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The Life and Works of Isaac William(s) Wauchope

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In the Department of Linguistics and Southern African Languages UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN February 2000
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DECLARATION

I declare that "The Life and Works of Isaac William(s) Wauchope" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

M.A.B. Nyamende
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ABSTRACT

My primary objective in pursuing this work is to draw the attention of literary scholars to I.W. Wauchope as one of the pioneers of written Xhosa poetry and other written work in Xhosa and English. His writings and writings about him and his times were studied in the following newspapers: The Kaffir Express, (1870-1876); Isigidimi Sama-Xosa (1876-1884); Isithunywa Senyanga (1850); Imvo Zabantsundu (1884-1926); and Izwi Labantu (1901-1902). His book, The Natives and their Missionaries (1908) was also used as a primary source of information. In order to be able to give a proper interpretation of the events of Wauchope's times and the behaviour of the missionaries, I read correspondence of the London Missionary Society in the Archives at the University of London and the National Archives in Cape Town. To capture the debates of nineteenth century South Africa, newspaper correspondence of the period in question was studied.

The concern was to place Wauchope within the socio-cultural and historical context in which he operated and to interpret his writings in accordance with this background. His book, The Natives and his poetry are analysed in relation to this background, and they are used in this work to define the status and discourse of the black people during the colonial period and in the pre-apartheid era. The conclusion drawn from this study is that the first Xhosa writers were confronted by two worlds, namely the world of the school people, dominated as it was by western culture which brought the skill to write to these writers, and the world of African culture which bequethed them with ready but as yet unwritten literature. Allied to this conclusion is the fact that the experience of colonialism caused the black school people to embark on black nationalism and the earliest forms of mass education through the newspapers and meetings.
SUMMARY

As the title suggests, this dissertation is an account of I.W. Wauchope's life and a discussion of his works. By nature, the material handled here is biographical. Biography writing is the field of interest earmarked by the writer. Some biographers view biography as dating back to the times of the Egyptian and Greek civilizations, and the era of the Roman Empire. In writing a biographical work the biographer can encounter the problem of having too much material on the one hand or too little on the other. Concerning Wauchope's background, there is little material available, but regarding his writings for the newspapers most of the material is still available. Guiding principles for the writing of biographies are essential for a work of this nature. More central in these principles is the role of the biographer in relation to his/her subject.

Wauchope lived throughout his life in colonial South Africa (1852-1917). The missionaries dominated the school life of the Xhosa people of that time, and western culture was used to transform school-going blacks into semi-westernised specimens who were there to prove the success of missionary work. On their part the blacks took advantage of the Christian principles that put them on equal levels with the white people, and clung on education as an instrument for their own development and redemption. The seminary schools kept producing a new breed of black people and from this a new class emerged. After Jan Tshatshu and Ntsikana, Wauchope and his contemporaries were the next lot to pioneer a new life for the black people of South Africa, a life that mingled both western culture and black culture.
As a new class, Wauchope and his contemporaries championed a reaction to colonialism. Through debates in the newspapers they presented a fully structured black discourse. Their main objective was to adopt what was useful in western culture, like education, and to retain and develop the traditional values of the black people. They saw language as central in this process and fought to promote indigenous languages. They also orchestrated mass education through meetings and the newspapers. In response to the Afrikaner Bond and boer nationalism they started the Aborigins Association of South Africa (Imbumba), which would address their rights including land rights. This new class of people saw themselves as taking over where the black traditional leaders had left off in fighting for black rights. Their resolve was to fight with the pen, which shifted the racial struggle from the battlefield to an intellectual plain.

Wauchope was born in Uitenhage in 1852, his parents being William Wauchope Dyoba and Sabina. He attended primary school in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, after which he went to Lovedale in 1874. In 1876 he went to present day Malawi on mission work together with Mapasa Ntintili, Shadrack Mgunana and William Koyi. On his return from Malawi in 1877 he started teaching in Uitenhage. Thereafter he took up the position of interpreter of the Magistrate’s Court in Port Elizabeth. In 1888 he returned to Lovedale on a bursary to do ministry, which he passed three years later and was called to Fort Beaufort. In 1908 he was convicted of falsifying a parishioner’s will and was imprisoned for two years. In 1916 he was signed as interpreter with the black labour contingent bound for France to help in the First World War. He died with the sinking of the Mendi in February 1917.
The Natives and their Missionaries is an example of the prevailing debates of Wauchope's time. In this work he defends the right of the black people to be educated by the missionaries. The work is written as a response to the attacks of those who are against black education and advancement.

Wauchope's poetry displays a blend of Xhosa traditional praise poetry and Victorian poetry writing. His poems include memorised Xhosa poetry and Xhosa poetry written in the Victorian style of poetry writing. Wauchope also uses an approach that combines both the Victorian style and the Xhosa poetic skills.

Wauchope is remembered for his address to the men facing death in the sinking ship, the Mendi. His words inspired them to take off their boots and to dance. He was one of the casualties of that marine accident.
CHAPTER 1

CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT AND PRESENTATION

"There is always a living face behind the mask," Yeats once wrote in his diary. This is another way of saying that there must always be, inevitably, a poet behind a poem.

(Edel, 1957:45)

Introduction

After choosing a topic on G.B.Sinno in 1995 for my dissertation I wrote to Professor Jeff Opland who lives in Godalming near London and discussed my choice of topic and the reasons why I had chosen that topic. In response Professor Opland wrote:

I suspect Sinno might be a bit of a problem, although I do have some material on him in my files (correspondence with OUP and Lovedale, newspaper reports of his wedding, and so on). Ndawo would be interesting too, and I can offer you help with him if you wish, but Wauchope would be a revelation because he’s almost completely unknown as a literary figure and, if I give you access to my file on him, you would be producing something of undoubted originality. Your title might be something like “The life and works of I.W.Wauchope.” Here’s the final version of a paragraph I wrote on him in an article that should be published soon:

Wauchope was in many ways the most interesting literary figure of this period, and certainly the most prolific: writing as
Silwangangubo and Dyoba woDaka, as well as under his own name, he contributed well over 100 items to Isigidi and Imvo in the thirty years between 1879 and 1908, over 20 of them poems in western form. In 1907 he takes up Ntsiko's cudgel to thrash Mqhalyi on the publication of USamson. He was more active in public life than Ntsiko, and more versatile in his writing. Apart from letters and reports on political and temperance meetings, lectures and articles, poems and hymns, he contributes to Isigidi and Imvo a travelogue and in the early 1890s an extended series of discussions of Xhosa proverbs and figurative expressions. After working as a court interpreter in Port Elizabeth, he studied at Lovedale and entered the ministry in 1892, serving in Fort Beaufort, but in 1908 was found guilty of falsifying a pensioner's will. He contributes an occasional letter from prison and in 1912, after he had served his term, Imvo published a series of six poems written in prison, headed "Ingamangasebunzimeni" (heavy thoughts). His subsequent career is no less colourful: Wauchope was one of the survivors of the Mendi disaster in 1917 [Opland later discovered that he died.], and was indeed the legendary minister who exhorted the troops to assemble in ranks and remained calm as the ship sank.

This is how Isaac William(s) Wauchope was first introduced to me. On Professor Opland's letter I highlighted the information about Wauchope's conviction and imprisonment, because I found it highly interesting that such a fine and prolific writer and a minister of religion should falsify a will, and that all this should be happening in a rural Xhosa village in 1908. I was struck by the thought that a black man of such stature would not have gone unnoticed by the colonial
authorities, and I began to wonder how much of a threat they thought him to be. So, without hesitating, my topic changed and I submitted a new proposal under the new title, "The Life and Works of Isaac William(s) Wauchope."

This chapter sets out to introduce the subject of my debate, but, more than this, it is an attempt to infuse thoughts about the writing of biographies on Xhosa literary figures. The chapter highlights an intention of which this dissertation is a starting point, an occupation that will be held in focus from now on. The ultimate intention is to publish biographies on Wauchope and other Xhosa writers of the 19th and 20th centuries. This chapter also illuminates the dominant issues of this dissertation, a discussion of the problems of orthography as well as the orthographical choices made by this writer. The experience of the period between 1820 and 1948 should educate the society of post-apartheid South Africa about life in a state of cultural fusion which is something that we have been legally deprived of from 1948 to 1989.
Motivation for the selection of this subject

Sol Plaatje. A Biography (1984), written by Brian Willan, is a pointer to what is missing in the study of Xhosa literature. The only existing biographies about Xhosa writers are D.D.T. Jabavu's The Life of John Tengo Jabavu, Editor of "Imvo Zabantsundu" (1922); J.A. Chalmers' UTiyo Soga: Incwadi Yobomi Bakhe (1923); L.N. Mzimba's Ibal Lobomi Nomsebenzi Womfi uMfundisi Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba (1923); S.E.K. Mqhayi's Ubomi BoMfundisi uJohn Knox Bokwe (1925); George Pamla's Amabalana Ngobomi BukaRev. Charles Pamla (1934); and S.E.K. Mqhayi's autobiography, UMqhayi WaseNtabozuko (1939). There has been no attempt recently to publish a biography on the life of any Xhosa writer. The lives of well-known Xhosa writers like A.C. Jordan, J.J.R. Jolobe and G.B. Sinxo remain unwritten. This hampers any in-depth studies on these writers as researchers on their works have to contend with brief sketches of their lives.

In his biography of Sol Plaatje, Willan has recaptured the spirit of the times when this writer and politician was most active. A study of Plaatje’s contemporaries is unique in that it portrays the black person in South Africa before the full onslaught of apartheid. We therefore have a glimpse of what would have been had
apartheid not intervened. The period before apartheid was marked by a certain degree of free cultural fusion aided mainly by the fact that the missionaries brought the European and African culture into close interaction. Contrary to the plans of the missionaries to promote European culture at the expense of African culture, the two cultural streams instead intermingled with each other. It was impossible to divorce the black people from their African cultural background as this gave them their true identity. At the same time the black people themselves began to adopt what was good for them in western culture. The period between 1820 (the beginning of western education among the Xhosa people) and 1948 (the beginning of the domination of the National Party government that formalised apartheid) still remains a gap that has not been studied by literary scholars. Many ideas that were used to fight apartheid were originated in this period. A closer look at individual lives brings these ideas into sharper focus. So far only the historians have studied this era and in the process they interpret collective trends of social movement as well as major historical events. Biographers, who, by bringing a sharper focus on individuals would bring more detail into the picture, have only recently started to do any work on the Xhosa people, and even then only major political
figures like Phalo and Magoma have been investigated so far, but no literary figures.

Although this work merely spends one chapter on Wauchope's historical background, all these chapters together are intended to capture the spirit of this writer's times. The main focus of this work, however, is to discuss Wauchope as a poet. For this reason a whole chapter is devoted to the discussion of his poetry. The main intention is to set the basis for future research towards the publication of Wauchope's biography. In that sense this work features as a preliminary study, and through it the feasibility of researching towards the publication of the life of Wauchope has been verified. The lives of other writers like Jordan, Mqhayi, Jolobe and Sinxo will also be investigated with the purpose of producing biographies on these writers as well.

**Presentation of this work and background**

This work is presented in seven chapters, the first four chapters dealing with Wauchope's life and times and the last three dealing with his book, *The Natives and their Missionaries*, as well as his poetry. This chapter sets out to explore the field of biography writing. This
debate functions as an introduction to this work. Chapter 2 gives a background of Wauchope’s times including the influence of the colonial system and the missionaries. Chapter 3 is Wauchope’s historical background. In this chapter a brief life history of Wauchope is given. Chapter 4 presents Wauchope’s writings for the newspapers. Here his interaction with his contemporaries is discussed. Chapter 5 deals with Wauchope’s book, The Natives and their Missionaries. Chapter 6 is a close analysis and discussion of Wauchope’s poetry. Chapter 7 is a conclusion: here the drama of the final hours of his life is recounted and his sensational address on the ship the Mendi is discussed.

Depending on the structure of each name used, orthography has remained flexible, that is, it has either been modified or left as it is. Names like “Rharhabe”, which normally appear in current orthography have been written in the familiar manner, but others like “Dyoba” and “Citashe” which would normally be written in this manner even today, have been left as they are, as it is expected that their spelling would not be changed even if they were used today. The latter is just a matter of style on the part of the writer of this work.
The question Ngugi (1981:6) asks in criticising the futility of "A Conference of African Writers of English Expression" held at Makerere University in 1962, forms part of the background to this work when he says:

... there was no Fagunwa or Shabaan Robert or any writer in African languages to bring the conference down from the realms of evasive abstractions. The question was never seriously asked: did what we wrote qualify as African literature?

Although written literature in indigenous languages was encouraged and produced during the era of the missionary enterprise, it was not developed much further than the mere curiosity it was, both to its readers and to its producers due to its exotic nature. In his introduction to a book titled, Comparative Literature and African Literatures (Gérard, 1993:9), Swanepoel refers to the 7th International Conference of ALASA (African Languages Association of Southern Africa) held at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1993 and remarks that,

great concern was expressed about African literary scholarship - at the general meeting as well as in individual sessions. These concerns should be taken seriously and budding young scholars need our encouragement. With ideological constraints something of the past, the sky is the limit." (1993:9).
What Ngugi says about the marginalising of writers in indigenous African languages, and what Swanepoel says about the shortage of committed scholarship are both true for Xhosa literature. The majority of Xhosa speakers are, on the whole, inevitably illiterate, taking into account the well-known ravages of the South African history of apartheid, and the few that can read and write are not normally interested in Xhosa literature. Mainly as a result of this, the publishers of this literature have concentrated on selling their books to the schools as prescribed works, and there they are read in order to pass the examinations. Thorough research still needs to be done to highlight Xhosa literature and to expand the readership base.

As can also be observed in the debates of the two scholars quoted above, there seems to be much emphasis on the desirability of scholars specialising generally in African literature. Literature in the individual African languages still receives limited attention, worse still, individual writers of literature in indigenous languages seem to have been neglected. The work that is being done on Wauchope is intended to draw attention to individual Xhosa writers, much in the manner that Satyo (1978) has done with G.B.Sinxo and his works.
Former researchers on aspects of Xhosa literature initiate the direction towards intensive scholarship in this field. In an introduction to his book on Xhosa clan names, titled, *Imbumba Yamanyama*, Jabavu (1953:iii) comments:

> These studies have occupied me, off and on, upwards of thirty-five years of enquiry, and are here published for the first time with the aim of encouraging the researchers to make further investigation on these and kindred topics largely neglected by the present generation.

Publications, however, indicate that, contrary to Jabavu’s wish, not much scholarship has been generated so far. The few publications in this direction include Satyo et al in *Sasinoncwadi Kwatanci* (1993) and *IsiXhosa Nokubhaliweyo NgesiXhosa* (1998), and other attempts by Bongela (1991), Moropa (1991), Kaschula (1993). Scheub (1992), Opland (1983; 1998) and Gunner (1994) can be viewed as committed scholars in this field. There are, however, no biographies of the prominent writers.

Other than specifically focused comments by writers like Mqhayi (1939:37; *The Bantu World*, 1935.1.5:6; 1935.1.12:6; 1935.1.19:6), Clothier (1987:19-20; 58; 96-98) and Shepherd (1971:40-1); 85), Wauchope has only received serious attention as a writer in Opland’s works
(1994; 1995), and as a poet he has received no recognition except by Opland (the Opland Collection), Tim Couzens (1982) and Andre Odendaal (1984). No serious research has been done on his background and not much is written about him.

Some guiding principles in the writing of biographies

As the title of this dissertation suggests, namely, "The Life and Works of Isaac William(s) Wauchope", this work represents the early stages of a biographical study of Wauchope. Why it does not emerge as a full biography on its own is mainly because Wauchope had to be studied as a literary figure, and, furthermore, the work had to be presented as an introduction to him as a newly-discovered Xhosa writer. It is, therefore, essential to discuss at this stage the principles that govern the writing of biography. A pilot reading of works about the origin and writing of biographies has been made with the intention of effecting acquaintance with the dynamics of biography writing. The basic question one asks is: What is biography? Denzin (1989:7) defines the "biographical method" of historical information gathering as "the studied use and collection of life documents, or documents of life ... which describe turning-point moments
in individuals' lives." These documents, he maintains, "will include autobiographies, biographies ..., diaries, letters, obituaries, life histories, personal experience stories, oral histories and personal histories." This definition concerns itself with what Denzin calls "turning-point moments," but it can be said that not every moment in life marks off a turning-point if by the latter we mean a moment of change from one mode of action or behaviour to another. Some moments of a life being studied may be there to confirm a mode of life whose course has already been chosen. Edel's (1957:1) definition reflects Garraty's view (1958:19). Edel sees a biography as "a record, in words, of something that is as mercurial and as flowing, as compact of temperament and emotion, as the human spirit itself." Garraty's definition is as follows:

Biography ... is the record of life. It is thus a branch of history, each life a small segment in a vast mosaic, just as the story of the development of a town, a state, or a nation may be thought of as an element in a larger whole.

(1958:19)

Garraty goes further and suggests: "perhaps the simplest accurate definition of biography should read: 'The History of a Human Life.'" Edel and Garraty's definitions have been revisited by biographers and critics over the
time and thus form the basis of a definition of biography. Kendall (1965:15) is one of the writers who argue against Garraty’s definition specifically. He maintains that while history handles broader issues and collective lives, biography concentrates on the individual experience of one life.\footnote{Biographers refer to a life history, a book about an individual or material about the life experience of an individual as “a life”.} Concerning biography as a record, he points out that such definition is narrow and does not accommodate the art and craftsmanship of biography writing. He then suggests that biography may be defined as “the simulation, in words, of a man’s life, from all that is known about that man” (1965:15). He maintains that biography “represents imagination limited by truth, facts raised to the power of revelation” (1965:15). Kendall’s view is opposed by Stanley (1992:7) who criticises the view that biography is a “reconstruction on paper of the essential fundamental person, from a myriad of contemporary shifting and conflicting views of this event, that relationship, this activity and that achievement.” Stanely questions the notion of reconstructing an experience on paper and points out that experience can never be the same.

