3) and that it also means service to God from Whom all things spring (line 4). Mqhayi regards religion, politics and education as the three pillars of a nation (lines 4, 5, 6 and 7).

That the three values, namely religion, politics and education form a tripod upon which a nation may build itself comes out in his other works. In Umfundisi uJohn Knox Bokwe (1972, p.33) Mqhayi writes:

Ixabiseka kakhu kanjalo imfundo xa ifunyenwe ngumntu okhutheleyo; kodwa ide ifunyanke irisalisekile yafaqamaba xa ithe yafika kumntu onothando lwesizwe sakhe, nabantu bakawabo.

(Education is a very important value if obtained by an industrious person; but it is even more of a blessing and value if it has been obtained by a person who loves his country and his people.)

In the same book (p.34) Mqhayi says:

Yinto imfundo efuna ukusoloko ibanjwe ngomkhala ethi kwakuyekelwa kuyo kungabikho kwakheka. Umkhala ke ekuyalezwa wona futhi-futhi ngaamadoda ayalayo ngumkhala olikizwi.

(Education is a value which always demands directing and if this is not done there can be no proper development. The bridle for directing it as is admonished from time to time by those concerned is the religious value.)

If we keep in mind Mqhayi's statement: "In my opinion I felt that I was going to . . . .", we realise why, throughout his works, the exponents or protagonists of patriotism are chiefly leaders in religious, political and educational spheres.
The "patriots" fall into three main groups and these are:

I. Black and White leaders who were born in South Africa;
II. Those who came from overseas to do missionary work in South Africa;
III. Those who fought in defence of the fatherland.

In discussing each group of patriots we shall follow the above sequence:

I. Black and White leaders who were born in South Africa

Mqhayi's *Inzuzo* (1974, pp.36-70) contains poems which Jabavu (1943, p.174) designates as "Obituary eulogia" and as "Praises of Africans who have travelled overseas" respectively. Jolobe (1943, p.62) refers to these poems and says:

> The third section has poems on several prominent figures White and Black, connected with African life. The section however has a bias towards the traditional type of praise . . .

What Jolobe says is true. It becomes necessary therefore to present some biographical sketches of some of the figures about whom Mqhayi declaims *izibongo*. Without this prerequisite, it would become a difficult task to interpret the poems (cf. Cope 1968, p.35; Mokgokong 1975, p.207). The biographical sketches will also be strong proof that lauding these leaders is a recognition in tangible form of their patriotic actions. There is no sense in showering praise upon an idle person. Mqhayi in *Umfundisi uJohn Knox Bokwe* (1972, p.55) acknowledges this fact:

> Maninzi amadoda owabona
selelindle ukubongwa
engaqondi ukuba ziziganeko
le nto zichankcatha kuyo *izibongo*.

(There are many men who expect to be praised not realising that it is positive contribution which evokes the desire to declaim *izibongo*.)
The biographical sketches

These follow the order in which the characters appear in *Inzuzo*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Ngxwana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>First name(s)</td>
<td>Columbus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Xhosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Date of birth</td>
<td>1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Place of birth</td>
<td>Burnshill, Ciskei, Cape Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Date of death</td>
<td>8th April 1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Place of death</td>
<td>Weirdale Mission, Thabina, Northern Transvaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Age at death</td>
<td>32 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Centres of learning attended:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Lovedale - qualified as a teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Fort Hare - trained as a minister of religion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Contributions:

(i) Taught for a few years;
(ii) Took up ministry and assisted the missionary, Rev. W. Stuart at Burnshill;
(iii) Did ministerial work among Black races at Weirdale Mission, Thabina, Northern Transvaal

12 Verbatim commentary about the loss of the hero:

(i) "Much sympathy goes to Mrs Ngxwana and her children, and also to the Mission at Weirdale."
(ii) "The death of Mr Ngxwana at the beginning of his ministry is a great loss not only to his widow and children but also to the Bantu Presbyterian church."
(iii) "His was true missionary service, to a people of different tribes, language, customs and development from his own. It was a difficult and lonely post, and he entered on his duty with courage and zeal."
(iv) "The death, at the very threshold of fuller service, of one so well fitted by personality and training is a heavy and mysterious blow."

Extracted from "The late Rev. Columbus Ngxwana" in: The South African Outlook, 21st April, 1925, pp.93-94.
B. 1 Surname : Griffith
2 First name(s) : Seeiso
3 Race : Sotho
4 Date of birth : 1905
5 Place of birth : Lesotho
6 Date of death : 26th December 1940
7 Place of death : Lesotho
8 Age at death : 35 years
9 Denomination : Roman Catholic
10 Centres of learning attended :
11 Contribution:
   (i) Led his people in a very able manner.
12 Verbatim commentary about the hero:
   (i) "More than one speaker (at his funeral) declared that had the chief been spared he would have proved himself of great help to his people and the government."
   (ii) "We join with the Sotho people in mourning for their chief."
   (iii) Damane and Sanders (1974, p.245) quote one of his praises which were collected and published after his death. We cite only two lines from one of the poems:
   "You're the sun, the child of mother Lerotholi,
   Child of the Furious Warrior,
   You're the sun that gives light to the nation."

(ii) : Lithoko : Sotho praise poems, p.245.

C. 1 Surname : Maxeke
2 First Name(s) : Charlotte, Manye
3 Race : Sotho
4 Date of birth : 7th April 1874
5 Place of birth : Ramokgopa, Pietersburg, Transvaal
6 Date of death : 1939
7 Place of death : Pimville, Johannesburg
8 Age at death : 65 years
9 Denomination : African Methodist Episcopal Church
10 Centres of learning attended :
(i) Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, Cape Province
(ii) Obtained the B.A. degree at Wilberforce University, Ohio, United States of America.

11 Contributions:
(i) Worked as a missionary throughout the Republic of South Africa
(ii) Was a founder and President of the Bantu Women's League which was a branch of the African National Congress;
(iii) Founded the Wilberforce Institute in Pretoria which was open to all Black children from urban and rural areas in the Republic of South Africa;
(iv) Opened a college at Ramokgopa in Pietersburg;
(v) Opened a college at Chief Enoch Mamba's farm;
(vi) Opened a labour bureau for Black women at the magistrate's court in Johannesburg where she was employed as a Black welfare officer;
(vii) Gave evidence before a number of South African government commissions regarding Black affairs;
(viii) Was President of Women's Missionary Society for ten years.

12 Verbatim commentary about the loss of the heroine:
(i) "She sacrificed comfort and sleep for duty."

Extracted from: "Death of Mrs Maxeke" in: The South African outlook, 1st November 1939, pp. 235-236.

D. 1 Surname : Sihlali
2 First name(s) : Simon, Petrus
3 Race : Xhosa
4 Date of birth : 1856
5 Place of birth : Hankey, Cape Province
6 Date of death : 1910
7 Place of death : ENgcobo, Thembuland, Transkei
8 Age at death : 54 years
9 Denomination : Presbyterian

10 Centres of learning attended :
   (i) Hankey Day School;
   (ii) St. Marks Institute;
   (iii) Lovedale Institute - was the first Black to matriculate in 1880.
11 Contributions
(i) Taught for a short time;
(ii) Studied theology and became a minister of religion of the Independent Free Church of Scotland.

12 Verbatim commentary about the hero
(i) "He became one of the leading men in the province."
(ii) "He takes keen interest in the welfare of his people."
(iii) "His sermons - many of them preached to European congregations were often commented upon by the European press of the Cape."

Extracted from: (i) African yearly register; Who's who,
(ii) UJohn Knox Bokwe (1972, p.51)

E. 1 Surname: Bennie
2 First name(s): William Govan
3 Race: Scotsman
4 Date of birth: April 1869
5 Place of birth: Lovedale, Cape Province
6 Date of death: 28th July 1942
7 Place of death: Lovedale
8 Age at death: 73 years
9 Denomination: Church of Scotland
10 Centres of learning attended:
   (i) Lovedale - topped the 700 candidates in the Cape Colony in the matriculation examinations.
   (ii) Topped all the candidates in his first year B.A.

11 Contributions
(i) Taught for one year at Lovedale and then was appointed Inspector of Schools by the Cape Department of Education;
(ii) Was appointed Chief Inspector of Schools by the Cape Education Department in 1920;
(iii) Edited the Xhosa and Zulu Stewart readers for use in African primary schools. The contents of the readers include such topics as the lives and works of some prominent Black and White leaders; educational, political and religious stories and essays feature prominently in these readers;
(iv) Edited *Imibengo*, an anthology of Xhosa short stories, essays, modern poems, praise poems and Xhosa folklore material such as myths, legends and fables. The anthology is prescribed for post-primary schools;

(v) Wrote *A grammar of Xhosa* for the Xhosa-speaking;

(vi) Edited McLaren's *Xhosa-English dictionary*;

(vii) Edited the orthography of the Xhosa Bible;

(viii) Taught African languages at the University of Cape Town from 1920-1929;

(ix) Was awarded an honorary doctorate LLD by the University of Cape Town in recognition of his services to both Blacks and Whites.

12 A verbatim commentary about the hero

(i) "The sympathy of thousands throughout the land goes out to his widow and his children as they face the future without his visible presence."

(ii) "To some of us too, life is emptier because we shall not again sit with him in his study, or share with him the activities of public life."

(iii) "But above human grief comes up a thankfulness that we have known a life like this, crowned as we believe it is, with immortal blessedness - thankfulness too for his service of humanity, his country and his God."

(iv) Darlow (1965, p.25) eulogises Bennie:

Lover of the people, strong son of Africa,
Lover of Language that, born in wide spaces,
Came into being a-flow with deep music,
Sang to the veld and the kloofs of the mountains,
And lifted at dawn and mourned at sunset.
Lover of Africans swart as the hill-side
When Winter's stern drought has burnt without pity,
Great was thy labour; thy spade never idle
Shone as a sword-blade brightened for a battle.
Thy trenching was deep in the garden of knowledge;
For in the wasteland thy furrows are probing,
Enriching the earth with the joy of thy spirit.
Now thou art gone, but laden with treasure,
Thy chariot rolled to the gateway of Heaven.

Extracted from:


(ii) "Dr W.G.Bennie" by C. Doke in : *African studies*, vol. 1, 1942, pp.224-225.

(v) "The Stewart Zulu readers" by C. Doke in: Bantu studies, vol. XIII, 1939, p. 158.
(vi) "To Dr W.G. Bennie" by J. Darlow in: In remembrance, 1965, p. 25.

Surname: Jabavu
First name(s): John Thengo
Race: Xhosa
Date of birth: 1859
Place of birth: Healdtown, Cape Province
Date of death: 1921
Place of death: Fort Hare
Age at death: 62 years
Denomination: Methodist
Centres of learning attended:
(i) Healdtown - passed the Matriculation examination of South African University in 1893.

Contributions:
(i) Taught at Somerset East;
(ii) Became a lay preacher;
(iii) Wrote a number of articles for different newspapers;
(iv) Became founder and editor of Isigidimi samaXhosa (The Xhosa messenger) in 1881;
(v) Founded and edited the first purely African newspaper, Imvo zabaNtsundu (Black opinion);
(vi) Was a delegate for a number of times in the conferences of the Methodist Church at home and abroad;
(vii) Played a prominent role in the founding of the South African Native College (now the University of Fort Hare).

Verbatim commentary about the hero:
(i) "Took active interest in the welfare of his people."
(ii) "Mr Jabavu was highly respected by White and Black alike throughout the country."
(iii) "A lover of his people, a politician, a diplomat, and a Christian gentleman."
(iv) "His removal has left the native people bereaved of the man who was perhaps the best patriot their race has yet produced."
Extracted from:


Surname : Dube
First name(s) : John Langalibalele
Race : Zulu
Date of birth : 22nd February 1871
Place of birth : New Inanda mission station, Natal, South Africa
Date of death : 11th February 1946
Place of death : Natal
Age at death : 74 years
Denomination :
Centres of learning attended :
(i) Inanda seminary;
(ii) Adams College - trained as a teacher;
(iii) Oberlin University, America - graduated in Arts and Theology - ordained in America.

Contributions :
(i) Was a founder and editor of Ilanga laseNatal, a Black newspaper with a very wide circulation;
(ii) Was a founder and principal of the Ohlange High School in Natal;
(iii) Was a founder of the African National Congress;
(iv) Was president of the Natal Congress for many years;
(v) Was a member of the South African General Missionary Conference;
(vi) Was a delegate to the Pan-African Conference held in Pretoria;
(vii) Was the first African to be awarded the Ph.D degree by the University of South Africa in recognition of his services to his people.
(viii) He wrote the following books:
- Isitha esikhulu somntu nguye ugobo lwakhe (a book for self help)
- Ujege, insila kaShaka (a novel depicting the life of King Shaka)
- UShembe (a biography of the Zulu prophet, Shembe)
- Ukuziphatha kakuhle (teaches young people manners and behaviour)
- The clash of colour

(ix) The Zulu people nicknamed him "Mafukuzela" ("Laden-with-responsibility")

12 Verbatim commentary about the hero:
(i) "For many years he played a prominent part in the improvement of native education in Natal, and in the political life of the natives in Natal in particular, and the Union of South Africa in general."

Extracted from:
(i) The African yearly register: Who's who

H. 1 Surname : Bokwe
2 First name(s) :
3 Race :
4 Date of birth :
5 Place of birth :
6 Date of death :
7 Place of death :
8 Age at death :
9 Denomination :
10 Centres of learning attended :

11 Contributions :
(i) Attended the centenary of the Women's Foreign Mission of the Church of Scotland in Scotland in 1937-1938; Miss Ponnarangam of Madras represented the Christian womanhood of India, Miss Pen of Ichang represented the Christian womanhood of China and Mrs John Knox Bokwe represented the Christian womanhood of Africa.

(ii) Mrs Bokwe travelled the length and breadth of Scotland visiting congregations in urban and rural areas and spoke about the womanhood of Africa.

12 Verbatim report about the heroine :
(i) "Mrs Bokwe tells us of the wonderful kindness of the women of the church in Scotland; and they write in many letters of the deep impression..."
which she made everywhere by her Christlike witness.
A new and enduring bond has been created between
the church in Scotland and the church in other
lands through her visit."

Extracted from : The South African outlook, 1st September
1938, p.212.

I. 1 Surname : Soga
2 First name(s) : Minah Thembeka
3 Race : Xhosa
4 Date of birth :
5 Place of birth : Lady Frere, Cape Province
6 Date of death :
7 Place of death :
8 Age at death :
9 Denomination :
10 Centres of learning attended :
   (i) UMgwali Girls' Institute - qualified as a teacher.
11 Contributions :
   (i) Taught at public schools in Kimberley for 15 years;
   (ii) Founded the "Abantu/Batho Musical Association" in
        1919;
   (iii) Resigned from Kimberley in 1928 and accepted a
        teaching post at the Higher Mission School in
        Queenstown;
   (iv) Was the only African woman delegate to the
        Tambaram Conference at Madras. As a result of
        the impression she made at the Madras conference
        she was invited to join the United States post-
        Madras team and for several months she was in that
        country.
   (v) On her return to South Africa from Madras she
        addressed meetings in Johannesburg, Pretoria,
        Durban, Adams College, Inanda, Dundee, Kimberley
        and Cape Town.
12 Verbatim report about the heroine regarding the numerous
   addresses she delivered :
   (i) "One particularly notable occasion was on Sunday,
       17th December when Miss Soga spoke in St. George's
       Presbyterian Church, Johannesburg. It had been
       reported that this was the first time that any
       woman, White or Black, had occupied this pulpit.
       It was an experiment calling for courage and faith
       on the part of Dr Bruce Gordimer but such confidence
       proved to be fully justified when Miss Soga faced
       that large and deservedly critical audience with
       her thoughtful intelligent and inspiring address."
We now bring out some of the techniques that Mqhayi employs when depicting patriotic action. In some cases reference is made to the biographies to elucidate argument. Where possible the data is tabled as follows: The title of the poem from Inzuzo is given; the arabic number against each title identifies the poem; the lines relating to the poem or to the heroic figure are quoted; the page from which the relevant lines are extracted is given. All this is done to facilitate analysis and interpretation:

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<tr>
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<td>1. <strong>NAWE MFU.</strong></td>
<td><strong>COLUMBUS NGXWANA</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ubuphet' intlwayelelo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inembew' entle phakathi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(You carried a container</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>With a good seed inside it)</td>
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<td>2. <strong>UJAMES GRAY M.A.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hamba mchachambana,</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Mbotyi zaseNgilane;</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Kukufuph' eSkotlani,</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Kuseduz' eNatala.</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Go pod-cracking bean,</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beans of England;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>It is nearer to Scotland,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>It is nearer to Natal.)</td>
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<td>3 a. <strong>UMAYA KHOBOKA</strong></td>
<td><strong>(MRS MSIMKA)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Ubuyintyantyambo,</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Andiqhuli kanene,</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomzi weLovedale.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(You were the flower,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I am not joking whatsoever,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Of the Lovedale Institute.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 b. <strong>UMAYA KHOBOKA</strong></td>
<td><strong>(MRS MSIMKA)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Woba yinyibiba,</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Kweziphezulu iindawo!</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(You will be the lily,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Even in Higher Places!)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4.  | UMFI UMFU
JOHN SOLILO | Washiy' iintyantyambo zikhazimla;
Waya kwezingabuniyo; (You left the flowers shining;
You went to those that do not wither;)| 46 |
| 5.  | NAWE MFU
COLUMBUS NGXWANA | Besijong' iintezinkulu
Sinamabhong' amakhulu (We were expecting great deeds
And we were excited about them)| 40 |
| 6.  | KUWE MFU
ARTHUR MAGABELA | Ubekujongil' uBishophu,
Ekuthetha x' ungevayo;
(The Bishop expected much from you,
And corrected you for errors committed;)| 40 |
| 7 a. | UMFI UMHLEKAZI
SEEISO GRIFFITH | Lo mntwana ubelithemba
(We relied upon this child)| 41 |
|     |       | Besiza kuzuz' iinkomo,
Namalizo ngamalizo;
(We were going to get cattle,
And rewards upon rewards;)| 42 |
| 8.  | UMPIKAZI
CHARLOTTE MANYHI MAXEKE | Ushenxil' o(be)kad' esakhumzi
Egutyul' iirhanga namanxila
(Gone is the one who has been
building a home
Removing the idle and the drunkards)| 43 |
| 9.  | UMFI GIL
TYAMZASHE | Besidal' amabhongo ngawe Gaga;
Simis' amanxele namaxhaga;
(We banked our hope on you
Experienced One;
We gyrated our bodies in excitement;)| 59 |

**Interpretation:**

Eagerness and determination on the part of the protagonists to eradicate outdated values from the people and to plough in new ideas is depicted by the use of the seed symbol (poems 1 and 2). Note the subtle reference to the biblical seed (cf. Mark 13:8). The flower symbol in poems 3 and 4 portrays the
blossoming forth of the efforts of the patriots. Note the extended device in poems 3 and 4. The use of the seed and flower as symbols of rebirth or regeneration is very appropriate.

The be morpheme indicates action, a state or situation that is past. It is an unhappy reminder that meritorious work has been terminated (vide poems 1, 3a, 5, 6, 7a, 7b, 8, 9). The sudden termination of positive action by death is captured in some poems by the use of personification, for example in NAWE MFU. COLUMBUS NGXWANA, the poet says:

Qaph' uKufa wathi pheza
(Suddenly Death appeared and ordered you to stop.)
(p.40)

In WENA MFU. SIGONYELA KHAKHAZA, the bard writes:

Uth' uKufa ibiziwe.
(Death has announced his call.)
(p.39)

In KUWE MFU. ARTHUR MAGABELA, the same technique is used. The use of inverted commas has additional force:

Nank' uKufa ethetha;
Uthi: "Pheza ubiziwe".
(And there is Death speaking:
He says: "Halt you have been called".
(p.40)

In UMFI UGIL TYAMZASHE metaphor is employed to indicate snatching away of useful life. The verb stem -phanga, implying quick action is used:

Saphangelw' eParadesi,
Kuz' ubiwe ngobusuku!
(You were snatched away to paradise,
Hence you were stolen by night!)
(p.59)

The same device has been employed in UMFI UMHLEKAZI SBEISO GRIFFITH but the verb stem is reduplicated:
If the verb stem is a variation in the technique of using metaphor, the interrogative is an alternative device in the use of personification. For example, about the departed in KUWE MFU ARTHUR MAGABELA, Mqhayi writes:

> Uth' uKufa ubasa phi na?
> (To what place does Death say he is taking them?)
> (p.40)

The tree or wood and water symbols which are employed liberally by Xhosa novelists in general and by Xhosa poets in particular when extolling virtue upon a heroic figure are not used extensively by Mqhayi in exalting the departed heroes. We cite lines from poems in which Mqhayi uses the tree or wood and water symbols as literary devices:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
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</table>
| 1. UTEBHA (HARRY TABERER) | **Kumk' isixhaso somhlaba nezizwe;**
**Kumk' intsika yobom nokuphila.**
(Gone is the anchor of the earth and nations; removed is the pillar of life and living.) | 48   |
| 2 a. UMFI UMFU, S.PETRUS SIHLALI | **Ukub' ebengekh' uYesu,**
Singe sijingisa
Ngokumka kwexhatha.
(Were it not for the presence of Jesus, we would be mourning The removal of the pillar.) | 51   |
| b. ______________________ | **Walithath' uThix' elo xhanti:**
Umfu. Simon P. Sihlali.
(And God removed that anchor: The Rev. Simon P. Sihlali.) | 52   |
c. Namhl' umzi weth' uphalele,  
Siya kuba zizineke,  
Emazants' amaziko,  
Siphethukelwa zizikhuni,  
Nangamanz' abilayo.  
(Today our people are destitute,  
We shall become beggars.  
At the bottom of the fireplace,  
Pieces of burning wood fall on us  
And boiling water too.)

3. UMAYA KHOBOKA  
(MRS MSIMKA)  
Ubungumthombo  
Womzi wakwenu,  
Neembacu zamampandla  
Ungumthi womngxam.  
(You were the fountain  
Of your people  
And the destitute ones of the  
Mpandla clan,  
You were the tree of life.)

4. UMKA JOHN  
KNOX BOKWE  
Ulixhatha lethu neqhayiya lethu;  
Uyintsika yethu nodondolo Mdunaka- 
kazi;  
(You are our supporter and our  
pride;  
You are our pillar and staff  
You-Strong-One.)

Interpretation

Qangule (1974, pp.114-116) describes the tree or wood as "a symbol of human hopes, and fears". Water may be associated with "purification, redemption, spiritual rebirth, hope, new life or regeneration" (vide Qangule, 1973, p.1).

In poems 1, 2, 3 and 4 the tree or wood symbol portrays the patriot as having been the physical, the moral and the spiritual supporter of his fellowmen. In poem 3 the wood or tree and water symbols are used in the same stanza for intensification of meaning - the patriot has been the very source from which the people draw their lives.

The verb stem -mka (go away), -thatha (take away) in poems 1,
2, 2(b) and the be- morpheme in poems 2 and 3 reinforce the idea of the removal of an operative agent. The need to fill in the vacuum created by the extinction of a life-giving force in all the poems is not stated explicitly but is implied. In *John Knox Bokwe* (1972, p.19) Mqhayi uses the tree or wood symbol.

The need to carry on with the work of the late John Knox Bokwe is expressed categorically:

\[
\text{Naso ke eso sikhuni} \\
\text{ebephethe sona okaBokwe} \\
\text{sokukhanyisela izwe lakowabo,} \\
\text{eze wasishiya kwesi sigama,} \\
\text{ngako oko makuvela amadodana,} \\
\text{asithabathe asihambisele phambili.} \\
\]

(There is the piece of wood which has been burning and which the son of Bokwe carried in order to give light to his country, which after good service has now left, it therefore behoves young men to come up, take it and carry it about.)

We draw the attention of the reader to the fact that most symbols may be used either in a positive or in a negative context, for example, the tree or wood and water symbols which have been used in a positive sense have a negative implication in poem 2(c).

In *John Thengo Jabavu* sea water is associated with a destructive force. John Thengo Jabavu who previously went overseas to represent his people in civil and church matters (*vide* biography F. 11 (vi)) is urged by Mqhayi to board once more a ship and cross the dangerous waters of the sea in the service of his people and to do this with the courage of a true patriot:

\[
\text{Qabel' amanzi njengel' enduna!} \\
\text{Qabel' iinduli zamanzi . . . .} \\
\text{Khuph' ilang' emafini . . . .} \\
\]

(Cross the waters chief general! Cross the hills of waters . . . . Bring out the sun from behind the clouds . . . .)