It is quite evident, however, that while biography may be seen as part of all the above definitions, there is no
accurate definition yet. The fact that each life being written about depends wholly on the craftsmanship of each individual biographer to be read as a history, life story or record still remains the governing factor in the writing of biography. Two biographers may publish biographies on one life, but the emphasis may not be the same. Garraty (1958:55-7) makes a striking comparison of the two biographies by Plutarch and Suetonius on the life of Julius Caesar, and finds that while Suetonius’ version is purely factual even in his handling of legends, Plutarch’s work is both realistic and highly artistic. The latter’s work is therefore, more entertaining while the writer delivers true facts with more credibility. A dry record of life is not viewed in the field of biography writing as good biography. Biography demands the application of imagination and craftsmanship. Denzin (1989:34) simply defines biography as “an account of a life written by a third party.” Still this definition is quite rigid as one can write a purely factual account without bringing into play the background against which the life operates. The term “account” is less rigid than the term “record” however and may include stories and anecdotes in its discription.

Kendall (1965:xii) prefers to remain non-committal in his definition when he says, “In a way, biography means just
what Greek words that compose it mean – *bios*, life, and *graphein*, to write.” However, as other biographers argue, it is important to define what is written and how it is written. Denzin’s definition of biography as “an account of a life” is more acceptable while the search for a better word than “account” is still on. Kendall (1965:3) points out that while historians initially looked upon biography as “trivial” after the Second World War more historians became biographers. Regarding literary biography, Batchelor (1995:1-2) maintains that it can be viewed as “a bridge between the academy and the common reader.” Thus biography covers a number of fields including psychology and sociology. Literary biography, as Batchelor puts it, enables the reader to have a richer experience of the work that he/she reads.

Henry James’ biographer, Leon Edel (1957:44) quotes the former who argues that “the life and the works are two very different matters, and an intimate knowledge of the one is not at all necessary for the genial enjoyment of the other.” James goes further and states: “A writer who gives us his works is not obliged to throw his life after them, as is very apt to be assumed by persons who fail to perceive that one of the most interesting pursuits in the world is to read between the lines of the best literature.” Though he was a brilliant novelist, Henry
James was against the writing of a biography on his life. As a consequence he burnt most of his important papers and tried to leave no personal clues about himself (Edel, 1957:28-30). He ignored the important fact that whatever the writer writes is influenced by the society around him/her, whether it be his/her family, relations, associates, teachers, peers or his/her reading audience. The life of Wauchope, for example, gives us a clue about the society in which he lived as well as the socio-political circumstances of his life. It can be viewed as a window into an era in history. Edel (1957:50) puts it thus: "The text cannot be an 'appendage' to the biography of the poet, for it is an integral part of it; and it is a reflection not only of the poet's reading but of his way of experiencing life" (italics mine). James' view that a writer's works should be viewed independently of his life can, therefore, be perceived as a fallacy. Biographies of Xhosa writers from 1820 to 1948 should give us a clear vision of the collective social experience of the times.

A study of the life and works of a person tends to individualise that person and carve him/her above the general level of his/her society. This is inevitable as the focus is on one person and the deeds of one person alone. But whatever deeds that individual performs, they
are informed by the social dynamics. In real life people set their goals and achieve them differently depending on the prevailing circumstances and what one may view as an act of providence. An individual may stand on the threshold of greatness but no one may notice that; and another may stand on the same threshold and that event may coincide with social attention and thus the individual is perceived as acquiring "greatness". Catherine Peters (Batchelor, 1995:44) points out that,

Literary biography is still an extended act of attention to one person, a canonization of a life-and-works, a privileging of one existence over others, and one assumption that the life and the writing are intimately bound up together.

Because of emphasis on individual achievement biography could be seen to be foreign to Africa, but the use of clan names and clan praises among the Xhosa indicates the existence of a qualified form of individualism among these people. The people whose names are on the clan praises stand above the community and their praises are in fact condensed accounts of the deeds and experience of these people. But their names which are used as personal names of members of the succeeding generations, and their deeds and achievements are shared with others. These names and praises are used both as autobiographical and
biographical material. Jurgen Schlaeger (Batchelor, 1995:59) maintains that both autobiography and biography share a common factor of being about individuals. They both "assert the priority of individualism. They differ only in the fact that autobiography is about the self and biography is about the other." The communal fabric of the African communities plays down individualism such as we find in western communities, and individuals who aim at their own achievements end up fulfilling the role of tyrants in African societies. At the same time there is not much restraint in the practice of self-praise. Thus the individual is still seen as a phenomenon as a person, but not because he/she has composed a story or poem for such things have always been a collective possession. However in today's Africa individuals are attributed with achievements which make them as individuals look great in the eyes of the common people. Richard Holmes (Batchelor, 1995:18) seems to be of the notion that biography has to do with class as well when he says:

Biography has always been drawn towards the famous, the glamorous, the notorious. It is pulled unnaturally perhaps, out of the orbit of the ordinary, the average, the everyday lives that most of us lead and need to understand.
There is a fictional quality in biography that most biographers recognise. The fact that biography does not represent a reliving of past experience, but is, instead, a story of past deeds and events lends it an element of fiction. Denzin (1989:41) illustrates the dependence of ethnographies, biographies and autobiographies on stories and storytelling. By nature stories are fiction and narratives of what happened. Denzin (1989:41) concludes that fiction is drawn from real and imagined events. In this sense he feels that history can be seen as fiction. The only difference one can observe is that pure fiction is for the greater part, if not wholly, invented, but biography is, on the greater part, dependent on factual material. Regarding biography and pure fiction Edel (1957:4-5) makes the following observation:

In recent decades there has been a close definition of the craft of fiction, but there has been a singular lack of definition of the craft of biography - and literary biography in particular. This is not difficult to explain. In the writing of the novel the artist is free to use all the reserves of his imagination; in the writing of biography the material is predetermined: the imagination functions only as it plays over this material and shapes it. The art lies in the telling; and the telling must be of such a nature as to leave the material unaltered. The biographer, like the historian, is a slave of his documents.
According to Edel, therefore, biography still needs a definition of its own. This observation implies that biography is still loosely separated from fiction, though it is at the same time viewed as a different entity. Jurgen Schlaeger (Batchelor, 1995:66) views biography as a "hybrid between fact and fiction." Schlaeger further observes that biography has drawn as much popularity as the novel. He views it as a kind of novel with the subject posing as a central character. According to him the biographer works within the narrative structure of traditional fiction. However, Schlaeger concludes that "this does not turn a biography into a novel proper." This observation is in line with Kendall's (1965:13) observation, when he says: "... 'pure' biography comes into being when the author, eschewing all extraneous purposes, writes the life of a man for its own sake, and, though adhering to truth, attempts to compose that life as a work of art."

Certain unwritten principles govern the writing of biography. Denzin (1989:17) mentions the following as some of these guiding principles: the existence of other in the narrative of a life; gender and class and their significance; family beginnings; starting points; known and knowing authors and observers; objective life markers; real persons with real lives; turning-point
moments; and truthful statements as against fictions. Denzin (1989:18) begins his explanation with otherness in a text. Whether a text is a biography or an autobiography, the writer is always conscious of the other or others whose contribution is decisive of the manner in which we are to read and interpret that text. According to Denzin (1989:18) "The eye of the other directs the eye of the writer." Gender and class are involved in the production of these biographical texts. The texts are produced within a patriarchal society and often involve the middle class (Denzin, 1989:18). Denzin (1989:18) observes that traditionally biographies start from families. The family becomes the "zero point of origin" of a life. According to Denzin (1989:19) a number of turning points form the structure and progression of a life history. He maintains that the author of a biography influences the way in which a life is to be read and interpreted. He points out that, "In the biographical text ... the interpretative work must be done by a diligent, hardworking, attentive scholar." The biographer writes about real life people and, therefore, there is a quality of realism in the text he/she composes. Denzin (1989:19) claims that biography is "a study of human experience." All these conventions reflect the western form of biography. Denzin (1989:19) maintains that, "They shape how lives are told."
The writer of a biography does not only influence the text but he/she is also influenced by the life about which he/she is writing. There is a bond that develops between the writer and the subject as well as between the writer and the reading audience. Denzin (1989:26) refers to this triangular relationship in the following terms:

When a writer writes a biography, he or she writes him- or herself into the life of the subject written about. When the reader reads the biographical text, that text is read through the life of the reader. Hence writers and readers conspire to create the lives they write and read about. Along the way, the produced text is cluttered by traces of the life of the 'real' person being written about...

To prepare a biography takes a number of years and involves collecting much data as well as a thorough study of the subject. This process cannot leave the biographer unaffected. Kendall (1965:16) maintains that, "A biography may take a dozen years or more to write. Who would be willing to spend that much time with a man for whom he had no feeling?" The biographer is him-/herself informed by the life about which he/she writes. The involvement of the biographer with the subject is, therefore, quite deep. Weinberg (1992:1) states: "Biography helps me understand the lives of others in new
ways, so that I can understand my own life better." In the process of writing about a life, however, the biographer also uses imagination and his/her own experience. He/she creates a world that mingles both reality and imagination so that his/her own influence upon the text is felt. His/her craftiness is central in the creation of the texture of the biography being formulated. Illustrating the strong influence the life has on the biographer Edel (1957:8) adds:

As a rule the subjective relationship dates from the moment the biographer begins to think about writing a given life. On the surface he has been attracted to this or that figure for reasons which seem clear enough: he likes the writer's work, or he finds it curious; he may discover some little dramatic fact which serves to kindle the fire, or finds what he knows of the writer's personality pleasing.

One gets the idea that the biographer imposes him-/herself on the life of another person. It has happened with many biographers, especially the unauthorised biographers, that their entry into another person's world is viewed with much discomfort. (Reference has been made to Henry James pp 15-16.) On his/her part the biographer has to ensure that the facts about the life he/she writes about are true and proven. According to Edel (1957:1) it is not enough that the biographer's interest has been
stimulated and that he/she has a fertile imagination. He/she cannot be as imaginative as he/she pleases. Whatever imagination is used should be guided by the true facts and the information provided by the materials available. He/she should maintain a balance between the past and the present, respecting people’s dignity and telling the truth. Because of the sensitive nature of the material at his/her hands, a biographer should be honest in dealing with his/her subject. Jürgen Schlaeger (Batchelor, 1995:67) states that, "A biographer ... whatever the extent to which he or she makes use of narrative, of fictional strategies - is inescapably wedded to a truth-telling programme."

The need to write truthfully about a life can be interfered with by the biographer’s own compulsion to write about that life. It is this urge to write about a life that determines if the biographer will observe the ethics of biography writing. Edel (1957:8) observes, "I am sure that if someone were to attempt to study the psychology of biographers he would discover that they are usually impelled by deeply personal reasons to the writing of a given life - reasons not always conducive to objectivity and to truth." For this reason, observes Edel (1957:40), the biographer plays the role of a critic in order for him/her to investigate the life being written
about thoroughly. While a literary critic need not be a biographer, a biographer, on the other hand, provides the critic with material for relevant criticism.

A life about which a biography is produced may interest the biographer in a variety of ways. Some biographers may be interested in a whole life range of experience, others may isolate particular issues and dwell on those for the purpose of illustrating a given point. What is essential is that he/she is injecting life into the lifeless materials that now represent what is dead and gone. To illustrate this Denzin (1989:33) says,

Experiences are given expression in a variety of ways, including rituals, routines, myths, novels, films, scientific articles, dramas performed, songs sung, and lives written about in autobiographies and biographies. Expressions of experiences are shaped by cultural conventions, i.e. the convention that lives have beginnings and endings.

Denzin (1989:22) observes what he calls “epiphanies” which are turning-points in people’s lives. This he relates back to Augustine’s times and his idea of transformation. Transformation was regarded as an important turning-point in a person’s life. Denzin (1989:33) maintains that biographers are often in search of these turning-points in people’s lives.
In his/her search for the essence of a life the biographer has to dislodge much material. This quest for materials is essential to enable the biographer to structure a life on paper. He/she works to illuminate the life that is his/her subject with his/her pen. While Edel (1957:1) feels that "the biographer seeks to restore the very sense of life to the inert materials that survive an individual's passage on this earth," Jürgen Schlaeger (Batchelor, 1995:59-60) asserts that the new forms of interpretation like psychoanalysis, structuralism and modern or post-modern interpretative paradigms oppose the existence of authenticity in a biographical text. He maintains that, "For these approaches men/women as they appear in autobiography are always self-made, self-fashioned, the result of interpretative efforts, not real selves that have managed to appear on paper by some strange kind of magic." This view would apply to the writers of biographies as well as their interpretations that are governed by judgements of the writers themselves.

The materials a biographer works with are not structured into meaningful patterns and the biographer has to give shape and meaning to them. It is this process that
requires his/her craft and experience. Edel (1957:11) points out that,

... the living, associating, remembering biographer's mind seeks to restore a time-sense to the mass of data that has become timeless. All biography is, in effect, a reprojection into words, into a literary or a kind of semi-scientific and historical form, of the inert materials, re-assembled, so to speak, through the mind of the historian or the biographer. His becomes the informing mind. He can only lay bare the facts as he has understood them.

Thus the mind of the biographer becomes the medium through which material is rearranged into a comprehensible order. It implements rationality and order that is not immediately evident in the material. The process of creating logical history out of a mass of material is, therefore, multifaceted and demands a multi-disciplinary approach from the biographer. Using the literary biographer as his example, Batchelor (1995:4-5) illustrates this process thus:

The literary biographer must perform a balancing act. He/she must keep the balance between objectivity and personal engagement, between reliance on documentary evidence (letters, journals, and memoirs) and intuitive recreation, between the subject's under-documented childhood and his/her well-monitored but perhaps tedious years of elderly distinction. The literary biographer needs the skills of an intellectual and cultural historian, a literary critic, a novelist, and a psychiatrist.
The biographer is also challenged to be sincere and true to the material before him/her. Kendall (1965:xii) points out that the biographer has to make sense of material that exists independently of him/her. This material exists beforehand unlike the novelist's imagined narrative that is the product of the novelist's mind. Kendall compares a character created by a novelist to the subject of the biographer. The biographer's subject may have been more ambitious, more subtle and more daring than the biographer him-/herself, whereas a character in a book is never cleverer than its creator, the writer. Edel (1957:45) suggests that a biographer needs to be critical in his/her approach. He sees two types of criticism, the first being a full examination of the substance, the aesthetic qualities and the very core of a work of art as a measure of studying the soul of the subject of the biography. He sees the second form of criticism as involving "logic and coherence" imposed "upon the heterogeneous mass of facts ... assembled."

Batchelor (1995:3) suggests that the working theories include a process whereby material is selected while the biographer continues to maintain distance between him-/herself and the life of his/her subject.
By virtue of the fact that biography deals with life in the past it can be viewed as a highly conservative field. The biographer deals with the facts of life that cannot be altered to suit him/her or his/her reading audience’s tastes. There are expectations that cannot be altered, like when and where the subject was born and when or where he/she died. Accounts about the activities of the subject fill in the greater part of a biographical work. It is in acknowledgement of this fact that Batchelor (1995:2) says, "There seems to be no doubt that the writing of biography is in some sense a ‘conservative’ activity in that it celebrates a known life of the past.” Compared to many other disciplines biography is purely traditional and does not undergo marked changes, hence Catherine Peters (Batchelor, 1995:44) says: “I think biography has to accept that it is a traditional, rather old-fashioned form, evolving slowly rather than by great imaginative leaps and profound intellectual discoveries.” What presents much of a problem for most biographers is that they write about people who are no longer in this life. In such cases it is only the available material that provides the picture about a life that is gone forever. Biographers who have had the advantage of interacting with their subjects while they were still alive have been able to write brilliant biographies, featuring their subjects vividly and with a rich
background against which they have painted them. James Boswell's biography of Dr Samuel Johnson (1763) still stands as one of the best biographies of all time, because Boswell had the advantage of collecting his material on Dr Johnson while the latter was still alive. Edel (1957:19) makes the following significant comment about the remoteness of the subject of a biography through death:

The late-coming biographer hears only the rustle of the pages amid the silence of the tomb. This is explanation enough for the fact that the greatest biographies in our literature have been those which were written by men who knew their subjects and who painted them as the painter paints his picture — within a room, a street, a landscape, with a background and a context rich with its million points of contemporaneous attachment.

Writing biographies of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Xhosa writers puts the intending biographer in the same plight as above. One depends on scanty material and human sources who may not have been in direct contact with the subjects. Thus Edel (1957:20) observes:

The biographer of the long-dead subject shuttles from one document to another: he begins and he ends with his documents. He is obliged to spend much of his time in trying to form, in his mind, that image which his predecessor possessed, so to
speak, 'ready-made.' He labours to visualise its aspects, its style, its manners. Not having the testimony of his own eyes, he finds he must use the testimony of others; and then he discovers that the testimony is often contradictory and invariably coloured by individual points of view. But again, precisely this awareness of contradictions may give the distant biographer a marked advantage in his search for the truest picture.

It is the challenge as outlined by Edel above that generates the obsession, on the part of the biographer, not only with his/her subject but also with the times in which the subject lived. Concerning Wauchope as a subject as well as his times, the time in which we now live in South Africa in the 1990s matches life in the 1890s and early 1900s when cultural fusion was still a free process uninterrupted by law. Almost all biographers agree with Kendall (1965:18) when he observes that, "The more remote in time the man is, the more gaps there will be. These gaps occur at all stages in the trail but are very likely to come during the childhood and adolescence of the subject." The dominating factor however is the interest in the subject and his/her times. Biography brings into circulation facts that lie dormant and in disorder so that with these facts the life being written about is re-experienced albeit somewhat differently and by the readers rather than the subject. Jurgen Schlaeger (Batchelor, 1995:68) remarks as follows:
In the face of a meaningless death, biography gives life an extension. It is, as such, one of the most successful efforts at secular resurrection. Most modern biographers are reticent about the details of their subjects' death. That they are dead is taken for granted; that their death was preceded by a life worth living and, even more to the point, worth writing about underlies the task to which the genre is devoted.

From what Schlaeger says, biography writing can be viewed as a necessity as biography enriches life by bringing back already experienced facets of life. Edel (1957:19) sees an added advantage of later biographers in that their being removed in time from their subjects makes them more objective in their approach. Edel (1957:19) quotes Max Beerbohm in his lecture on Lytton Strachey when he says: "the past is a work of art, free from irrelevancies and loose ends ... the dullards have all disappeared ... Everything is settled. There's nothing to be done about it - nothing but to contemplate it and blandly form theories about this or that aspect of it."

Edel (1957:25-6) figures two extremes, one being that of a biographer who is handling so much material that it makes it difficult to make sense of it; and the other being a biographer seeking material on a "pre-biography" age subject like Shakespeare, having very little to go about. Edel concludes that both extremes pose quite a
problem for biographers. The study of Wauchope presents the latter of the two problems, where, besides the written works which are readily available in the newspapers, there is very little to find about his personal background.

Added to the above problems is the challenge of language, which, according to Denzin (1989:21) "is a mediation through which writers and speakers are directed toward biographically meaningful reality." The skill and usage of language governs the manner and method of presentation of the life chosen for scrutiny. As a vehicle of communication language determines the weight and quality of a biographer's presentation of his/her subject. According to Edel (1957:6-7) a biography can be highly scientific and technical depending on the language used, or it may appear as an art when the biographer applies the techniques of word power and the power of presentation.² The use of imagination also comes to play and guides the manner and language in which a subject is to be presented. Referring to this issue, Edel (1957:43) remarks:

The act of imaginative writing is an act of expression as much as an act of communication. The inner promptings to which the writer listens cannot remain within; they seek an issue, they must emerge; and they usually do in the form of narratives – prose, lyrical, dramatic – tissue out of past experience and formed in a literary tradition. So long as these suggest the secrets of a writer's soul and the quality of his mind, as they must, the curious reader, sharing the writer's experience, will want to learn the secret and pierce to the heart of the mystery.

Just as Edel suggests above, the inner promptings of a biographer writing about the life of a literary figure often centre around the genre that the life has produced. As Wauchope was not only a poet but a social figure and a political leader as well, the "promptings" that assail the biographer range from poetry to letters and articles for the newspapers. Where the poem yields less information, a letter or an article fills up the gap more or less. Kendall (1965:7) points out that,

... a poem-event is, paradoxically more difficult to translate into biographical terms than an action event. Whereas the poem is tantalizingly closer to the heart of self than such outward, limited manifestations of character as an election campaign, and appears to offer more direct expression of personality, it may well turn out to be a subtle concealment or a deliberately stylized projection or a privately visioned myth of that personality.
Though Wauchope’s poetry is written in Xhosa, most of it is written in the style of Victorian poetry. Thus it cannot tell us much about the poet’s Xhosa background other than his school background. As Kendall points out above, the poem may appear close to the heart of the poet, but basically it involves many aspects of the disposition of the poet to be a clear reflection of what he/she is or intends. That there is more than just poetry that Wauchope has published helps to create a balanced interpretation of him as an individual, and through him his times. Though Edel (1957:2) maintains that, “The biographer of a poet is likely to be concerned with literary rather than military discipline, that is, with literary criticism and with the life of the imagination in action,” it is quite clear that a study of Wauchope’s life brings into focus many facets of not only his life but life in general and of society. Drawing a distinction between a biographer and a critic Edel (1957:44) points out: “The critic reads to expound and expatiate upon the words that issued from the pen: the biographer does this always to discover the particular mind and body that drove the pen in the creative act.” Though there is a distinction between a critic and a biographer, the interdependence and overlap between these two is remarkable.
The art of biography can be traced twenty-five hundred or more years back, biography as we know it today is fairly new. It was in the seventeenth century that it achieved its name in the English world and was firmly established in the modern world in the twentieth century (Kendall, 1965:xii). Academics have dominated this field, and literary biography is still dominated by them. Weinberg (1992:1) writes:

Until 1975, most biographers considered to be at the apex of the craft were academics — specialist university professors, think-tank residents, or unaffiliated scholars with advanced degrees, often doctorates. ... the focus tended to be on the public lives of long-dead subjects, leaving private matters in the closet or bedrooms or wherever.

In South Africa literary biography is still at its infancy, and in the area of Xhosa literature it is represented by a few books already described in this chapter. The South African literary biographer still falls under the paradigm mentioned by Weinberg (1992:2) when he quotes Stephen Oates saying,

These would-be biographers are often specialists in some field who decide to write a biography of someone who made a contribution in it. Too often, such authors are mainly interested in offering a new assessment of colonial class antagonisms or a new angle on the narrative poetics of Herman
Melville. For these authors, biography serves chiefly as a showpiece for their own erudition.

The above paradigm is presented in contrast to investigative journalists, who opt for biography writing as a natural extension of their everyday occupation. The ancient Greek biographer, Aristoxenus used a more or less similar approach to the above, writing down an individual's biography as a means of carrying forward an argument in defence of a particular view point. It was from this approach that the Peripatetic biographers emerged. Garraty (1958:47) describes their work thus: "Peripatetic biographers, in addition to dealing with the nature of man, described his origins, family background, and education. Besides discussing his career, they dealt with his appearance, mannerisms, and disposition. They began with birth and ended with death." What needs to be followed in the biographies of the Xhosa writers of the colonial era is the example of Plutarch whose biographies were cross-cultural, combining the Greek and Roman styles. About this biographer Garraty (1958:50) says: "Plutarch represented the blending of Greek and Roman culture at the apex of its development, and his Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans was in many ways a summary of that culture." Similarly, a biographer writing about the lives of Xhosa writers who lived through the colonial
era would have to mingle Xhosa biographical information stored in oral literature with records obtained by means of western techniques from western sources. This blend of cultures was an ideal situation of the colonial era, though, unlike Plutarch who was interested in individuals over and above history, one would have to balance the two.

Though the title of this dissertation is "The Life and Works ..." more emphasis is layed on Wauchope's works as they reveal much of his thinking and his personality. Referring to literary biographers Kendall (1965:6-7) says:

The greatest biography in the world unfolds the life of a man of letters; and literary figures have, in general probably enjoyed a disproportionate amount of attention. For one thing, biographers, being writers of a kind, are attracted to writers, partly, no doubt, in order to seek their own features in a kindred face. Furthermore, men of letters are schooled, by temperament and talent, to examine themselves rather more assiduously than other beings do, and thus offer the biographer eloquent source-materials; and tend to project themselves by gesture as well as by pen, and thus provide the biographer with provocative role-playings against which he can stage his own perception of character.

It is in this spirit that the life of Wauchope is studied and discussed. Wauchope had an interesting, highly active
life which can be said to be representative of the Xhosa writers of his time.
CHAPTER 2

THE PEOPLE AND EVENTS OF WAUCHOPE'S TIME

Since ever he had come to the Cape, he had known nothing but welcome and reverence. It remained for a slave child to see him as a hateful monster.

(Millin, 1952:137)

Introduction

History informs us that events that find fruition in today's society in South Africa started, on the one hand, with the movement of segments of the Xhosa people from the domain of their kingdom, across the Bashee River westwards (Soga, 1930:121). From a different angle the Europeans arrived and settled at the Cape in 1652, and established a settlement which later developed into a colony, that in turn expanded, ultimately creating a modern country below the Limpompo River; and a home for people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. What becomes interesting to a literary writer is the critical moment of time when the diverse cultural backgrounds came into contact with each other through the movements of groups of people and individuals across land and sea.
This chapter represents an attempt to recreate and define the socio-historical background of Wauchope's times. In this way the largely estimated experience of this writer can be perceived in association with his writings, especially his poetry, in order to give it a richer and deeper interpretation than would be the case if we came across it as mere poetry, barren of context and cut off from the socio-historical forces that influenced its creation. There will be no need to define colonialism or even to use it as a term of definition in this work. In fact, the term brings a one-sided experience to the debate that seeks a balance of experience. It has not, for example, been applied in relation to the movements of the indigenous people of South Africa or indigenous Africans elsewhere. Then there is the ever-present danger of using such a term for purposes of political correctness. De Kock (1996:1) expresses this opinion more succinctly when he says,

The history of colonialism ... has all too often found its enunciation in the coarser tones of anti-colonial rhetoric. The word 'colonialism' is then used as a thunderblow, to denote a self-evident evil, not an object of analytical enquiry.
Sometimes writers fallaciously look upon the past generally as the formative years for better life in the following generations ad infinitum, obviously ignoring the fact that whatever period features in history, that period represents a life span, fulfilling to those who live it, but more a period whose experience is enjoyed in part or complete oblivion to any if not ignorance about richer quality of life that the remote future might bring. Thus, Wauchope becomes important as a nineteenth century Xhosa writer mainly because his experience of life covers the various stages of growth and maturity, and much of this is recorded in his writings. Referring to writers of Wauchope's times de Kock (1996:3) maintains:

The negotiations of identity, and the struggles involved in sustaining, modifying, or revolutionising the self in the nineteenth century found their form in narratives, in story, projection, and response. To be sure, these narratives and counter-narratives were implicated in the larger play of power conflict, unity and dislocation. They were the stories people told each other in diverse contexts and they include the more philosophical 'narratives of legitimation' employed to underpin ideological positions. They involved, in addition, the complex back and forth interpretations of orality and literacy, the establishment of literature orthographies for 'venacular' languages, as well as the growing ascendency of English as a master code, the ultimate fount of civilised life from which lowly 'Kafirs' were benignly invited to drink.
This chapter identifies the main features of the "fount of civilised life" de Kock mentions in the above extract, as well as "the larger play of power and conflict, unity and dislocation" which is in fact an expression chosen by de Kock to describe life and experience in the nineteenth century. I agree with de Kock that literature can thus be viewed as an expression of this experience.

**The role of education**

It is by virtue of the education he received in Lovedale that Wauchope has been able to leave a name for himself as a writer. It is, therefore, essential to seek to define the nature, quality and role of education in Wauchope's time.

Formal education for the Xhosa can be traced back to the first Xhosa pupil, Jan Tshatshu, a young prince of the AmaNtinde people who received his education from Bethelsdorp under the supervision of James Read. By some strange coincidence, Makanda's journey to Grahamstown in 1815 to ask the missionaries to release Jan Tshatshu and a white missionary to come to the Xhosa people and teach them about Christ helped to speed up Jan Tshatshu's
education and to sharpen focus on the goal for which he was to receive education. In a letter to the London Missionary Society dated 24 August 1815, James Read (LMS Letters) recounts the incident involving Makanda thus:

I have now to mention a very strange circumstance respecting a Caffre who is at present at Graham’s Town. He hazarded his life to come over the limits to beg the young Caffre chief and a missionary to visit Caffreland. He says, Christ revealed himself to him as crucified for sinners, and showed him his hands and his feet; and said he must go on and tell the other Caffres of what he had seen and heard; he said they will not believe me, the nations’ father said. I have my work to make them believe and I will use the moon eclipse (which was visible here on 21 June) as a means to confirm the truths of what you say and will protect you from their hand. He went and told the Caffres who were very much astonished and wished for him to go and fetch the abovementioned young chief and missionary, The N.K, said he would find a servant of his at Graham’s Town who had lost 2 fore teeth which is actually the case with Mr van den Lingen. ... The case of this Caffre is in every mouth, and I intend to try to get permission to pay a short visit with the young chief.

(LMS Letters, 1815.8.24)

Jan Tshotsho was taught to speak and write in English and Dutch, and later worked as Joseph Williams’ interpreter when the latter went to settle on the Kat River in 1816. After Joseph Williams, Tshotsho again came to the Xhosa territory as John Brownlee’s interpreter in 1820. While Brownlee was a government appointed missionary, Williams was appointed by the London Missionary Society. The
following is an extract of a letter Jan Tshatshu wrote to a certain Mr Besler, "one of the gentlemen of the Circuit Court," dated 14 February 1816.

Sir

You will not take it amiss that I address myself to you in this letter. I should not have dared to have take this liberty had it not been for the kindness you showed me when at Uitenhage - Bethelsdorp.

You know that my desires are very strong that my nation should become acquainted with the things that belong to their external happiness that is to know the Lord Jesus Christ. I enjoy a privilege that no one of my nation enjoys and I cannot rest till they enjoy the same. Mr Read has written twice to Government for permission for the missionaries to go but no answer had been received. Now is my earnest request that you and Mr Jennings will use your interest with His Excellency to get my wishes satisfied. I shall always consider myself under obligation.

(LMS Letters, 14.2.1816)

This letter represents one of the first official documents ever written by a formally educated Xhosa individual. It is the forerunner of the many writings that were later to be written by educated Xhosas as church documents, legal documents and newspaper articles. According to further reports by Read, Tshatshu married Larna Oorson, clearly a Khoi woman, a clear indication that Tshatshu's pioneering education transplanted him in a mixed community of European and Khoi values, where he added his own Xhosa upbringing. In Tshatshu's situation,
however, as with the Lovedale pupils later on, the European values feature as the dominant force, channelled down as they were from positions of authority and instruction by the missionaries. These presented themselves as models of the application of a refined code of life. For Tshatshu education must have meant not only the transformation of his personality but also the adoption of a new life style, starting with the replacement of the animal kaross with a tailed coat.

The Khoi whom Tshatshu joined in Bethelsdorp were well on their way to a complete assimilation of the Christian and western way of life. All he seemed to have done was adjust to his new social environment, thereby submitting himself to western standards of judgement.

When Lovedale came into existence in 1841, the relationship between the European teachers and the Xhosa pupils allowed for dominance of the European culture over African values perhaps more vigorously than in Tshatshu’s time. De Kock (1996:70-1) sums up the stages of Xhosa education by the missionaries at Lovedale in three phases, namely, William Govan’s time which sought equal tuition as in British schools; James Stewart’s shift of emphasis to a more localised plan set on more practical goals, “discernible from the belief in more cultural
superiority, to one in racial superiority” (de Kock, 1996:70); and the phase of dissatisfaction with missionary paternalism, marked by secessionist movements of Pambani Mzimba, Nehemia Tile and James Dwane. Wauchope lived through the latter two phases, but also shared the dubious cultural transformation that Tshatshu experienced.

The children of the first missionaries among the Xhosa were also educated at Lovedale. In the proposal that the four missionaries, John Brownlee, John Bennie, W.R. Thomson and John Ross, wrote to the London Missionary Society, they stated that the intended institution would help in training their children as missionary agents (Shepherd, 1971:10). Lovedale was intended for higher education “for the training, in the first instance, of school masters and catechists” (Shepherd, 1971:13).

This arrangement allowed for interaction between the Xhosa and the missionary children at pupil level, thereby enabling the children of the missionaries to acquire much knowledge of the Xhosa language and customs while the Xhosa children learnt the ways of the Europeans. The only difference was that, unlike Tshatshu, who may have been treated on the same level as the Khoi, the Xhosa children were not given the same treatment as the children of the
missionaries, who, amongst other things had their meals separately on a higher platform. One of the Lovedale teachers of the time makes the following observation:

They are in the same classes; in the same literary societies; and they sit in the same dining hall. They are entirely separated in dormitories, and at dinner they sit at separate tables. In games they are usually separate, being allowed to please themselves, but they meet in the grounds. It will be seen that they are brought into a true relationship with each other, and also that they are not mixed up.

There is here a practical recognition that Africans are our fellowmen; that they are a future here, and cannot be removed; that Europeans must accept them as fellow-citizens, and that they have all the rights of British subjects, and must be treated according to the law of the Empire.

(Shepherd, 1971:14)

It is clear from this arrangement that the white children featured as models for the black children. Out of this experiment came a number of prominent figures in the history of social development of the Eastern Cape, like the Ross brothers, the Brownlee brothers and W.G. Bennie. Of the Xhosa students, J.K.Bokwe, J.M.Mzimba, Elijah Makiwane and Isaac Wauchope are among the leading examples. The first students received free education if they belonged to member congregations of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and it was emphasised that the
students "should be good readers of their own language" (Shepherd, 1971:15).

Right from the time of Lovedale's inception in 1841 William Govan, its first principal, promoted an interdenominational intake both on the staff and students. Shepherd (1955:28-9) sums up Govan's educational policy thus:

Put briefly, Govan's standpoint was that for the uplifting of a primitive people the most important task was to educate a few to the highest possible limit. He therefore contended that the qualification for Africans seeking ordination to the ministry should be the same as those demanded of Europeans, and he further held that it was desirable that Africans should be enabled to take their place alongside Europeans, not only in the office of the ministry, but also in the various positions in society, secular as well as ecclesiastical.