(p.61)

In *UNKOSAZANA MINAH THEMBEKA* the waves of the sea are asked to be calm because aboard the ship is the heroine, Minah Thembeka,
who is on her way to Madras as a delegate of the Christian womanhood of Africa (vide biography I.11 (iv)). Mqhayi writes:

Waxelelen' amaz' olwandle,
Namhl' ev' isifuba senkosazana,
(Tell the waves of the sea,
That today they feel the chest of a maiden,)
(p.69)

In UMKA JOHN KNOX BOKWE the bard is happy that her sea voyage to Scotland has had no hitches. The heroine, Mrs John Knox Bokwe, attended the centenary of the Women's Foreign Mission of the Church of Scotland and represented the womanhood of Africa (vide biography H (i), (ii)). The tree or wood and water symbols are used in a positive context:

Azol' amaz' aselwandle,
Adlaladlala nenqanawa yakhe;
Elinye laxelel' elinye,---
Elinye kwelinye, nelinye,---
Lithi: "Nik' imbekokaz' enkulu,
Kulal' iziphunzi nameva,
Kube licamag' elihle,
Sinomnt' omhle phakathi kwethu."
(The sea waves became calm,
And played around with her ship; 
One told the other, ---
One told the other, and another the other, ---
And said: "Pay great respect,
Tree trunks and thorns must fold up and sleep,
Let peace rule,
There is a beautiful one amongst us." )
(p.66)

The calf symbol seems to be the alternative device employed by Mqhayi in exalting the hero in the poems tabled below:

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<td>Thole lomgquba lakwaNgqika Kwingcwaba likaLwaganda ..................</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Calf of the dung of Ngqika's At the grave of Lwaganda)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Thole-lamalinda-ngcwaba! (Calf of those who wait for the grave!)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. KUWE MFU.</td>
<td>Thole lezidwangube zakwaMdange.</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Calf of the honourable Mdange tribe.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARTHUR MAGABELA</td>
<td>Thole lekhaka nomkhonkotho.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Calf of the shield and assegais.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. DR W.G.Bennie</td>
<td>Angangqin' okaCingo nokaNdawo;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Amathol' aseMpumalanga.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Buza kokaMatshikwe,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ubuze kokaMbengeni.</td>
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<td>Amathol' aseNtshonalanga.</td>
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<td>Bayalaz' ithole lomJingqi, --</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(They can give witness he of Cingo and he of Ndawo; The calves of the east. Ask from Matshikwe And ask from Mbengeni The calves of the west They know the calf of the Jingqis, -- )</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. UJOHN</td>
<td>Qabel' iinduli zamanzi thole</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>THENGO JABAVU</td>
<td>laseNtla.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Cross the hills of water calf from the north.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. UDR</td>
<td>Thole lenkunzi yaseMpumalanga</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.L.DUBE</td>
<td>(Calf of the bull of the east)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Thole lesilo thole lerhamncwa</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Calf of the beast calf of the monster)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Ndathanda thole lohlanga</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndathanda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(I like your actions calf of the nation I like them)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Awu! Laqumb' ithole lesilo sakwaZulu</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Witness! Angry is the calf of the beast of Zululand)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Awu! Laqumb' ithole lakwaJama!</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Witness! Angry is the calf of the Jama clan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. UPROFESA</td>
<td>Lithole lomthonyama kuloJingqi</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M.DOKE</td>
<td>(He is the calf of the dung of the Jingqi clan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interpretation

In poem 1 the bard alludes to the fact that Columbus Ngxwana ministered to the Xhosa people and others at Burnshill (vide biography A.11 (ii)) where he was born (vide biography A.5). Lwaganda is the praise name of Chief Ngqika whose body lies buried a mile from Burnshill Mission Station (vide The South African outlook, April 1st, 1940, p.64). Columbus Ngxwana is associated with Chief Ngqika whose grave serves as a channel between the living and the departed. The graves alluded to in poem 1 serve as tunnels between Columbus Ngxwana and the departed heroes. This interlocking device (the use of graves) revives our memories about the heroism of Reverend Columbus Ngxwana (vide biography A.12 (iii)).

As is the case with poem 1, in poem 2, the hero is identified with the other heroes in his tribe or nation. Mrange is a tribal brand name. It is not only the tribe that the term indicates but also geographical origin, language, culture, custom and tradition. The term is used here in a complimentary sense. Mqhayi uses a peculiar technique of enhancing the image of Reverend Arthur Magabela. We have the sequence: noun + possessive + possessive shown below:-

\[
\text{Noun} + \text{Possessive} + \text{Possessive}
\]

\[
\text{Thole} + \text{lezidwangube} + \text{zakwaMdange}
\]

The arrangement of the grammatical units in an ascending order of semantic significance has a climacteric effect on the mind. This reveals the skill of Mqhayi in manipulating language in order to elicit a positive attitude towards a character which he wishes everyone should not only admire but emulate. The lines in poem 2a bring out the heroic spirit of Arthur Magabela, they function as an extended device.

In poem 3 the author employs the associative technique used in poems 1 and 2. Dr W.G.Bennie, a writer himself (vide biography E, 11 (iii), (iv), (v), (vi), (vii)), is associated with other
writers and prominent Xhosa leaders. Bennie is also identified with the famous Xhosa tribe, the Jingqis. The geographical points, east and west, reflect the wide area of his influence (vide biography E, 11 (ix)).

Mqhayi takes down the names of Cingo, Ndawo, Matshikwe and Mbangeni (poem 3) and from these produces, as it were, a four-figured stamp with which he records and registers Dr W.G.Bennie as one of the outstanding patriots. An alternative interpretation is that clustered around the name of Dr W.G.Bennie are names of illustrious figures. This is a magnifying device. The image of the patriot is enhanced. Damane and Sanders (1974, p.29) say about the effect of this technique:

Resplendent in his own glory, he can yet receive added lustre from theirs.

Mqhayi adopts the same technique in UMFI UMFU. S. PETRUS SIHLALI.

He writes about the death of the hero:

Umzi kajumba uyalila,
Unkos' uLigwa uyalila,
UThobigunya uyalila,
URhubusana uyalila.
(The house of Jumba mourns your death,
Chief Ligwa mourns your death,
Thobigunya mourns your death,
Rhubusana mourns your death.)

(p.51)

The characters with whom Petrus Sihlali is associated were prominent leaders in various fields.

The line in poem 4 has been discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. The verse in poem 6 has the same semantic import as the lines in poem 3.

We observe in poem 5 Mqhayi's unique and elaborate use of certain grammatical units for a special semantic purpose. We take each verse and identify the units. In the diagram below the symbols read as follows:
The associative device is employed. Note the constant occurrence of the N + P sequence. By omitting and adding some grammatical units and also by re-arranging others, Mqhayi is able to shower praises upon the hero in infinite variety. This is skilful writing.

In the foregoing discussions we have shown that a hero may be associated with a tribe, prominent leaders, a nation, province, country or continent. The patriot may be linked or identified with a small neighbourhood from which great patriots have emerged. In UMAJOR W.L.GEDDES, O.B.E., Mqhayi writes:

Ukuthi Meja Gedise
Kukuthi eDikeni
Ukuthi eDikeni
Kukuthi Meja Gedise.

(To say Major Geddes
Is to say Lovedale
To say Lovedale
Is to say Major Geddes.)

The influence of Major Geddes on those who studied at Lovedale Institute during his time must have been a tremendous one.

The hero may be identified with a special field of study whose scope he has developed for the benefit of others. Bennie in
UDR W.G. BENNIE is given, and deservedly so, the title, "Uyise wentetho kaXhosa" ("The father of the Xhosa language")

(Vide also biography E, 11 (iii), (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii))

One of the popular techniques in building up patriotic sentiment is the erection of a statue or monument. In UMFIKAZI UCHARLOTTE MANYHI MAXEKE, Mqhayi pleads for the erection of such a reminder:

Menzelen' ilitye lokuhunjulwa,
Ze siqhayisele ngal' amavilakazi.
Az' angaz' alityalwe kowabo;
Az' angaz' alityalwe emhlabeni;
Az' angaz' alityalw' eAfrika!

(Erect a stone in her memory
And with it spite the lazy ones
So that her people should not forget her
So that she should not be forgotten in this world
So that she should never be forgotten in Africa.)

The lines reveal the depth of thought, the richness of the spirit and the vast influence of the heroine, Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke. This is not extravagant praise if we are not mindless of her contribution as a leader (vide biography C, 11 (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii)).

Equally effective in arousing the sentiment of patriotism is identifying the hero or heroine by means of isiduko (a clan name). In UMAYA KHOBOKA (MRS MSIMKA), Mqhayi describes Maya Khoboka as

Ntomb' akwaMbona
KwaTshayingwe.

(Daughter of the Mbona people,
of the Tshayingwe clan.)

Dr J.L. Dube in UMAFUKUZELA (UDR J.L. DUBE) is identified with the people belonging to the clan:

KwaSithole, kwaNtombela, kwaMalandela.

(Of the Sitholes, Ntombelas, Malandelas.)
The *isiduko* functions at times as a surname. It is characterised (*isiduko*) by the use of the prefixal morpheme *kwa*- or *kulo*- in the nouns of class la. Kuse (1972, p.33) says about the use of *isiduko* as a technique:

Because most *iziduko* belong to class u-, a member of any clan can be described as belonging to the home, household or domain of one of his ancestors mentioned in his *iziduko* set. Thus an *isiduko* may be used to identify an individual in terms of the area or territory described as his ancestral home.

Since there is always a close or a distant relationship between members of a clan and those of other clans or tribes, the *isiduko* always functions as a cord that binds a nation together.

The words *mfo* and *ndoda* both mean a man (cf. Kropf 1915, p.105 and p.83 respectively). Both words conjure up in the mind the following: strength, valour, prowess, one who is involved in the affairs of his fellowmen, one who is circumcised and therefore qualifies to be a leader of his people. In Xhosa traditional society an uncircumcised male cannot be accepted as a leader or patriot irrespective of his good qualities. Mqhayi himself knew that he could not lead his people in different spheres of life if he was not circumcised. In *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko* (1964, p.58) he writes about his decision to be circumcised despite objections from the missionaries who regarded the ritual as being heathen:

Kwamhlophe kum ukuba
andi yi kwenza nanye
y esi zinto iphumelele,
ndingabanga yindoda . . .

(It was clear to me that
I could not do any one
of these things successfully
if I had not become a man . . .)

In the poems tabled below, *mfo* or *ndoda* are used to generate the sentiment of patriotism in the mind of the reader:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>UMFI UMHLEKAZI</strong>&lt;br&gt;SEEISO GRIFFITH</td>
<td>Hamba mfo kaLutholi! (Farewell son of Lutholi)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>UTEBHA</strong> (HARRY TABERER)</td>
<td>Umfo kaTebh' uwelile: (The son of Taberer has crossed:)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Umfo kaTebh' usishiyile: (The son of Taberer has left us behind:)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Umfo kaTebha bath' ufile (They say that the son of Taberer is dead)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Umfo kaTebha senimvile: (You have heard the news about the son of Taberer:)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Ngumfo kaTebha ke lowo mawaba: (It is as you see the son of Taberer my people:)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Lo mfo ke ubekweso sitethe: (This man has followed the traditional course:)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>UMFI UMFU.</strong>&lt;br&gt;S.PETRUS SIHLALI</td>
<td>Kusuke kuthi qatha: Xa lo mfo aye kwiyunyoni ... (I remember all of a sudden When this man is attending the conference of the Union ...)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <strong>UDR W.G. BENNIE</strong></td>
<td>Hamba mfo kabawo! (Go well my fellowmen!)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <strong>UDR J.L.DUBE</strong></td>
<td>Phindela phesheya mfo wakwaSenzangakhona! (Go overseas again son of Senzangakhona!)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <strong>WENA MFU.</strong>&lt;br&gt;SIGONYELE KHAKHAZA</td>
<td>Kambe loo ndod'idlul' apha (By the way that man has gone past from here)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <strong>UMFI UMFU.</strong>&lt;br&gt;JOHN SOLILO</td>
<td>Kubizwe wena nje kubizw' indoda, (A man has been called to Higher services.)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The death of a hero is reported in euphemistic language (poems 1, 2, 2a, 2c, 2e, 4, 6 and 7). The use of euphemism gives respect and honour to the dead patriot. Reporting the passing away of the hero is also a subtle call to others to pick up the mantle of responsibility and wear it.

Emphasis in a Xhosa sentence is achieved, inter alia, by placing a word in the first or second position (cf. Louw 1963, p.244). The use of the word mfo in the first or second position in a line or verse (poems 1, 2, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2e, 5) emphasizes the greatness of the respective patriot. Note also the additional force achieved by the use of the identificative copulative ngu (it is) in poem 2d and by the employment of the demonstrative of the first position lo (this) in poems 2c and 3. It is also interesting to note the predominance of N + P (noun plus possessive) sequence discussed previously.

Other devices used to strengthen the meaning of mfo or ndoda are: the object of praise is associated with royal figures (poems 1 and 5); the object is described in terms of both quality and quantity (poems 8 and 9). In poem 10 the stature of Mrs John Knox Bokwe is made more prominent by juxtaposing the feminine gender mfazi (woman) to the masculine gender ndoda (man). The possessive formative we- (of) is a linking device. The end result is that our minds conjure up not only
a picture of masculine femininity but of manly success as well. We anticipate that her mission will be successful (vide biography H, 11 (i), (ii) and 12, (i)).

Each of the words *mfo* and *ndoda* occurs in four different poems and they have more or less the same semantic value. That the meanings of the words are exchangeable comes out in the poem entitled *UTEBHA* (number 2 and 8) in which they are both used. We cite this as an illustration of the fact that in presenting the patriots to the reader Mqhayi employs techniques which enable him to accord them more or less equal praise. Mqhayi's skill in balancing praise showered upon the heroes and heroines comes out very well in the following poems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. UMFIKAZI</td>
<td>Azi nonyaka yaphusile nje, Logangwa yintokazi kabani na? (Now that this year it no longer yields milk Which woman will come to the rescue?)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCHARLOTTE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANYHI MAXEKE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. UTEBHA</td>
<td>Aza kwambeswa ngubani na Namhla la makhosikazi Emkile nje lo mfo kaTebha? (Who is going to give clothes Today to these women Now that the son of Taberer has left?)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(HARRY TABERER)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. UMPI UMFU.</td>
<td>Namhl' umzi weth' uphalele, Siya kuba zizineke. (Today our people are destitute We shall become beggars.)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETRUS S.SIHLALI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these poems we are struck not only by the use of symbols as a technique revealing patriotic action but also by the employment of other devices and these are: The juxtaposition of the predicative statement *logangwa* (poem 1) which has a positive meaning to the predicative statement *yaphusile* (poem 1) which has a negative meaning, and also the juxtaposition of
kwambesa (poem 2) which has a positive meaning to emkile (poem 2) which has a negative connotation creates contrast and thus renders prominent the social gap caused by the passing away of the patriot. The use of predicative statements which have a strong negative import at the end of the lines in poem 3 magnify the picture of misery and helplessness painted by the poet. The use of time-signalling words nonyaka, namhla, namhla in poems 1, 2, 3, brings out the unpleasantness of the current situation. Reference to time is a prominent feature in most poems.

The other characteristic feature of Mqhayi's technique is the use of words with harsh or heavy sounds. 'Heavy' sounds are those with the breathy feature as in -bh- which is not necessarily always written in the accepted spelling. Professor A.N.Tucker calls these sounds 'breathy' while Professor L. Lanham refers to them as 'depressor consonants'. To render this breathy feature we would have to write -bh- as in ukubhala; -gh- for -g- in ukugula; -dh- for -d- in amadoda etc. The predominant sounds are c, ch, d, g, gr, ngc, ngx, nx, q, rh, tsh, ts, x. We give the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. UMPIKAZI</td>
<td>Ushenxil' uMarhixirhixi; Ufinyis' amagruxu.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCHARLOTTE</td>
<td>(The Scraper has shifted; The one who removes refuse.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANYHI MAXEKE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. UMFI UMFU</td>
<td>Wahamb' uyangxola kaSolilo, -</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN SOLILO</td>
<td>Uyangxola ngokwengxangxasi.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Gone is the strong voice of Solilo, - You speak loud like a waterfall.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. UTEBHA</td>
<td>Waguqul' intlanga yalikhaya</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(HARRY TABERER)</td>
<td>De kwaguquka noMgulugulu, -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(He transformed a desert into a home And even changed Mgulugulu, -)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The examples given above reveal Mqhayi's masterful use of sound in portraying character and in depicting patriotic action.

At times idiomatic or figurative language portrays adequately without the employment of heavy or harsh sounds the vigour and the determination of the patriot. For example in NAWE MFU.

COLUMBUS NGXWANA effect is achieved by the use of a hyperbole:

Sikubona ujongole,
Uvutha uphum' iintlantsi.
(We see you being very angry
Burning and sparks coming out of you.)

(p.40)
In UDR J.L. DUBE, Mqhayi writes:

```
Phindela phesheya nto kaDube!
Phindela phesheya Mafukuzela!

(Go again overseas son of Dube!
Go again overseas Diligent one!)
```

(p.62)

A communal feeling or a sense of fellowship is implicit in the lines expressing the death of a hero or heroine. Mqhayi barely addresses himself to the bereaved or to the next of kin but to the community or nation as a whole. This is so because the death of the patriot is not something that affects the filial associates only (cf. Kunene 1971, p.10) but the people as a whole.

In the poems tabled below, the sense of collective feeling is expressed explicitly by the use of the verb stem -lila (cry) or by its synonym -bhonga (cry aloud) and by employment of figurative language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. WENA MFU.</td>
<td>Labhong' ilizwe lancama. (The world wailed in vain.)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGONYELA KHAKHAZA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. UMFI UMHLEKAZI</td>
<td>Silila nani beSuthu Ayalil' amaBhritani Kulil' onk' amAfrika (We cry with you Sothos Britons cry with you All Africans are crying)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEBISO GRIFFITH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. UMFI UMFUNDISI</td>
<td>Washiy' usapho lulila (You left the family (nation) crying)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN SOLILO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. UTEBHA</td>
<td>BaPedi nani lilani (Pedis you cry as well)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(HARRY TABERER)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

After studying the poems on the different heroic figures one is left with the following dominant impressions:
(a) The patriots have a high regard for the religious, educational and political values;
(b) They are consistent in their devotion to the highest ends. Each works for a cause higher than his petty self-interest.
(c) They have left to their people an example of faith, service and life, the memory of which will be cherished for a long time;
(d) Their death is an irreparable loss to the people they served (vide the following biographies: A 12 (i), (ii), (iv); B 12 (i); E 12 (i), (ii), (iii), (iv); F 12 (iv)).
(e) Patriotism is a cohesive force. Different individuals are united in devotion to a single cause or goal, namely the building up of a fatherland.
(f) A consideration of race, colour, creed or sex is irrelevant when performing duties for the fatherland. Patriotism cannot be separated into compartments on the basis of a religious, educational or political philosophy. Patriotism implies unity between Blacks and Whites on the basis of a common citizenship.

II. Those who came from overseas to do missionary work in South Africa

In Imibengo, edited by W.G.Bennie, Mqhayi sketches out the lives of John Brownlee (uBhuluneli), John Bennie (uBhene omdala) and John Ross (ULose omdala). He also declaims poems on these three missionaries.
The biographical sketches. In sketching out the lives of these characters we shall not break the order followed in I:

<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. 1</td>
<td><strong>Surname</strong>: Brownlee</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>First name(s)</strong>: John</td>
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<td><strong>Race</strong>: Scotsman</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Date of birth</strong>: 1791</td>
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<td><strong>Place of birth</strong>: Scotland</td>
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<td><strong>Date of death</strong>: 1871</td>
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<td><strong>Place of death</strong>:</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Age at death</strong>: 80 years</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Denomination</strong>: Church of Scotland</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Centres of learning attended</strong>: -</td>
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<td><strong>Contributions</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Established a school at Gwali in 1820;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>Worked at the Tyhume or Gwali station with W.R. Thomson, J. Bennie and J. Ross;</td>
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<td>(iii)</td>
<td>Worked among the Ntindes in the district of King William's Town in 1825;</td>
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<td>(iv)</td>
<td>Retired in 1865.</td>
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Extracted from:


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<td><strong>Place of birth</strong>: Scotland</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Date of death : 1873
Place of death : Lovedale
Age at death : 73 years
Denomination : Church of Scotland
Centres of learning attended :
Contributions :
(i) Came to South Africa in 1821 and, together with Brownlee and others, helped to establish a mission station at Gwali;
(ii) Was instrumental in reducing the Xhosa language to writing and earned himself the title of "The father of Xhosa literature";
(iii) Wrote a grammar and intonation of the Xhosa language;
(iv) Translated several books of the Bible into Xhosa;
(v) Composed Xhosa hymns that are to be found in the Xhosa Presbyterian hymn book, Incwadi yamaculo aseRhabe;
(vi) Wrote A systematic vocabulary of the Kaffrarian language in two parts; to which is prefixed an introduction to Kaffrarian grammar;
(vii) Compiled A dictionary in Kafferse and English;
(viii) Travelled the length and breadth of South Africa ministering to people of different races.

Extracted from:
(iii) Shepherd, R.H.W. : Lovedale South Africa: The story of a century (1841-1941), Lovedale, 1940, p.121.

Surname : Ross
First name(s) : John
Race : Scotsman
4 Date of birth:
5 Place of birth: Scotland
6 Date of death:
7 Place of death: Near King William's Town
8 Age at death: 79 years
9 Denomination: Church of Scotland
10 Centres of learning attended:
   (i) Attended various schools in Glasgow;
   (ii) Entered Glasgow University in 1812 and graduated from it in theology;
   (iii) Was ordained by the Presbytery of Hamilton in March 1823.
11 Contributions:
   (i) Did missionary work for a short time in the Tron Church, Glasgow in March 1823;
   (ii) Sailed for the Cape Province in March 1823;
   (iii) Brought along with him a machine for printing;
   (iv) Established a mission station at Gwali with the help of John Bennie;
   (v) Did mission work at Ncera and Lovedale;
   (vi) Ministered to the people of Ngubengcuka in Thembuland in the Transkei;
   (vii) Imported masons such as W.Chalmers, J.Weir and W.McDiarmid to build schools;
   (viii) Started the following schools: Balfour (emSebenzini), Burnshill (Mkhubiso), Pirie (esaPhantsi kwamaHlathi).

Extracted from:
Interpretation

As is the case with Part I, we bring out the various techniques that Mqhayi employs when depicting patriotic action:

Two of the missionary figures are identified with the various Xhosa tribes or races among whom they worked. In "UBhene omdala" ("Old Bennie"), Mqhayi writes about John Bennie:

1 Ntombi zakwaNgqika zafunga ngoBhene;
Zathi, "Nank' oyena yise wesiXhosa."
Zafik' ezaseMbo zazithelela,
Zamcish' ucishi nezamaMpondo,
NezamaMpondomise nezamaXesibe.

(The girls of Ngqikaland vowed by Bennie;
And said, "Here is the real father of the Xhosa language."
Then came those of Emboland in strong agreement,
They were echoed strongly by Mpondo girls
And were supported by Xesibe girls.)

(p.204)

(cf. biography K.11, (i)-(vii))

In "ULose omdala" ("Old Ross") the author says about John Ross:

2 Hayini maNgqika, ndingowakwaHleke,
UHleke lo kambe ngumntwa' kaNgconde.
Simabandl' akoNib' akwaNkosikazi.
Safakwa kuloo ndlu, mini safika,
NguLwaganda, inkwenkwe kaMlawu.

(No, Ngqika people, I belong to the Hleke people,
Hleke is the descendant of Ngconde.
We are the subjects of Nonibe, the Queen mother.
We were adopted into this family on our arrival,
By Lwaganda, the son of Mlawu.

(pp.207-208)

It is appropriate of Mqhayi to identify these leaders with the people they served. Heimer (1967, p.569) says about leaders in general:

They are a responsibility to other men, and must act to strengthen, not weaken the human bond. In this the idealistic dreamer and the skeptic must fail.
The three missionary figures are hailed as bearers of the good news of salvation. In "UBhuluneli" ("Brownlee") Mqhayi addresses the Ntinde people and asks them, inter alia, to refresh their memories about the mission of Brownlee in their land:

3 Kuba loo mntu wathunywa komkhulu,
LiKomkhulu lamakomkhulu.
(Because that person was sent by the great place, The Greatest of all great places.)

(p.200)

The poet refers to the mission station at Gwali in "UBhene omdala" ("Old Bennie") and says:

4 Le ntlanjan' iGwali mayithiyw' igama,
Makuthiwe "yeyomhle kaNyawo."
(This little Gwali valley must be renamed, It must be called "The valley of Good messengers."
(p.204)
(cf. biographies J.11, (i); K.11, (i); L.11,(vi))

John Ross in "ULose omdala" ("Old Ross") is described as

5 Nkomo kaLose yezemvaba
(The beast of Ross of the Christian gospel.)
(p.207)

The contribution of Bennie is anticipated in the following verses:

6 Mzi wakwaNgqika rholan' amanxiwa
Size noluth' olutsha ngaphesha kwamanzi.
(You people of Ngqikaland give out new land, We bring you a fresh twig from overseas.)
(p.204)
(cf. biography K.11, (i) - (vii))

Ross's daring pursuits and courage in founding missionary centres is brought out in the lines:
7 Sisidla-mlilo seentaba zakude;  
USiginya-mkhonto noluthi lwawo;  
Mgxadada wendoda kwamany' amadoda,  
Maziko lwatsak' esizweni.

(He is the fire-eater from distant mountains;  
He is the swallower of the spear and its wooden  
handle,  
Diligent man amongst industrious men,  
The result is many centres in the land.)

(p. 207)

(cf. biography L.5; 10, (i) -(iii); 11, (i) -(viii))

Bennie's good work among the Mbalu people is acknowledged in  
the verses:

8 Sesingabasengi kuni maMbalu;  
Satsh' amathung' aphuphum' omabini -  
Ithunga leMfundo nethunga leLizwi!

(We milk from you Mbalu people;  
And both milking-pails are overflowing with  
The milk-pail of Education and that of Religion.)

(p. 204)

The use of the following devices is characteristic of Mqhayi:  
(a) the use of the reference-associative technique in stanzas  
marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Note the use of the magnifying  
device in stanza marked 1 - the linguistic and literary influence  
of John Bennie stretches from Xhosaland to Xesibeland. Note  
the appropriateness in associating the mother-tongue with the  
feminine gender. Observe also the N + P (noun plus possessive)  
sequence which is an element of the associative device; (b) the  
tree or wood symbol is employed in stanzas marked 6 and 7; (c)  
as is characteristic of Mqhayi, in stanza marked 7, meaning is  
strengthened by the use of the word ndoda (man); (d) the milk  
symbol, a popular device of Mqhayi, is used in stanza 8. Note  
also in the same stanza the recurrence of Mqhayi's idea that  
the religious and educational values complement each other;  
(e) the use of words with harsh or heavy sounds and the use  
of figurative language are one of the devices Mqhayi employs  
to depict patriotic action. These two devices are employed  
in stanza marked 7.
It is characteristic of Mqhayi to point out the social gap created by the death of a hero. He also calls for younger people to fill such a gap. This is expressed in "UBhuluneli" ("Brownlee"): 

9 Rhol' usana, mfazi wakwaNtinde!
Mfazi wakomkhulu wakuloMfetsho,
Bonis' int' obungayo efukwini.
(Produce a child, woman of the Ntindes!
Woman of the royal place of Mfetsho
Show what kind of a child you have given birth to.)