His committee aimed at creating "thoroughly educated labourers," with a profound knowledge of literature and philosophy, in short "a few African Christian men of the highest order of attainment" (Shepherd, 1955:28). So Xhosa education was to make a dramatic break from a tradition of oral literature as well as from dramatised learning in the form of initiation and marriage rituals. First the pupils were transplanted to the mathematically designed environment of the mission station. Then they
would be drilled on new ways of behaviour and on how to handle themselves as "gentlemen" and "ladies". All this would take place at the expense of some of the cherished Xhosa values. One example of this wanton corrosion of Xhosa values is evident in Rev. Niven's view about the Xhosa way of distributing wealth, a view he expresses in a letter to Mr Stretch, when he says,

The prevalent system of giving and receiving, - or, what may be designated a national community of goods, - is another evil. The Chiefs of Kafirland seek to prevent the deterioration of their rank by intermarriages with families of similar station, in kindred tribes, and often by alliance with a separate race of aborigines; and their retainers have followed their example, until the nominally distinct clanships - from the Keiskamma to the Bashee, and from Chumie Peak to the sea - are amalgamated and blended into a general family, whose dependence on its separate members is as mutual as their interests are common. ... property is often gained without merit, so it is oftener lost without crime.

(1840:7)

The above view represents a misconception by Niven of the culture of sharing of many tribes in the Southern Africa of his time and the general harmony this was intended to forge. He seems to view this as an "evil" simply because, he claims, it does not promote a healthy economy in the sense that he understands it.
Sir George Grey gave strong support to the Lovedale educational scheme, which suggests that it suited his political thinking and plans. Industrial education was wholly funded by the Cape Government (Stewart, 1894: Preface).

As already stated, James Stewart proposed and later introduced a different emphasis to education in Lovedale:

We do not try ... educationally to produce a few exortic specimens of a more advanced type, but rather to distribute the benefits of a useful elementary education among as large a number as possible. Still, more advanced education is not altogether discouraged, but assisted to a small extent on the ground that education spreads among a people from above downwards rather than the reverse.

(Shepherd, 1955:35)

Stewart stated the three major goals of this form of education as being to train preachers; to train teachers of African schools; and to train artisans and clerks. As a Missionary Institution, Lovedale applied a "combined method, in which religious, educational, and industrial teaching [were] joined with the preaching of the Gospel or the purely evangelistic method" (Stewart, 1894: Preface). About this combination Stewart said,
In religious teaching we give prominence to the main truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, rather than the unimportant denominational differences between churches which are labouring for the same end. The same rule holds with regard to tribes. The proud Kaffir and the fighting Zulu, and the quicker Barolong, all receive the same treatment so long as there is no fighting.

(1894:8)

In this manner students from Lovedale and other similar institutions had training as evangelists in addition to anything else they had to learn. Switzer's (1997:24) interpretation of Steward's method is put thus:

Particularly unsettling was the opinion of mission opinion makers, such as the influential James Stewart, leader of the prestigious Presbyterian mission at Lovedale in the Ciskei region, where the most famous African secondary school in the Cape was located. He agreed with settler demands that missionaries abandon the effort to promote an elite and concentrate instead on educating as many Africans as possible to the lowest levels of functional literacy.

In addition, Stewart's decision (Shepherd, 1955:88) to introduce a system of payment for all students in 1871 lent education at Lovedale a high economic value. It must have been difficult for ordinary Xhosa people to obtain money, because it meant that they would have to work for it in a white town, a farm or mission station. It was, therefore, children of people who worked for payment in
European currency who could send their children to Lovedale, while the majority of the Xhosa people had no acceptable currency and only their stock to use as payment. So it was the Mfengu and a few Xhosa who were eligible for education. Referring to one of the meetings where this issue was discussed, Stewart recalls:

This 'new thing' was ... not well received. But on the evening of the second day one man - Nyoka (Snake) by name - though his name belied his life - stood up and said, 'I will pay four pounds for my son. The others soon followed and a beginning was made, resulting in a great change in the financial condition of Lovedale. The sum of four pounds a year was what was charged at first; it is now eight pounds. For this they receive education and food, consisting chiefly of maize and milk. To this man, Nyoka, now dead, I have many times during twenty years felt sincerely grateful.'

(1894:7)

Thus a new class of black elite emerged mainly as a result of Stewart's commercialised education. In fact, it is clear from Stewart's account in the above extract that for people like Nyoka obtaining the money for school fees was not going to be a problem. On the other hand one can imagine that an illiterate Xhosa individual would have to compromise his rights and values and work for a white person in order to obtain the required money to take his/her child to school. Odendaal (1984:2-3) states that "Unlike the traditionalists who preferred to live within
tribal traditions, this new class entered the cash economy, underwent a formal education, were Christians, and generally came to assimilate other prominent aspects of European culture." It is no surprise, therefore, that students like Isaac Wauchope were able to find their way to Lovedale, coming from a place with a wage-earning culture namely, Uitenhage. The families of his contemporaries, like Bokwe, Mzimba, Makiwane, Jabavu, Mqhayi were equally exposed to a European work environment. Jordan (1973:63) defines the new set-up thus,

The Christian African found a new meaning in life. He fully accepted the new culture with its promise of a fullness of life. The way to this promised life went by way of the baptismal font, the church and the school. ... To the semi-literate one, the new road, though preferable, is misty. ... The intellectual has a clearer understanding of both roads. He prefers the new, but is keenly aware of the changing attitude of the conquerer. The fullness of life that was promised him is not to be realised in the foreseeable future.

The new class of blacks, as Jordan also suggests, was harnessed to some midway existence between the old traditional Xhosa life and the new European ways. Highlighting this point Stewart (1884: 17-18) himself emphasises:
Seventeen years ago I held views on the education of natives, which I do not hold now. I am not ashamed to say I was mistaken. ... I assented to things as they were, so far, at least, as to agree to a Theological curriculum for native preachers, shaped exactly on the home model. On the other hand I never agreed for a day to the teaching of Latin to the promiscuous classes of native lads, some of whom have never risen higher than day-labourers and grooms, even with Horace to hoist them higher up.

The above statement clearly indicates that in Stewart’s mind the black students were educated only for their own people and not for the white society. The fallacy of this form of education lies in the fact that the educator was prepared to lead the new comer up to a certain level and no further. As it happened, some individuals were able to carry themselves further than Lovedale at least in their involvement in social activities. In this chapter (pp 70-80), a few of those individuals and their achievements are mentioned. Addressing students at Lovedale in 1877, Buchanan calls on them to seize their opportunities. In his speech he persuades them to see themselves only as redeemers of their black race and not as those that can be useful to any other society. He claims that, “the fate of your countrymen is trembling in the balance” and addresses them as “the saviours of your country, and the pioneers of light and liberty and life to the unhappy millions of Africa at large” (1877: 27). These statements
seem to presuppose that the true meaning of life in Africa is only starting with Lovedale and such like institutions. Buchanan’s sombre warning in 1877 must have both worried and filled the members of the Lovedale Writers’ Association, which he was addressing, with pride as the ones chosen to redeem their race when he said,

Every observing mind sees that the very existence of our Native races is at stake. The eyes of the civilised are on these colonies, and the question is being discussed on every side, ‘Are these South African races destined like most, if not all, other aboriginal races, to melt away and disappear before the white man?’ Now the answer will depend almost entirely upon the many natives now receiving a Christian education in the colony and their immediate successors; and, of all such, I believe, no school of Natives in the land lies under such a responsibility.

(1877:22)

As Wauchope had himself been at Lovedale up to 1876, it is clear that the fortunate “redeemers” being thus addressed by Buchanan in 1877 were decidedly Wauchope’s contemporaries. It is also evident from this speech that the intention is to sharpen the focus of these missionary agents-in-training on the importance of the task of converting the Xhosa race into Christianity before other religions can settle in and take possession of them. More urgency was placed on evangelisation and school education. Buchanan stands as a mover of the
missionaries' foremost intention, namely, to instil, through education, the thought that, "I may, through God's blessing, yet do something considerable towards saving my nation from extinction, and towards turning the tide of their history into a channel of true and permanent prosperity: I may do it, and all my fellows here may do it: or we may by our slothfulness and selfishness hasten on the day of our country's ruin" (1877: 27).

The period was also one of uncertainty regarding the status of the emerging African elite. They were partly westernised without being in any way absorbed into the European community. They featured as pioneers of a new African life, a life in which they had, among others, to invent new codes of existence. De Kock (1996:27-8) explains this period thus:

... it is a story of how a colonial order partly based on evangelical colonialism ... seeks to rewrite the cultural precepts of identity for people made subservient by war and imperial expansionism. In this sense, it is a story of conquest, yearning for a constructed world, and betrayal. The African elite who readily assimilated missionary education in the hope of joining the millenarian society implicit in the promise of civilisation and Christianity, and who looked eagerly to the fulfilment of grand humanitarian ideals associated with the name of Victoria and formulated in the face of settler colonialism and Boer hostility, were ultimately
betrayed as the 'liberal' Cape Colony was drawn into the first versions of South Africa in 1910.

Lovedale provided the environment in which the above processes took place. By 1894 Stewart (1894:1) was reporting that there were twenty-five separate buildings at Lovedale, a land which had been "a bare hill-side and a flat valley covered with mimosa trees" (1894:1) when the missionary arrived. Odendaal (1984:3) states that by 1887 more than 2 000 Africans had received secondary school education. Already there were black teachers, ministers, law agents, magistrates' clerks, interpreters, carpenters, storemen, transport riders, blacksmiths, telegraph operators, printers, clerks and journalists by this time.

The missionary zeal

A study of the religious thinking of the people in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can provide us with an idea about the commitment of those agents of the missionary societies who came to South Africa. The spread of the Lutheran and related faith in Europe was the main thrust of the spirit of evangelism which resulted in agents being sent to Africa and India.
The character of men like Georg Schmidt, the first missionary to come to South Africa (1737), and Dr J.T. van der Kemp, the first missionary to settle among the Xhosa people, underlines the spirit of dedication that seems to have prevailed in that era. De Kock (1996: 42) defines the class from which many missionaries came thus:

The early Protestant missionary figures generally came from a different class than governors and administrators. The evangelical movement in England ... was primarily a layman's movement. The majority of evangelical activists were from the lower middle class that came into being in the developing towns and cities.

Schmidt’s mission to convert the Khoi was ridiculed at the Cape, and the fact that he was to be paid no salary was considered ludicrous. Yet he persevered and finally succeeded to convert a few Khoi people.

Similarly, van der Kemp, a medical doctor by profession, and a former officer of the Dutch Royal Guard, forsook the comfort of his homeland and undertook a hazardous journey to Ngqika’s land where he hoped to meet and convert the Xhosa people to Christianity. In a letter written to the London Missionary Society on 26 July 1797 van der Kemp’s profound resolution to follow his fate as
well as his impatience with the LMS are recorded. In his letter he complains,

I had earnestly sought the face of the Lord, and he had directed me to the Society for her advice, and now the Society advised me to wait for God's direction.

(LMS Letters)

In the same letter he quotes Hebrews 11:8, "by faith Abraham, when he was called - obeyed," and then proclaims, "Yes! So will I too by thy grace, if being called as he." He expresses his vision of his calling thus: "I was convinced that every plan on which we [him and the LMS] can enter as a consequence and by your power of faith is undoubtedly suggested and commanded by God."

In another letter written to the LMS on 13 May 1799 van der Kemp announces that he has to forgo his directorship of the small party of missionaries at the Cape in order "to establish a perfect equality" (Martin, Undated: 76). This step is another proof of van der Kemp's selfless resolve to put all his energy on his mission. Martin's comment (Undated: 78) illustrates this point when he says about van der Kemp:

Just before his final departure from Holland, in conversation with the retired Dutch Governor of the Cape, he had gathered information about the Kafir tribes beyond the frontiers of the Colony
and had learnt that they were "very cruel and intractable". This, of course rendered the mission to them most desirable ... The natural energy of Vanderkemp's disposition responded to a great challenge and moreover his high valuation of strategy, engendered by military experience and much reading, impelled his mind towards big undertakings and to the more important fields of action.

It is this zeal and energy that sets him off from an average pioneer like his companion, Edmonds, whose "zeal had been thoroughly chilled by all he had gone through, in perils of wild beasts, in perils of wilder men, and for him there was obscured fear" (Martin, Undated: 82).

Van der Kemp's journal written in 1799 is a good testament of this missionary's selfless resolve to spread the gospel among the people of "King T'Gcika [Ngqika]." In it he relates the hazards they faced on their way from Graaf Reinet to Ngqika's land and how their lives were constantly under threat from ImiDange, a section of the Xhosa people. During an attack by ImiDange van der Kemp and Edmonds remained unarmed, ordering the members of their group to shoot only when their lives were in danger. Meanwhile the colonists behind whom they were trailing defended themselves, leaving a few ImiDange dead. It is clear from the episodes narrated by van der Kemp that he was committed to his single-minded goal of
bringing the Word of God to the Xhosa. Van der Kemp faced danger from the very Xhosa whom he had come to convert, as the latter made clear their distrust of him through Bruintjie, his Khoi guide, stating that the muskets they carried were regarded by them as weapons of treachery and betrayal (Martin, Undated: 83). But van der Kemp went against Bruintjie’s wise counsel that they should not proceed to Ngqika.

Van der Kemp’s immediate successors show a similar commitment, one example being that of Joseph Williams who settled on the banks of the Kat River with his young wife and newly born baby. The extent of this courage is reflected in a letter G. Baker wrote to Burder after the death of Williams, all of them missionaries at the time. In this letter Barker enlists the hazards faced by Mrs Williams among strangers, but for Barker the people surrounding Mrs Williams are not just strangers but “savages”:  

O! What must be the feelings of Sister W. You will reflect that she has not a single person with her from the Colony. I believe, that, I wrote they had all left. Surrounded by savages [and] what must also come very near the affection of a wife, no one to give the deceased a decent burial. It is not a trifling thing to be a missionary [and] particularly, to be stationed alone in such a situation as this is.  

(LMS Letters, 28 August 1818)
Stewart (1902:140) sums up the spirit of the missionary endeavour in his description of the Wesleyan Methodists whom he observes,

... are marked by great evangelistic fervour, energy, and spiritual warmth, and also by an unwavering belief in the power of the simple preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They are in consequence ceaseless in their efforts to bring that gospel into contact with the minds and hearts of all they can reach. This simple theory is itself a great missionary force.

In her novel, The Burning Man, Sarah Gertrude Millin (1952) presents with deep insight the missionary zeal as a kind of quest. In this novel it is the renegade in the story, Coenraad Buys, who accomplishes a harmonious coexistence of European and African. His conversation with van der Kemp reveals his own conviction about his total acceptance of blacks as human:

"I can do no more than give my life to the service of those I think need it most," [said van der Kemp].
"No," said Coenraad. "Not your life. Your life means also your body and pride. You do not, as I, live with them and through them, to prove there is no difference between black and white and all are indeed from the same womb and one Father."
(1952: 238)
Just like Buys there were people other than the missionaries who also worked hard to justify the human link between black and white. These include some teachers and doctors. One such person was Jane Waterston (called Noqhakata by the Xhosa) who arrived in Lovedale with Mr and Mrs Stewart in 1867. She worked hard to strengthen the girls' department in Lovedale. Eventually she came to live in Cape Town as a medical doctor. Shepherd (1955: 78) mentions that, "It was said of her that she had in no stinted measure patience, determination, thoroughness, zeal, womanly gentleness as well as tact and self-reliance." Like many Europeans of her time Dr Waterston's view of African life was critically distorted by her "civilised" background. Amongst other things she maintained that the African "round hut fosters disease and is an effectual barrier to the real advancement of the Native" (Shepherd, 1955:81-2).

The above accounts for the blindfolded approach the missionaries and colonists had adopted towards the civilisation of the black man, an approach that did much to discredit the truly African value systems. Commenting on this blindfolded zeal de Kock (1996:42) adds,

Transplanted on to the Cape soil, this personal experience of self-discipline and energetic industriousness often resulted in a misreading of
culturally divergent practices as indolence, and the heterogeneity of people encountered by evangelists.

Their good intentions as well as their devotion to their cause were lamentably inadequate to give the African a new and deeply founded cultural existence. It is this strong influence and dedication that many products of the seminary school, like Wauchope, imbied. In Wauchope’s articles as well as in his book, The Natives and their Missionaries, originally published as an article for the Christian Express, this writer remains unambiguous about his indebtedness to the missionaries, even through the difficult period of African cessationist movements of the 1890s. It was unfortunate though that the good intentions on the part of the early missionaries were later musked by plans of the strategists and nation-builders bent on transforming the Africans into something resembling the Europeans of the time. De Kock (1996:32) is of the same opinion when he claims:

... the efforts of missionaries to 'civilise' African people ... were founded on the imperative to force multiple, heterogeneous forms of social organisation and belief in [turning] non-Christian communities into a new, Christian mould. This was a reductive generalising mission driven by the need to impose the history of the same on what was regarded as Other. Ultimately, the process was designed to enforce an orthodoxy of identity.
There emerged a new breed of missionary and teacher, that being the school product of missionary education. One example is that of W.G.Bennie, educated in Lovedale and the University of the Cape of Good Hope (1882), to become the Chief inspector of native education in 1920. Because of his close acquaintance with the Xhosa and his intimate knowledge of the Xhosa language, he became responsible for the production of many Xhosa books of his time. Between 1930 and 1941 some twenty books were edited and written by him (Shepherd, 1955: 101). His influence in the development of Xhosa literature was therefore remarkably great.

Wauchope, a contemporary of Bennie became a black product of the same education of Lovedale, and before him Mzimba and Tyamzashe emerged from Lovedale. Wauchope’s contemporaries were Makiwane, Mghayi, Ntsiko and Bokwe. Thus, James Stewart (and before him William Govan) had achieved through his pupils what David Livingstone had preached, all enshrined in his famous line: “I have opened the door; I leave it to you to see that no one closes it” (Shepherd, 1955:86-7).
The very existence of Lovedale is owed to the missionaries. Lovedale was originally fittingly called Incerha, but through a suggestion by John Bennie and John Ross Incerha was renamed Lovedale, because, "We think it the very best tribute of respect due from us to the late Dr. Love, that able minister of the New Testament and zealous promoter of this mission, to perpetuate his memory in the name of this missionary station in Caffraria. We have therefore [dropped] its former name, Incerha, and have called it Lovedale" (Shepherd, 1971:4).

As more missionaries came to the Cape after van der Kemp interests began to broaden and points of focus began to differ from individual to individual. The original single-minded commitment to bring the Word of God to the Xhosa later diversified into multiple purposes and intentions and routine practices began to take the place of first encounter operations. As early as 1821 one of the missionaries who came to the Xhosa people, namely, W.R.Thomson, was a government-paid agent, and thus "became an object of suspicion to the chiefs" (Shepherd, 1971:4). False intentions and machinations began to manifest themselves with the increase in the numbers of the missionaries involved. People with a low opinion of the Xhosa also came as missionaries. For example, Shepherd's low regard of Xhosa intelligence is evident in
the following statement describing the Xhosa view of the furrow the missionaries made to irrigate their crops:

Incidentally, this furrow was an object of incredulity to the chiefs and people in the vicinity. We are told that they acquired to see maize, pumpkins and other vegetables grow by the application of water only to their roots, before they would believe them to grow without the tops being moistened by rain.

(Shepherd, 1971:12)

The description here reflects sheer ignorance of the Xhosa about the role of roots in growing plants. Interpretation of the significance of rain water and river water in the cultural life of the Xhosa is omitted from Shepherd's explanation. It is evident from this that, spurred by the knowledge that the Xhosa were not westernised, many missionaries also assumed that they were also devoid of any traces of a civilization, if civilization is viewed in cultural terms only.

The emergence of a generation that had something of a Xhosa background, like W.G.Bennie, Charles Brownlee, the Ross brothers and Rev. Henry Calderwood, all of whom functioned as a link between the white Cape government and the Xhosa people, resulted in a shift of emphasis from the purely spiritual achievements to the more material gains. For many missionaries of the above
calibre a government post was easily interchangeable with missionary occupation. Alternatively, these two roles, as in the case of Rev. Calderwood, could be held concurrently.

The work of the missionaries was able to spread mainly because the chiefs and individuals sought patronage of the mission stations. Friendly relationships between the mission stations and the people developed in this way (Shepherd, 1955: 26). In its report the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-1905 stated that it "[was] satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the Natives is to be found in Christianity" (Shepherd, 1955:66).

The spread of Christianity did not, however, mean a full acceptance of the converts into the European fold. Illustrating this point Switzer (1997:24) maintains that "No matter how successful African modernizers were in meeting the 'civilized' standards imposed by their conquerors, it was becoming apparent that they would never be accepted on equal terms in the new cultural order." There is often a tendency by critics to deride the black man even for the Christian values that he has been made to assimilate, which are at any rate as superficial as the European clothes he is given to wear.
Shepherd, (1948:29) portrays such a specimen when he describes a black evangelist he calls Palele:

By Velile's side is Palele. He is a quaint figure in a tattered frock coat, with bare feet, since, in prospect of a few miles' walk, his boots have been slung by their laces about his shoulders. A few hundred yards from Mandondo's he will don these trappings of civilization. Invariably Palele carries two sticks. A glorious memory with him is the day he was invited to enter the motor-car of a visiting missionary. To the latter it was also an unforgettable scene because of Palele's repeated attempts to enter the narrow doorway with his ticks crossed diagonally in front of him and his wonderment at the obstruction he could not divine.

The decision to allow missionaries beyond the colonial borders was taken to prevent some malcontents among the colonists from instigating the Xhosa (Shepherd, 1948:88). Though the missionaries had always wanted to live among the Xhosa even before 1816, that desire then coincided with the plans of the Cape government to monitor the Xhosa.

First fruits of the missionary endeavour

There is no doubt that the missionary endeavour had far-reaching results. Although not all their achievements were positive from the point of view of the indigenous
people, and while some results were purely incidental, it is generally agreed that they changed the social fabric of the indigenous people never to be the same again. A look at the influence of the missionaries should give at least a general impression of the social dynamics of Wauchope’s time and how these influenced the choices he had to make in life.

Prominent individuals

The establishment of the seminary schools and the education of Xhosa children brought about a new class of African, trained and conditioned to behave like a ‘civilised’ European. The argument that appears in Lovedale in 1887 is exemplary of the determination of the missionaries to create European-like specimens from the indigenous people, based as it was on the premise that the “educated native” is more preferable than the “raw native” (Lovedale, 1887:xvi). The strong belief in the “correctness” of what has been achieved is evident in the following comment:

As to whether the heathen Native is better than the Christian Native, we must, when the comparison is made, first of all be sure that we have a Christian Native and not a pretender; or one whom we think fit to call a Christian, from
the fact that we see him wearing clothes. If we have genuine representations of both, and their dispositions are fairly equal — that is, if there is no unhappy twist about the disposition of the Christian making him a troublesome man to deal with — we think there cannot be much doubt as to what the judgement of enlightened Christian opinion should be.

(Lovedale, 1887:xvii)

William Gqoba’s dialogue, “Ingxoxo Enkulu YomGinwa nomKristu” (A big argument between a non-Christian and a Christian) takes this argument a step further as Gqoba demonstrates sound reason on the part of the conservative Xhosa regarding his culture. In response to Zwelikhoyo’s story by which he illustrates the deception and absolute treachery of the people of this world, Phakade-likhoyo says: “Thina bomaqaba, sakufa sivile, Izwi likaThixo, kade lifikile, Sixakiwe nini, kuba ninxa-zonke; Nikho ngakuThixo, kuthi nigalele, Sithi sakwalusa, nisuke naluse, Senza intonjane, nani niyayenza” (We non-Christians have a hard time; The Word of God has come already, We are now bothered by you, because you follow both ways; You are on God’s side, you are on our side too, When we perform initiation ceremonies, you too do this, When we initiate girls, you also do so.) Gqoba’s long dialogue sustains one of the most prevailing debates of the time. In this manner the “Christian Native” formed up some kind of middle class that neither belonged to the
colonist nor fitted with the "heathens". Ntsikana, the first prominent convert of Xhosa origin was such a specimen. His song, Ulo Thixo Omkhulu marshalls a new set of values and a new vision of the creation of the universe. Beside the song itself, which was recorded by the missionaries, we have no knowledge of Ntsikana's depth of understanding of the new faith. Unlike Makanda, Ntsikana ceded his faith to the missionaries and was thus exalted by them. On the other hand Makanda applied his own conception of the new faith and functioned independently from the missionaries. It was by way of striking "while the iron is hot" and forestalling Makanda's popularity that Joseph Williams was sent to the Kat River in 1816. There were fears among the missionaries that Makanda might mislead people in the absence of a missionary, hence Read suggested, "If a missionary was there he would probably advise that those spears should be beaten rather into prooning hooks or do it for them, and thus the prophecy Isa.2:4 would be literally fulfilled" (LMS Letters, 1815.11.11). Williams wrote disparagingly of Makanda (whom he called "McKannah") who, he claimed, had three wives (LMS Letters, 1816). The crude nature of Makanda's faith whose teachings led to the attack of Grahamstown in 1819 (Wauchope, 1908:26), is clearly illustrated by many.

3 Wauchope, 1908:14
writers and historians. Earlier writers like Bokwe (1914:12) and Wauchope (1908:33-7) present Makanda and Ntsikana as direct opposites, but fail to show the depth of insight on the part of these two pioneers regarding the new faith. Instead, while Ntsikana is protected by biased reports of his "prophecies", Makanda is set off as a shallow-minded false prophet. It can be assumed, therefore, that Makanda, who receives unflattering judgement of his faith is in reality a pointer to the level of understanding the two men could have achieved, with the difference that Ntsikana's view was directly nourished by the missionaries' positive opinion of him. For example, Ntsikana's act of washing the red earth from his body "introduced the precedent of washing off red-clay when any one confesses conversion, or of becoming what is sometimes spoken of as a School-Kafir, because he has discarded red ochre for civilized clothing" (Bokwe, 1914:12). Today the illiterate people are still called "amaqaba" among the Xhosa, meaning those who use ochre on their bodies. Makanda's pilgrimages to Gompo to worship Thayi, the Son of God, were never made popular (Wauchope, 1908:17) because in doing what he did Makanda had not been instructed by the missionaries.
Of the new class that followed the era of Ntsikana and Makanda an article written for *Lovedale* (1887:xvii) makes the following reflection:

There is slowly growing up a small, but steadily increasing class among the native population of this country, who are possessed of acquirements educationally, of which their forefathers did not dream, and did not even know the name.

From Jan Tshatshu and Tiyo Soga, from Ntsikana, Kobe and Dukwana, to Makiwane, Mzimba and Wauchope we witness the profound effects of school education. About this education de Kock (1996:65) says:

*Lovedale, along with other institutions and individual missionaries, not only established a widespread literature order incorporating institutional surveillance, but that in doing this it sought to 'translate' African subjectivity into excessively narrow limits of expression determined by Western literary forms of understanding."

It is evident from missionary literature that the missionaries spared no effort to wean the Xhosa from their cultural background and to bring them to a new existence. These efforts were largely successful because of the force and authority with which they were applied.
In his address to Lovedale students Buchanan (1877:21-2) made the following significant and deep-seated remarks:

There are two antagonistic forces now at work in this field of South Africa, already in stern contention for the mastery over the Native races, sure to gather into yet greater strength and close in yet deadlier struggle. ... On the one side are ranged the following three parties, viz.: (1.) The truths and powers of Christ's Kingdom of grace, His glorious Gospel, brought to your doors by ... various agencies. (2.) The elevating and stimulating powers of the Educational World, plied by enlightened, benevolent, and earnest men. (3.) The countless, nameless influences for good derived from continual friendly intercourse between the Natives and a large community of civilised and Christian men. On the other side are ranged the principalities and powers of darkness, in two very distinct but conspiring bodies. ... These are: - (1.) The whole body of South African heathenism, with its gross superstitions, its idle habits and coarse vices, all proud and defiant to this hour; (2.) A wholesale importation of the evil agencies which have for long proved the curse of the civilised world, - the pernicious errors and diverse impieties ... Of all the constituents of this evil host, probably the most menacing to your own existence are your Native habits of sloth and idleness, and our low grog-shops; the first disgusting, and very provoking to all employers of labour; the second simply infamous.

The forcefulness of the above statement leaves the recipients without an option, save to follow the dogma so imposed by the speaker. The speaker sees nothing good in the illiterate communities, but only "sloth and idleness." The implication, therefore, is that the Lovedale students should follow the example of the
missionary. No word is said about the goodness of their culture and the virtues found in their people’s outlook on life. Thus if those students were to see themselves in the light of the examples Buchanan and the other missionaries set up for them, they would have to divorce themselves from the very communities they professed to help redeem. In defining this spirit, de Kock (1996:33) points out,

In the last quarter of the [nineteenth] century, 'a generation of Africans reached adulthood which included many (middle sector) who accepted Western culture, or much of it, as the norm'. They sought to conduct their own lives in what they considered a 'civilised' manner and also were anxious to acculturate their fellow Africans. They thus gave major support to schools, churches, and other institutions of Western civilisation.

De Kock (1996:3) also observes that one of the positive outcomes of this civilising process was the birth of nationalism “from the long history of material, moral, and philosophical struggle in the Eastern Cape.” This spirit of nationalism is evident in the writing and activities of people who were educated in the missionary institutions like Lovedale and Healdtown. With the emergence of the new class of Africans came a fresh recognition that the missionaries were not as committed as they seemed to be to the development of the Africans,
or they would simply not allow the latter to reach a level where they would be in competition with them. Odendaal (1984:5) makes a similar remark when he says,

The small missionary-educated class of Africans which had emerged by the 1870s was by now [1880s] thoroughly convinced of the futility of continuing to oppose white expansion through war. It therefore led the way in seeking new means of protecting African interests. Beside the ballot box, the press provided Africans with another channel to political expansion. Consequently Africans began to use newspaper columns to debate new options and strategies. This approach is well reflected in a poem published by one of the early Xhosa poets, I.W.W. Citashe [Wauchope]

Your cattle are gone, my countrymen!
Go rescue them! Go rescue them!
Leave the breechloader alone
And turn to the pen.
Take paper and ink,
For that is your shield.
Your rights are going!
So pick up your pen.
Load it, load it with ink.
Sit on a chair.
Repair not to Hoho
But fire with your pen.

John Tengo (Ntengo) Jabavu became a prominent figure of his time with a brilliant career as a pioneering black newspaper editor. His newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu (Native Opinion) is a good example of the spirit of nationalism among the school people of the time. This paper provided a platform for black nation builders and political
activists. D.D.T. Jabavu (1922:22) writes thus about his father and the latter’s paper:

Never did circumstances so opportunely produce the right man at the most auspicious moment. The Bantu race was in its formative stage of development. European rulers were in a position either to make or mar the future of the aborigines who, in politics, were yet without a guide of their own kith and kin. Here was a young man at a comparatively early age of twenty-four, with brilliant part, on the threshold of a promising future.

Thus Jabavu was regarded as the “sole Native mouth-piece of his people” for many years (Jabavu, 1922:22).

William Gqoba was editor of Isigidimi from 1884 to his death at a young age of 40 years in 1888. He is noted for his contribution of the Xhosa idiom, but more than this his published dialogue, “Ingxoxo Enkulu YomGinwa nomKristu” puts him at the centre of the current debates of the time. Another Xhosa newspaper editor of that time was N.C. Mbhala (Izwi Labantu), editor of the paper that rivalled Imvo.

Another illustrious product of missionary education is Isaiah Bud-Mbelle, for many years a court interpreter in Kimberley. Speaking at the Jubilee in 1906 in Healdtown, Bud-Mbelle said about his alma mater:
It was here that many of us were taught cleanliness, godliness, discipline, and industry. It was here we received higher ideals of life than we had. It was here that we were taught that our superstitions and some of our objectionable and horrible customs were scattered to the winds. It was here that we were taught that man, irrespective of nationality, is our brother, that Christ is our Redeemer, and that God is our father.

(Ayliff, 1912:56)

Elijah Makiwane was one of these pioneers, and Shepherd (1955:71) says about him that "it was declared that his ministry influenced the whole of the Presbyterian Church among the African people." His name appears with the leading figures in the Eastern Cape, and together with Pambani Mzimba was the first black minister from Lovedale. He was involved in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa.

John Knox Bokwe was yet another pioneer who left a positive impression on his people. He was renowned for his diligence and served both the black and white congregations of his church at Ugie.

Further afield are figures like Solomon Thekiso Plaatje (1876-1932), the Tswana interpreter, journalist, writer and statesman. This was a contemporary of S.E.K. Mqhayi
(1875-1945), the latter being a prolific writer of his time. Mqhayi spent the larger part of his career as a teacher among the Ndlambe. He was both an intellectual and a relentless fighter for human rights and human dignity (Shepherd, 1955:113). Other contemporaries are J.H. Soga, A.K. Soga and Wauchope himself. These are writers who pioneered the cause of the black people with pen and paper. About their era de Kock (1996:49) says the following:

The printing press made it possible to realign an entire cultural order. In the argument of Mike Kantey (1990:vii) "one of the most important effects of these early mission presses was to reduce a rich and diverse oral tradition to a few centres of literary patronage."

Newspapers were the vehicle for the advancement of the black people. The first newspaper (written in Xhosa and English) ever to be published among the Xhosa people was Ikwezi (1844-1845), and though it was short-lived, it paved the way for many newspapers to follow. Switzer (1997:3) observes four stages in the development of what he regards as the "alternative press," which was black controlled and these are: the era of the African mission press (1830s-1880s); the independent protest press (1880s-1930s); the early resistance press (1930s-1960s); and the later resistance press (1970s-1980s). About the
emergence of this new class of Africans Switzer (1997:7) says,

In terms of numbers, the black petty bourgeoisie always constituted an insignificant proportion of the black population. There were wide variations within this class in terms of formal education, occupational status and affluence, and there were disparities in terms of regional and ethnic influence. Xhosa speakers from the eastern Cape, for example, probably formed the most significant component of the African petty bourgeoisie between the 1860s and 1910s, and Cape Africans were conspicuous as leaders in protest politics inside and outside the Cape until the 1930s.