Conclusion

Mema (1970, p.5) compliments Brownlee, Bennie and Ross in these words:

... these missionaries were not only preoccupied with the preaching of the Word, but they also helped to develop agriculture, and many handicrafts. They sought to effect a balanced development of the people for whom they worked.

What has been said in Part I under the heading "Conclusion" about other patriots applies also to the three missionary figures discussed in Part II. Williams (1959, p.56) portrays the calibre of the missionaries in general succinctly:

It was an unkind milieu which tested them severely, and it is to their credit that more of them did not leave the work.

The "unkind milieu" that Williams speaks of is depicted by Mqhayi in "UBhuluneli" ("Brownlee") in Imibengo (p.201). He writes about the missionaries in general:

Izel' imimango yakowethu,
Ngamangcwab' eentsana zenu;
Zizel' iintili zakowethu
Ngamathamb' oluhiie lwakowenu;
(Full are our steep lands
With the graves of your children;
Full are our flat lands
With the bones of your dear ones;)

(p.200)
III. Those who fought in defence of their respective countries or of a union of countries:

It can be deduced from the foregoing discussions in Parts I and II that according to Mqhayi, one of the outstanding qualities of a patriot is a militant attitude in the right direction. This feeling is expressed overtly in "Inkokeli" ("The leader") in *Imibengo* (1971, p.208). He advises those who wish to be the leaders of their people:

Bebufuneka kakhulu ubukhalipha
bokuyimela into oyifunayo,
nefunwa sisizwe.

(There is a great need for bravery in the pursuance of one's objectives on behalf of one's people.)

Mqhayi berates leaders who lose face in the wake of a challenging situation:

Into yobukhalipha asikayiqondi
kwinkokeli ezikhoyo . . .
Sibona zisoloko zisinda
kwakufika ingozi,
usale umhlambi uchithwachithwa,
uwodwa.

(There has been no adequate show of bravery amongst current leaders . . . .
We notice that they always escape in the advent of danger, and their followers are scattered about, and are left severely alone.)

Militancy or bravery should not be displayed at the intellectual level only but should be exhibited in a physical conflict on a national scale. This is brought out by Mqhayi in the war poems in *Imibengo* and *Inzuzo*. We give an outline of his views and we also point out how he excites the sentiment of patriotism:

The readiness to sacrifice for one's country is a mark of a conscientious commitment, it is a selfless undertaking. Mqhayi
articulates this when he addresses the Black and White contingent of 1916 in "Ukutshona kukaMendi" ("The sinking of Mendi") in Imibengo (1971, p.188). He says to the spirits of the departed, to the survivors and to their fellowmen:

Asinithumanga ngazo izicengo;
Asinithenganga ngayo imibengo.
Bekungenganzuzo zimakhwezikhwezi;
Bekungengandyebo zingangeenkwenkwezi —
(We sent you not forth with much coaxing;
Nor did we buy you with bribes,
Nor with profit that brilliantly glittered;
Nor with riches as vast as the stars —)
(translated by Bennie 1936, p.103)

Mqhayi arouses patriotic feelings by awakening the memories of Black people to their heroic past; he recalls great deeds as a spur to present emulation. In "Umkhosi weMidaka" ("The Black army") in Imibengo (1971, p.186) the Black contingent that is on the way to join the allied forces in France is addressed:

Maze nimbamb' uKeyizare, nize naye,
Iphele le mfazwe ngephanyazo;
Size kudla noKeyizare iindaba,
Simbalisel' umhla waseSandlwana,
Simbalisel' umhla waseThaba Nchu;
Simbalisel' umhla waseMthontsi;
Simbalisel' umhla waseGwadana.
(You must capture the Kaiser and bring him
That this war may end in a twinkling;
And we shall exchange news with Kaiser
And shall tell of the day of Sandlwana;
We shall tell of the day of Thaba Nchu;
We shall talk of the day of Mthontsi;
And shall talk of the day of Gwadana.)
(translated by Bennie 1936, p.101)

In "ESandlwana" ("At Sandlwana") in Inzuzo (1974, p.91) Mqhayi uses the same technique as the one mentioned immediately above. The poet addresses the Zulu nation and recounts the heroic feat performed by the Zulu warriors in the battle of ISandlwana:

Wavel' uNtshingwayo phambili!
Ekhusel' umhlaba kaZulu!
Eth' iAfrika mayibuye!
Ayecim' ilanga amabutho;
Nalâ matyhol' angandingqinela;
UManz' amnyam' uyayazi loo nto;
Kub' amanz' akh' aba ligazi;
Ungandivumel' uMzinyathi;
Kuba wawubona ngamehlo, -
Uyiv' ingoma ngeendlebe.
(There appeared Ntshingwayo in front!  
Protecting the land of the Zulus, 
Saying that the rights of the Africans must be restored! 
The regiments hid the face of the sun; 
Even these bushes can testify; 
The river Manzamnyama knows that thing; 
That the waters were once red with blood; 
The Mzinyathi river can agree with me; 
Because it saw with its own eyes, -
It heard with its ears the song (of battle).)

Mqhayi refers to the sufferings of others in former times as an incitement to fortitude against possible calamity. In "Umkhosi weMidaka II" ("The second Black army") in Inzuzo (1974, pp.98-99) the poet says:

Ingom' amadod' ifikile, -
Ivunywa ngekrwana nentshuntshe,
Ivunywa ngekhaka negazi.
(The song of man has come,
It is sung with a short spear and a long one,
It is sung with a shield and blood.)

A threat to the security of a fatherland is the cause for which men must give their lives. The defence of a fatherland and the liberty of its people is not purchased at a low price. Thus in "Ukutshona kukaMendi" ("The sinking of the Mendi") in Imibengo (1971, p.188) the poet writes about the sinking of the troopship and says to all those who are bereaved:

Ngesibinge ngantoni na kakade?
I'dini lomzi liyintoni na kakade?
Asingamathol' amaduna omzi na?
Asizizithandwa zesizwe kade na?
(With what else could we then have made sacrifice? 
What else is a people's oblation? 
Is it not the young men of the race? 
Is it not the best loved of the people?)
(translated by Bennie 1936, p.103)

The same idea mentioned immediately above occurs in "Umkhosi weMidaka" ("The Black army") in Imibengo (1971, p.187). Mqhayi
says to the Black contingent:

Hambani ke, bafondini niy' eFransi!
Nikhumbul' indlala eniyishiy' emakhaya.
Nilapho nje, namhla nibingiwe;
Sinenz' idini lesizwe sikaNtu.

(Go you then, men, to France!
Remember the starvation you leave at home.
As you are there today you have been sacrificed;
You have been sacrificed for your Black people.)

In "ESandlwana" in Inzuzo (1974, p.92) he reports the death of the Zulu warriors in a very patriotic vein:

Watsaz' umphefumlo wendoda!
Umphefumlo ligaz' endodeni;
Wathi tswii wasinga phezulu!
Yenz' idini lesizwe nohlanga;
Ihlwayel' ukufa kuz' ivun' ukuphila!

(Then spurt out the spirit of a man!
The spirit is blood to a man;
It went straight to the heavens!
It made a sacrifice for the country and nation;
It planted death to reap new life!)

In UMhlekazi uHintsa (1937, p.6) the death of King Hintsa at the hands of the English (cf. Scott 1976, p.45) is interpreted by Mqhayi as a sacrificial act. He says to the South African English people in general:

Asikwa nguyen' ozithobe walixhwane?
Ixhwane lombingo ledini lesizwe?
(Is it not he who has humbled himself as a lamb?
The lamb that is sacrificed for the people?)

It is discernible from the foregoing discussions that Mqhayi regards courageous behaviour in the face of possible disaster as palpable proof of patriotism; he interprets death in the battle-field or towards it not as defeat but as a triumph. It is a payment of an instalment towards the liberation of others. This spirit is perhaps best summed up and illustrated in the words of a survivor from the ill-fated Mendi:

Most of us did the best we could for our­selves, of course, but quite a few unselfish
chaps gave up their piece of wood or raft to the ones they thought would be of more use in the world. As for those in charge of the lifeboats no words of mine could describe their undaunted courage.

*(vide The South African outlook, 1st February 1957, p.25)*

The same courage is depicted by Darlow (1965, p.83):

... So to death
They went, six hundred Africans; no breath
Of cowardice besmirched their sacrifice.

In "Ukutshona kukaMendi" ("The sinking of Mendi") in *Imibengo* (1971, p.188) Mqhayi intimates that all people whose associates join forces to fight for the liberty of their fellowmen are always threatened by the spectre of death:

Mhla nashiy' ikhaya sithethile nani,
Mhla nashiy' intsapho salathile kuni,
Mhla sabamb' izandla, mhla kwaman' amehlo;
Mhla ball' oonyoko, bangqukrulek' ooyihlo;
Mhla nazishiy' ezi ntaba zakowenu,
Nayinikel' imiva imilamb' ezwe lenu,
Asitshongo na kuni Midak' akowethu,
Ukuthi, "Kwelozwe nilidini lethu!"
(The day you left home we addressed you,
The day you left children we extolled you;
The day we grasped hands, the day eyes were wet;
The day mothers wept sore, and fathers were troubled;
When you left the mountains of homeland,
And turned from the streams of your country,
Said we not to you, Blacks of our race,
"In that land you will be our oblation?")
(Translated by Bennie 1936, p.103)

Mqhayi hurries to say, if the lives of those who die in a battlefield enrich the fatherland they enrich the bereaved as well.

National gain implies a family loss:

Thuthuzelekani ngoko, zinkedama;
Thuthuzelekani ngoko, bafazana;
Kuf' omnye kakade, mini kwakhili' omnye;
Kukhonza mnye kade, zekuphil' abanye.
Ngala mazwi sithi, thuthuzelekani;
Ngokwenjenje kwethu sithi, yakhekani.
(Be comforted then, 0 ye orphans!
Be comforted then, ye young women!
Ever one dies, that another may grow;
Ever one serves, that others may live.
In such words then we bid you be comforted;
Thus speaking, we bid you be strong.)

(translated by Bennie 1936, p.104)

Mqhayi regards the mountain, Thaba Nchu, in "Thaba Nchu" in Inzuzo (1974, p.86) as the dwelling place of the spirits of the Sotho warriors and kings who died fighting against invading tribes. These men defended their fatherland and secured a home for future generations. Gratitude to these heroic figures is expressed and their spirits are exalted:

Ntaba Mnyama! Ntaba Mnyama!
Xa ukhoyo akumnyama:
Ubufudul' ulikhaya, -
Namhlanj' uselikhaya.
Intsaph' ibuyel' ekhaya, -
Yamkel' ingen' ekhaya.

(Thaba Nchu: Thaba Nchu:
When you are here it is not dark:
You have been a home, -
Today you are still a home.
Your children are returning home, -
Receive them back at home.)

The same idea is expressed in "Thaba Bosiu" in Inzuzo (1974, p.87). The poet exalts the spirit of the Sotho warriors after battles against marauding tribes:

Sazigxoth' izizw' emva kwethu;
Saty' amaxhoba saphila.
(We chased away the tribes that followed us;
We took the booty and we lived.)

Mqhayi describes as Britons all the Black people of South Africa who fought on behalf of Britain, the colonial power, during the Anglo-Boer war, the first and second world wars:
The first poem appears in Rubusana's *Zemk' iinkomo Magwalandini* (1906). Mqhayi identifies the Black people at the Cape and the English people with Britain, the colonial power. The Afrikaner people are duped as disloyalists. The second poem appears in *Inzuzo* (1974). The lines allude to the military help given to Britain by the Black people of South Africa during the first and second world wars. Again the author identifies the Black people of South Africa with Britain. "SingamaBhritani" appears in the last line of every stanza in both poems. It is a calling word. Calling words are used during solemn occasions, at a critical hour, when issues are fraught with greater consequences. The word is used in both poems to exalt the spirits of the Black people and to express loyalty to His Majesty, King George V of England.

In "Ukutshona kukaMendi" in *Imibengo* (1971, p.188) Mqhayi uses the identificative device. He writes about the sinking of the troopship:

1. Le Nqanaw' uMendi namhla yendisile,
2. Nal' igazi lethu lisikhonzisile.

(1 This ship, the Mendi, today seals a marriage,
2 And those of our blood seal our homage!)

(translated by Bennie 1936, p.103)

Jordan (1973, p.102) comments about the two lines above:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 SINGAMABHRTANI</td>
<td>Sikhuph' umlisela mawuy' emfazweni, Ibhulu malife, singamaBhritani.</td>
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<td>(We are sending young men to war, The Afrikaner must die, we are Britons.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 UMKHOSI WEMIDAKA II</td>
<td>SingamaBhritani thina, SingamaBhritani!!</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(We, Britons we are, - We are Britons!!)</td>
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Jordan (1973, p.102) comments about the two lines above:
The last word in the second line,* yendisile is very eloquent. Ukwendisa is to give one's daughter in marriage, and those who know the natural obligations between the families involved in a marriage-contract, as Mqhayi understands marriage, will understand how strong should have been the ties, according to him, between Britain and the Africans after the disaster of the Mendi.

Mqhayi could be criticised for his loyal attitude towards Britain for a number of reasons: It could be argued that people who were under the British Empire and were not specifically English but assisted the English, and in the process perished, should have their deaths set down as a debit against those whom they served, rather than a debit against themselves because they were in fact supporting a cause which was not really their own; they did not join the war out of a spontaneous reaction emanating from the love of the British dominion but some superior will was imposed upon them. Mqhayi himself in UMKHOSI WEMIDAKA· says in the opening lines of the poem:

We are indeed grateful and impressed
That his Britannic Majesty
Should think of asking us to come
And work as stevedores
At a time when he is under pressure.
Who were we?
To even think of lending a hand
To the king of Britain
On whose empire the sun never sets.
His dominions extend over land and sea
As things now stand
He is ready to colonize the heavens.
(translated by Kuse 1975, p.184)

The scorching satire is unmistakable in these lines. There is a subtle suggestion that Britain ought not to solicit the help of Black people in South Africa. She should put her house in South Africa in order first by reshaping South Africa's entire political structure.

* The first line appears as a second line in the extract cited by Jordan.
It could be argued by others that the Black people of South Africa could not remain out of the war without loss of prestige and honour. They therefore took the supreme decision of joining the war out of a sense of duty, the defence of South Africa, the fatherland.

The statement "SingamaBhritani" ("We are Britons") seems to be a powerful, if gloomy reassertion of the colonial notion of the union of British subjects.

It is difficult to accept or reject any of the views expressed above because disloyalists of one age may become patriots in the future; loyalists of a certain period may become traitors in the eyes of a later generation.

We quote a letter written by a Black father to his son who served in the South African contingent in France during the first world war. The identities of both father and son are not revealed for obvious reasons:

Translation

Mr .............., No. 1764
B. Coy. 1st Battalion,
S.A.N.L.C.
A.P.O. S.28, B.E.F.,
France.

My dear son,

1. In reply to yours of the 2nd September 1917, I am glad to learn that you are comfortable. If you like, stay on and serve the King of Peace, George the Vth.

2. I wish I were there too, but as you know, you are my only son, and there would be no one to remain in charge of my kraal, your mother and sisters, and the cattle.
3. You must not be frightened by anything you see which is done by the enemies of our King. They are snarling like a tiger, whose end must be death, and to have its skin brayed and made into a kaross for a chief.

4. Well, my son, you know all about me, and you remember I told you beforehand of the beginning and end of all these events. Often have I told you about all these great wonders you would see. But they cannot help the Germans to conquer. See the Revelation of St. John, XIII., 13.

5. You know, my son, that God the Almighty has given me to know things concerning Him. You will remember that I told you that the word of Jesus Christ had not been fulfilled which says: "There is neither Jew or Greek." You asked me what it meant, and I told you that it meant that there must be no distinction between man and man, between tribe and tribe, etc. I say that the British Government tries to do away with the distinction between Jew and Greek; but up to the present it is difficult to accomplish this end. There are many nations that do not try to attain this objective, nations good and bad. Before that unity is reached, there must be a big fight between all nations; and it is so to-day.

6. I also said when the fulfilment of the word was drawing near there would be inter-marriage between all nations of the world.

   1. There would be one law for all.
   2. There would be one government for all.
   3. There would be one education for all.
   4. There would be one love for all.
   5. There would be no more war for all.
   6. There would be one king for all, and there would be no more envy, strife and jealousy, and only mutual love would exist. Today the British are fighting for that liberty.

7. Now, my people, I warn you that there are no other means of acquiring that liberty but to serve faithfully. These words are addressed to all who are with you in France. I say: listen to the word of KING GEORGE V; THE RED-EYED CROCODILE OF GREAT BRITAIN. Be the sacrifice for South Africa. All who know me know, I believe, that I do not speak what I do not understand, which gift was given me by the will of Almighty God.

8. Mr ........ called at my kraal and supported the words I spoke to him, my son, and others of our young men. He said: "A wise man will pay heed to Mr ........ words."
9. In conclusion, you young man of my country, to use a poet's words, you are there as a sacrifice and hope. Remain quiet and do not worry about coming home. We have plenty of food, the wheat crop is good, and the women are happy. We also shall be coming after harvest.

10. I greet you. Farewell good friends.

11. I am the humble servant of my superiors.

(Extracted from a miscellaneous file, Fort Hare University Library, P.O. Fort Hare)

The extent of diverse reaction, in 1978, of both Blacks and Whites in South Africa to the letter is best left to individual imagination.

We draw the attention of the literary critic to the fact that the letter, irrespective of its tenor, echoes Mqhayi's notions of the concept of patriotism, namely:

(a) duty and loyalty (vide paragraphs 1 and 11)
(b) service and sacrifice (vide paragraph 2)
(c) sacrifice and honour (vide paragraphs 7 and 9)
(d) fellowship (vide paragraphs 5, 6 and 10)

Note also in the letter the "Mqhayi notion" that noble ends are not always acquired without a loss of life, vide paragraph 5. Note also the "Mqhayi technique" of making the antagonist appear inferior, vide paragraph 3.

Conclusion

For Mqhayi patriotism has always meant service not only to those living in this present world but also to those living in the next world. Patriotism is ultimate service to God. This view is expressed in the following poems from Inzuzo about religious, educational and political leaders:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 WENA MFU. SIGONYELA KHAKHAZA</td>
<td>Hamba bawo ugqibile (Go father you have done your duties)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 NAWE MFU. COLUMBUS NGXWANA</td>
<td>Naw' ubiziwe phambili. (You too have been called to the next place.)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 UMFI UMHLEKAZI SEEISO GRIFFITH</td>
<td>Xa ubizwayo komkhulu, Ubungena kumangala! (When called at the Great place, You could not refuse!)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 UMPIKAZI UCHARLOTTE MANYHI MAXEKE</td>
<td>Ushenxil' okad' esakh' umzi (The one who has been a builder has gone elsewhere)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 UMFI UMFU. JOHN SOLILO</td>
<td>Ubizelw' iNzila neLente yalo Mnyaka; Ubizelwe nePasika kwakhona; (He has been called for the fasting period and Lent for this year; He has been called for the Passover;)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 UTEBHA (HARRY TABERER)</td>
<td>Thin' asinamnt' ufayo, - Ofayo ngoye kwabadala. (We do not believe in death, The dead actually join the elders.)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 UMFI UMFU. S. PETRUS SIHLALI</td>
<td>Simkelwe ligorha: UMFU. Simon P. Sihlali. (The hero has left us: The Rev. Simon P. Sihlali)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 UJAMES GRAY M.A.</td>
<td>Hamba chazachwenene, - Lo mhlaba kade ngokalusifia; (Go expert of a man, - This earth belongs to Lucifer;)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9 UMAYA KHOBOKA  
(MRS MSIMKA)  

Kumzi kaKhoboka;  
Asindawo yethu le,  
Ewe, Anti Maya!  
Yindawo kalusifa;  
Umphathi-hlabathi.  
(To the Khoboka family we say:  
This is not our place,  
Yes, Aunt Maya!  
It belongs to Lucifer!  
The ruler of the earth.)

10 UJAMES CHALMERS  
M.A. B.Sc.  

Thina maDike nonyaka, -  
Siyatrayika kuSathana,  
Siyafuduka kwaLusifa.  
(We people of Lovedale this  
year, -  
We are protesting against  
Satan,  
We are trekking from the place  
of Lucifer,)

11 DR W.G.BENNIE  

Goduka nto kaBhen' ufezile,  
(Go home son of Bennie you have  
done well,)  

12 UMFI UGIL  
TYAMZASHE  

UThix' uyasebenz' ezulwini.  
Ufun' amacebo kumaXhosa;  
(God works in Heaven.  
He wants help from Xhosas;)

In "Kuwe igorha kwaNyawuza" in Imibengo (1971, p.215) the  
death of Walter D. Cingo, a Mpondo patriot, is according to  
Mqhayi a divine arrangement:

13 Kuba kuya kufuneka kuthatyathwe  
kusapho lwegazi; athi lowo  
uthatyathiweyo aye kumela  
isizwe sakhe phakathi kweengcwele  
zaseZulwini, kwezi ntsuku zokufa  
nokuvuka KoNyana kaThixo.  
(Because there will be a need to take  
from the family of royal blood, and the  
one who has been chosen will represent  
his nation amongst the saints  
in Heaven, during these days of the Death  
and resurrection of the Son of God.)

(a preface to the poem)
Mqhayi addresses the three missionaries, Brownlee, Bennie and Ross in "UBhuluneli" in Imibengo (1971, p.201) as follows:

14 Gqithani niye kwikomkhulu eliPhezulu,
Nith' abakwaPhalo, kwaTshiwo, kwaxhosa,
Bamamkele ngemihlal' uMesiyasi!
(Pass on to the Higher Great place
and report that the people of Phalo, Tshiwo, Xhosa
Have welcomed with warmth the Messiah!)

From the war poems we quote the last lines of the poem entitled "Ukutshona kukaMendi" in Imibengo (1971, p.189):

15 Awu! Zaf' iintezinkulu zeAfrika!
Isindiwe le nqanawa de yazika,
Kwaf' amakhalipa amafa-nankosi,
Agazi lithetha kwInkosi yeenkosi;
Ukufa kwawo kunomvuzo nomvuka.
Ndina ndingema nayo ngoMhla woKuvuka,
Ndinaqambe njengomnye osebenzileyo,
Ndikhanye njengoMso oqaqambileyo,
Makube njalo.
(Alas! Gone are the great ones of Africa!
The ship overburdened has sunk!
Gone are the Chief's brave death-comrades,
Whose blood calls to the Lord of all lords.
Their death brings a guerdon and new life.
With them may I stand at the Awakening,
And sit proudly as one who has worked,
And shine with the brightness of Morning!
So might it be!)
(translated by W.G. Bennie 1936, p.104)

A striking feature in almost all the lines quoted from the poems cited above is the use of certain syntactical or semantic units which serve more or less the same function or purpose. The verb hamba (go) appears in poems 1 and 8. The synonyms of hamba (go) are shenxa, mka, fuduka, goduka, gqitha, used in poems 4, 7, 10, 11, 14 respectively. Note the use of biza (call) in poems 2, 3 and 5. The statement uqgibile (you have finished) in poem 1 is synonymous with the statement ufezile in poem 11. We concede, of course, that the meaning of words or sentences could never be exactly the same (cf. Lyons 1977, p.447).
The dominant theme elicited by the use of the synonymous words or sentences is that the lives of the patriots in this world are transitory. This theme is brought out clearly by (i) the use of the image of hell in poems 8, 9, 10 and by (ii) the employment of the image of heaven or of the hereafter in poems 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 14 and in prose extract 13. The first image conveys the idea of rejection and the second one of acceptance and fulfilment.

In poem 5 and in prose extract 13 the divine incident, namely the death and rising of Christ from the dead is used to reinforce the belief that the spirits of patriots will cross from this world to perform duties to the Almighty in the next world. In poem 15 the verses run with brilliant assurance from the image of the dead at sea to the resurrection day, the moment of eternal triumph.
Characters and milieu are one of the chief instruments that a writer uses to express his ideas and ideals. In this chapter we point out the various techniques that Mqhayi employs in (i) portraying his characters and (ii) depicting the various situations in which they are involved. Evincing themes from these techniques is a logical step. Each technique is stated and is underlined. An appropriate extract is given as an illustration. At times a brief account of a situation is given instead of an excerpt. The main theme to which the extract or an account of an incident relates is given in brackets on the left-hand side immediately after the quotation or summary. The abbreviations for each of the main themes are: Law and order (LAO); Disunity amongst Blacks and inter-racial conflicts (DABAIC); Patriotism (P). Subsidiary themes which have a bearing on any of these principal themes are given in a separate paragraph or paragraphs:

1. Desirable characters are matched against undesirable characters

In part I of the plot of *UDon Jadu*, there is the constant presence of Dondolo, the protagonist who is confronted by different antagonists in different scenes:

(a) | Scene                      | Protagonist | Antagonist            | Result                        |
--- |-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
    | outskirts of town            | Dondolo     | two policemen         | victory for Dondolo          |
    | bushes                      | Dondolo     | four robbers          | victory for Dondolo          |
    | expanse of land             | Dondolo     | two ostriches         | victory for Dondolo          |
    | expanse of land             | Dondolo     | a puff adder          | victory for Dondolo          |
    | expanse of land             | Dondolo     | three Boers           | victory for Dondolo          |
    | farmstead                   | Dondolo     | many boys             | victory for Dondolo          |
We state how Dondolo triumphs over both the human and animal characters: he resists the arrest and pushes away the Black policeman (p.7); the robbers think that he is taking out a pistol when he takes his leather wallet out of his pocket for a piece of paper on which to write out his will - they run away (p.9); ostriches chase him, he jumps over a fence and lies down as he is tired. When he jumps up they flee (p.9); the puff adder that hisses draws his attention and he kills it (p.10); the three Boers flee when he beckons to the Black migrant labourers to come to his rescue (p.16); the dogs that charge at him flee when he opens his umbrella (p.19); the boys and girls fail to humiliate him (pp.21-22).