Social concerns and politics

The nineteenth century saw dramatic changes in the lives of the black people generally and of the Xhosa in particular. While the seminary schools moulded the younger generation, the Cape government manipulated political changes to suit the abject desires of the colonists. De Kock (1996:41) describes the governors of the Cape in the nineteenth century as "old fashioned Tories in the soldierly mould." As such they were without exception autocratic in their government, and highly conservative in their approach. The eight frontier wars are one example of their rigid policies pitted as they were against the strong resistance of the Xhosa.
One of the early skirmishes in the nineteenth century was the attack on Grahamstown by the Ndlambe led by Makanda in 1819. The courage with which the Ndlambe carried out the attack against cannon and gunfire is evident in this battle. Sir Harry Smith (then governor of the Cape) ridiculed them as "a lot of black fellows, armed with nothing but a knife stuck on the end of a long stick" (Dugmore, 1858:53), but the attack left a lasting impression on both the Xhosa people and the colonists. This event was later recorded by writers like Wauchope. It is interesting that figures like Makanda were able to influence large sections of the population to go to war guided by religious principles. However, the most fundamental cause was land and the repeated humiliation of the Xhosa princes by the colonists. Illustrating this point Dugmore (1858:50) writes:

From a course of reprisals, rendered necessary by incessant depredations along the border, had risen a state of feeling among the frontier Kaffer tribes which needed but a spark to kindle it into a war-flame; especially as the acquisition of fire-arms had greatly raised their notions of their own prowess. That spark was struck in the wounding of a chief by a military patrol when recapturing stolen cattle; and the tribes of Eno [Nqeno], Botumana, Dushani, and Gaika rushed over the frontier in a line of flame.
The eight Xhosa wars are a pointer to the restlessness experienced by the Xhosa caused by the interference by the colonists. There was also the war between the Ndlambe and the Ngqika over Thuthula, Ndlambe's wife who was abducted by Ngqika. The Battle of Amalinde (1818), which marks the climax of this conflict, is a notable landmark in the history of the Xhosa. The wars emphasised the discontent of the Xhosa at the treatment they received from the colonists and brought much renown and respect to warrior kings like Langa, Mdange, Maqona, Sandile and Hintsa.

Though the missionaries desired to maintain neutral ground in politics, they had their own upheavals in church. In 1884 Nehemiah Tile of the Wesleyan Methodist Church broke away from his church to form his own congregation. His example was soon followed by Jonas Goduka, James Dwane and Pambani Mzimba. Odendaal (1984:84) observes that, "... many leading figures of the independent churches were also leading active politicians." He gives the example of Pambani Mzimba who "took part in electoral politics in the Cape"; James Dwane "who forged links between the South African separatists and their American counterparts in the AME Church"; and Jonas Goduka who "also took part in Congress
activities" (1984:84). Noting this radical change, Campbell (1995:125) observes,

In turn-of-the-century parlance, these men had all been comprehensively 'detribalised.' For them the notion of a shared black identity embedded in the word 'Ethiopian' was not some unobtainable idea but a conviction carved in experience.

Because of school influence a new class of blacks, well-versed in English emerged. Shepherd (1955:76) says about these:

A large number of African schools even up to 1922, paid very little or no attention to the teaching of the vernacular languages, and the aim of the teachers was to use English as a medium as early and as fully as possible, and to devote a great part of their energies to the instruction of English as a subject.

To achieve economic independence was almost impossible on the part of the blacks though there were sentiments in favour of such a move. The social divisions of significance were marked by the Mfengu celebrations and Ntsikana day festivities. Pitted against these dividing festivities were associations like Imbumba Yesizwe, which advocated unity among the black people. Growth of the South African Native Congress which was opposed to Jabavu's support of members of the Broederbond received
much nurturing from the Progressive Party, and Rhodes financed the establishment of Izwi Labantu (1897) a new voice articulating the needs of the Africans. Commenting about this period Odendaal (1984:27) says,

It was against the background of hope and disillusionment ... that African political activity burgeoned in the first few years of the twentieth century. A network of political organisations and newspapers stretching through all the colonies, emerged.

Blacks were also faced by western values which set out to corrode their own value systems. They had to fight hard to resist these forces (Shepherd, 1955:175-6). Some colonists spoke on behalf of the blacks while others opposed the idea of treating the blacks humanely. Fear expressed by Cripps (1927:viii(ix) is exemplary of the concerns of that time when he says:

There is real danger ... that the whole native peoples will be depressed by economic forces into a quasi-servile proletariat ministering to a white aristocracy, a result which can only corrupt both black and white, multiply poor whites and poor blacks and end in revolution and the breaking up of laws.

The events that had a resounding effect in the nineteenth century were the national tragedy of Nongqawuse in 1856,
and earlier on, in 1834-1835, the removal of the Mfengu from Gcalekaland under the pretext that they were being saved from slavery under Mintsa and his people. According to Ayliff (1912:18) the Mfengu were made to till the land for the Gcaleka and to look after Gcaleka cattle. It is evident, however, that sentiments like that were merely suggested to the Mfengu by the missionary Ayliff.

In the political arena there were paralysing acts of parliament like the Glen Grey Act (1889) which took away land from the Xhosa. The Land Act of 1913 deprived thousands of blacks of their land and land rights. It was at this time that fighting for land began to shift from the frontier war situation to diplomacy and deputations to the commissions of inquiry (Jabavu, 1922:37-8). The disarmament Act of 1878 was another cause of upheavals and revolts that nearly culminated in another war. Names of prominent pro-African liberals like James Rose-Innes and J.W.Sauer were often mentioned in the political columns of Isigidimi, Imvo and Izwi Labantu.

This was a period when blacks defended their positions on an equal level as whites, a time when they felt they could bring about genuine change. The major events of this period shaped the thinking that prevailed in black
newspapers which were dominated by people like Wauchope, Mqhayi, Ntsiko and the others.
CHAPTER 3

THE BEGINNING OF NATIONALISM AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

No one expects that his boy will become a bad son and a worn citizen by being sent to school. No one believes that he has become demoralised by attendance at church, if he happens to go there. Now, what produces good effects in white cannot necessarily produce bad effects in black. Mutatis mutandis - which here means, skins being changed, it is very hard to comprehend how, what does so much good to the white man should do so much harm to the black one.

(The Kaffir Express, 1871.1.4:1)

Introduction

In Wauchope's time he thinking that the educated blacks were arrogant and making themselves a general nuisance was a major threat to those blacks who had received education in the seminary schools. One can detect two main streams of thought in South Africa at that time, namely, one that saw the blacks as a threat to colonial expansion, a view that was held by the Dutch and many of the British settlers. Then there was the view which, though most unpopular to white farmers, received a sympathetic hearing by the colonial government, the view that blacks could be made loyal subjects through education. Thus the educated blacks found it necessary to
fight for a right to education. It is this effort to assert themselves that bears the marks of early nationalism. The fact that they found themselves pitted against a well-co-ordinated system is one reason for them to use strategies like mass education and mass involvement. Concerning the colonising methods of Wauchope’s time J. Holland Rose (Wright, 1976:1) says:

The period since the year 1870 has for the most part witnessed the operation of the last and the least romantic of these so-called civilizing efforts. The great age of African exploration was then drawing to a close.

The British colonial powers were deeply-rooted in South African soil and their superiority in war had rendered the continuation of armed struggle against them quite futile. Rose (Wright, 1976:2) further remarks that, “A change in the spirit and methods of exploration naturally comes about when the efforts of single individuals give place to collective enterprise, and that change was now rapidly to come over the whole field of African exploration.” The British system of governance was running “smoothly” and opposition was being efficiently thwarted, and one can imagine that the teachings of the missionaries, exemplified by Buchanan’s lecture discussed in Chapter 2 (pp 76-7), were being proven to be true.
Blacks faced the threat of being swallowed up like the Khoi, and their culture completely destroyed. Church and school were the only means of proving that they were human enough to follow and practise a western way of life. They must have felt challenged by the beliefs by some of the colonists that black people could not comprehend western values, and they responded to this challenge by assimilating as much of the western cultural values as they could find in the church and seminary schools. As a consequence some of the educated black leaders including Wauchope, held onto the missionaries and their education, for they saw the latter as their friends and fellow-fighters against the stream of anti-black movements and stereotyping. A strong radical reaction to this stream emerged in the 1890s and split the black races into two groups: the moderates and the radicals. The moderates foresaw a common development of everyone and a co-existence between the missionaries, the friendly colonists and the blacks. They criticised the formation of splinter groups in church. The radicals solicited a separate development of black churches. The vision of the moderate blacks seems to be that of the post-apartheid era. One wonders how far South Africa would have gone had this vision been seen through or had there been no intervening apartheid era.
A response to colonialism

In his introduction to a book titled *Colonialism and Culture*, Dirks (1992:6) makes the following observation:

Colonialism ... was less a process that began in the European metropole and expounded outward than it was a moment when new encounters within the world facilitated the formation of categories of metropole and colony in the first place.

This argument implies that colonialism was planned and designed in Europe, from where it was then exported to the newly-found colonies. As the newly-found "colony" in the Cape was land that was already occupied, it is imperative first to look at the prevailing system of occupation before the colonists met the blacks. Soga (1930:121-2) maintains that around 1702 (the year when Phalo was born) the Xhosa people occupied land between the St John's River in the east and the Bashee River in the west. Of the sons of Tshiwo, Gwali, of the Right-Hand House, was older than Phalo of the Principal House. Gwali tried to usurp power and was assisted in this by his uncle, Ntinde. The majority of the Xhosa people favoured
Phalo and they drove amaMbalu (Mbalu and his subjects) and amaNtinde (Ntinde ditto) across the Bashee, the Kei, the Buffalo, the Keiskama and the Fish Rivers. AmaMbalu settled down near present day Somerset East together with some Khoi tribes. About 1715 Mdange lead Phalo’s forces against amaMbalu and the Khoi. The Khoi king Hintsati died in the ensuing battle. AmaMbalu were driven southwards towards amaNtinde near the Buffalo River. Mdange and his forces returned home with many cattle. Mdange however had liked the land west of the Kei River and later sought permission from Phalo to settle on this land with his people.

Of Phalo’s sons, Gcaleka was heir. He sought to wrench power from his father and his younger brother Rharhabe opposed him. Rharhabe won the ensuing war, but decided to cross the Kei and seek land to the west (Soga, 1930:124). Recounting this split, Soga (1930:128-9) says:

... when Gcaleka emerged into manhood ..., signs of restlessness and division became apparent in the tribe. This youthful aspirant to power considered himself quite capable of controlling the Great House, although [Phalo] was still physically fit. This led to bickerings and faction fights which brought the assegai into play, resulting in the permanent division of the Xhosa nation. ... It, therefore, became clear to [Rharhabe] that a state of hostility, which might at any time lead to affrays and the use of the assegai was intolerable. He, therefore, turned his eyes towards the West, in other words across the Great
Kei River, and prepared his section of the tribe to remove to a new country.

It is, therefore, evident that the scattered groups of Xhosa people west of the Kei River were first of all in the process of moving away from control by the Principal House. Secondly, they were seeking new land in which to settle down independently. These independent princes met the white colonists who were seeking land like themselves and this is how conflict began. Soga (1930:126) makes the following important remark:

These clans of the AmaXhosa, it should be noted, were settled on the Fish River, some as early as 1703, and were the first tribes met with by Dirk Marx, in 1755, who had been sent by Governor Ryk Tulbagh in search of possible survivors from vessels wrecked on the east coast. These, moreover, were the independent Xhosa tribes that came into conflict with the Europeans. They were pre-Gcaleka and pre-Rharhabe. Not until 1818, or one hundred and fifteen years later, did the Gaika and Ndlambe tribes, to whom the former paid no allegiance, fight Europeans.

It was this freedom to drift away from authority, which some groups had been enjoying for some generations, that encouraged some of the families and individuals to move into the Cape Colony west of the Fish River, some to Algoa Bay. They were encouraged by the sight of white farmers who seemed to be scattered “independent” groups
like themselves. It was soon to dawn on them that these apparently independent farmers were backed by a strong metropolitan system. From then on the power of their princes would be drained away from them. It was mainly because the independent princes were not united that it was easy for the colonial government to subdue them and to humiliate their subjects. One example of this humiliation of the independent princes and their subjects by the superior Cape military forces is recounted by Holt (1976:86) as follows:

A large crowd had assembled, at which most likely Brownlee and others of the "Chumie" people were present, for the station was only two miles from the chief's kraal. Nqqika refused. Colonel Scott at last told him, that he must either execute the man or take the consequences. Then he ordered his men to stand to arms, and as it was raining, they began to pull off their gun covers. Seeing this, Nqqika exclaimed to the interpreter, "What is he going to do? Tell him I will order the man to be executed immediately." The man was turned over by the Cavalry Guard, Nqqika issued instructions to some of his followers, and the prisoner was marched forthwith to 'the bottom of the Chumie valley' - presumably the mission station - where a rope was put around his neck and in a few seconds he was dead. That was a sad day in the smiling Chumie valley.

If Nqqika, the king of the Xhosa could be treated in the manner illustrated above by a colonel, one expected the minor princes to have had even more limited recognition. Their subjects could be treated according to the whims of
the Cape Government and its military forces. The princes’ subjects themselves often moved out of the princes’ sphere of influence as they expected little protection from them, and they were in turn victimised by the white farmers. Wauchope (Imvo, 1907.12.10:3) recounts how his father comes to Uitenhage during the War of the Axe (1847) and joins an elder brother, Isaac, in the Colony. This free movement which enabled the Xhosa people to move into the Colony also functioned to isolate them from their original communities. Thus in a way these individuals and families found themselves marginalised by their original communities, and such marginalisation gave birth to tragic consequences and the identity crisis. Regarding such people, Godlonton (1962:24) makes the following callous observation:

As additional force there is 400 Kaffir police, who, although people may talk about their not fighting against their countrymen, I say they will fight against them, because now the very circumstance of their spooring cattle and detecting thefts, renders them obnoxious to their own people, therefore, there will be no fraternizing.

This rather cruel way of creating divisions within the race is carried with a marked degree of success, to the detriment of the Xhosa people. Describing the predicament
of his father during the Xhosa war of 1850, Wauchope says:


(Imvo, 1907.12.10:3)

(As the wedding celebrations ended, the men were already taking leave of their families to volunteer for the army to force out the Ngqika people from Mthontsi. Converts lined up before the office on Christmas day in 1850. As the men were being enlisted someone said: "There are some Xhosas among these people." Thereupon, they were pulled aside and called into a room and asked this question: "You, being Xhosas, can you shoot at Sandile if you encounter him in the bush?" Dyoba answered and said: "No, Sir, I would rather die than aim a gun at my king." It was then decided that these young men should guard the town (town guards) and all the other men departed.)

Tragically enough, the young men, who include Wauchope's father, find themselves allied to the enemies of their king, Sandile. Godlonton (1962:17) observes that "The power of the chiefs is nominal, and if they have endeavoured to test it, the result of their attempt is most favourable to ourselves." This is a clear indication
that the power of the kings and princes was systematically being taken away from them.

Thus the initial response to colonialism was armed resistance. But, as Godlonton also suggests, the Xhosa royalty lacked military power and the Xhosa people formed many small groups. Soga (1930:133) makes the observation that the tribes merely "showed a formal recognition of Rharhabe's superior chieftainship" but "they were not under his laws." Soga (1930:133) adds that, "When, however, they got into difficulties with the whites, they were wont to describe themselves as people of Rharhabe, but this was only lip loyalty."

It is Wauchope's generation of school people and urban blacks that spearheaded a new approach to colonialism. To them it was evident that armed resistance was futile, but they had to find a more strategic alternative. Wauchope's article titled, "Inkosi ZakwaXhosa", written for Isigidi (1882.6.1) marks this turning point in the resistance to colonialism. In this article Wauchope takes up the issue that has led Xhosa royalty to imprisonment. For him this imprisonment marks the final defeat of Xhosa royalty in their fight for land and their people's rights. It also marks the taking over of a new class of the Xhosa people, namely, the school people, something
similar to the "civics" in the rural areas in South Africa today, which rival the "chiefs" and other traditional leaders. Wauchope and some of the school people, however, remained obedient to their traditional leaders. In his article Wauchope opens with an invocation of the courage of his generation and claims:


("Anything that beats down the men can be declared alarming news." So said a person of old when men used to perform wonders, when separate groups would come together upon an announcement that something needs to be done, and it would be done. The men who used to hold a live lion with their hands are now dead and gone. Today the land is inhabited by us, the so-called Wagt-een-bietjes, who are like oxen being tamed. As soon as an issue needs addressing then there is chaos and the breaking of yoke pins, while the issue at hand remains unattended. Our fathers and their fathers are dead, men who grew up eating boiled mealies, ground boiled corn, meat and sour milk: we are the ones who stand in their shoes, we the invalids with wheeling chests. Where amongst us
are men like Gqibithole, who put down a huge lion with a stick? Where are men like Gxokeia the tough one who dies not? Surely without being envious, it can be said that nature is getting cheaper, we are not made like our fathers. Where are the great fellows who swore and broke the hold of a spear, who would swear like that and cut through the army to stab a coward at the back. Today there are colds and verkoud and koorst to no end.)

The use of Dutch and English terms like "Wagt-een-bietje," "colds," "verkoud" and "koorst" reflects the plight of a westernised individual who has been subdued by colonialism. Wauchope associates the assimilation of a western way of life with physical weaknesses and illness. In contrast to this, he mentions heroes who were physically strong and could fight lions with their bare hands. Comparing people of his time to the past generations, he claims that the former could die if they dared to walk a considerable distance stark naked as their predecessors used to do. In this manner Wauchope indirectly criticises colonisation for weakening the black people morally and physically. At the same time his introduction is a general appeal to all the black people to consider their downtrodden state and to come to terms with their plight as a nation. We see in this introduction also a powerful message aimed at invoking the idea of a common suffrage, as well as an effort to instill a collective identity. The article represents a
fresh call to arms, for a war that is to be fought on an intellectual plain. In it Wauchope mentions his meeting with J.T. Jabavu, J.K. Bokwe and Rev. Mzamo. These school people represent a new class that seems to be symbolically taking over from the defeated royalty. It is not surprising that in later life Wauchope was set up and brought to trial. He must have been more of a threat to colonialism than the Xhosa royalty had been before him and his contemporaries. He had experienced the western way of life from his childhood and could be an excellent strategist in his fight against colonialism. Where his black contemporaries fell short because of their African background he went beyond because of his urban background. He fell on the same category as Tiyo Soga’s children who had a European background through their Scottish mother.