In the plot of Ityala lamawele the ascendancy of Wele, the desirable character, over Babini, the undesirable character, is shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>issue</th>
<th>Wele's argument</th>
<th>legal implication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>birth of the twins</td>
<td>Babini was delivered before Wele. This is proper since the junior should precede the senior.</td>
<td>It is not a very strong argument but according to previous cases it could influence court opinion in Wele's favour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bartering seniority with a rare species of forest dove</td>
<td>Wele bartered seniority from Babini with a rare species of forest dove called inkwili.</td>
<td>It is not a strong argument but in terms of previous court cases it could turn the scale in favour of Wele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issue</td>
<td>Wele's argument</td>
<td>legal implication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger-cutting ceremony</td>
<td>Wele's small finger was cut before that of Babini.</td>
<td>In terms of custom and tradition this should establish Wele as the senior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumcision ceremony</td>
<td>Wele's foreskin was cut before that of Babini.</td>
<td>Traditionally Wele should be the recognised senior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>administration of family matters</td>
<td>It is Wele who looks after the mother and his sisters. He administers home affairs.</td>
<td>This counts heavily in Wele's favour as it is the duty of the senior to do so.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(LAO) (p.22)

In the war poems in *Inzuzo* Mqhayi alludes to the military glory of some Black nations against marauding nations or races. The rejection of the invading races is unmistakable in the following lines from the poem "Thaba Bosiu":

(c) Zavel' iintshaba zachithwa;  
Ema bune amaBhulu, -  
Aqhawulw' iintamo ngezixengxe,  
Akhalis' izulu lezandla, -  
Yakhusel' intaba Busuku.  
Aphel' amandl' ezinandile,  
(The enemies appeared and were scattered;  
The Boers shifted to and fro, -  
And their heads were beheaded with hatchets,  
Their guns roared with fury, -  
Thaba Bosiu protected her people.  
The power of the guns waned.)

(P) (p.88)

(DABAIC)

In the poem "Esandlwana" in *Inzuzo*, the might of the Zulu army against the invading army is depicted as follows:

(d) Yadl' intong' etsolo ngelayo, -  
Yathi kram, kram, kra- kram,  
Kr-r-r-ram! Kram, kr-am-m!
(And the spear fed as well, -
It cut deep into the flesh,
It cut deeper and deeper into the flesh!)

The prowess and military success of the Sotho people against invaders is brought out in the poem "Thaba Nchu" in Inzuzo:

(Ntaba Mnyama! Ntaba Mnyama!
Akunguy' uNomnyama;
Unodumo olukhulu;
Nangeemfazwe ezinkulu;

Black Mountain! Black Mountain!
You are not the bringer of darkness;
You have great fame
You are famous for great wars.)

In the story entitled "Idabi laMalinde" in Imibengo Mqhayi explains that the great Xhosa civil war ensued from the fact that Ngqika, the junior chief, claimed seniority over his uncle, Chief Ndlambe. He usurped authority. Ngqika further offended the Xhosa nation by forming an alliance with the English against the Xhosas. He committed a conspiracy. The patience of the people broke down when Ngqika eloped with Ndlambe's wife, Thuthula. King Hintsa and Chief Ndlambe mobilised their forces against Chief Ngqika. Mqhayi writes about the result of the great war:

(Ngqika was chased across the Tyhume, Ngwenxa and Khobonqaba rivers and was left in that neighbourhood.)

The conflict between the desirable and undesirable characters is either intellectual or physical or both. We describe as undesirable all the characters that offend others or whose thoughts or actions disturb order or disrupt social balance. These are: the antagonists in UDOn Jadu, Babini in Ityala lamawele, the invading races in Inzuzo and Chief Ngqika in Imibengo. We designate as desirable all the characters who strive to uphold
established order, who fight against erosion of man's dignity and the rape of their liberty. These are: Dondolo in UDon Jadu, Wele in Ityala lamawele, the Sotho and Zulu people in Inzuzo and King Hintsa and Chief Ndlambe in Imibengo, the White and Black soldiers in both Inzuzo and Imibengo.

The desirable characters in Mqhayi's works seem to be less well equipped in terms of weapons than the undesirable characters. Despite the odds against them, the desirable characters assume spiritual superiority and physical skill over their adversaries (cf. extracts a, b, c, d and e). The great numbers of desirable characters against undesirable characters magnify the offence committed by the undesirable character(s) (cf. extract f). The victory of the desirable characters over the undesirable characters implies the triumph of the spirit of the reader over evil that is symbolised in the actions of the offenders.

From the various conflicts we deduce the following universal themes:

(i) the brain always beats the brawn (cf. extract a);

(ii) good always triumphs over evil (cf. extracts a, b, c, d, e, f);

(iii) every individual has a right in his own place irrespective of his inadequate strength (cf. extracts a, b, c, d, e, f);

(iv) where there are no scruples there can be no enduring power (cf. extracts a, b, c, d, e, f);

(v) the rights and dignity of men will always be born in heroic and magnificent storms of struggle (cf. extracts a, b, c, d, e, f);

(vi) the aggressor’s or offender’s actions always stem from selfish motives (cf. extracts a, c, d, e, f).
2. **The victory of the desirable characters over the undesirable characters is anticipated prior to the actual combat**

Since the desirable characters typify good, they are given sufficient will and assertiveness to triumph over the undesirable characters who, needless to say, symbolise evil. The reader is made to assume that a man of evil motives is weak and that a man of good intentions is strong.

In "Umkhosi weMidaka" in Imibengo Mqhayi inspires the first Black contingent and assures them of victory against the Germans led by the Kaiser:

(a) Maze nimbamb' uKeyizare nize naye,
Iphele le mfazwe ngephanyazo.

(You should arrest Kaiser and bring him home,
Bring an end to this war within the wink of an eye.)

(p.186)

In "Umkhosi weMidaka II" in Inzuzo the poet joins in triumphant spirit the Black contingent and says about the undesirable Italian general, Mussolini.

(b) Sowel' iGgili siwel' iligwa,
Siwel' iLimpopo nomZambesi,
Sindle luhlaz' uMsoleni.

(We shall cross the Orange and the Vaal rivers,
We shall cross the Limpopo and the Zambesi rivers,
We shall eat Mussolin alive.

(p.99)

The technique of making the desirable who is ill-equipped and has noble aims appear superior to the undesirable who is adequately armed and has ignoble objectives comes out forcefully in "Umkhosi weMidaka I" in Imibengo:

(c) Maze nimgcin' uZepelini phezulu,
Athi akupho' umlilo, nimpheosele ngezulu.
Ath' akuthob' ityhefu, nithob' umgubo kaphezulu,
Ath' akwenza ngegesi, nenze ngeenyosi.
(You should keep Zeppelin up in the sky,  
When he throws a ball of fire retaliate with lightning;  
When he drops poison, blind him with bewitching powder,  
When he strikes with electricity ward him off with bees.)

The dominant theme expressed in extracts a, b, c, is that the spirit and power of men should never succumb to the perpetrators of evil.

3. The undesirable characters may conquer the flesh of the desirable characters but never their souls

In "Intaba kaNdoda" in Ityala lamavele, Mqhayi states that Xhosa kings and warriors who died defending their land against invading races are buried on the mountain called intaba kaNdoda. The poet intimates that the grave is not the end for these heroes. Their spirits live and are inhabiting the neighbourhood of the mountain. The spirits guard and guide the lives of their fellow-men. They were and are still accorded the highest respect by those whose spirits have not yet departed from this side of eternity. Mqhayi says about the mountain:

(a) Kwaqutyudwa kuyo ngoobawo neenkosi,  
Kwathenjelwa kuyo ngoxolo nomkhosi,  
Kusalelwhe konda zezo ngangalala,  
NoSandile' ukhona yena ncakasana.

(It was the place of worship for fathers and chiefs,  
It was a sanctuary for the army,  
Here the great ones are laid to rest,  
Amongst these is Sandile the last one of the heroic.)

In the same poem quoted above the Xhosa bard refers to the resurrection day and identifies the spirits of the Xhosa brave with all those who will achieve eternal glory:

(b) Bovuka ngemini eyoyis' iimini,  
Banqule bekuyo nangayo loo mini,  
Le ntaba yoxolo lwasemazulwini  
Elal' imibeth' evel' eNyangweni.

(They will rise on the last day  
And upon it will worship (God) that day  
This mountain of heavenly peace  
Upon which falls dew from the heavens.)
If those who fought Chief Sandile and other Xhosa heroes are not explicitly rebuked, they are condemned implicitly by the poet. The idea of the invincibility of the spirit or soul of the rightful occupier of land is echoed in the following poems from *Inzuzo*: "Thaba Nchu", "Thaba Bosiu", "Esandlwana" (pp. 84-93).

4. The services of a benefactor recall the actions of a malefactor

In some of Mqhayi's writings, the appreciation of good services rendered by a hero to a person or people calls to mind the villainy committed against the very hero. In *UMhlekazi uHintsa* the spirit of King Hintsa is eulogised and immortalised in the lines:

(a) Umankeli wezizwe ngezizwe, 
    Ikhaya leentlanga ngeentlanga; 
    Uyise weendwadunge ngeendwadunge, 
    Mbongen' uHintsa zizwe zomhlaba. 

    (The receiver of different nations, 
     The home of different races; 
     The father of destitute people, 
     Praise Hintsa nations of the world.)

(P) (p. 5)

From the same poem we quote lines which remind us that Hintsa's life was taken away by his own beneficiaries:

(b) Asikwa nguye n' ozithobe waliXhwane? 
    Ixhwane lombingo ledini lesizwe? 

    (Is it not he who humbled himself as a lamb? 
    A sacrificial lamb for the nation?)

(P) (p. 6)

In "Idabi laMalinde" in *Imibengo* (p. 195) the betrayal of Chief Ndlambe by Chief Ngqika is expressed in no uncertain terms as Chief Ndlambe addresses his regiments just before the commencement of the battle against Ngqika and his forces. Ndlambe says to his men:

(c) Nanko kambe mabandla kaPhalo, 
    mabandla kaTshiwo mabandla kaNgconde! 
    Kunjeya nje, andenzanga lutho, andone ni.
Ndondle kuphela umntwana,
Ndibulawa kwanguye.
Hambani ndiyanithuma.
Ndithi lingamdeni elo hlahla;
andulazi nam, anilazi nani.

(Look there he is, ye sons of Phalo great,
Ye sons of Tshiwo bold and Ngconde brave!
As you all know, no ill was done by me;
My fault was only to bring up a child,
Behold this child has stabbed me in the back.
All you who gather here, I send you on.
I say prevent this branch from hitting me,
I do not know the cause; the same with you.)

(P, LAO) (translated by Jolobe, 1946, p.28)

The lines in extract b allude to the incident of the death of King Hintsa at the hands of British soldiers (cf. Patricia E. Scott 1976, p.45). The author uses the sacrificial ceremony (extract b) and transforms defeat into a victory, not only for King Hintsa but for the entire Xhosa nation. We elicit the following themes: the ascension of evil over good is temporary (extract b), evil is punishable (extract c).

5. Use of qualificatives that have negative connotations

The undesirable characters are described in bold negative terms. They are drawn with unsympathetic slashes. We refer to a few books: In UDon Jadu the robbers are described as "iinto zombini" (two fierce-looking things - p.8); the puff adder is pictured as "into egqolileyo yezixhobo" ("a rusty thing of the rocks" - p.13); one of the Boers who ill-treats Dondolo is captured as "isixhomfula seBhulu" ("a hulk of a Boer" - p.14); all the Boers who mete out cruel treatment to Dondolo are described as "izikrelemnqa" ("the vicious ones" - p.17).

In "Idabi-laMalinde" in Imibengo Lord Charles Somerset is described as follows:

(a) Lo mfo usomaseti yaye
iyengqwangangwili yendoda,
into elizwi lingajikwayo nangamawabo.

(This man Somerset was
a bully of a man
whose word could not be
altered even by his own fellowmen.)

(P, DABAIC, LAO) (p.193)
Portraying the undesirable characters as being huge or as having a potential for vindictiveness is brought out well when John Knox Bokwe in *Umfundisi uJohn Knox Bokwe* (1972, p.43) gives an account of the unacceptable attitude of a certain Boer with whom and together with others he travelled by sea to Scotland in 1892:

(b) Uthi phakathi kwaba babuzi bangaka kwakukho inkibitsholo yona eyayivela eTransivali, into ebide imane ukuhlasimla kukumcaphukela, icaphukela nokoniwa okungaka kooKafile ngaba befundisi.

(Among these many questioners there was a very hefty man who came from the Transvaal, a fellow who frequently shuddered at his presence with vehement protest, resenting the fact that the Kaffirs were spoilt so by these missionaries.)

(LAO, DABAIC, P)

We evince from the descriptions relating to incidents in *UDon Jadu* the theme: "bulging flesh and peanut brains". This is good ridicule. There is no doubt in the mind of the reader that Mqhayi berates the use of brute force in a situation that calls for the exercise of the mind (cf. excerpts a and b immediately above). This theme is conveyed explicitly in *Ityala lamawele* (1931, p.105). The author tells of a white man who has ill-treated his Xhosa slave. The matter is taken to the court of Chief Maqoma. The case is tried and judgement is given in favour of the Xhosa slave. The white man wants to reverse the court decision. Chief Maqoma asks the white man:

Amandla omzimba afakwa yintoni na kwinto zamandla engqondo?

(What calls for physical strength in matters that require the use of the mind?)

(LAO, DABAIC, P)

6. The characters are made to produce strange noises

We observe in *UDon Jadu* a peculiar technique of denigrating
the undesirable characters. Most of these are made to produce quasi-superhuman or quasi-subhuman noises when they approach Dondolo as well as when they flee from him. For example, Dondolo hears "tywalakaba-tywaba" (indicating the breaking of twigs - p.8) when the robbers approach him. Their flight is captured as follows: "hlwa, hlwa, hlwa, rhalakatyu" (suggesting the quick breaking of twigs, jumping over some tall object(s) and vanishing from sight - p.9). The monster-like advance of the Boers towards Dondolo is captured in "fu-fu-fu-fu" (depicting the fury of a serpent - p.13). The dashing away of the Boers from Dondolo is conveyed by "dyulukudu" (which gives the idea of a stampede of four-footed animals - p.16).

The only other instance in which the author employs the technique numbered 6 is in "ULose omdala" in Imibengo. The Scottish missionary, Ross, who served among the Ntinde people in King William's Town and whose body lies buried in what is known as "Ihlathi likaMtshiza" ("The forest of Mtshiza") is rebuked for his tendency to bully others:

1 Eli hlathi likaMtshiza ndinamanwele -
2 Ihamb' ihamb' indod' ime ilijonge;
3 Ngathi lingaphum' impuhle ngeny' imini.
4 Ndide ndakha ndev' int' isithi "Harfu".
5 Ayaba ngulube, ayaba ngonyama;
6 Side sakha sazithath' iintonga,
7 Kulok' oosiyaz' abasisanga kude.
8 Bath' elo Hlathi linomninilo phakathi,
9 Nkomo kaLose yezemvaba.

1 This forest of Mtshiza evokes fear in me -
2 A man going through it will stop and scan it;
3 Something unusual may emerge from it.
4 Sometime I heard something saying "Harfu".
5 It was not a bush pig, it was not a lion;
6 We then consulted some witch-doctors,
7 The witch-doctors did not beat about the bush.
8 They told us that the forest is guarded,
9 It is looked after by Ross, the missionary.)

(p.207)
The key-word is "Harfu" in line 4. It is interesting to note that Williams (1959, p.51) cites a Miss Thompson, a mission school teacher who describes John Ross as "a petty tyrant". We point out that in "ULose omdala" ("Old Ross"), Mqhayi merely mentions a weakness in a man who is good otherwise.

Mqhayi himself says about John Ross in UMhlekazi uHintsas:

Uth'okaLose yenzan'isikhumbuzo, OkaLose nditsh'uZam'ukulungisa!

(He the son of Ross asks you to erect a monument, He of Ross the one who tries to create good!)

We note also that in describing behaviour that would otherwise be very difficult to depict or portray, the writer makes extensive use of the ideophone. It is common among writers to use the ideophone to describe what would otherwise be rather difficult to describe (cf. Weakley 1974).

7. The use of animal symbols

Qangule (1974, p.116) states that an animal symbol conveys a positive or a negative meaning. The animal symbols are employed in the main in Mqhayi's works in a negative context. We discuss the use of the following animal symbols:

The 'beast' symbol

Mqhayi associates lawlessness, tyranny, viciousness, ingratitude, irrationality with bestial behaviour. In Ityala lamawele (1931, p.71) the author tells of a Xhosa man called Silwana (Little beast) who assaults a Mfengu named Madliwa (The-one-who-is-madeto-suffer) for no good reason. Silwana reacts violently when he is called to law. The author gives him the following verbal chastisement:

1 ........ usilwana lowo, usuke wagwenquza
2 wadala amangwevu usilwana,
3 engxamele ngoku ukubetha
4 aba bathunywa bakomkhulu.
Little beast instead behaved wildly and threatened to assault others, Little beast, and then wanted to charge at the court messengers.)

(LAO, DABAIC)

Note the use of the following devices: (i) character-labelling in uSilwana and (ii) stylistic placing of uSilwana in the first and second lines of the extract.

In "Thaba Bosiu" in Inzuzo, the poet tells of the defeat of races that attempted to conquer the Sotho people. Scorn and derision are unmistakable in the following lines:

Zadlul' izingwe neendlovu
Zadlul' iingcuka neempungutyje.
(Leopards and elephants passed on,
Hyenas and jackals passed on.)

(p.87)

Mqhayi condemns the disturber of peace and identifies him with beasts that are physically strong but mentally weak. In "Umkhosi weMidaka" in Ityala lamawele (1931, p.96) the German general, Von Hindenberg, is deprecated:

Maze nibe neliso kuVon Hindenberg
Yimfene leyo zenize niyikhwele.
(Keep a close eye on Von Hindenberg
That one is a baboon you should mount him.)

(p)

We draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the lines quoted above are left out in subsequent editions. The attack was perhaps too strong for the editor.

Whilst Mqhayi points out the evil intentions of some foreign powers like the Germans, he is not blind to the presence of similar elements in South Africa. In "Umkhosi weMidaka II" in Inzuzo he addresses the Black contingent before they leave to join the allied forces. He warns them to return home as soon
as the war is over:

1 Hambani makwedini!
2 Zenibuye kamsinya!
3 Kuba nasekhaya kukh' amaGqubusha.

(1 Go out you fellows!
2 Return home soon!
3 Even at home there are Shrikes.)

Note the personification in amaGqubusha (line 3).

The 'dog' symbol

The dog symbol is employed by Xhosa writers to portray faith or betrayal, it is used to portray honesty or hypocrisy. The dog may be used as a symbol of revolt or insubordination. We are told in Ityala lamawele (1931, p.109) that Sir Harry Smith who came from England and was received in Xhosaland by Chief Maqoma in 1847 wanted later on to usurp the authority of the chief. Listen to the biting idiom of Chief Maqoma as he addressed Sir Harry Smith:

Kuba uyinga wenza umsebenzi wobunja
akuthunywanga loo nto nguVitoliya
kuba endazi yena ukuba
ndiyinkosi njengaye.

(Because you are a dog you behave like a dog,
you were not sent to behave so by Victoria
because she knows that
I am a ruler like herself.)

(P, DABAIC)

Mqhayi's skill in the use of the dog symbol in rejecting a situation is unsurpassed in the poem "UMbamushe". We quote the entire poem:

I Lala njalo ke, Mbambushe,
Ndun' enkul' akulo Ntlushe.
Amabhong' uwafezile,
Bonk' ubuntu ubuggibile.
II Ubuyinja ngokudalwa,
Nqokuvela, nokuzaalwa;
Ubungumntu ngokondliwa,
Nqokongama, nokooyikwa;

III Ubunalo ithamsanqa –
Nezinyi' izinja zakhamnqa –
Lokunyuswa ngokaMlawu,
Akwenze ube sisigcawu.

IV Akonanga; wonakele!
Loo nyanis' ibonakele.
Kone iziphathamandla,
Zakutyhefa, zakuphandla.

V Akonanga, nto kaMlawu,
Ngokuwenza loo mzekelo.
Eli qhina linengosi,
Ziwa kulo zonk' iinkosi.

VI Iimbali zibalisiwe,
Iincwadi sifundisiwe,
Le nyaniso iyatyandwa –
Inkos' ifa ngezithandwa:

VII Izithandwa zabumini,
Ezinobunginingini; 
Ezithetha kom' amathe,
Ze ngokuhlwa ziyizonde.

VIII Namhlane siseBhritani,
Kumz' omkhulu wokumkani;
Kant' uMbambushe usahleli,
Usalawula emandleni.

IX Mhlamnye woze anyalase,
Isifuba ahlasele.
Loo mini ke yoz' iNkosi,
Yenzakale yiloo ngozi.

X Hinani, mafanankosi!
Hinani, mafanankosi!
Nibuye umva ngaliphi na,
Nenjenje nj' inja? Yini na?

(I Rest so in peace Mbambushe,
Honourable dog of the Ntlushe clan.
All ambitions you have realised,
You have drunk your cup to the full.

II A dog you have been by creation,
You were so by origin and by birth;
A man you have been by treatment
By authority and in terms of respect you received.

III You were born with a silver spoon in your mouth –
Even other dogs wondered at your fortunes –
For you were held in high esteem by Mlawu,
He produced in you an arrogant being.

IV You are not just spoilt but beyond redemption!
This has been confirmed by numerous instances.
Those in authority are at fault
For inflating you with pride and blinding you so!
V You have committed no wrong son of Mlawu
By setting such an example.
The road of life is steep and fraught with pitfalls,
All chiefs fiddle, faddle and fall by the wayside.

VI Historical incidents have been recounted,
Knowledge from books has been disseminated,
Truth of the matter is always analysed and verified
One is betrayed by one's closest associates.

VII Newly acquired friends,
Ought not to be relied upon;
Although they are very articulate,
They often betray their own utterances.

VIII Today we are under British rule,
We are ruled by the great King;
But still Mbambushe is alive,
He is in the height of his power.

IX One day he will stride with arrogance,
And wrest power from the King.
The day this happens the King
Will suffer a fatal blow.

X Nay, ye bodyguards!
Nay, ye bodyguards!
Why did you not keep vigilance?
Why did you allow the dog such free reign?

(P, DABAIC) (Extracted from The Stewart Xhosa Readers: Standard V
1973, pp. 99-100)

The entire poem is a satire on the Union of South Africa Act
of 1910 which deprived the Black people of South Africa of their
political rights in the land of their birth. The northern
colonies, namely the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were
largely instrumental in this. When the Union Act was passed,
South Africa was under British rule. We give the meaning of
each stanza in brief:

I The northern colonies have now achieved
their political aims and may rest in peace.

II Although the northern colonists are revered
by others they are not above other mortals.

III The northern colonists should consider
themselves fortunate that Britain, the
colonial power allowed them to exercise great
influence in limiting the political powers
of the Black people of South Africa.

IV The northern colonists have been so pampered
up by the colonial government that they
have become blind to the wrongs they have
committed against the Black people.
V Colonial powers all over the world tend to legislate partially for the people over whom they rule. This is a serious mistake.

VI Historical records have proved beyond doubt that the beneficiaries turn against their rulers.

VII The behaviour of new political acquaintances is unpredictable. They are known for betrayal.

VIII We are under British rule and yet the Blacks still receive pin-pricks from the northern colonies.

IX One day the northern colonies will wrest power from the British people. This will be a big blow to the colonial power.

X The author appeals to the Black population of South Africa to fight for their birth rights.

Makalima* (1975, pp.190-191) writes:

Read literally, the poem deals with a dog that was pampered by its owner, King Mlawu. He even threatened to put to death any of his subjects who would dare to punish Mbambushe for biting him. But one day the king himself was attacked by the dog, and great was the commotion that followed. This time the dog was destroyed.

Makalima continues:

The fact of the matter was that Mqhayi was aiming a broadside at the British authority for giving in, in 1910, to the demands of the Northern colonies for the total exclusion of the black people from the major citizenship rights of their country.

Makalima interprets the 'dog' symbol:

In terms of the poem, Mlawu is the British authority, Mbambushe represents the Northern colonies and Mlawu's subjects (who were at the mercy of Mbambushe) were the black population of the country. At the same time, Mqhayi makes an innocent prediction that one day the master who pampers the dog will have occasion to regret his actions. (How about that!)

* Mr Makalima holds the Hons.B.A. History (UNISA.), B.Ed. (UNISA.) and is a senior lecturer, Faculty of Education, Fort Hare University.
8. The use of the 'demon', the 'devil' and the 'witch' symbols

Mqhayi makes use of different symbols in condemning an undesirable situation, attitude or state of the mind.

The 'demon' symbol

One of the things that Mqhayi deprecates is the sentiment of tribalism. He argues in most of his books that tribalism destroys unity among the people. In *USogqumahashe* (1921, p.20) the author compliments Chief Nathaniel Cyril Mhala for his dedicated effort in crushing tribalism between the Mfengu and the Xhosa people. He writes:

> USobantu ebengenayo konke nale demoni yobuXhosa-Mfengu edungudelisa umzi.

(Sobantu did not have at all this demon which causes a rift between the Xhosas and Mfengus.)

(DABAIC, P, LAO)

The 'devil' symbol

In "Aa! Mhlekazi omhle!" in *Imibengo* (1971, p.21) Mqhayi hails the arrival of Jesus Christ on earth as the unifier of all races. The author condemns tribalism as a devil that destroys people by causing racial ill-feelings amongst them:

> Bayethe Kumkani!
> Nal' utshab' uSathana
> Lusichithachitha.
> Namhl' ufika nje ke,
> Siphathel' isikrweqe;
> Simlwe simgxotho
> Phakathi kohlanga.
> Buya neAfrika, Mhlekazi.

(Hail thee King!
Here is the enemy, the Devil
Scattering us helter-skelter.
Now that you have arrived,
Bring us a strong weapon
To fight and chase him
Away from amongst the people.
Restore order to Africa, Great One.)

(LAO, DABAIC, P)
In "Irhafu yamakhanda" ("Poll tax") in Ityala lamawele (1931, p.93) Mqhayi writes:

Rhafundini yamakhanda!
Rhafundini yamakhanda!
Malibhalwe kwaSathana
Elona lakho igama.
Ungabikh' ezincwadini
Zomz' omkhul' ezulwini,
Ungaze wasikelelwa
Ulityalwe nalilanga.