With surprising accuracy, Wauchope pinpoints a section in the government circular that marks the turning point in the political conflict in South Africa, a clause that says,

It should be made known to all, that persons living within the Colony who join in armed resistance to the Police or Soldiers of Government, cannot be treated as warriors of a hostile nation, who lawfully fight against the soldiers of another Nation by order of their own Sovereign, but must be treated as rebels or
criminals, and will be punished as such for any violence they commit.

For him this statement is a clear indication that colonization is complete. The black princes who engage in fight are now regarded as criminals instead of a nation defending its sovereignty. It is in response to this that Wauchope calls on his people to "yekani umkhonto, phumani kwaHoho nakwaMnyube. YILWANI NGOSIBA. Yizani ke silwe ngosiba" (forget the assegai, come out of Hoho Forest and Mnyube Forest. FIGHT WITH A PEN. Come now let us fight with our pens.). Quite symbolically, Wauchope writes this article in order to propose a strategy to fight for the release of Xhosa royalty from prison in Cape Town. He proposes a petition written and signed by the masses asking the government to release the Xhosa princes from prison. The sincerity and seriousness of the call is sealed by Wauchope's often quoted poem, "Zimkile! Mfo wohiang," this being a traditional war cry of the olden days in Xhosaland. The poem provides the stern voice of someone with authority like a poet, that invokes the nation to action. Thus, Wauchope is still calling the nation into war, but this time it is a war that is fought on an intellectual plain.
The article as a whole represents an attempt to rescue the Xhosa princes from incarceration, something the colonial government would have found alarming. The sincerity and honesty of the article is at once appealing to those Xhosa people who love their nation. The writer is unambiguous about his proposed plan. His spirit of nationalism is evident in his willingness to extend his hand to save Xhosa royalty from the grip of the colonial government.

The formation of the South African Aborigines Association simply called "Imbumba" or "Umanyano," of which Wauchope was a founder member, provides another opportunity to respond to colonialism. The following remarks are quoted by The Christian Express from the P. E. Telegraph:

We had no idea that on the 4th ult. a large and influential meeting of the new organization called the South African Aborigines Association was held in this town. Such was the case. The natives didn't care about troubling the European editors, because, they say, they have an organ of their own the Isigidimi. We may here state that we are quite willing to publish brief reports of Native meetings for laudable purposes, provided they are written fairly and temperately. The natives declare that their organization is the true Afrikander Bond; that the Dutch is merely the Boeren Bond. They demur to the farmers taking the title of the Africander Bond, which they say is theirs and theirs alone.

(The Christian Express, 1883.9.1:139)
In the above comment a contest between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism is in evidence. Already, the black nationalists claim to be "the true Africander." It is also stated in the above comment that the "natives ... have an organ of their own the Isigidi." The Xhosa newspaper and, consequently, the Xhosa language were an effective tool of the new nationalists. It is mainly for this reason that Wauchope writes in Xhosa for a Xhosa medium, though he is quite fluent in English and Dutch. Here he addresses his own constituency on matters that affect them directly. Introducing "Imbumba" to the black people, Wauchope adds,

Yintlanganiso emiselwe ukuba ube liziko lokuxoxa zonke izinto zokunyusa uhlanga. Nokuba zezemfundo, nokuba zezengqeshe, nokuba zezolawulo, nokuba zezamathuba empumelelo, nokuba zezemihlabo (ukubandeza igada loobawo ngokuthenga amathuba kule mhla mibi) Amasiko, imikhwa nazo zonke izinto zemveli ekubonakalayo ukuba ziyintintelo ekuhlumeni kohlanga ziya kuxoxwa kuyo le Mbumba.

(Isigidi, 1883.7.18)

(It is an association whose task is to discuss all matters pertaining to black people. In Education, in Morality, in Government, regarding opportunities, in land issues (to retain possession of the land of our forefathers in these hard times). Customs, habits and any traditional matters which seem to stand in the way of the progress of black people will be discussed in this very Imbumba.)
In spirit this was a tactical move to engage the black people afresh in the battle to retain their possessions and their rights. In *Isigidimi* of 1 November 1882 (p.4), Wauchope writes a report about the first national gathering in which he acted as interim secretary. Putting the introduction of the meeting in a traditional Xhosa manner of laying a charge, Wauchope writes:


(Briefly, the [Chairperson's] words can be summed up by simply stating that he said - "I am laying a charge!" and someone said, "What are the facts of your case?" and he said I am laying a charge concerning 'Imbumba Yamanyama,' I am asking why the old cancer of differences among the children of Africa has not been cured yet? Let us form Imbumba, and bind ourselves into one united bundle. The Boers have come together and formed their unity which they call the "Afrikander Bond," where is our own? This Bond of the Boers is making secret meetings about a variety of matters, even matters regarding black people. In Craddock they say we must not be educated. Let us form IMBUMBA.)

A note of urgency in the introduction of Imbumba to the people is exacerbated by the court-like procedure adopted
by the reporter. Wauchope's speech at this gathering is quite prophetic, echoed thirty-five years later by his address of the doomed men on the sinking ship, the Mendi (20 February 1917) when he says (Isigidimi, 1882.11.13):

"Le mbumba mayihlanganise imihlambi eyalanayo - Kubunjwe umXhosa neMfengu nomTshaka nomSuthu ukuze inganyibiliki ngamaqhwa nezichotho" (Let this unity bring together the opposing factions - We must unite a Xhosa with a Mfengu, a Zulu and a Sotho - so that it remains solid through snow or hail.). Thus Wauchope's view of nationalism is a view that embraces all the black races of Southern Africa. That they took the step of starting a national movement suggests that their intentions were elaborate. The Boers are seen as the prime opponents and their opposition to black education is taken as an example of their being a threat to black advancement. At this stage the Afrikaner community was operating on the same level as the black community if not lower. While Simon Sihlali becomes President of the new association, Wauchope becomes its first chairperson. This is proof that he had a strong influence among his peers. Thus the first national organisation for black people is formed on the battle field where black royalty have laid down their assegais and shields. The following points were listed in Isigidimi as,
Umsebenzi wayo [ku]kukhangela nokuxoxa ngamalungelo ohlanga oiuntsundu, namathuba eempumelelo zalo, anje ngala:-

(a) Imitlhetho elukhuni yolawulo.
(b) Amalungelo emihlabo.
(c) Imfundo (kukhuthazwe ngakumbi neyesiXhosa ngokugugulwa kweencwadi zaloo Ntetho.)
(d) Uukhuhthaza uhlanga ukuba lumphaphamele ukuba ngabavoti.
(e) Uukhuhthaza ingxaso yephepha lohlanga, "Isigidi mi Sama-Xosa."
(f) Ukeqgala impatfo yeMunicipality.
(g) Uukhuhthaza uhlanga ukuba luzilungiselele ngeMfundfo, ngeziMilo ezihle, nangentlumo engcubekweni, ukuze lufanelwe (1) Kukunyulwa kwintown Council, (2) Kukunyulelwa ePalamente.
(h) Uukhuhthaza ukuwlwa ngosisiba, (1) Ngokuthumela izicelo kwiziphamardla, (2) Ngokuxoxa emaphapheni xa kuqunukeyo.
(i) Ukuzama ukubulala umoya wokuchasana nokucekisana phakathi kwamahlelo eeRamente, ngakumbi phakathi kwezizwe.
(j) Konke okulilungelo lontsundu waseSouth Africa kunokuxoxwa kule Mbumba.

(Its task is to safeguard and discuss the rights of the black nation, as well as the opportunities towards its progress, such as:-

(a) Harsh laws of government.
(b) Land rights.
(c) Education (to encourage in particular the Xhosa language and to translate the books of that Language.)
(d) To encourage the nation to be voters.
(e) To encourage support of the nation's newspaper, "Isigidi mi Sama-Xosa."
(f) To keep a watchful eye over the treatment of the Municipality.
(g) To encourage the nation to prepare themselves well with Education, with good Morals, and in Cultural development so that it can be suitable for (1) Election to the Town Council, (2) Election to Parliament.
(h) To encourage fighting with a pen, (1) By sending petitions to the authorities, (2) By debating in the newspapers where necessary.
(i) To try and remove discrimination and prejudice among different Denominations, but more particularly among the races.

(j) All matters affecting the rights of the black people of South Africa can be discussed in Imbumba meetings.)

All the ten points were always high on Wauchope’s agenda and his spirit and influence are evident in this manifesto. This is, in fact, one of the first recorded black manifestos in South Africa, if not perhaps the first of its kind. The first point stresses the highly political nature of the association. The issue of land rights is a clear indication that Wauchope’s Association is taking over from where the traditional leaders left off. Points (c) and (g) both emphasize education and reflect the desire to assimilate the new cultural values enough to be acceptable particularly at the most critical levels of governance. Point (h) echoes Wauchope’s article calling on black people to move battle to the terrain of pen and paper. Point (j) represents a fight for human rights, in this case the rights of the black people. The spirit of nationalism permeates the whole manifesto and is fuelled by the idea that Imbumba is the black people’s response to the Afrikaner Bond and Afrikaner nationalism. Evidently, quite early in the colonial era the main contest was between the Afrikaners and the Africans. The position of the coloniser then fell into the background
of all this. In this way reaction to colonisation became partly directed at the coloniser and partly directed at Afrikaner nationalism. Consequently, it was Afrikaner nationalism that strongly opposed colonisation while black nationalists divided their attention between Afrikaner nationalism and the colonial system.

Published in a space adjacent to the article on the formation of Imbumba is the article, "AmaBhulu eCradock" (Isigidiimi, 1882.11.1:3) which is about a meeting of the Afrikaner Bond which took place on 12 September 1882 in Cradock. Mr Meshack Pelem, who attended the meeting reports that a Mr van den Heever made a sharp criticism against government for not looking after Boer education well enough, and for favouring black education instead, establishing institutions like Lovedale for them. Mr Pelem quotes a Mr A.S. le Roux of Fraserberg who maintained that black people are educated at the expense of white people; black people receive education while white people receive nothing. Even the little education that the whites receive they must share with black people though these two races have different cultures and are incompatible in some ways. Mr Pelem reports that for saying this Mr le Roux was cheered by the meeting. Commenting on three other speakers who adressed this issue, Mr Pelem says:
La manene avumelana kwelokuthi uncedo lukaRhulumele maluphele kwezabamnyama izikolo, kuba ingabancedi lutho imfundo, ibafundisa ukuba babe nokuzenzela amaghaga namaphepha emali etc. Enye into kufuneka umntu ezizamele ngokwakhe ngemfundo yabantwana bakhe ngaphandle koncedo lukaRhulumele.

(These gentlemen reached a conclusion that the Government must withdraw help from black schools, because education does not help them except to enable them to make coins and paper money etc. Moreover, each person must strive on his/her own for the education of the children without help from the government.)

This article clearly defines the line of battle between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism. Here the blacks find themselves being thrown on the side of the colonial government. Thus unlike in other colonial states in Africa and elsewhere, the colonial government and the colonised often find themselves having to defend their principles against a common opposition. Thus, Wauchope’s article, “The Christianization of the Natives” is written in response to opposition by the Afrikaners and some colonists rather than against the colonial authorities and the Church. In his introduction Wauchope refers to the confusing set-up of multiple oppositions. He states: “the early accounts of the Kaffirs and their history are very doubtful and in many cases, contradictory, so that I experienced considerable difficulty in my selection of
such facts as those in which several writers agreed, and, which were at the same time, backed up by traditions now current among the Kaffirs themselves" (The Christian Express, 1885.5.1:67). In this article Wauchope sees the coming of Christianity as a different occurrence from that of the encroachment of the colonial government. According to him both these events coincide with the waning of the power of the Xhosa royalty. He maintains:

On the other hand, Christianity appeared in Kaffirland when the absolute independence of the amaRharhabe Kaffirs was passing away with Gaika the last independent chief of that house. For Sandili, his son and successor, could not be said to have been an independent chief, inasmuch as he held power, wholly or in part, as a paid servant of the Colonial Government.

Wauchope sees Christianity as a positive force and not an evil, and a political force as a negative cause. From his account it is clear that the blacks accepted Christianity with its spiritual agenda and tried to use it to repel the colonial government with its antagonistic political system, hence they made a distinction between a missionary with an undivided cause and a missionary who was also a government agent. Illustrating this point, he claims:
In the case of the chiefs and their councillors, missionary operations soon came to be regarded as the establishment of another kingdom whose laws were distinctly antagonistic to the power of the chiefs ... And I venture to think that the fact that the situation of Government Agent was held by Mr Brownlee, in addition to his missionary work among the Gaikas, must have contributed towards strengthening this feeling towards missionary operations on the part of the chiefs. ... We find in the case of Mr Brownlee, that it soon became a stumbling block upon which the missionary ship was in danger of being wrecked.

Though the missionaries and their role would be seen to constitute colonialism in today's debates, in Wauchope's time it would be seen to feature on the positive side of colonialism. Unlike today the black people in those days had a choice to accept or reject Christianity. It is because of their choice to accept the latter that many people were able to go to school. It appears that they preferred Christianity to the system of the colonial government that was imposed upon them. They believed that, unlike the colonial government, Christianity lended the black people dignity and respect and enabled them to exist on equal levels with their white counterparts. Referring to the status he himself enjoys Wauchope remarks:

Dr Dale remarks:— "The native, when educated, chafes at the restrictions which bar him from free intercourse with men of European race; but society will not relax those restrictions, even
if he were learned in all the languages of antiquity." ... But, ... the idea of complete isolation seems to be very impolitic, and, as far as the natives are concerned, suicidal to their advancement. Possibly I am somewhat biased because I had the good fortune to be born and brought up in a town mission, and to be in contact with Europeans from a child. ... I look upon all European Christians as brothers and sisters in the Lord, without necessarily expecting to be invited to their dinners and tea-parties, and to be 'mistered,' and all that sort of thing, as a sign of brotherhood or sisterhood.

Thus while colonialism openly worked to disempower and subjugate the Xhosa kings, princes and other traditional leaders, Christianity quietly manipulated the blacks into believing the missionaries were their saviours. In Wauchope and his contemporaries one detects a strong sense of individuality and independence, evidenced by the above extract. This is a breed that was destined to survive the crippling effects of colonialism and christianism. Compared to them the black apartheid writer is an underdog, devoid of dignity, grossly dehumanised and wretched. To retain their dignity the black colonial writers had to strike a delicate balance between, on the one hand, the highly critical colonists and the Afrikaners, and, on the other hand, the ruthless government. In the circumstances the missionaries were viewed as "friends and benefactors" because they propped up the black people with education so that they could do
battle with a pen. A short article titled "Editorial Notes," which appeared in *Imvo* (1885.5.11:3) is an example of the concern and major debates confronting the black people of Wauchope's time as well as the paradoxical nature of Christianity:

It must be flattering to our young men, to the Lovedale staff, and to those generally engaged in the work of improving the natives by education, to find public opinion in the Colony veering round as appears in the following extract from one article in the Port Elizabeth Telegraph:

"Some time ago it was asserted that Lovedale made the Kafirs bumpious and conceited. At the outset there was a particle of truth in this statement. The Lovedale authorities were quick to grasp, and combat the difficulty. We have no hesitation in saying that Lovedale students - those who have left the Institution and mixed with the busy colonial world - now evince fewer traces of conceit. The more they have been taught, the more do they become convinced how little they know by comparison with which there is yet to be learned." ... We trust, however, educated Natives will now learn the wisdom of shutting the mouths of enemies of Native improvement by deeds.

What the bove extract means is that while there were those who posed as "enemies" of black advancement, the missionaries were seen as mentors. This situation becomes more complex than a mere case of the coloniser and the colonised.
The emergence of a black elite and black discourse

Wauchope was particularly fond of pursuing debates in the newspaper. One of the earliest debates in which he was engaged involved James Pelem, M.pelem and Jonas Ntsiko. In his letter "M.P." calls some of the teachers produced by Healdtown "amatye" (stones) and complains generally about the quality of commitment of the missionaries in producing educated blacks. In one of his letters Wauchope responds thus:

Ityala lesibini elibekwa ngu "M.P." phezu kwamagxa eHealdtown kukuthumela "Amatye" ukuba aye kuba ziTeacher. AMATYE! ... Ngokani "amatye" ka"M.P."? Asingawo yini la madoda awuphethe umsebenzi ngoloyiko, nongcangcazele, njengezicaka zenene zikaThixo? Asingawo la bathi abafana abanemfundo ethe nyi bakuwulahla umsebenzi kusale kumi wona? Andithi ngamanqanganya izityudini azivumi ukutitsha, zeya imali, zithanda ukuba ziitoliki zeeMantyi nezandla zamGgwetha?
(Isigidi, 1882.4.1:6)

(The second criticism made by "M.P." against Healdtown is its sending out "stones" as Teachers. STONES! ... Who are "M.P.'s" "stones"? Is it not these men who handle the work with due caution, trembling as God’s servants? Are these not the men who stick to the work whenever better educated young men abandon it? Isn’t it true that there are problems with students who do not want to take up positions as teachers, claiming that the money is too little, and preferring to be interpreters for Magistrates and assistants to lawyers?)
Correspondence goes back and forth debating this issue, with some of the participants signing off as "Elinye Lamaty" (One of the Stones) or "Wauchope & Co." The serious part of this lively debate is that it questions the role of the missionaries in the development of black people. This particular debate goes on until Wauchope complains to the Editor that he favours Pelem's side and that, "Phuma Mhleli sikuve apho ukhona. Saphela kuthukwanga madoda esingawaziyo nalapho ahlala khona kuba ezimela ngawe" (Come out Mr Editor and let us hear your views. This is too much coming from men whose homes we do not even know who hide behind you.) (Isigidi, 1883.6.1:7). "M.P.'s" argument is mainly based on the independence of black schools from white domination. It is these healthy debates that set the trend for black development and strengthen black nationalism. In this way a discourse that upheld the black viewpoint was set in motion.