(You cursed poll tax!
You cursed poll tax!
In Satan's book
Your name should appear.
It should never appear in records
Of the great place, Heaven,
You should never be blessed.
Even the sun should be oblivious of you.)

(LAO,DABAIC)

In the lines above Mqhayi expresses in very strong idiom the rejection of the introduction of the poll tax system among the Black people of South Africa. We find the reasons for such a vehement protest in Jabavu (1934, pp.285-286):

The first and most serious grievance is the poll tax (Act 4, 1925) by which the Black men, however poor they may be, must pay 20s a year in direct taxation to the central government, apart from the other taxes they pay in common with other citizens.

Jabavu continues:

The heavy incidence of this imposition is unbelievable; the harshness associated with its collection unjustifiable, the punishment inflicted for non payment atrocious.

The pen of Jabavu continues:

To the majority called upon to pay, this tax equals the wages of one month; in some cases, two months. No white man in the world labours for wholly two months solely to pay a state tax, but Black people here do so.
Discussing the pros and cons of Jabavu's views would be irrelevant to this literary study. We have quoted him in order to show why Mqhayi expresses himself in such angry vein.

The 'witch' and the 'demon' symbols

In *Ityala lamawele* (1931, p.120), Mqhayi appreciates vigorous attempts made by a number of Black leaders to eradicate tribalism. He says:

Noko ke akakafi umthakathi lowo, usenamagalelo anzima akhe awenze esizweni sethu ngezi mini, endithi mna yiminzwi yokuphuma kwedemoni enkulu.  

(But the witch is not completely dead, she often delivers heavy blows upon the people even nowadays, but I feel they are the last desperate blows of a perishing demon.)  

(LAO, DABAIC, P)

In the extract above the 'witch' symbol is reinforced by the 'demon' symbol. It is typical of Mqhayi to pile symbol upon symbol when rejecting a very undesirable situation or character.

9. Behaviour of character(s) is condemned by other characters

In *UDon Jadu* the Black mine workers who return home and come to the rescue of Dondolo say about the Boers who have been ill-treating him:

Awu! Ehleli nje la maBhulu akwaNeli asenale ntlondi?  

(Woe! Even now these Boers of the Nel family are still so villainous!)  

(DABAIC) (p.16)

In the extract above the characters are condemned by characters who belong to a different race. The same characters whose behaviour has been attacked are condemned by one of their own race. Listen to the words of the Boer whom Dondolo meets:

O, ubhungcile kweziya zikrelemnqa ... Kukho umzi es' apha indlela igqitha kanye ekhaya. Loo mzi ke ufika ukhuphe umntu
Mqhayi employs a very skilful technique. Two comments made at different times by different people at different points during the progression of the plot strengthen the condemnation of unacceptable behaviour. The rejection of the behaviour of the Boers is also achieved by the stylistic placing of the word izikrelemnqa and by reduction, that is associating the behaviour of the Boers (superior beings) with that of the ostriches (lowly creatures).

The behaviour of a character may be condemned by his own filial associates. In Ityala lamawele, two of Babini's sisters prefer Babini to Wele. The author says about the sisters of Babini and Wele:

Zililisela ngoWele umntu ogcine abantu basekhay' apha, nonesandla ezintombini nakwindwendwe, nokhathalele nemphahla yalo mzi ehambayo. Zithi uBabini yinxentsi yelizwe eli lonke, into esisukela sikude isisusa.

(They all favour Wele because it is he who looks after the family, who attends to the girls and to the visitors, he also looks after the stock of this home. They say that Babini is an expert of a dancer that is everywhere, he never misses a festivity no matter how far away it is held.)

Phekesa the uncle of the twin brothers gives evidence in the traditional court of law in favour of Babini. A strong bond of friendship exists between the two. When the two quarrel after the court has pronounced judgement, Phekesa says about Babini:
Ngoku eli hilihili ndithi ndakuggiba ukulenz' umntu ezizweni, lindivuze ngokundithuka. Lo mzi kaVuyisile ungalungiswanga nje asikwabobu bunje balo?

(Now this vagabond after creating a good image for him, he rewards me by insulting me. That this family of Vuyisile is in this unfortunate mess, is it not because of his worthlessness?)

Both the sisters and the uncle are an authentic measurement of Babini's worth. It is not easy to dispute the veracity or strength of judgement passed by people who have been so very close to Babini.

10. A character unconsciously condemns himself or unwittingly condemns another character

In "Idabi laMalinde" in Imibengo, Ngqika, the offender, addresses his warriors some minutes before the battle against Ndlambe's men begins. He says to his supporters:

Hambani nixel' okwemihla, niyibuze kufuphi loo nto.
Hambani niye kufa!
Ikuuhlala kwethu kakade ukubulawa.

(Go ye therefore as often as ye have done, and ask the cause at close proximity.
Go ye therefore to lose your lives! The death of our people has become the order of the day.)

In Ityala lamawele, Vububi, a very irresponsible character and a friend of Babini, puts the blame on Wele (the responsible one) for the change for the better in Babini. He says:

Lo mfo weniwa yile ntwana yakowabo iziphakamise kangaka.

(This fellow has been influenced by his younger brother who thinks so highly of himself.)
In support of Babini's claim, the younger sister of the twin brothers says about Babini:

Eyinkulu nje uyinkulu; nokuba seyinguMajeke akayi kuda aqethule isigwebo sikaLucangwana. Nangaphaya koko, maninzi amahilihili aziinkulu koomawawo.

(That he is the heir apparent cannot be altered; even if the opinion of Majeke is sought he cannot reverse Lucangwana's judgement. More and above there are many vagabonds who remain the heirs in their homes.)

(LAO)  

In rationalising about the issue Ngqika condemns himself. His argument is hollow. In regretting the positive influence and change in Babini, Vububi reveals the negative side of his own personality. The genealogical argument conducted by the youngest sister of the twin brothers brings to light the fact that Babini is a vagrant. A defence of a situation is turned into an attack of the same situation. This is an ingenious device.

11. The offence or crime is magnified by the fact that it is committed by a character who is least expected to commit it

We cite a few examples from two books: Ngqika who (as reported by Dumisani) has committed incest is regarded traditionally as a repository and custodian of law and order (vide Ityala lamawele 1931, p.67). The Black policeman who creates a conflict ought to resolve it; the Boer who exhibits wild behaviour towards Dondolo is supposed to be a torch-bearer of western civilisation (vide UDOn Jadu 1967, pp.13-14).

12. Contrasting the behaviour of the desirable character with that of the undesirable character

There is always a character in Mqhayi's works that acts as a normative or as a normalising agent. Action that is condemnable
is counterbalanced by behaviour that is commendable. We refer to the following works:
(a) *Ityala lamawele* - Wele, the responsible twin serves as a good example to Babini, the irresponsible twin brother.
(b) *Umhlekazi uHintsa* - King Hintsa serves as a looking-glass for all those leaders of various nations that ill-treat him.
(c) *USogqumahashe* - Chief Nathaniel Cyril Mhala serves as a mirror to Ngqika.
(d) *UDon Jadu* - The inhuman treatment meted out to Dondolo by the first Boer family contrasts sharply with the humane manner in which he is received by the second Boer family. The experiences of Dondolo with the two Boer families merits a fuller interpretation: After killing the puff adder, Dondolo is confronted by Boers on horseback. The reader should keep in mind the fact that Dondolo is Black. We are given the following account of the incidents:

A
1. *Ndithe ndiyathi ukubheka ndabe sendihlangana*
2. nothuli lugoduka! Ingxolo endingayiqhelanga!
3. Intetho endingayiziyiyo! Tintshuntshe zezithuko!
4. Tintyakam zezabhokhwe. Yini le! ........
5. Sendiva marheshengang egeandlebe xa kuthiwa:
6. "Usibhadam sesidalwa! Siyatha semfene!"
7. Sidenge sokafile!"
8. Kuthe kanye xa sikuloo ndawo,
9. kwathi gqi elinye iBhulu!
10. Lavela lihamba kangaka ihashe.
11. Lize lagaleleka; lithe liyath' ukufika
12. langa lingalingisa ngesabhokhwe -
13. lithetha lingxola, lithuka kwanje ngala!
14. Lithe kanti eli nguyise wala ........
15. Ngeli xesha sijongeneyo,
16. nantsi intsapho yeli Bhulu, eziindidi yonke,
17. engamakhwenkwe neziintombi,
18. iintwana ezimngcolorhana ezineentongo,
19. ezirhixarhixana neempumlo ezi -
20. iimpukane kuthe bhu-u-u!
21. Izicaka zikwalapha nazo,
22. ezo nto zambathe amarhonya,
When I looked back I saw a cloud of dust churning up.
Noise that is unusual to me!
A language I do not understand! Sharp piercing insults!
A cracking of long whips. What is this! .......
I listened intently at what was being said:
"You imbecile! Stupid baboon!
Foolish Kaffir!"
Just when we were on that point,
Another Boer appeared!
He came galloping on a horse.
He reached the spot; on arriving
he feigned to strike at me with a whip -
Speaking shoutingly, insulting like these!
It transpired that this one is the father of those ...
at the time we are looking at one another,
here is the family of this Boer, a mixed family,
composed of boys and girls,
untidy young people with dried discharge on their eyes
and with even dirty noses,
with a swarm of flies around them,
servants were also here
those things clothed in maize bags.
Cut maize bags to serve as sleeves
with nothing else besides that,
these people display a similar attitude towards me,
all are giggling, laughing, enjoying it!)

(DABAIC) (pp.13-15)

The excerpt quoted above is taken from the incident entitled "AmaBhulu" ("The Boers"). The abstract given below is taken from the incident entitled "Izinja" ("Dogs"). The two incidents follow one after the other. After the release from the Boers, Dondolo goes to the homestead of a kind Boer. He tells us:
B

1 .......... kwamlungu phaya .......
2 kumiwe ngokumiwa, kuyamenyezwa
3 kuzanywa ukunqanda ezi nduna zombini,
4 .... ndibe nabo ubuganga bokuya ngqo ....
5 kuba ndithe ndayibona intshukumo
6 ukuba ingecala lam kuba nala mfo
7 ubesel' ekufuphi nam, usukela kwaizinja
8 ehambha ezixuluba zada zaya ekhaya;
9 zithe ukuba zifike savakala isithonga sompu,
10 kanti ngumninizo ukhahlela enye ......
11 Lithe gwiqi iBhulu laya kungena endlwini,
12 lathi mandibizwe; ndiyile ndangena endlwini,
13 ndafika lo mfo eziphethe ngeenkophe iinyembezi,
14 ebulela uSomandla ngokusinda kwam ....
15 uthe ethetha wabe endibambe ngesandla
16 sokunene ethetha ngomzalwana.
17 Intlobo zezityo ezifanelekileyo ndibone
18 ngazo sezidweliswe apha kule ndlu ....
19 zilungiswa yintombi yasekhay' apha;
20 ndicelwe ngembeko ukuba makhe ndiziqabule.
21 Bafike ngokufika abantwana basekhay' apha,
22 kunye nonina, intokazi estithetha kunene isiXhosa,
23 ndibonakele ndisithi gabalala umzimba
24 nam kukukhululeka kwaba bantu ......
25 ndancokola, ndatya, ndaphila.

( 1 ...... at the White man's home yonder ..... 
2 they are concerned and are shouting 
3 trying to stop the two dogs, 
4 ...... I braced courage to go straight 
5 because I could see the attitude 
6 as being on my side because even that man 
7 who had come close enough to me, was also warding off 
8 the dogs, 
9 throwing stones at them until they ran back home; 
10 as they reached home a gun shot rang out, 
11 it was the family head who had shot dead one of the 
12 dogs .... 
13 The Boer turned and went to the house,
12 he asked that I should be called in,
13 I found this man on the verge of crying
14 and he was praying and thanking the Lord for my safety ....
15 and as he spoke he held me by the right
16 hand accepting me as a brother (in Christ).
17 Various types of rich dishes
18 were being laid on the table ..... 
19 the food was being served by a girl of this home 
20 and I was respectfully asked to help myself.
21 The children at this home joined me 
22 together with their mother who speaks good Xhosa.
23 I felt relaxed
24 as these people made me feel at home ....
25 I conversed, dined and felt a new man.)

(DABAIC) (p. 20)

The two excerpts are marked A and B for easy reference when interpreting them. Thus in the two columns below, A represents the negative attitude of the first Boer family and B shows the positive attitude of the second Boer family. The lines indicated in brackets refer to excerpts A and B respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Despite the fact that Dondolo is hungry and tired he is kept out of the house. This, presumably, is done to break down his ego. (lines 15-26)</td>
<td>1. Dondolo is welcomed into the house and is entertained to a sumptuous meal. This boosts up his ego. (lines 11-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No one, including the Black employees is in sympathy with Dondolo in his plight. (lines 16, 17, 21, 25, 26)</td>
<td>2. Everybody, including the White people, is concerned about Dondolo and takes action to protect him. (lines 4-10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The progeny of the head of the family act in a manner that creates racial animosity. (lines 3-7)</td>
<td>3. The children of the head of the family behave in a way that promotes good race relations. (lines 17-21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. The head of the family uses the hand in a manner that would cause racial hatred. (line 12)

5. Language is used to block communication and to arouse suspicion between races. (line 3)

6. A callous attitude and an apparent lack of a Christian outlook suggests, needless to say, spiritual barrenness of the Boer family (lines 1-26)

4. The head of the family uses the hand in a way likely to generate understanding between races. The 'right hand' signifies proper action. (lines 15-16)

5. Language is used to promote communication between people of different races. (line 22)

6. A compassionate attitude and a deep religious outlook reflect spiritual richness of the Boer family (lines 12-25)

It becomes clear from the analysis made above that Mqhayi is concerned not only about Black disunity (vide excerpt A, lines 21, 25 and 26) but also about harmony between races. The attitude of the first Boer family and those they represent is condemned strongly. We shall now refer to excerpt A and show how language and other literary devices are employed to portray Dondolo's condemnation of the first Boer family:

The strange and unexpected approach by the Boers is suggested in "Ingxolo endingayiqhelanga" (line 2). Their hostile attitude is brought out in "Tintshuntshe zezithuko" (line 3). The use of vulgar language: "Usibhadam sesidalwa! Siyatha semfene! Sidenge sokafile!" (lines 6-7) reveals the diminished calibre of the offenders. The use of dust image "Ndabe sendihlangana nothuli lugoduka" (lines 1-2) emphasizes a reduction in the scale of the moral world in which the Boers move.

Repulsive appearance (lines 18-19); filthy environment (line 20); abject poverty or unremitting toil (lines 21-24) - all these are merged to portray a rejection of the situation. The word impi (line 25) denotes collective behaviour of savage beings.
The statement iyakrutheka (line 26) conveys the idea of petty or lowly action (cf. ukukrutheka, to gnaw, action of rodents); iyahleka (line 26) suggests the light-mindedness of the characters.

The head of the first Boer family is caricatured as the champion of "Ethnosis", he is the personification of retrogression, the antagonist of liberal opinion. When he joins his sons in humiliating Dondolo (vide excerpt A, lines 8-14), he is responding to his destructive self. What is most tragic about the entire first Boer family is that they are blind to the demands of conscience and duty, they are not aware of the wreckage of their own lives (vide excerpt A, lines 18-26).

We shall now refer to excerpt B to show once more how Mqhayi constructs a simple situation and from it portrays a lofty theme: Although Dondolo (Mqhayi) is Black, he associates with the second Boer family on precisely the same terms as a person of European extraction (vide excerpt B, lines 17-25). Both Dondolo and the Boer benefit spiritually from the contact.

Christ expressed a message of love through his own cruel and bloody death. The head of the second Boer family shows the feeling of brotherhood by killing his dog, the pride of the home. He uses a violent method to underscore his message of love. In terms of plot and theme the dog represents the monster of racism and the killing its destruction.

13. The use of authorial comment and the first-person techniques

Most writers employ both techniques. It will suffice to give one example in which Mqhayi uses authorial comment. In Imibengo, p.193, the author says about the rejection of Chief Ngqika by his close relatives:

Lwaye lwafika kuye ulwandile
lokuba umzi wonke wakowabo
uchasene naye.

(Strong reports soon reached his ears
that his entire blood relatives
were against him.)

(LAO, P)
The use of the first-person technique is intimated by Mqhayi himself in his preface to *UDon Jadu*. He writes:

"Umbalisi wale mbalana ngumnumzana UDon dolo, into kaJadu, umZima; koko igama lakhe ukulifutshanisa uthi "Don Jadu".

(The narrator of this story is Mr Dondolo Jadu of the Zima clan; in shortening his names he calls himself "Don Jadu".)

(p.4)

The other book in which this technique is used extensively is the autobiography, *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko*. In both books the reader is addressed directly as the traditional narrator would appeal to the sympathies and sensibilities of his audience. The device is characterised chiefly by the employment of the first pronoun mna/ndi (I). In parts II and III of *UDon Jadu* (pp.28-92) the use of the first person mna/ndi (I) is replaced by the employment of thina/si (we). Dondolo is no longer the lone protagonist. The people or community propel action. The pronoun thina/si (we) represents communal consciousness. It also reveals Mqhayi's faith in human understanding and progress.

The first person technique gives the author scope to articulate his thoughts and feelings about a desirable or undesirable situation or character under the banner of someone else, it breaks psychological barriers. The method enables the writer to tell of situations which, whilst within the experience of the reader, are yet beyond his absolute assessment. There is a tendency on the part of the reader to accept as possible or true the account given by Mqhayi of a situation. We hasten to add that the method is unlikely to have the same effect on the mind of the reader who is always conscious that it is the author who talks to the reader either in the first, second or third person.

14. The use of poetry

In our opinion the rejection of the detestable is expressed with
The greatest effect in all of Mqhayi's works in the two poems, "Imbongi" in *Ityala lamawele*, "ITshawe laseBhritane" in *Inzuzo*. The articulation of protest is strident in these two because poetry approximates the human voice as an expression of feeling and of the state of mind more closely and adequately than prose and drama. We quote the entire poem and analyse it. The Roman figures in the margin indicate the stanzas and the arabic figures the verses or lines. The broken lines mark the end of each stanza. The figures in brackets (1), (2) etc. come after each line or verse that has been explained and therefore indicate the verse or line explained:

A

"Imbongi"

| I  | 1 Ho-o-o-o-o-o-yini! Ho-o-o-o-o-o-yini! |
| 2  | Athi ke mna, mntu walibelethayo! |
| 3  | Athi ke mna, mntu wath' uyakwaz' ukuthetha! |
| 4  | Kazi ke nina nanisithi ndisisilo sini na, |
| 5  | Esi sinokuthetha nezint' ezingathethekiyo? |
|    |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| II | 6 Kunamhlanj' ilizwe liyazuza; |
|    | 7 Kunamhlanje lo mhlab' uyalunywa; |
|    | 8 Int'esesiswini maze niyilumkele, |
|    | 9 Loo nt' isesizalwengi maze niyindwebele; |
|    | 10 Namhla ngathi kuza kuzalw' ugilikankqo; |
|    | 11 Ngathi kuza kuzalw' isil' esingaza lwa ngxuma. |
|    |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| III| 12 Ho-o-o-o-o-o-yini! Ho-o-o-o-o-o-yini! |
|    | 13 Latsh' izwi lesigodlo, mini kwandulukwa, |
|    | 14 Kwakhal' uphondo lwenknom' ukusihlangoana, |
|    | 15 Mhla sayiwela le Nciba siqule sagqiba; |
|    | 16 Mhla wesuk' uzanzolo engenazwi lamplomo, |
|    | 17 Sesibon' ukuphume kwamadangatye ngamehlo, |
|    | 18 Sesibon' ukuphokozeka kwemisi ngeempumlo, |
|    | 19 Sesisiv' inzwini yamakhwelo ngeendlebe. |
IV 20 Wath' umntu namhlanj' isilo sijongolekile,
21 Int' ababehlala besith' ikho namhlanje ihlile,
22 Kuba bebemjong' ezintshiyini, bath' uqumbile;
23 Namhl' ezo ntshiyi zixel' amafu, mhla ngendudumo,
24 Namhl' zitshawuz' imibane, akukho kuphil' ebantwini.
25 Wath' umntu namhla kunyembelekile,
26 KwelakwaRharhabe umhlaba, ubhukuqekile,
27 Kwenzek' isikizi nenyal' emaXhoseni.

V 28 Awu! Hayi ke beth' iinto zomhlaba!
29 Yafumb' indwe phezu kwendwe kwelakwaHoho;
30 Yadl' intsimb' egazini, kwelakwaHoho;
31 Watshixiz' umthi komny' umthi kwelakwaHoho;
32 Satheth' isikhumba senkomo kwelakwaHoho;
33 Sathi golokongqo-gongqo-gongqo kwelakwaHoho;
34 Wagqith' umnt' engayolelanga kwelakwaHoho;
35 Waya kwabaninzi ngephanyazo kwelakwaHoho;
36 Sadl'isilwangangubo nezinja zaso kwelakwaHoho;
37 Yadl' ingqanga yashiylel' ihlungulu kwelakwaHoho;
38 Yadl' ingcuka yahlomlel' ixhwili kwelakwaHoho;
39 Yadl' uhodoshe washiylel' impethu kwelakwaHoho

VI 40 Ho-yi-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-nil!
41 Khanizibeke kamb' izikhali mlisela;
42 Khaniwabeke kamb' amakhakha khab' elintshongo -
43 Ngathi ngakwelakwaRharhabe nisafezile.
44 Noko ndakuphos' iso, ngathi kuhluphekile.
45 Hambani kambe, zinin' izint' emazilungiswe,
46 Kub' amakhaya beningawayalele mntwini,
47 Benishiy' intsapho kakad' itshisana.
48 Lukrozo, luthotho, lungcelele.

VII 49 Azininzi ngak' izint' ema niye kuzilwa -
50 Aniyivanga n' imibono yenyange uKhulile?
51 Anizivanga n' izint' eziza kuhla kulo mhlaba?
52 Aniyivangan' imbalasela yomQulu ozayo?
Asiyi kuthuma nina n' ukuba nisikhangelele?
Kub' aweth' amehl' oba sel' esehlungulwini.
Anivanga na ngomfo waseKunene oza kuthetha?
Kwakweli duli ubesel' ekhe wavakala.
Bathi yinto kaGaba yasemaCirheni ukumbiza.
Anivanga na ngentombazana eza kuthetha nayo?
Kuthiwa siya kuthi yimbubho kanti lidini.
Nikhe neva na ngezi ntlanga zimayephuyephu!
Kuthiwa zint' ezidlalisa ngezulu.

---

Mna ke, nyana kaZolile, ndithi kuni makhaba,
Godukani ningalali, ilizwe liyazuza, -
Ukuzala ndithi mna liza kuzal' uGilikankqo;
Liza kuzal' isil'esingaziwa mngxuma.
Godukani ningalali kuz' iziziba zegazi;
Godukani ningalali kuz' ukuphela kobuntu;
Godukani ningalali kuza kuthengiswa ngani ngooyihlo;
Godukani ningalali niza kubathengisa nan' ooyihlo;
Godukani ningalali kuza kutshitsha nobukhosi;
Godukani ningalali niza kusikhangelel' umQulu;
Godukani ningalali niza kondel' ukubinza kwenkwenkwezi.
Godukani ningalali niza kukhangelel' uZanzolo;
Godukani ningalali ningamabhax' esizwe;
Godukani ningalali usapho lusengozini;
Godukani ningalali, kuz' ixesha lomnyama;
Godukani ningalali, asiyi kuhlala sikho;
Godukani ningalali, niye kukhonz' isizukulwana;
Godukani ningalali eyona mfazwe mna ndith' ifikile.

---

(I)
1 Lend me your ears! Lend me your ears!
2 I then say, I, the person who is privileged!
3 I then say, I the person who has the gift of speech!
4 I wonder what monster you think I am.
5 This which says things inexpressible?

(II)
6 Today the world is on the brink of a war;
7 Today this land is in labour pains;
What is in the stomach you should be wary of;
That which is in the uterus you should be careful of;
Today it seems as if a monster will be born;
It seems as if a wild animal whose lair is not known
will be born.

Lend me your ears! Lend me your ears!
The wailing was heard on the day of departure,
The horn wailed calling us together,
The day we crossed the Kei River fully armed;
The day Zanzolo was utterless with fury,
We saw only the leaping of flames through the eyes,
We saw only the smoke coming through the nose,
We heard only intense whistling through the ears.

And they said the monster is fierce,
The anticipated thing had occurred,
They said wrinkles on his forehead spelt anger;
The wrinkles tell of clouds when it is thundering,
Today they flash lightnings there is no life in people.
And someone said the worst has come,
At Rharhabe's there is a social upheaval,
A thing vile and immoral has occurred in Xhosaland.

Woe! Nay then things of this earth!
The general was heaped upon another at Hoho's;
The iron fed on blood at Hoho's,
The wood gnashed its teeth against wood at Hoho's,
The hide of an ox spoke at Hoho's.
It uttered a thud repeatedly at Hoho's;
The man died without making a will at Hoho's;
He went to many others by the wink of an eye at Hoho's;
The vulture and its dogs fed at Hoho's;
The jackal-buzzard fed and left something for the
raven at Hoho's;
The wolf fed and set something aside for the wild
dog at Hoho's;
The greenfly fed and left something for the maggot
at Hoho's.
Lend me your ears!
Put down your weapons young men;
Put down your shields you pugnacious ones;
You have done your duties at Rharhabe's.
A quick look tells of misery.
Go back home for multifarious duties await you;
You left your homes without someone to guard them;
You left your families burning each other.
Follow one another back home.

Numberless are the issues you must tackle at home -
Have you not heard about old Khulile's visions?
Have you not heard of things which are to happen here?
Have you not heard about news concerning the big book?
Shall we not ask you to read it for us?
For our eyes shall have been taken by the white necked crow.
Have you not heard of the man of the Great House who will speak?
Even in this battle his voice was heard.
They say he is Gabha of the Cirha clan.
Have you not heard of the girl who is to prophesy?
They say we shall interpret the voice as doom when it is a sacrifice.
Have you heard about the races whose hair has loose strands!
It is alleged they toy with thunder.

I, son of Zolile, then say to you regiments:
Go you back home, but keep awake the land is on the verge of war, -
It is going to give birth to a monster;
It is going to give birth to a monster whose lair is not known.
Go back home, but lie awake for pools of blood are coming.
Go back home, but lie awake for the end of life is near;
Go back home, but lie awake for father is going to betray his son;
69 Go back home, but lie awake for the son is going to betray his father;
70 Go back home, but lie awake for chieftainship will come to an end;
71 Go back home, but lie awake for you will interpret the bible for us;
72 Go back home, but lie awake for you will watch out for the appearance of the star.
73 Go back home, but lie awake for you will act for Zanzolo;
74 Go back home, but lie awake for you are the pillar of the nation;
75 Go back home, but lie awake for the new generation is in danger;
76 Go back home, but lie awake for the times of darkness are near;
77 Go back home, but lie awake for we shall not always be with you;
78 Go back home, but lie awake for you have a new generation to serve;
79 Go back home, but lie awake, for the real war is coming.

(LAO, DABAIC)

Analysis and interpretation

I. The first line, according to Burns-Ncamashe (1976), is a contraction of the statement "Anindihoyi na! Anindihoyi na!" ("Will you not listen to me! Will you not listen to me!"). Thus, with a pulled piercing call, the bard calls everyone to attention. Note the lengthening of the vowel. The technique is used to arouse emotional excitement both in the audience and in the bard himself. An atmosphere of expectancy is created, the bard is about to deliver something weighty to the people assembled. The bard apologises in advance for what he is about to say (2). His tone does not suggest compromising softness though. Already we expect him to lash out criticism on someone. The bard states - and appropriately so - that he is the spokesman of the people (3). This of course is characteristic of praise-singers (cf. Qangule 1973, p.8). This status will protect the bard against a possible prosecution
or a charge from anyone who may feel that the utterances of the bard have offended his dignity. Lines 2 and 3 show up one of the features of praise poems. The first four lexical units in each line are identical and the last two are synonymous:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 2</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athi</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>mna</td>
<td>mntu</td>
<td></td>
<td>walibelethayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 3</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e(f)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athi</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>mna</td>
<td>mntu</td>
<td></td>
<td>wath' uyakwaz' ukuthetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus we have a kind of a horizontal rhyme scheme. This is sometimes called straightforward parallelism. This structural device does not only lend force to the utterance but it helps, since it is expansive, to propel the narrative. What Scheub (1975, p.146) says about the employment of this technique in the telling of the Xhosa ntsomi applies with equal effect in the Xhosa praise poem:

Each repetition of the expansive image pushes the developing plot a step forward, and it is in the combination and manipulation of these images that the plot begins to reveal itself.

The bard equates himself with a monster (4). The aim is not merely to create an impression of someone endowed with superhuman powers but to make the audience aware of their vulnerability regarding what he is going to say. A monster can attack anyone. Line 5 marks the end of the first stanza. When read aloud there is a strengthening of the penultimate vowel in .... kiyo. This exaggerated cadence does not only conclude the stanza but adds a vein of gravity to what the bard is going to say. The pause is however not long and this is called a non-final cadence. The emotions of the audience have now been aroused adequately.

II. The poet alludes to the fact that Nqgaka committed incest with Thuthula, the wife of Ndlambe, Nqgaka’s senior uncle (6-li). The audience are shifted from aesthetic satisfaction to the ache of their souls. Mqhayi uses the lawsuit as a platform to attack Chief Nqgika for his bad behaviour. This is skilful writing.
To a person who has no knowledge of the events leading to the declamation of this poem, the entire lines will sound unintelligible. Mokgokong (1975, p.207) says about some of the difficulties experienced in interpreting praise poems:

Understanding of traditional poetry depends on the historical context. Without a knowledge of the history and the customs of the relevant people, it is an arduous task to fathom the imagery portrayed in the poem.

Ngqika's heinous act has plunged the Xhosa nation into a civil war (6-7). A subtle attack on Ngqika is made (8-9). Ngqika has acted like a monster that knows of no law (10-11). Gilikankqo, according to Xhosa legend and myth, was a monster that devoured its creator and master. The monster in this case is Ngqika and the Creator and master is Chief Ndlambe, his uncle and senior chief. Straightforward parallelism used in stanza I is employed in stanza II (vide lines 6-11). Note the facile shifting of imagery or symbolism in lines 6 and 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line 6</th>
<th>line 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilizwe</td>
<td>lo mhlaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a reference to the entire Xhosa nation</td>
<td>refers to this land in particular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scale of reference is wider

The scale of reference is narrower and more specific

In lines 8 and 9 perfect parallelism occurs. Perfect parallelism is the repetition of statements of identical construction with different words expressing the same idea:

Line 8 | Line 9
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esesiswini</td>
<td>sesizalweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maze</td>
<td>maze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyilumkele</td>
<td>niyindwebele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is the case with lines 6 and 7, in lines 8 and 9, the poet starts from the general (the people) to the particular (Chief Ngqika). The attack on Chief Ngqika is couched in subtle idiom.
Stanza II is characterised by oblique references to an undesirable character or situation. This is a characteristic feature, not only of Mqhayi's poetry but of his prose works as well.

III. With renewed vitality the bard calls people to attention (12). The mentioning of the wailing horn is a reminder of a very unpleasant situation (war). Note the additional effect achieved by the use of the voiced velar explosive [g] and the voiced lateral alveolar explosive [dl] in the possessive construction lesigodlo. Note also the use of the menacing image in uphondo lwenkomo (lines 13 and 14 respectively). Line 15 points boldly to the resolution arrived at by King Hintsa. Words are translated into action; Chief Ngqika will be punished. The consonant harmony of the soft sibilant [s] and of the heavy click sounds [q] and [gq] (line 15) vivify the gravity of the situation. The use of heavy sounds to portray a grim situation is common in Mqhayi's works. There is a direct reference to Hintsa referred to here as Zanzolo (16). Our admiration for him is aroused. Note initial linking in mhlə (lines 15 and 16). The word serves not to link the two lines only but introduces King Hintsa as the initiator of a desirable action, namely the organising of an army that must cross the Kei River, join forces with Ndlambe's men and punish Ngqika. A tremendous force is lent to the depiction of the fury or menacing anger of King Hintsa by the juxtaposition of sharply contrasting symbols:

(Line 17 amadangatyə (flames) ←→ amehlo (eyes) )
(Line 18 umsi (smoke) ←→ iimpumlo (nose) )
(Line 19 iinzwinini (whistling) ←→ iindlebe (ears) )

IV. The king is described as a monster (29). The 'monster' symbol has a positive connotation - King Hintsa is in actual fact presented as a very powerful and topmost official of traditional justice. The bellicose mood of the king is captured. An atmosphere of pending destruction is depicted (23-26). 'Thunder' and 'lightning' symbolise the deadly power of the king. There
is a flash-back to stanza II. We are made to anticipate the defeat of Ngqika, the law-breaker. Line 27 is a reference to the crime of incest committed by Chief Ngqika. The line is denunciatory—it crowns the feeling that the evil-doer (Ngqika) must be punished. Line 27 marks the end of stanza IV.

V. The bard opens, and appropriately so, with a very deep sigh (28). This is indicated by the use of the exclamation marks. An image of terrifying power, of waste, of barrenness and utter futility is given (29–39). These lines are best summed up in the words of Ntantala (1971, p.11):

He (Mqhayi) decries the slaughter on the plains of aMalinde, where brother fought brother, father killed son; he draws a picture of the piled-up bodies of the Xhosa braves, with their plumes, insignia of the bravest of the brave, piled one on top of the other, now dead, food for the wolves, the hyena, the wild dog, the vulture, the crow, the blue-bottle fly and the maggot. What a waste of human life!

In condemning the situation, Mqhayi employs a masterful technique: Inferior beings, animals, birds and insects, 'characters' which are notorious for disorderly behaviour are made to behave in an orderly manner in a situation which is a sequel to the disorder caused by superior beings (Ngqika and Thuthula). The animal and insect characters feed upon the corpses in turn and in terms of superiority (cf. Mdlangaso 1976, pp.23–24). The author keeps the sad picture before our eyes by the constant repetition of the locative kwelakwaHoho (at Hoho's) at the end of every succeeding line and there are eleven of these. The constant repetition and the meticulous detail upon the ugly and the vicious intensifies our dismay at the author of the situation, that is, Chief Ngqika. Louw and Qangule (1974, p.27) comment as follows about stanza V:

The poet has created a morbid atmosphere and one filled by a sense of imperishable shame.
VI. The poet refers to the victory of the combined forces of King Hintsa and Chief Ndlambe over the forces of Chief Ngqika (41-44). The writer takes delight in the defeat of Ngqika. The war is extolled. It is interesting to note the vein of triumph with which Jolobe (1946, p.30) describes the defeat of Ngqika:

The Ngqika wall collapsed, the brave were done
They beat retreat; defeated remnants fled.
Courageous Umrhotshozo heroes fell
For these Chief Ngqika shed some bitter tears,
His braves, the bodyguard, the trusted men,
The comrades, friends and mates he loved so well,
They were propiation for the wrong -
The sin - outcome of dark conspiracy.

In lines 45-48 the bard tells the triumphant forces to return home.

VII. Mqhayi alludes to some historical events or incidents. These are: Khulile Majeké foretold of the arrival of some White and Black races in Xhosaland (50); Ntsikana Gaba prophesied about the arrival of White races in Xhosaland with the aim of spreading the Christian gospel (52, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61); Nongqawuse told of new life for the Xhosa people (58). Ntantala (1971, p.11) interprets the verses in stanza VII as follows:

Looking into the future, the bard tells of the coming of the missionaries with the "great book", which the people will accept for it contains universal truth; he tells of the coming of the white man - the white trader with his goods that will undermine the people's home economy, the white administrator who, with his gun powder will force the people off the land and take away their cattle; of the coming of the Mfengu whom the people would welcome for they are brothers.

VIII. The antithetical arrangement of the first two predicates in lines 66-79 requires a kind of a caesura after the second predicate. We take a few lines as an illustration:
This focuses attention firmly on succeeding statements. This is an ingenious metric device. Line 64 is another example in which Mqhayi reveals himself as a master of technique - the bard allegorises the birth of a political monster (Ngqika) in the present by recalling the existence of a physical monster (Gilikankqo) in the past. The condemnation of Ngqika and Thuthula's behaviour becomes an attack on misbehaviour and lawlessness in general among the Xhosa people at the time. The author regrets the loss of the homely beauty of the good old order; he deplores the lack of peace; he deprecates the passing away of things which he holds dear; he laments the loss of custom which is a force that cements the nation together. The disruption of order is portrayed by the piling up of a statement with a negative connotation upon another one (63-79). The last stanza becomes a fierce prediction of doom for the Xhosa people.

"Itshawe laseBbritani"

I
1 NguMzimb' uyaqhum' elokubuliswa;
2 NguMzimb' uyavuth' elomteketiso;
3 NguZweliyazuz' elibizwa ngasemva;
4 NguTshawuz' imiban' elibizwa yimbongi;
5 Sinnika!

II
6 Phumani nonke nize kufanekisa!
7 Phumani zizwe nonke nize kufanekisa!
8 Sisilo sini n' esi singaziwayo?
9 Singajongekiyo singaqhelekiyo?
10 Yaz' ithi kanti yile nabulele;
11 Isilokaz' esikhulu seziziba;
12 Yaz' ithi kanti ngulo Makhanda-mahlanu
13 Inyok' enkul' eza ngezivuthevuthe;
14 Yaz' ithi kanti ngulo Gilikankqo, -
15 Isil' esikhul' esingaziwa mnxuma.
16 Le nt' umzimb' uyaqhuma ngathi liziko;
17 Le nt' umzimb' uyavutha ngathi lidangatye;
18 Le nt' iqhuqhumb' iintlantsi ngathi nguSindiyandiya;
19 Le nt' itshawuz' imibane ngathi sisibhakabhaka;
20 Sinnika!

---

III
21 Nalo lisiz' iTshawe leBhilitani!
22 Inzala yenyathikan' uVitoliya;
23 Inkazan' ebuthixorha kwizwe lakwaNtu,
24 Ebumoyarha, butolorha, bugqirharha.
25 Nants' isiz' iMdlungu wesiHlanu;
26 Yez' emadodeni ikwekv' akomkulu. -
27 Umdak' oliso litshawuz' imibane;
28 Lithi lakujezul' ung' ungaphanyaza;
29 Umdak' osabuphotyo-buthatho;
30 Ungangabona wakumumbedla;
31 Kok' ithole lerhamnc' alondeleki -
32 Nabakhe bal' inz' isibonamakhulu.

---

IV
33 Yez' inkwenkw' omquba yomthonyama!
34 Yez' ixhom' izindwe yaxhom' ugijo;
35 Yez' ifak' umzunga yafak' iphunga;
36 Yez' itsho ngezidanga nezidabane;
37 Yez' itsho ngobumbejewu bobuhlalu;
38 Yez' inobulawu nobuqholo;
39 Yez' inetyeleba nezifikane;
40 Yez' inomtho nomthombothi;
41 Yeza ngobungwe nobungwenyama;
42 Yeza bugcolocho buchoko-chokozo!
43 Sinnika Lawundini!

---

V
44 Tarhu Bhilitan' eNkul' engatshonelwa langa;
45 Bhilitan' eNkul' engatshonelwa langa;
46 Siya kumthini na lo mntwan' okumkani;
47 Siya kumthini na lo mntwan' omhlekazi;
48 Khaniphendule nani zintaba zezwe lethu!
49 Nani milambo yakowethu khanithethe!
50 Maz' aselwandle khanithethe!
51 Mthuleli maz' aselwandla!
52 Sikhe simbone, simjonge, simlozele;
Ibilapha nenkwenkwez' enomsila;
Angaba yen' usekhondweni layo.
Ibize kwabakwaPhalo kaTshiwo;
Ibize kumaZulu kubeSuthu;
Ibize kumaSwazi kubaTshwana;
Ibilundwendwe losapho lukaNtu!
Kub' uYehov' uThix' uyalawula, -
Uyathetha ngendalo yakhe.
Uyawakhawulezis' amakhes' akhe!

VI
Tarhu Langaliyakhanya!
Uphuthum' inkwenkwezi yakowenu na?
Thina singumz' owab' iinkwenkwezi;
Nalo kamb' ikhwez' inkwwenkwezi' akowenu.
Sibambana ngeSilimela thina, -
Yona nkwenkwezi yokubal' iminyaka,
Iminyaka yobudoda, yobudoda!

VII
Hay' kodw' iBhritan' eNkulu, -
Yeza nebhotele neBhayibhile;
Yeza nomfundis' exhaq' ijoni;
Yeza nerhuluwa nesinandile;
Yeza nenkanunu nemfakadolo.

VIII
Tarhu bawo, sive yiphi na?
Gqithela phambili Thole lesilo!
Nyashaz' ekad' inyashaza.
Gqitha, uzubuye kakhule, -
Ndilalifa yelakowethu.
Makadl' ubom ukumkani!
Ndee ntsho - ntshobololo !!
Ngokwalaa nkwenkwezi yayinomsila !!!

(I)
Body-That-Smokes is the name I greet you by;
Burning-Body is your pet name;
Scourge-of-the-Nation you are called in private;
The praise-singer calls you Flasher-of-Lightning;
Honour to you!
Go out, all of you, go out and identify him!

Go out, all the nations, and identify!

What kind of creature is this unknown monster?

Never before seen, unfamiliar to all?

Perhaps he may turn out to be Nabulele;

Monster of the deep pools;

Or Makhanda-mahlanu,

The snake with five heads, who comes as a whirlwind.

Or it may be Gilikankqo,

The monster whose lair no man knows.

Its body burns like a furnace;

Its body burns like a flame;

It spits sparks as if it were a steam-engine;

It flashes lightning like the heavens;

Honour to you!

Here comes the Prince of Britain!

Offspring of the female buffalo, Victoria!

Young woman who is a god in the land of blacks,

Spirit-like, priest of war, wizard,

Here comes the boy son of George V;

Of the Royal House, a boy coming to men.

Dung-coloured one eye flashes lightning;

If it so much as touches you with a glance, it will blind you;

The dung-coloured one, who it is impossible to describe;

Indeed it is difficult to scan him;

There is no-one can gaze at the calf of the wild beast

And those who once tried collapsed unconscious.

Here comes the boy of the raw dung, the old dung of royal descent!

Here he comes in plumes and in feathers;

Here he comes decked in finery, wearing the grass of initiates;

Here he comes beautifully attired,

Resplendent and bejewelled;

Here he comes in scent and fragrance;

Here he comes in mint and grass necklaces;
Here he comes smelling of the sacred tambuti tree;
Here he comes with the virtue of the leopard, the lion;
Here he comes in raiment and fine robes!
Honour to you, Philistine indeed!

Hail, Great Britain!
Great Britain on whom the sun never sets;
What shall we do with this princely child?
What shall we do with this child of the king?
Give answer, you mountains of our land!
And you, rivers of our home, speak out!
Bring him down, waves of the sea!
Waves of the sea, bring him down,
So that we may see him and study him intently;
A shooting star once came here;
Could it be that he is on its trail?
It came to the people of Phalo, of Tshiwo;
It came to the Zulus and to the Sothos;
It came to the Swazis and to the Tswanas;
It was a pilgrim to the brotherhood of the Blacks!
For Jehovah, the Lord, ruleth —
He speaks of His creation.
He hastens on His times!

Hail, Light—that—shines!
Have you come to fetch your star?
We are a nation that divides stars amongst us;
Yonder is the morning star — star of your people.
But we bind ourselves together with the pleiades —
The stars we count our years by, the years of our manhood,
The years of manhood, the years of manhood!

Nay, the mighty Great Britain! —
Here she comes with Bible and bottle;
Here she comes a missionary escorted by a soldier;
Here she comes with gunpowder and guns;
Here she comes with cannons and breechloader.
Forgive me, O Father, but which of these must we accept?

Pass on, calf of the beast,
Trampler who even now is trampling,
Pass on and return safely,
Eater of our country's inheritance.
Long live the king!
I disappear, I disappear
Like the shooting star we once saw.

(Translated by R. Kavanagh & Z.S.Qangule)

Analysis and interpretation

Janheinz Jahn (1968, p.99) classifies the poem as protest literature. This is so. It is a condemnation of British policy in South Africa towards her citizens in general and towards the Blacks in particular. About the event that occasioned the declamation of the poem, Ntantala (1971, p.13) writes:

When the Prince of Wales - (now the Duke of Windsor) visited South Africa in 1925, to make the African people feel that they too belonged, the white administration asked Mqhayi as national bard, to sing praises to the visiting prince, as the Africans would have done in the olden days. Mqhayi used the occasion well, for he drew for all a picture of British rule in the colonies.

I. The bard introduces the Prince to the people (1-5). The magnanimity of the Prince is portrayed by the use of pictorial and sensory images or symbols. It is not clear at this stage whether the bard accepts or rejects the Prince. The symbols used could have a positive or a negative meaning.

II. The bard likens the Prince of Wales to all the powerful mysterious animals found in Xhosa folklore (6-20). This stanza is characterised, like the previous one, by metaphors and similes that run into each other for the purpose of arousing our feelings and sustaining our interest. Since the mighty folklore characters with which the Prince is associated always appear in a
negative context, we become aware that the bard is not complimenting the Prince. We also realise that in stanza I the attitude of the poet is vituperative. If we recall that the Prince's initial domain is the British Isles which, needless to say, are surrounded by the waters of the Atlantic Ocean, it is not illogical to suggest that "Isilokazi" ("The monster") is a reference to the Prince and "esikhulu seziziba" ("of the deep pools") is a reference to the British Isles (vide line 11). Note the use of the plural iziziba (deep pools).

III. The bard still takes the audience on the Prince's voyage across the sea. The ship now is near to the harbour, Algoa Bay in Port Elizabeth, South Africa (21-32). Although the poet lauds the Prince the audience are aware of the rebuke beneath.

IV. The bard still captures the proximity of the ship carrying the Prince to the harbour (33-43). Throughout the entire stanza the bard employs the Xhosa traditional symbols of status and victory. The bard clothes his victim in a mantle of lofty gravity (lines 33-40) and then condemns him with almost affectionate contempt (line 41).

V. The interrogative statements in lines 46 and 47 do not depict the fear only the Xhosa people have for him, but also signify their rejection of the Prince of Wales and all that he is a symbol of, namely, imperialism. Mqhayi appeals to the Xhosa ancestral spirits to advise the people about what should be done about the Prince (48 and 49). Note that the mountains (48) and the rivers (49) are believed to be the habitats of the Xhosa ancestors. The manner in which the bard scoffs at the Prince of Wales is very subtle in lines 53 and 54. His visit is associated with the appearance of Halley's comet which the Black people of South Africa (vide lines 55-58) interpreted as a harbinger of bad news. This is skilful.

VI. The bard refers to the traditional practices of the English and the Xhosa people. The English people are associated with the morning star which is a symbol of diligence and wisdom.
The Xhosa people are linked with the pleiades which are a symbol of steadfastness, of perseverance, of manhood, of maturity (65-67). There is a subtle warning in lines 66-67 - the Xhosa people are not blind to the unfair policies of Britain, the colonial power, towards the Xhosa people. They are prepared to fight for their rights like all men of calibre (68).

VII. For the first time the bard addresses himself to Britain and accuses her of applying double standards in her policy towards the Black people of South Africa (70-71). Jordan (1973, p.89) refers to lines 69-73 of the stanza and says that Mqhayi was expressing a disillusionment that had been felt as keenly, if expressed less artistically by his predecessors fifty years before him.

VIII. Once more the bard addresses himself to the Prince. Protest against him is expressed by the use of the interrogative (74). The rejection of his presence in South Africa is expressed in line 75. The poet accuses him of being ruthless in his dealings with the people (76), he is blamed for being a grasping cheat (78). Mqhayi pleads that the Prince of Wales should revisit South Africa a changed man (77). Mockery is unmistakable in line 79. In summing up, Mqhayi intimates that his own utterances are as piercing as the shooting movements of Halley’s comet (80-81).

Our interpretation of lines 80 and 81 gains additional strength when we compare the ‘warrior’ and ‘comet’ images in these two lines with the same images in Mqhayi’s “Izibongo” in Imibeng (1971, p.140). The poem consists of fifty-one verses. The last two illustrate our point:

50. Tsi-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha!
51. Ndaxel’ inkwenkwez’ ingen’ efini!!

Line 50 refers to the war-cry uttered by Chief Rhârhabâ’s men as their spears pierced the bodies of their victims. Line 51 alludes to the disappearance of Halley’s comet into the cloud.
We point out the following main devices Mqhayi employs in deprecating the Prince of Britain:

(i) **Use of animal symbol.** The prince is associated with animals that have a great capacity for aggressiveness (22, 31, 41, 76);

(ii) **Use of symbols to create an incongruous situation.** The symbols heighten what they intend to bring low. They give mock dignity (1, 2, 3, 4).

(iii) **Juxtaposition of ideas.** This brings out the undesirable element in the character to a sharper focus (70-71).

(iv) **Stylistic placing.** A word associated with the character is used frequently. This reduces the character to a type. We quote the use of the words *isilo* (8, 11, 15, 75) and *ikwekwe* (25, 26, 33).

(v) **Use of dress and ornament.** (34-42) The description of the Prince in these lines is very similar to the description of the physical appearance of Lord Charles Somerset in *Imibeng*o (1971, pp.193-194).

(vi) **Praise for inappropriate position, status or authority held.** (23, 24, 27, 29, 33, 78, 79)

(vii) **Making an exaggerated or false or saccharine or syrupy statement about the character.** (45)

We refer to the two long poems (A and B) and show that a given symbol may be used in a positive or negative context:
In the same poems some symbols have different connotations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Chief Ngqika (undesirable)</th>
<th>B Prince of Britain (undesirable)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>war symbol (negative, line 6)</td>
<td>war symbol (negative, line 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster symbol (negative, line 9)</td>
<td>monster symbol (negative, line 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster symbol (negative, lines 10-11)</td>
<td>monster symbol (negative, lines 13-15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In poem A, Chief Ngqika is associated with repulsive folkloric characters such as Gilikankqo (line 10). In poem B the Prince of Wales is linked with repulsive traditional animal characters like Nabulele, Makhanda-mahanlu and Gilikankqo (lines 10, 12, 14 respectively. Moloi (1973, p.84) states that the use of material from traditional lore is one of the most effective techniques in articulating protest against an undesirable character or situation in African writing.

**Evaluative summary**

Limited space does not allow us to discuss all relevant passages from Mqhayi's works to illustrate the condemnation of a character or situation. Let it suffice to say that the idiom and energy of denigration is used with periodic zest in each of the books he has written. The tornado of his attack assumes great pro-
portions in the poem entitled "Imbongi" in Ityala lamawele. In the poem "Itshawe laseBhritani" in Inzuzo, the author becomes a gigantic executioner. With the scorpion lash of the most severe allegory ever produced by his pen, he mercilessly flays the prince and all that he symbolises. In his poem "Izibongo zikaBishop James Limba" in Indyebo kaXhosa (1954, p.110) Mqhayi admits his severity on the prince who later on became the Duke of Windsor. Mqhayi writes about Bishop Limba:

1 Andikubongi Mbona ndiyakufomba
2 Noko ndakha ndazek' ityala emLungwini
3 Ndabong' inkosana yaphum' ufundo,
4 Kwathiwa ubumzonda ntoni na umntwan' enkosi
5 Ukumbong' ade asuke aphuk' umqolo,
6 Ade ashiy' isihlalo sakowabo sobukumkani.

(1 As I praise you of the Mbona clan I level criticism against you
2 I once incurred the anger of the White people
3 For when I lauded a prince he developed a hunchback
4 And some people asked me why I begrudged him
5 Because in lauding him I broke down his strength
6 And ultimately he abdicated his throne.)

Like Dostoevsky (cf. R. Curle 1950, p.68) Mqhayi shows at times very little sympathy or none towards some characters and distasteful situations.

It could be argued by some literary critics that in attacking a character or situation Mqhayi becomes, at times, vulgar; that he finds a valve to release his own bad temper and as a consequence he becomes vindictive rather than redemptive. A defence of the author could be raised on the grounds that, like a loving parent that is reluctantly compelled to punish the child that commits a serious wrong, Mqhayi is forced to apply the verbal lash as an instrument of moral and social therapy. It could also be pointed out that denigration is not always done in a clean way, that the vulgar or impolite idiom used is a valid means to harrass agents of undesirable action with a view to effecting change or improvement. The author arouses revulsion so that corrective steps should be taken.
It must not be thought that Mqhayi is prejudiced towards certain characters and the racial groups they represent. The author elicits ridicule and indignation towards what he regards as being corrupt and corruptive. He also elicits veneration for what is good and exemplary. For example, in the incident entitled "AmaBhulu" in UDon Jadu, sin and folly are made odious with such vehement protest that the feelings of some readers may be offended. The writer is not condemning the characters per se but their thoughts and actions. The author's constructive vein and a sense of balanced judgement are revealed when later on Dondolo (Mqhayi) compliments the second Boer family for receiving him warmly in their house:

Le nto ifundisa ukuba akukho sizwe sisikhohlakali ngendalo; bakho abangabantu nabangebantu kuko zonke iintlanga.
(This teaches the lesson that there is no race that is cruel by nature; there are people who are humane and who are not, in all races.)

(DABAIC) (p.21)

The truth and wholesomeness of this statement should compensate for any hurt that might have been felt by a sensitive reader.

The transformation of the undesirable

Throughout his works Mqhayi does not condemn only. He extols virtue. In addition to this he preaches the gospel of hope and faith in human progress. This chapter would not be complete without a study of the latter aspect.

We shall refer to a few of Mqhayi's books and trace the development of some of the characters:

a UDon Jadu

The Black policeman who has been dependent economically on Whites and who has been vicious towards his own kind (p.8)
improves in attitude. He is appointed an overseer of a Black agricultural and educational complex. He is well paid, is efficient in his work and is the pride of his own people.

Dondolo informs the reader:

a1 Lathi kanye eliya polisa liNtsundu lalindingxamela lenziwa umgcini wempahla yolimo ngomvuzo omhle kunene.

(And the very Black policeman who confronted me was made an overseer in an agricultural complex and was paid well.)

(DABAIC) (p.32)

The Black boys and girls who earlier (pp.22-24) did not appreciate the value of education become thirsty for it later on.

We are told about the boys:

a2 Kuthiwa amakhwenkwe ambulela ngokuzondayo umfo awayemkrozisele iintonga ukuba aze ambethe akuzitsiba. Kuthiwa amabini kuwo aziititshala eziqinisekileyo.

(It is reported that the boys thank sincerely the man on whose path they put sticks intending to molest him should he walk over them. It is said that two of them are fully qualified teachers.)

(DABAIC) (p.32)

About the girls we learn:

a3 Kuthiwa iintombi kanjalo zona ziyambulela 'umfana' ezaye zimenzisa.

(It is said that the girls also thank 'the young man' amongst whom they asked him to name the girl of his choice.)

(DABAIC) (p.27)

We are given additional information about a particular girl:

a4 UTokazi ke yena andithethi nto ngaye, ndihlala naye, ngumfundisikazi waseWesile.

(About Thokazi, I say nothing about her, I stay with her,
she is married to the priest of the Wesleyan church.

(DABAIC) (p.27)

One of the four robbers who waylaid Dondolo (p.8) on his way to his aunt's place, is converted. He confesses his wrongs during a church revival and in the presence of Dondolo:

a 5 Ithele ndoda iyandiqonda kakuhle; namhlane iyabulahla ubume bayo obudala, ngobabalo lwenkosi uYesu ifuna ukuphilela Yena noko sezihambile iintsuku zayo.

(The man said that he knew me well; as from that day he would discard his old ways, through the Grace of Lord Jesus he wanted to serve Him though he was very much advanced in years.)

(DABAIC) (p.63)

b Ityala lamawele

It becomes abundantly clear during the trial scene that Babini, the elder twin brother, has been very irresponsible (cf. the evidence given against him by the various characters). Transformation of character in him takes place immediately after the court has pronounced judgement. During the quarrel between Phekesa and Babini the latter reveals a positive attitude:

b 1 Phekesa : Uya phi?
   (Where are you going to?)
Babini : Ndiyagoduka.
   (I am going home)
Phekesa : Ugodukela phi? Unekhaya?
   (Going home? Have you got a home?)
   Uya kwakwela gaqwilhakazi unyoko?
   Unani na?
   (Going home? Have you got a home?
   Are you going back to that witch your mother?)
   What is the matter with you?)
Babini : Hayi bawokazi, uma akathakathi,
   ukuba kuko ubuthi kule ntol,
   bungabi bukuwe nakum.
   (No, uncle, mother is not a witch,
   if there is witchcraft in this case,
   it is possibly in you and I.)

(LAO) (p.33)
Jongisa comments favourably about Babini:

b 2 UNgxanga uyasenga ngoku phaya kowabo; uphuma neenkomvo, abuye nazo. Kunjalo kuthiwa ebebiya nobuhlanti ngeny'imin'apha.

(Ngxanga now milks the cows at home; he drives the cattle to the veld, and fetches them. And too it is reported that he was repairing the cattle-fold the other day.)

(LAO) (p.35)

Babini extends his services to other people. His readiness to help at King Hintsa's place is captured as follows:

b 3 . . bekuba kancinci abizwe kube kancinci agoduke eqhuba.

( . . now and again his help would be solicited and from time to time he would return home driving a beast.)

(LAO) (p.35)

Babini will not attend the ntonjane ceremony for his favourite girl friend if more important issues demand his attention:

b 4 Ibe mbi kakhulu le nto ezintombini ngokungabikho kuka "Ngxangile" kuba noko ebengabonwa ezintombi bekungacingeki ukuba nakwintonjane akangeyi ngolu hlobo; ngakumbi kuthombe u"Mpuzazana" wakhe ophambili ngale ndlela.

(The girls interpreted this as being in bad taste, they took the absence of "Ngxangile" in bad light because, even if he no longer frequented traditional ceremonies, no one ever imagined his absence from the ceremonial dance held in honour of his "best prized girl friend").

(LAO) (p.41 - 7th edition)

Babini consults with his twin brother, Wele, regarding the holding of the ritual ceremony in honour of their deceased father:

b 5 Hee! Adibene njalo ke amawele ndawonye nonina, avumelana ukuba umzi mavuhlanjwe.
Interpretation

If the desirable characters in *UDon Jadu* and in *Ityala lamawele* are given strength to triumph over evil, some of the undesirable characters are given power and insight to remake themselves. They discipline themselves or are schooled by others into humility and awareness of their faults (a2, a3, a4, b1, b2).

The characters achieve development through usefulness either to the family or to the community or to the king who is the symbol of the nation (a1, a2, a3, b2, b3). They achieve fulfillment after they have reformed and have accepted religion as a prime value (a5, b5).

Leadership or a sense of responsibility is a privilege or gift so tremendous that it demands the sacrifice of certain things. The ideal leader has to adopt the principle of "first things first" (b4). Mqhayi teaches us that service to the people or to the king is cooperation and not servitude. It is reciprocal (b3).

A common feature among the characters who emerge from a state of moral degeneration to redemption is that once a right attitude has been struck, there is no faltering and there is no relapse. If novelists like A.C. Jordan (1965) show change in a character in slow motion, in detail, allowing for its regular pulse, its eddy, its wayward lapse and false start, Mqhayi shows change of character that is simple and quick. For example, the "quarrel scene" between Babini and Phekesa in *Ityala lamawele* is very brief (15 lines). It is intended to be so because it merely prepares us for the change of character in Babini.

We deduce from the transformation of the undesirable characters in Mqhayi's works the following cardinal truths:
(i) The manifestation of a self-governing and demonstrable conscience can be recognised through service not rendered for one's self only but for others as a moral obligation. The ideal man finds beauty and satisfaction in work. It is work that shapes his very being.

(ii) The authority of an individual or power or free will does not necessarily corrupt. If it is restrained by public law and private conscience it enriches the possessor and those who are bound to associate with him.

(iii) License, the direct opposite of liberty, is literally "law-less-ness". True liberty lies in service which in itself is perfect freedom.

(iv) It is through law and obedience to it that disorder is turned to order which links all like-minded people into one fraternity.

(v) Correction of a wrong or of a fault lies, inter alia, in the hands that made it.
CHAPTER SIX

AN EVALUATION OF SOME CRITICAL VIEWS ON SOME ASPECTS OF MQHAYI'S WORKS

Introduction

It is not uncommon in the sphere of literary evaluation to find an inadequate or irrelevant judgement on aspects of a writer's creation. In this chapter we make a cursory examination of what some literary critics have pointed out as faults in some aspects of Mqhayi's prose and poetic works. We shall, as much as it is possible, cite the said critics in chronological order:

(a) Prose

Jabavu (1921, p.24) writes about *Ityala lamawele*:

Chapter three hinges around topics which must offend modern ideas of decency even among the Bantu, especially in school circles where the book would otherwise be commendable. Also it is not essential to the understanding of the plot hence its excision would help the work by rendering it universally acceptable.

Chapter three of *Ityala lamawele* is entitled "Ubungqina babazalisikazi" ("The evidence given by the midwives"). In summary the evidence is: On the day the mother of the twins felt labour pains, Wele's hand appeared first whereupon one of the midwives cut the joint of the small finger to mark him as the senior twin. This resulted in the entire arm retracting into the womb. The next day, Babini, the other twin, was delivered first. It became difficult to determine the heir when later on the twins became involved in a legal argument about seniority. There is no doubt that chapter three is the foundation for the construction of the plot of the novel. It is pivotal to the theme. How it is offensive or contentious is difficult to comprehend. We would also like to point out that when Mqhayi wrote his books he created a platform for addressing the people both young and old in all walks of life. He did not write books solely for consumption by schools. Dathorne (1974, p.44) is right when he
says that

from the onset Mqhayi tried to get away from mission-school writing.

In his criticism of the construction of the plot of *Ityala lamawele* Jabavu continues and says

Another fault militating against its artistic harmony as well as popularity is that while the story proper ends with chapter nine the author has, with succeeding editions made accretions of padding matter of a more or less relevant kind up to chapter sixteen, and then matter of purely historical and biographical character (to chapter twenty-six) not in any way helpful to the story, but which could have been more appropriately reserved for a separate volume.

We feel that Vilakazi (1945, pp.301-302) echoes Jabavu, when he says about the plot of *Ityala lamawele*:

Mqhayi's book fails to achieve a complete artistic harmony owing to accretions of burdensome matter irrelevant to the plot of the story.

Vilakazi continues in a vein similar to Jabavu's:

The irrelevant matter in *Ityala lamawele* deals with history and biography, and most of which could be easily left out.

It could have been the influence of Jabavu or Vilakazi or both that leads Riordan (1961, p.56) to say that the construction of the plot of *Ityala lamawele* is marred by "bypaths leading nowhere".

The opinion of Jabavu or of Vilakazi or of Riordan is but thinly veiled in what Mahlasela (1973, p.8) writes about the book:

*Ityala lamawele*, however is an omnibus work. The lawsuit is given, but it takes up about 60 pages of a book of nearly 150 pages.

Mahlasela concludes in the style of the other critics:
The rest of the material is different and diverse topics such as biographies of important Xhosa personalities of his day, for example, W.W.Gqoba, Gwayi, Tyamzashe, Dr W.E.Rubusana, J.T.Jabavu, J.K.Bokwe, Captain Veldman Bikitsha etc. He also covers the arrival of the destitute tribes among the AmaGcaleka (i.e. Fingoes) and their emancipation by Rev. John Ayliff, the murder of Hintsa etc.

We draw the attention of the reader to the following: The theme of *Ityala lamawele* is three-fold. (i) Mqhayi demonstrates the interpretation of law in a Xhosa indigenous state, (ii) he outlines the general nature and operation of law and order in a Xhosa traditional state, (iii) he predicts the breaking down of Xhosa law and morality on contact with new tribes and races. The extraneous material that the critics refer to is used by Mqhayi to show the actual breaking down of law and order. It is no longer a prediction. Throughout the story of *Ityala lamawele* King Hintsa is the central figure. He is the connecting cord.

In our opinion no literary material in the novel could be said to be irrelevant or even episodic.

Regarding legal procedure in *Ityala lamawele*, Gérard (1971, p.55) writes:

In the story itself those efforts, described in minute detail, come out to nothing since the case appears to be one for which there is no precedent, even in the oldest man of the tribe.

What Gérard says is very difficult to comprehend. Khulile Majele, the oldest man alive in Xhosaland at the time, refers the court to the precedent when Nkosiyamntu, the younger twin, was made senior over his elder twin brother, Liwana (*vide* *Ityala lamawele* 1953, p.24). The reader is also referred to chapter two of this thesis.

In connection with the pronouncing of judgement in *Ityala lamawele* Gérard (1971, pp.55-56) notes and correctly so:

In his foreword, Mqhayi further claims that he is trying to show "that the king is not
the final arbiter of affairs by himself, as foreigners believe is the case with us".

Gérard continues and levels the following criticism against Mqhayi:

Actually in the tale it is the chief who makes the final decision.

What Gérard says is not true. When King Hintsa stands up to give judgement he addresses Babini and says:

Ulivile ilizwi eliphathiswe umninawa wakho yile nkundla.

(You have listened to words said to your younger brother by this court.)

(p.27)

It is unfortunate that Gérard does not quote a page or a line or even a word to validate his assertion.

We point out that the tradition whereby the king or chief or headman acts as a mouth-piece of the people has been carried to the present day. There are of course cases where some chiefs do not consult with the people. Such chiefs or headmen become targets of attacks from their subjects. Mafeje (1967, p.214) cites Melikhaya Mbutuma, the mbongi (praise-singer) of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of Thembuland, Transkei, as saying about the relationship between the king or the chief and his subjects:

Izwi lesizwe liphuma esizweni,  
Alize liphume enkosini nakanye.  
Namhla iinkosi ezikhoyo zigqiba ngokwazo,  
Tsiquhama lihlazo lokugadwa kwazo.

(Worthwhile decisions come from the people themselves; They never come from the chief alone. Nowadays the chiefs make unilateral decisions, And the result is their having to be protected.)

(translated by Mafeje)

The other novel written by S.E.K. Mqhayi and whose plot construction has been criticised is UDon Jadu. Doke (1933, p.44) describes the novel as being descriptive of adventures with didactic and social deduction and moralizings therefrom.
What Doke says about the novel has been the major complaint of Western literary critics regarding Black prose in general. In defence of this accusation, Charles R. Larson (1972, pp.60-61) writes:

The novelist in an emergent nation cannot afford to pass up a chance to educate his fellow-countryman, and as we will see, contemporary African literature and other forms of art have inherited a cultural inclination toward the didactic which in regard to African tradition may be called functionalism.

Our opinion is that all art is didactic in one form or another. It is also a commentary on the contemporary social situation and a literary escape therefrom. There is a divergence of opinion even amongst Western literary critics about the acceptability or otherwise of didacticism in writing as an art form. Harvey (1961, p.85) discusses the art of George Eliot. Inter alia, Harvey condemns Eliot for the tendency to address or denigrate some of "his" characters directly. He writes:

This is a form of snobbery, the author inviting the reader to share with her an attitude of lofty condescension towards one of her characters.

Major opinion holds that the author should not intrude into the actions of his characters. Edel (1955, p.15) says that the disappearance of the author from his novel made a significant shift in narrative; it created the need to use the memory of the characters to place the reader in a relationship with their past ....... And above all, the novel seemed to turn the reader into an author; it was he, ultimately who put the story together, and he had to keep his wits about him to accumulate his data.

Riordan (1961, p.53) writes:

S.E.Krune Mqhayi ....... eliminates all real conflict from the world created by his fancy. In UDon Jadu, the hero passes
from town to town, solving all problems overnight, and leading raw tribesmen from a primitive state to an advanced civilization in a matter of weeks. Everywhere he is acclaimed and glorified and rejoices inwardly all the time.

Riordan adds that in *UDon Jadu* "logical development of incident" is "unknown".

Gérard (1971, p.51) says, and rightly so, that Riordan's judgement of the book is very harsh.

The hero in *UDon Jadu* is Dondolo. He is the protagonist who, during the progression of the story, meets a number of antagonists and triumphs over them. The various conflicts depicted are true to life. One incident leads on to the other in a very fascinating way. There is no scene during which the interest of the reader flags.

Riordan regards the quickness with which Dondolo achieves his objectives as reflecting a weakness or fault in the art of Mqhayi. We should not lose sight of the fact that the author wrote the novel to show, *inter alia*, that the Black man was and is still lagging behind other races in educational and technological development. When Dondolo achieves "success in a matter of weeks" Mqhayi tells the Blacks that their development is long overdue. This is an ingenious device. It is Riordan who must be faulted. His weakness lies in the misapplication of Mqhayi's technique and in the interpretation of the theme thereof. Ntantala (1974, p.14) writes about the plot and theme of *UDon Jadu* as if she had in mind Riordan's criticism of the book. She says:

> Utopia? Perhaps, yes. But is it not an ideal to put before man?

So far we have examined critical opinions passed on the plots of two of Mqhayi's novels. We turn our attention now to what has been said about character portrayal in these two novels:

Jordan (1973, p.100) writes about characterisation in *Ityala lamawele*:
Mqhayi is not a great creator of individual character. Hardly any character stands out in this story, and consequently the impression left in the reader's mind is the collective dignity and refinement of the chief and his subjects.

Jordan is mindless of the fact that Mqhayi's novel is written not to analyse and typify certain characters in life but depicts and portrays the corporate structure of Xhosa society prior to contact between Xhosas and other races. What Jordan points out as a demerit is in actual fact a merit.

It would appear that Jordan evaluates Ityala lamawele in terms of the Western novel which in the twentieth century has been inclined to emphasize the psychological depiction of character. Even so, Mqhayi in Ityala lamawele has sketched out the characters of Babini and Wele using counterpointing as a technique - the junior twin, Wele, is responsible while the senior twin, Babini, is irresponsible. As the novel draws to a close the senior twin reforms. Wele, who has been claiming seniority over Babini, steps down in favour of his senior brother, Babini. Both twins have dynamic characters.

Jordan assumes that all that can be said about King Hintsa is his "dignity and refinement". We disagree with him. Mqhayi's favourite technique for revealing character is the use of the 'externalising device'. We quote below the passage in which the author describes King Hintsa when he stands up to pronounce the verdict:

1 Usukile namhla unyana kakhawuta, uHintsa,
2 igqomoggomo lenkosim,
3 ebunzi lityhilekileyo, entloko
4 zithe ukumka zashiya usiba olutsolo,
5 ukuphela kweenwele ngaphambili;
6 ngumfo osukileyo kanobom egadeni,
7 omlomo ungqebesha, othe rhwe
8 ngoburhwanqa obungengqova phofu,
9 olizwi licacileyo xa athethayo,
phofu lingelikhulu, lingelincinane;  
ubengemfo unokuthetha kuninzi  
naburhangarhanga babuciko kwathini;  
kodwa engenkosi ukoyikwa  
nokuhlone lwanga ngamaphakathi.  
Ubengumdaka omnyama omazinyo amhlophe,  
oliso ngathi ngumbane,  
ongade ulindlele ukuthi gqi komlilo  
xa akhathazekileyo.  

(Ityala lamawele 1953, p.26)

(1) This day Hintsa, the scion of Khawuta arose and stood in court.
2 He was a veritable colossus of a king for tallness,  
3 With an open-forehead where his hair  
4 receded leaving a peninsular shaped  
5 tuft of hair at the temples.  
6 He was a considerably commanding figure in stature  
7 with prominent lips. He flourished  
8 Victorian side-whiskers though these were not over shaggy;  
9 his voice was clear as he spoke,  
10 being neither deep nor shrill.  
11 He was not a long-winded speaker  
12 nor in any way given to levity and jocosity;  
13 nevertheless he commanded profound  
14 respect and reverence from his councillors.  
15 He was of a dull ebony complexion with a beautiful set of white teeth.  
16 His eyes flashed like lightning  
17 in so much that one would anticipate an electric spark therefrom  
18 when he was in passion.)  

(translated by Jabavu 1946, p.24)

Interpretation

Vilakazi (1945, p.301) refers to the lines quoted above and says:

Here is Mqhayi's language of prose which can hardly be matched from any other writer in Xhosa.
This is so. Mqhayi draws on a vast scale the most senior figure
in a Xhosa traditional state. The king's physical build (line 2)
corresponds with his high office; the contour of his face (lines
3-5) suggests an intelligent and a piercing mind. Line 6 reinforces
the idea portrayed in line 2. The prominent features of the mouth
(lines 7-8) and the strong but moderate voice (line 9-10) bring
out the king's suitability as the spokesman or mouth-piece of
the people. Lines 11-14 strengthen the idea contained in lines
7-10. Line 15 captures the benevolence of the king and lines
16-18 portray his dignity and the reverence his subjects have
for him. The entire description is what Mqhayi conceives of
a Xhosa king irrespective of his hereditary traits.

We point out that Mqhayi and a host of other Black writers employ
in the main the "externalising" or "associative" techniques when
revealing character. Taban lo Liyong (1965, p.43) explains:

... traditional African sense of respect
prohibits an author from staring another in
the face like a river snake.

Riordan (1961, p.53) writes about both characterisation and the
construction of the plot in UDOn Jadu:

Mqhayi allows his imagination, fostered by
a repulsive hunger for self-glorification,
to run riot and escape into a world of pure
fancy, where probability is grossly violated.
True, Mqhayi's imagination is colourful and
productive but it is not disciplined.

What Riordan implies in simple language, apart from what seems
to be a personal attack on Mqhayi, is that Mqhayi's characters
in UDOn Jadu are not living people and that their actions are
not true to life. This is a general criticism levelled against
Xhosa prose.

In discussing "Dream and reality" in Tess of the d'Urbervilles
by Thomas Hardy, V.M.K.Kelleher (1975, p.57) says that critics
have pointed out that Hardy's characters are mere pawns in his
game of catastrophe. Kelleher observes:

There is ....... a distinct weakness in
this reading of the novel: it looks only
at the surface of the action, worse still, it naively assumes that appearance and reality are the same thing. This is a dangerous assumption to make about any work of literature.

No doubt, Riordan has made a similar assumption about UDon Jadu. Mqhayi makes use of characters whose actions appear to be unrealistic with a view to showing the possibility of achieving the realistic. Mqhayi's technique confirms the truth that a work of art is not copied exactly from life.

We draw the attention of those who evaluate Xhosa prose works in general and Mqhayi's works in particular to the following:

Strict formalism may stunt artistic creativity. It may reduce literature to a mechanical endeavour for both the writer and the critic. A writer functions like the flowing of a stream or the growth of a tree - a stream must have its source and a tree its root, but a great river which flows for thousands of miles and a giant tree which aspires towards the sky have ample freedom of movement. The same holds true of the writer and the manipulation of his material.

History records men's class struggles and battles against nature, literature and art depict men's thoughts and emotions in the course of these struggles. History records facts, literature is a record of something imagined on the basis of reality.

Writing is art. Art cannot exist without fancy. It is science that turns fancy into fact. Without imagination and invention there would be no art.

Our argument does not vitiate the quality of truthfulness. We concede the fact that without fact or truthfulness art would have no power to move men, it would lack cogency. But we must emphasize the fact that artistic truth is different from truth in real life. Art always seeks in every way for typification; but although the source of art is life, the separate events in real life are seldom fully typical.
If a writer is portraying the ideal, to us it is very artistic of him to present characters whose performance go beyond the limitations of real but average men. The ideal is often above the ordinary.

Art permits exaggeration, even fantasy, and often resorts to these to bring out a given theme. Old English writers use hyperbole to describe a woman's beauty, which they say "causes the moon to hide her face, flowers to blush and fishes to sink to the river bed". The technique is employed to make a strong impression on the reader.

Literary artists often transcend the bounds of reality and laws of nature to enter a world of fantasy. Shakespeare brings a ghost into Hamlet and fairies and spirits into The Tempest and A Midsummer Night's Dream. In the same category are some of the films describing the society of the future and space travel. Artistic exaggeration and fantasy are acceptable to the public.

It is our strong opinion that the life expressed in literature need not consist of the most common happenings in everyday life; but since art strives to be more truthful than actual events, it must cut out fortuitous elements down to a minimum in order to show what is essential in life. Mqhayi does not flout the literary principle in UDon Jadu. Many happenings in the South African scene and elsewhere in the world are even stranger than the life depicted in UDon Jadu.

We lay stress on the fact that a mechanical view of art will impair both art and truthfulness. A naturalistic reflection of life with detailed descriptions of everything trivial and superficial in it will turn art into a garbage dump and lead to a distortion of life.

Imagination and invention are important because all man's creative activities are based on imagination, including productive labour, science and art. If it were not for the imaginative faculty, we should have no telephone, wireless, television or artificial
satellites let alone poems, novels, music, painting, sculpture, drama, films or other treasures of human culture.

Imagination and invention are important because art's aim is to achieve a higher truth. Imagination is not empty fancy, nor invention mere fabrication.

Imagination and invention are also important because the purpose of literature and art is not simply to reflect real life but to remould it. In **UDon Jadu** Mqhayi tries to remould the life of the Xhosa people.

If Mqhayi is dreaming in **UDon Jadu** as Riordan implies, he is doing the right thing. Mqhayi's "dream" ought not to cause harm to anyone; instead it should support and augment the energies of progressive men. How often have we not heard a man say: "I have a dream!"

If men did not from time to time think ahead of others and mentally conceive the products of their imaginations then we fail to see what stimulus would induce men to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous work in the sphere of art, science and practical endeavour.

(b) Poetry

Opland (1974, p.242) says about A.C. Jordan's commentary on Mqhayi's poetry:

Jordan preserves a critical balance:
while he readily acknowledges Mqhayi's stature, he is not blind to his limitations as a poet.

Jordan (1973, p.101) writes about one of Mqhayi's long poems on King Hintsa that was published as a separate volume:

**UMHLBKAZI UHINTSA**, instead of consisting of eight cantos disappointingly lacking in unity should have been an epic.
Although Jordan is a literary critic of no mean reputation, one must dispute his views about this historical poem. Admittedly the material of the poem could be woven to produce an epic. That it has been knitted to produce an historical poem does not reflect any weakness in Mqhayi as a poet.

As the title of the poem suggests, King Hintsa is the central figure or hero of the poem. Mqhayi lauds the Xhosa king for his statesmanship and humanity. The poem is divided into eight sections as follows:

1. The poet draws the genealogical tree of Xhosa royalty. The name of King Hintsa is mentioned first. In the other sections that follow the bard tells of how King Hintsa was of some help to different tribes and races that he met in Xhosaland and these are: 2. the Britons; 3. the Ngwanes; 4. the Thembus; 5. the Bomvanas; 6. some Zulu tribes; 7. the Mfengus; 8. the Rharhabes. This constitutes the eight cantos that Jordan speaks of. King Hintsa acts as a connecting thread. We fail to see how the eight sections are not related to each other. It was no error of judgement that the poem won first prize in the MAY ESTHER BEDFORD PRIZE ESSAY competition that was held in 1936. Was it the best of a number of poor entrants?

Vilakazi (1945, p.305) remarks that Mqhayi's poems that deal with nature are dull and about his religious poems he says that they are "mere oratorical exercises".

Jordan (1973, p.102) expresses himself in a softer vein when he says:

Mqhayi's nature poems are on the whole disappointing.

We agree with what the two critics cited above say but we would like to point out that both critics seem to be oblivious of the fact that Mqhayi was essentially a praise-singer and not a poet of nature. Jordan himself (p.102) says about praise-poems:
Nature for nature's sake hardly has a place in the izibongo of the old type.

Although Mqhayi is at his best when producing heroic poetry, his pen can produce masterful strokes on topics or themes relating to nature. Vilakazi's view (1945, pp.305-306):

It is difficult to picture Mqhayi looking on the ruffled waters, his imagination carried into recess of feeling, otherwise impenetrable.

is refuted by some lines which Jordan (1973, p.107) quotes from Mqhayi's works:

a) 
\textit{Imizi yalo mlambo niyayibona na}
\textit{Ukutyityimba yakombelelwa yingxangxasi!}
\textit{(Lo, how the rushes on the waterside}
\textit{Thrill to the music of the cataract!)}

b) 
\textit{Kunqanqaza oonoggaza emathafeni,}
\textit{Kukhenkceza iinyenzane equndeni.}
\textit{(Grass-warblers clinking in the fields,}
\textit{Cicadas shrilling in the meads.)}

c) 
\textit{Ndee ntshoo-o! Ntshobololo-o-o!}
\textit{Ndaxel' inkwenkwez' ingen' elifini.}
\textit{(Sliding away, sliding away I go,}
\textit{Like a meteor swimming into a cloud.)}

(translated by Jordan)

Jordan says, and correctly so, that the lines quoted above reveal not only his (Mqhayi's) sensitivity to the beauties of nature, but also his genius for the 'precious word'.

It would not be detracting from the theme of this chapter if we quoted Shepherd (1945, p.97) to show the expression of a general concern about paucity of nature poems in Xhosa literature in particular and in Black literary works in general. Shepherd was a contemporary of S.E.K. Mqhayi. He writes:

The continent (Africa) in its vastness offers endless vistas of mountain and plain, of forest and desert, with sometimes great inland seas; and brooding
over all an atmosphere of mystery, whether sunshine floods the days or wondrous moonlight brings a feeling of awe. Descriptions of these things have come almost wholly from the pens of strangers.

The reasons for this must not be found in the lack of poetic gift amongst the Blacks to write about nature (as we have already shown the possession of this gift in the case of Mqhayi) but should be ascribed to the fact that Black poetry on the whole assumes a different vein. This perhaps explains why Larson (1972, p.22) writes:

Black poetry has nothing in common with the effusions of the heart; it is functional, it answers a need which exactly defines it.

Mqhayi's poetry should, in the main, be studied in the light of what Larson says.

When Vilakazi (1945, p.305) says:

The whole of section I of Inzuzo is dull, it may be treated together with section III which consists of elegies.

he leaves one with the impression that he is not a very careful critic. Mqhayi's division of his poems in Inzuzo into sections is not arbitrary. It is classificatory and thematic. Section I of the book comprises lyrics and section III elegies. It is difficult to comprehend how the poems contained in these two sections could be treated together since they belong, needless to say, to different genres. We do not think that it would be fair and scientific to compare, for example, Wordsworth's sonnets with his lyrics. It is unfortunate that Vilakazi does not indicate the basis for treating the two sections together. He does not support his assertion that the poems in this section of the book are dull. Most of the poems he refers to have been prescribed for study in Xhosa primary schools. In evaluating Inzuzo Jolobe (1943, p.61) writes:

The book can be divided into four sections according to matter. The first section has hymnic poems which, read as such, are pleasing and have heartening passages.
We thus find it very hard to accept Vilakazi's allegations.

About the use of rhyme in Xhosa poetry in general Cossie (1973, p.103) comments caustically:

Rhyme becomes crude metre monotonous and rhythm cumbersome, so our poets still have to discover or invent poetry peculiar to the Xhosa.

In discussing the use of rhyme in the poetry of Mqhayi, Jordan (1973, p.101) writes:

A sense of effort and strain is always with us when we read his rhymed verse and very often we feel that in order to observe rhyme, the poet has sacrificed sense, virility and easy flow of language.

We agree with what Cossie and Jordan say. We illustrate by quoting the first stanza of Mqhayi's poem "Umnga" from Inzuzo:

Ndazalwa ngenyanga yoMnga, a
Inyang' edume ngelanga, a
Ngumth' omhle kunene umnga, a
Nonezihombo zokulunga, a
Enkosi Somandla Mhlekaz' okulunga, a
Ngokuthi kwindalo, usidalel' umnga. a

(I was born during the month of the acacia tree,
A month known for the extreme heat of the sun;
Beautiful indeed it is, the acacia tree
And it is bedecked with finery,
Thanks to Thee Almighty, Thou Benevolent Lord,
For in Thy bounteous creation, there is the acacia tree.)

The lines cited above are sufficient proof of what Jordan has observed. We would like to add that rhyme is meant for the ear and not for the eye as seems to be not the case with Mqhayi's lines quoted above (cf. also Makwela 1977, p.138).

Jordan's criticism of Mqhayi's rhymed verse corresponds with Gabriel Okara's (1974, p.42) remarks about his own failure in experimenting with rhyme. Okara writes:
The Victorian sort of thing, where the poet paid more attention to the structure of the poem than the theme itself, was very restrictive for me. I tried writing that way, but I found that it didn't allow the free flow of my thoughts to come out.

When Kuse (1975, p.184) says that Mqhayi's responsiveness to creative impulse led him to experiment often with European modes of rhyme and rhythm - not altogether successfully.

he concedes consciously or unconsciously the fact that Mqhayi has been successful in experimenting with rhyme in some poems no matter how minimal. In buttressing up our argument we write down a sestet from Mqhayi's "Ukutshona kukaMendi" from Imibengo (p.188):

1  Éwë, lé ntó kákádé yíntó yálo'o ntó -  a  
2  Thìná, ntó záziyò, àsóthúkángà ntó!  a  
3  Síbònà kámhłòphè, síthi békàmèlwè;  b  
4  Síthèth' éngqónèwènì, síthi káfànèlwè.  b  
5  Xá békúngènjàlò békàngàyí kàlùngà,  c  
6  Ngòkò kë, Sòtásè! Kwàqál' ìkàlùngà!  c

(1 Yes, in truth thus it was fated to be;  
2 We who know things felt no surprise.  
3 With clearness of vision, we say 'twas appointed,  
4 Speaking with understanding, we say 'twas fitting;  
5 Had it not happened, all would not have been well.  
6 So, by Maqoma, things begin to come right!

(translated by Bennie 1936, p.103)

In the lines above the rhyme scheme aa, bb, cc, is functional. The meaning of a preceding line is enhanced by the import of the succeeding one. The rhyme, as it were, locks the ideas together. Additional effect is achieved by means of a syntactical-semantic pattern: lines 1 and 3 are main clauses and lines 2 and 4 are subordinate clauses. Lines 5 and 6 are also subordinate clauses in terms of grammar and in terms of rhyme they are rising couplet. They crown the utterance of the poet.
Integrated in the structure of the sestet given above is rhythm which Ntuli (1978, p.261) defines as a more or less regular recurrence of time patterns and patterns of successive and positional association of emphatic elements to less emphatic ones. These patterns include a combination of the various degrees of stress, duration or length and tone.

The tone marks in the sestet quoted above read as follows:

- high tone
- low tone
- falling tone

For a fuller study of tone and its significance in the Xhosa language the reader is referred to Lanham (1948, pp.65-81); Westphal (1964); Louw (1968); Pahl (1977); Qangule (1973, p.19).

The structural pattern of the sestet quoted above is shown in the table below:

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The abbreviations read as follows:

- **LS**: line of the sestet
- **NS**: number of syllables in the line
- **NH**: number of high tones in the line
- **NL**: number of low tones in the line
- **NF**: number of falling tones in the line
- **RS**: rhyme scheme
In order to have a disciplined line for effect Mqhayi has more or less the same number of syllables in each line. He has also more or less the same number of high, low and falling tones in each line. For a clear understanding of our interpretation, compare line 1 with line 2, line 3 with 4 and line 5 with 6. Note once more how the rhyme scheme serves as a connecting device. The many syllables in each line correspond with the weighty thoughts of the poet. The beauty of the sestet lies in its apparent naturalness. In our opinion there is not a verse, word or syllable that has been forced in order to conform to the structural pattern. This is ingenious writing.

In the book, Imihobe nemibongo Mqhayi has experimented with rhyme very successfully. For the sake of brevity, we shall quote one stanza only from the poem entitled "Ucoceko" ("Cleanliness"): 

1 Le nt' umntu onocceko, a  
2 Wenz' izinto ngemfezeko. a  
3 Wabaselwa wakroqeka, b  
4 Wathi khonkqo wagcadeka. b  

(1 A man who has the sense of cleanliness,  
2 Does things in a perfect manner.  
3 He has been grilled to perfection,  
4 And indeed he is perfect.)

When Riordan (1961, p.53) alleges that in UDOn Jadu Mqhayi's imagination is "fostered by a repulsive hunger for self-glorification" he implies that Mqhayi is egotistic. The Oxford English Dictionary (1974, p.282) defines egotism as 

practice of talking too often or too much about oneself; self-conceit; selfishness.

Since the main character in UDOn Jadu is Dondolo and not Mqhayi himself we would rather describe Dondolo as being egotistic and not the writer, Mqhayi. There are other works in which Mqhayi could be said to be egotistic:

Towards the close of Ityala lamawele, Mqhayi writes:
Ndiya kuhlala ndinani phina ndingumntu nje
Ndingumntu nj' int' ehlal' ihambele?
Ndingumntu nj' int' ehlal' ihlal' ifuduke?
Ndingunntu nj' int' ehlal' ihlal' ihlal' igoduke?

(Impossible for me to be always with you, since I am only human (and not immortal)
Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later takes a trip?
Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later shifts residence?
Since I'm only human, a thing that sooner or later departs from home?

(Ityala lamawele 1953, p.98) (translated by Kuse) 1975, p.185)

These words are appropriate in the context in which they are uttered in Ityala lamawele. It could be argued however that the recurrence of the same words in Mqhayi's "Ukhawulezis' amaxesha" in Imihobe nemibongo (1927, p. 16) and the reference to the same in "Ukukhutshwa khesuthu ekholejini" in Inzuzo (1974, p.78) brings out the egotism in Mqhayi.

It could be claimed that the ego or self in Mqhayi asserts itself once more in the following lines from his poem entitled "Imbutho yakwaBhulayi" in Inzuzo (1974, p.77):

A 1 Oloyi bantakama!
2 Ngubawo lowo nimkhedameleyo,
3 Yindod' endizalwa yiyo,
4 Yindod' ezala mna,
5 Mna ndizelwe yiloo ndoda!

(1 Alas! children of my mother!
2 It is my father for whom you wear the sad countenance,
3 He is the man who gave birth to me,
4 He is the man by whom I am born
5 I am born of that man.)

Literary critics could contend that Mqhayi believes that he has a special providence of his own. Listen to his words from the poem entitled "1929" from Inzuzo:

B 1 Iyapheza kule ndawo imbongi yesizwe
2 Umnqayi-mkhul' ungangenkanunu.

"Ityala lamawele 1953, p.98" (translated by Kuse) 1975, p.185"
The lines given below from the poem, "1929" from Inzuzo (1974, pp.31-32) seem to be another example of Mqhayi's "genealogical riddle" and egotism. He writes:

A   A   b   C   d
C 1 Eli gqirha mna ndaliva ngobawo,
   d   C   e
2 Nobawo waliva ngoyise,
   e   C   f
3 Noyise walixelelwa nguysise,
   b   g   C
4 Nam unyan'am sendimxelele.

(1 I know of this doctor through my father,
2 And my father was told by his father,
3 And his father was told by his father,
4 I too have already told my son.)

Contrary opinion could hold that in the excerpts quoted above Mqhayi is not egotistical because the "I" in Black literature, and especially in poetry, is the "I" of the group, it represents the community of which the poet or bard is a spokesman (cf. Gérard 1971, p.58). Other literary critics could argue that the function of the "I" is determined by context and that there is no evidence from the extracts given above that Mqhayi uses the "I" to refer to the group. It could be reasoned that the bard does not always articulate the views of the people.

A close study of extracts A, B and C given above could show that Mqhayi is partly subjective and partly descriptive. We analyse extract C immediately above to prove our point of view:

"Eli gqirha" ("This doctor"), line 1, is a reference to Jesus Christ. Mqhayi tells us that five successive generations have accepted Jesus Christ as the Saviour, the "Healer of wrecked souls". Each generation is represented by one of Mqhayi's filial associates as follows:
In the stanza above (extract C) the noun morphemes bawo (line 1) and bawo (line 2) are indicated by the letter d. The noun morphemes yise (line 2) and yise (line 3) are indicated by the letter e. The verb morphemes va and xela (lines 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively) are indicated by the letter C. The pronoun morphemes mna and nam in lines 1 and 4 are indicated by the letter b. Reference to Jesus Christ is indicated by AA. The stanza takes the following pattern:

- Line 1: AA
- Line 2: b -- C -- d
- Line 3: e -- C -- f
- Line 4: b ... g -- C

**Interpretation**

AA is not linked to any of the letters of the alphabet. This is so because Jesus Christ, whom the letters represent, is the supreme, the final and independent source of life and protection. Note the linking of the nouns represented by letters d and e in lines 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Note also the linking of the verbs represented by the letter C in lines 1-4. The nouns yise and nyana indicated by the letters f and g in lines 3 and 4 are not in terms of surface structure linked up with each other, but according to deep structure they are. This is indicated by the double slanting lines. The convex line joins the pronouns...
mna and nam indicated by the letter b in lines 1 and 4. The broken horizontal and vertical lines show progression of thought as the linking of the various morphemes does. This is an interlocking device—the poet acknowledges and proclaims in no hesitant vein the transmission of the word of God down the passage of time. Note how the vertical line as indicated by the letter C bends from line 3 to the right (line 4). This indicates in terms of context the right or proper action.

Another feature of the stanza (extract C) is that the names of the characters are arranged in a descending order of cultural and religious significance as follows:

1. Jesus Christ, Son of God
2. Great grandfather of Mqhayi
3. Grandfather of Mqhayi
4. Father of Mqhayi
5. Mqhayi, S. E. K.
6. Son of Mqhayi

This technique magnifies the image of Jesus Christ.

The analysis made of extract C, the resemblance it bears to excerpt A, as well as with verses in other poems in Inzuzo which have not been cited here, crushes Vilakazi's view (1945, p.305) that Mqhayi's poems on religious subjects are mere oratorical exercises.

Riordan (1961, p.53) writes about Mqhayi's language and style in UDon Jadu:

His masterly use of language is undoubted, but he blatantly tries to impress by playing with big words and archaisms. His glittering facade of words is unsupported by any real substance and so we go away unsatisfied.
Ironically enough, Riordan's criticism of Mqhayi is not supported by any real substance. He does not refer to a single chapter or page or paragraph or sentence or phrase or even a word in support of his view. He leaves one with the impression that he is prejudiced against Mqhayi. If he is not biased then we must try to find out the cause of his faulty judgement: Anyone who reads any of Mqhayi's creative works must be struck by the genuineness of his poetic gift. This gift transcends his prose works. The sensitivity and forcefulness of his mind is revealed by his use of vigorous language and detailed explanations. For example, Dondolo's encounter with the Boers is captured in forceful idiom:

A  Ndithe ndiyathi ukubheka
    ndabe sendihlangana
    nothuli lugoduka!
    Ingxolo endingayiqhelanga!
    Intetho endingayaziyo!
    Iintshuntshe zezithuko!
    Iintyakam zezabkhokwe.

(When I looked back
I saw a cloud of
dust churning up!
A noise that is unusual to me!
A language I do not understand!
Sharp-piercing insults!
A cracking of long whips.)

About the attitude of the Black servants who laugh at the humiliation suffered by Dondolo we are told:

B  Le mpi iyavana ngam lo,
    iyakrukrutheka, iyahleka, kumnandi!

(These people display a similar attitude towards me,
all are giggling, laughing, enjoying it!)

(vide UDon Jadu pp.13-15)

Riordan refers perhaps to passages like A and B given above when he speaks of a "glittering facade of words". If so, we reveal his mistake: In excerpt A Mqhayi denigrates the ill-treatment of a human being by other human beings. In extract B he condemns in no lesser vein the suffering of a man at the hands of men of his own kind. It is indeed inhuman for people sharing the same oppressive fate to behave callously to each other.
The use of vigorous language and the detailing of facts is appropriate in eliciting feeling and in depicting an undesirable situation. We point out that there are no 'archaisms' in *UDon Jadu*. Prof. H. W. Pahl, a linguist and chief director of the Fort Hare Xhosa Dictionary Project, concurs with our view (interview 22 May 1978). Language that is out of season is to be found in *Ityala lamawele* and in the war poems in *Inzuzo*. In these two books archaic language is functional, the author recaptures olden times. Since in *UDon Jadu*, Mqhayi, *inter alia*, predicts a future state for the Black people of South Africa, one would expect to find in the book anachronisms and not archaisms. We also point out that Riordan's acknowledgement of Mqhayi's "mastery of language" and his accusation that what he writes "is unsupported by any real substance" is contradictory in two ways: a mastery of language implies a masterly use of it; a man who masters his language masters his thoughts and the logic of his language, as well.

One of the major works of Mqhayi is his autobiography, *UMqhayi waseNtabozuko*. We are not aware of any adverse evaluation of the book by literary critics. In our opinion the book satisfies almost all the major requirements of an autobiography (cf. Kendall, Paul Murray 1965). There is however one obvious fault in the book and it is that the story is one-sided. It dwells mostly on the laudable aspects of the author's life. Information on his shortcomings is very scant.
CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Reason for choice of the study

Gérard (1971, p.62) writes:

. . . more of Mqhayi's works should be made available to an international audience.

One of the reasons for undertaking this project was to meet in some practical way the view articulated by Gérard. This also explains, incidentally, why this thesis on a Xhosa writer which has been submitted to the Department of African Languages which offers, amongst other languages, Xhosa, has been written in English which is a medium for international communication (vide Mawasha 1976, p.73). Other reasons for taking up this study are explicitly or implicitly stated in this chapter.

The author's literary contributions

Up to date Mqhayi has been the most prolific of all Xhosa writers. His literary contributions are measured in terms of both quantity and quality. There is hardly any genre in which his pen has not made a permanent stroke. The absence of a Xhosa play from Mqhayi's hand is made up for by his novel, Ityala lamawele, which, ironically enough, would in all probability surpass the current published Xhosa plays in terms of literary criteria if it were to be adapted for a stage production and thereafter published as a play.

The development of Xhosa prose and poetry works can be traced from the works of Mqhayi and of his contemporaries like Rev. W.B.Rabusana, Henry Masila Ndawo, John Solilo, etc. Moloi (1973, p.220) says about Southern Sotho pioneer writers:

The road was hard and steep since these men had no literary ancestry or masters from whom they could copy the act of writing.
The same could be said of Mqhayi and his pioneer colleagues. Thus Mqhayi has to be thanked greatly for his invaluable attempts to give birth to Xhosa literature as well as efforts towards the restoration of the Xhosa language.

**Interest in the writer's works**

The current interest in South Africa and abroad in Mqhayi's works is generated by the universal truths expressed in his writings. Throughout his publications Mqhayi makes references or allusions to the following: Holy scriptures, prominent leaders and historical 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. We cite only a few and these are: Butler (1977, pp. 57 and 98); Gitywa (1976, pp. 171, 172, 192, 220, 221, 222, 228, 234, 239); Lestrade (1934, pp.123-124); Soga (1934, p.xxii); Sayedwa (1975, p.182).

**Theme and technique**

The varied techniques (construction of the plot, character portrayal, depiction of situations, language and style, milieu etc.) which Mqhayi employs in articulating his thoughts are masterful. The examination of his works has brought to light the man's remarkable gift and dexterity in handling and expressing intricate as well as delicate situations. Although we have mentioned Mqhayi's major themes and have outlined the development of his thoughts as well as pointing out the many devices he uses, we cannot claim to have treated these exhaustively. There is limitless scope for interpretation in all great works of art.

**General value of the thesis**

In our opinion the value of this study is three-dimensional:

(a) It should be illuminating to students of literary and
linguistic studies. Language and its literature are inseparably bound up with each other.

(b) It should be of value to scholars in various disciplines such as Theology, Education, Political Science, Sociology, Social Work, Psychology, Anthropology and Economic Sciences. The artist always draws his material consciously or unconsciously from the content of these disciplines.

(c) It should promote contact and generate understanding between the various races in South Africa and elsewhere. Literature serves both the simple and higher purposes.

A prediction

We predict that readers will continue to rediscover gems of thought contained in Mqhayi's works. We make bold to say that for a century at least, no literary critic worthy of the name will find it intellectually unfitting to study the works of Mqhayi.

Some unhappy findings

Conscientious readers of Mqhayi's works must surely regret the practice of abridging some of his published works. The "editor" of these already slim volumes seems to respond to directions from some ill-informed source(s). There is no doubt in our minds that the "editor" himself is not a writer and that his knowledge of literary science is very limited. To support our findings we refer, amongst numerous instances, to the removal of a verse from Mqhayi's poem "Imbongi" in Ityala lamawele (1914, p.67). The line reads:

Ubecinge ngan' umntan' ukuy' embekeni kunina?
(What made the child make advances to his own mother?)

This line is pivotal to an understanding of the entire poem, in comprehending the entire plot of the book and in evincing the theme.
Some suggestions for future research on Mqhayi's works

We have intimated already that this is a preliminary study. We wish to indicate different directions which other students can follow and study. We point out some of these as follows:

(a) "The use of Mqhayi's poetry as a model by modern Xhosa poets."
(b) "Poetry composed on Mqhayi by his Xhosa admirers."
(c) "Mqhayi as a praise-singer."
(d) "The influence of Mqhayi on Xhosa writers."
(e) "The early beginnings of Xhosa literature: the age of Mqhayi."
(f) "Mqhayi as a satirist."
(g) "A classificatory and thematic study of Mqhayi's works."
(h) "Mqhayi the master of Xhosa literary technique."
(i) "The voice of dissension in Mqhayi's writings."
(j) "Mqhayi, the man."

A plea

In view of what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, we feel that a statue of S.E.K.L.N.Mqhayi at any of the following places in South Africa - a federal theological seminary, a centre of higher learning, a parliament building - would be appropriate recognition of the contribution of this religious, civic, educational and literary giant - "A man for all seasons".

The final word

This ends the study of S.E.K.L.N.Mqhayi about whom Mama, as cited by Schœub (1970, p.61), would write:
Ndithand' imbong' ethethayo,  
Evuselel' abantu bakowayo  
Kwimicimb' ebalulekileyo;  
Umfo olicik' elazizayo,  
Ocikoza ngezinto ezintle  
Zokuphakamis' isizwe sakhe.

Ndithand' imbong' ebhalayo,  
Ebhala ngosib' olukhawulezayo  
Kuvele amazwi achukumisayo,  
Omelez' umntu obuthathaka,  
Abe namandl' angathethekiyo,  
Nokuفا kudeleke kuye.

Ndithand' imbong' eprofethayo,  
Exela ngeziganeko ezizayo;  
Umfo oyinkokeli yokwenene,  
Ongathand' ukutheth' ubuxoki,  
Osebenzis' amazw' apholileyo  
Okucim' umntu obuthathaka.

Ndithand' imbong' efundisayo,  
Ethetha ngothand' oluvuthayo,  
Kwanothand' olucimayo;  
Encoma uthand' oluqalayo,  
Oluvuthis' iintliziyo ezimbini,  
Zithandane ngokwamawele.

Ndithand' imbong' ethongayo,  
Eziphos' esililini sayo  
Ngokosana oludiniweyo,  
Ukuz' ifikelwe buthongo;  
Umfo oneendab' eziyolisayo  
Ezivela kwelo lamathongo.

( THE BARD WHOM I ADMIRE )

I admire the bard who speaks  
Who rouses his people to action  
In significant matters;  
An eloquent fellow, renowned,  
Who speaks fluently of splendid things  
Which elevate his people.

I admire the bard who writes,  
Who writes with a pen which hastens  
To reveal words which provoke,  
Strengthening the weak,  
Words with immense force -  
And even death is nothing to him.

I admire the bard who prophesies,  
Who foresees important events,  
A true leader.
Who loathes falsehood,
Who uses cool words
Which dampen the fervid fire.

I admire the bard who teaches,
Who speaks with ardent love,
With calming love;
Who praises new love
Which makes two hearts flame
With twin-like devotion.

I admire the bard who dreams,
Who throws himself into bed
Like a weary child,
To be overcome by sleep;
A fellow who brings good news
From the land of visions.

(translated by Scheub)

"THE REST IS LOST"
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