Another topical subject debated in the newspaper is the development of indigenous languages. This debate was introduced by Wauchope in his paper read at a gathering of the Lovedale Literary Society on 29 May 1891 and subsequently published in Imvo (1891.7.16) under the title, "The Kafir Language." In his paper Wauchope starts off by saying:
The question which it is our business to discuss ... is, "Whether the study of Kafir Composition and Grammar should be made compulsory at Native Institutions?" In other words, should the Native students in such places as Lovedale, Healdtown, Blytheswood, the Kafir Institution (Grahamstown), and Clarkebury be obliged to pass in Kafir Composition and Grammar in order to obtain Government and University Certificates. This implies of course the methodical teaching of these subjects at these Institutions.

Already Wauchope is here leading a debate on the status of African languages. It should be noted that this was an era when black school people demonstrated their education by using the English language. Ironically, this is a debate that is still crucial in post-apartheid South Africa today. Wauchope's suggestion that the passing of Xhosa should be made "compulsory" is a clear indication that he is promoting national pride. Language is one of the main features by which a nation identifies itself, and it is also a carrier of culture. The extent of the spirit of nationalism is proudly demonstrated by Wauchope in this public debate. What is also noticeable in his discourse is the freedom of expression that the Lovedale community affords him and later the newspaper. He states unequivocally that,

All I mean at present is that no certificates - Government or University - should be granted to those Native students who shall not have passed in Kafir Grammar and Composition. This, in fact,
is the pivot round which the whole question revolves; because the range of subjects taught in our institutions is virtually determined by conditions laid down by Government, either for issuing grants or granting passes, and these conditions have been fixed with the consideration for the wants of those for whose benefit the schools exist.

Emphasis here is on the needs of the black people, and focus is on the black people empowering themselves with their languages. The sharp edge of Wauchope's argument is that the Xhosa language should be developed as a measure of facilitating mass education. He claims that, "Kafir is thus the language of not less than three fourths of the population of Southern Africa." He mentions Xhosa speaking people like the Xhosa, the Pondo, the Mpondomise, the Bhaca, the Mfengu, the Bomvana, the Ndebele and the Swazi. Putting emphasis on the need to study Xhosa as a subject Wauchope points out,

I used myself to think that the Kafir language was very simple, and that it would be throwing precious time away to study it. In fact I even boasted of being a pretty good Kafir speaker, but when it came to consecutive thinking and close arguing I found out my mistake, and applied myself to the study of my own language, comparing it with the other languages I had to study. How far I have been successful others can judge best, but I still feel that I do not know my own language yet.
Wauchope also mentions the need for the development of Xhosa literature, stating he sees no successful language development without literature. He makes reference to Sotho having been made compulsory in Lesotho resulting “in the increase of Sesotho books so that at present there are more Sesotho books than all the books of the African Native languages put together.”

After this article appeared in the paper many letters were written in response. Of note are the letters of Daniel Gudula of Leribe, Lesotho, who criticised Wauchope extensively for claiming that Sotho literature is well-developed. He states that Wauchope may not be aware but “the Sesotho books he mentions are very diminutive and are all for children” (Imvo, 1891.8.13). Another strong critic is Walter Benson Kawa. Concerning Wauchope’s remark: “We Natives love and esteem the most one who has mastered our language,” Kawa (Imvo, 1891.8.13:3) retorts:

Mr Wauchope’s statement will mislead many Europeans, for they will say, “If you want to be a member of Parliament, and have no attractions to be achieved by European voters, learn the Kafir Grammar and Composition, and you will get native votes of confidence. No matter whether you were not made to be a politician, the poor “niggers” will send you to Parliament, for as much as you have mastered their venacular tongue.” I do not and dare not deny that Natives have a tendency to a foreigner who has mastered their mother tongue; for that prevails among all
nations, but not in that manner in which Mr Wauchope would have us believe.

Political issues, as the above extract demonstrates, are easily drawn into the debate. This is an indication that the participants are fully conscious that they are tackling issues of national importance and by their pen the nation is educated. Kawa pinpoints that any whites who will try to take advantage using language will have been misled. Almost as if to prove that the school people who participate in these debates regard themselves as a class, the editor adds a warning note at the end of Kawa's letter, saying: "'A junior' has, we fear taken an exceedingly narrow view, of the scope of his 'senior's' remarks; and the very fact of his being a junior should have prevented him from hurling jibes at his betters on such a slender basis. We grieve to be compelled even to give currency to such narrowmindedness." Someone who signs himself as "S" states that there are two families of Kafir languages: "Kafir, Zulu, Pondo, etc forming one; and Sesutho, Sechuana, etc forming the other" (Imvo, 1891.8.20:3). He argues that both families come from "old Kafir." Then he criticises French orthography which makes the Sotho languages more distant from the Nguni languages than they really are. More writers join in the debate and Wauchope wrestles back and forth with Gudula until the
latter proclaims: "If Mr Wauchope follows in the course he has hitherto evidently pursued of "rubbing down" words, there is no telling where he may not end" (Imvo, 1891.10.8:3); and the former retorts: "I have only to say that it is a great pity that I should have forced [Mr Gudula] to use such contemptuous language" (Imvo, 1891.11.19:2) Yet another provoked writer, signed as "NATALIAN", attacks both Gudula and Kawa saying:

Fresh from the Training Institutions and, no doubt, stuffed with vain knowledge of various (?) branches of study, our two young friends attempted to scale the stupendous mass of notoriety that they forget their manners, their position and their strength in publishing their opinion on a subject of so great importance. Men of more knowledge than themselves, found no fault (for if they did, saw no occasion for making known their finding) in Mr Wauchope's lectures.

(Imvo, 1891.12.31)

Quoted above are some of the harsh arguments that clearly deteriorated into mudslinging. This shows how involved the arguments were and that the participants took themselves seriously. More than this, the debates were educational to the many readers of Imvo throughout the country, and were pointers to the direction that the black people should take regarding each matter under discourse. Another hot issue that was fully debated were the cessationist movements within the Church; which took
place around 1897-1891. At this stage there were serious radical movements that sought a separate development for black people. This resulted in the emergence of new denominations like the Methodist Church of Africa (iRhabe) and the Order of Ethiopia. Influence of the Afro-Americans resulted in the establishment of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa. Politically there were movements to establish the black people’s political groupings. It is important to note that the prudent appeal of moderate blacks for a common sharing by all South Africans found fruition in the spirit of the ANC’s Freedom Charter, and has become a guiding principle for post-apartheid South Africa. These newspaper debates sharpened the focus of black people on matters that affected them, also making them politically well-informed.

The beginnings of a hybrid culture

It was inevitable that when two dominant cultural streams, the European culture and the African culture, met, a hybrid culture would be formed. The society involved in this process could be divided into three groups, namely, the stalwarts who fought for cultural purity, thereby repelling any "foreign" values as impure
and undesirable, one group among the Europeans and another among the Xhosa people; and the adoptionists who adopted salient values from both cultural streams. The school people among the Xhosa, adopted western values to help them operate within the new westernised social milieu. It is doubtful if there have been any fully-fledged anticolonial movements in South Africa. The major movements have instead been pro-colonial, hence the country’s name has never changed though in many countries independence from Europe was followed by a change of name of the country concerned. Even there, the adoption of certain values from the western culture facilitated the fight against colonialism. In his introduction to his book Dirks (1992:4) observes:

The parallel mutualities of colonizers and colonised on the one hand and colonialism and culture on the other make it more difficult than ever to devise historical narratives of cause and effect. If culture itself, as an object of knowledge and a mode of knowledge about certain objects, was formed in relation to colonial histories, it is all the more difficult to recognize the ways in which specific cultural forms were themselves constituted out of colonial encounters. This task becomes even more daunting when we realise that these cultural forms become fundamental to the development of resistance against western notions of national integrity and self-determination to justify claims for independence.
The determination of the pioneers of nationalism, of whom Wauchope was one, to use the pen to fight for their rights demonstrates the adoption of new values as a central feature of the new nationalism. Fighting with a pen necessitated that an individual be first educated in a European-style school. So, western education was crucial for the development of the black people. As western education was part of western culture the process could be seen as adoption of western values. In the newspapers they discussed school matters, politics, voting and representation in parliament, but Wauchope also conducted mass education through the media about black values. Though these were purely African values, he used them to interpret current situations for the masses.

In his two major articles titled, "Primitive native customs: their moral aspect", Wauchope introduces the two customs that have fallen fowl to restrictive missionary stipulations, namely, circumcision and the paying of the bride stock (lobola). Introducing his subject (written in English clearly for the benefit of the missionaries) he claims:

All national customs are founded upon some real or supposed moral ideas, and are the result of the human mind’s search after the greatest good. They are, therefore, the surest standard for the measurement of the morality or otherwise of a people.

(Imvo, 1901.3.4)
What Wauchope's statement here implies is that the identity of a nation is determined through the study of its customs. He goes on to explain how circumcision is first of all hygienic, and, moreover, how it promotes discipline. He maintains that the boy is trained to keep a balance between going back to his childish ways and being too conservative. He then illustrates the various stages of circumcision beginning with seclusion which trains the boy on "the value of time." He points out that there is order in which things are done as well as athletic exercises like dancing, hunting, running and throwing assegais and sticks. The whole process is concluded by "exit lectures" which include topics like "manliness, bravery, sobriety, chastity, honesty, modesty, obedience." Wauchope gives these details in order to illustrate the moral soundness of a custom that "is one of the oldest, and [that] has a place - an important place - in the old Testament." He gives an example of the exit model lectures thus:

These are given in a very impressive manner by the injunction of negatives, thus:- "Today you are men, show it by stealing and you will have no cattle kraal; show it by licentiousness and you will have no name; strike your father and mother, and your own children will spit on you; be an IGantuntu (a recluse, an unsociable person) and
you will be smelled out for Witchcraft; be disobedient and headstrong and you will have no one to bury you."

(Imvo, 1901.1.3:4)

The exit lectures (example given) clearly have a strong moral lesson for the boys. In 1901 Wauchope was himself a minister and it could have taken someone that has an inclination for challenge and debate like him to bring a sensitive subject like circumcision to the newspapers. The reaction of many missionaries would predictably be negative. But Wauchope brings into focus the good that has been overlooked for a long time. Similarly, Wauchope’s discussion of the lobola custom must have caused a stir among the missionaries. Regarding this custom, he puts down four crucial points, all in defence of the custom:

1. The ethical significance of the custom as generally practised is, first, that by it the social dignity of the wife is assured.
2. It provides a guarantee for the good treatment of the wife by her husband and his people.
3. It forms a safeguard against immoral conduct and is an encouragement to chastity — a source of material benefit to parents.
4. It encourages industry, as the lazy man would have no wife, because he would have no cattle unless he worked.

(Imvo, 1901.5.6)
Thus the four points can be seen as fundamental to the maintenance of sound social structures. Evidently, for Wauchope these are values that society needs in order to uphold a hybrid culture that borrows from western and Xhosa values. While pressing this idea of mutual acceptance of western and Xhosa values, he adds, "The feeling of some men whose opinions are worthy of respect in such matters is, that in regard to some of the Native customs, if there is not moral outrage in their practice, it is premature, if not altogether wrong, to prohibit them" (Imvo, 1901.5.6). The concept of hybridisation, therefore, was consciously given impetus in Wauchope's time. Wauchope himself states: "It would appear that what we now need is not stringendent prohibition laws, but regulative laws by which the good that is in these customs could be retained and improved, while the bad is rejected" (imvo, 1901.5.6). In his article titled, "Amasiko emvelo", he maintains that customs are the backbone of a nation. He compares some of these customs as the pillars of a hut while he sees others as the roof, the doors and the outer beauty of the hut. The idea of hybridity is evident in his statement when he says:

Kuqala, amasiko emvelo angachaseneyo nokhanyo oluvela elizwini likaThixo, makangaguzulwa ngesizathu kuthela sokuba engengawo awasemaNgesini. Makathi kanye agudiswe, asuswe
ubuntlakantlaka namaqhubu, abothozelwe kule nkubeko sikuyo.
Okwesibini, amasiko abonakalayo ukuba mabi,
akevani nokhanyo nobuntu obusebuKrestwini,
makasunduzwe ngamanye anokufunyanwa kolu khanyo
lutsha - anganeli ukulahlwa ukuze kungabikho nto
kubanjiswe ngayo. Mayithi isuswa into egwetyiwayo
ngobubi, kubekumiswa entle endaweni yayo,
inganeli ukutshayelwa indlu ize iyekwe ize, hleze
kungene nto zimbi ziyakubanga esona sonakalo
sikhulu.

(Firstly traditional customs that are not in
conflict with progress which comes from the Word
of God, should not be removed for the mere reason
that they do not belong to the English. Let them
be refined and let all the roughness and knots be
cleared, so that they can fit well in this
culture.
Secondly, customs which prove to be bad, are in
opposition to progress, and are against Christian
morality, should be replaced with some that are
found in this new culture - they should not be
thrown away without putting anything in their
place. If something that has been proven to be
unsuitable is removed, a good one should be put
in its place at the same time, the house should
not just be swept and left empty, in case bad
things that could cause much damage should fill
up the space.)

The intention to have a hybrid culture is evident in
Wauchope's remarks. The agent for the new western culture
is seen to be Christianity instead of the colonial
government. In the same article he warns that some people
will say, "Yeha! Kubuyelwa eYiphutha!" (Do you see that?
They are going back to Egypt!). This warning is directed
at those people who blindly throw away their culture and
assimilate the new culture with its good and bad values.
In articles titled, "Iinkosi zakwaNgqika" (Imvo, 1897.11.8:3; 1897.12.2:2; 1898.1.6:3) Wauchope writes the praise poetry of the Ngqika, Ndlambe and Mbalu princes and the important dates in the history of the Xhosa associating them with members of the Xhosa royal family. The praise poetry has been discussed in depth in Chapter 6. By using praise poetry as well as events in close association with Xhosa royalty Wauchope suggests that the Xhosa kings and princes are the embodiment of Xhosa culture. The colonial government must have expected the black school people to wish to supplant the Xhosa princes by taking political power into their hands. The move by individuals like Wauchope to uphold the true status of their traditional leaders must have posed as a threat to the colonial government. In their attempt to generate a national spirit, Wauchope and his contemporaries sought after the symbols of Xhosa unity and found that Xhosa royalty symbolised this unity. Praise poetry is an important part of Xhosa culture and features as popular literature. Here praise poetry drawn from collective memory is used to motivate the Xhosa people and to stimulate their pride about their traditional leaders. The dates that are used in the article of 6 January 1898 are marked by the references to one or more of the princes. The close relationship between the princes and their subjects is shown by lending the sections of Xhosa
people names that identify them with their leaders, like amaNgqika, amaNdlambe, amaJingqi, amaMbalu, amaNtinde, imiDange, amaGcaleka. Wauchope uses these terms frequently and in his article of 6 January 1898 he goes further to include the names of other black races like Mzilikazi, Tshaka and David Stuurman. Thus he places black royalty at the centre of history. Though he belongs to the new black elite, he still defines the black tribes in terms of their traditional leaders. A further typical example of how he interprets history in terms of the movements of black royalty is found in an article titled “Iziganeko 1825” (Imvo, 1898.5.18) when he says:

1828. - AboThembu kunye namaGcaleka asaxikixana neMfecane. Iyalandelisa eyasemlungwini imikhosi - ebelungu namalawo - eyaya yamchitha umatiwane malunga nебaziya eMbashe, phezulu. ... Kunyakana kwabulawu uTshaka nguDingana (September 23, 1828); nge23 September, 1898 nonyaka, uya kuba minyaka imashumi asixhenxe (70) efile uTshaka. UNgqika uthumele amadoda emka ngeenyawo ukuuya eKapa eya kubulela uncedo lokuphethulwa kweMfecane.

(1828.- The Thembus and the Gcalekas are faced with iMfecane. The white regiments joined in alliance - the whites and the Khoi - and they drove back Matiwane at the upper reaches of the Bashee River near Baziya. ... That was the year of Shaka’s assassination by Dingana (September 23, 1828); on 23 September 1898, this year it will be seventy (70) years since Shaka died. Ngqika sent men on foot to Cape Town to bring a message of gratitude for turning away the Mfecane.)
To show his strong spirit of nationhood, Wauchope mentions the Fiftieth Ordinance in the same article (Imvo, 1898.5.18), and states that this is the law that gave Khoi people of seventy years and above the status of whites. He adds that this turned out to be their demise (as a nation) "kuba asuka ajika ayicekisa imidaka yakwaXhosa akuva ukuba mnandi kweBlantiveni, afa ke aphela" (because they began to look down upon the darker Xhosa people while they enjoyed the good taste of wine, and so they all perished). While Wauchope stresses the significance of his black identity as well as his black culture, he maintains the values he has imbibed through western education. He constantly maintains a delicate balance between the two cultural streams.

Wauchope also uses language to stress his commitment to his Xhosa cultural background. Besides his article "The Kafir language" (already discussed) he contributes twelve major articles on the Xhosa language usage and the Xhosa idioms. In his article, "Iinyamakazi" he gives the names of fifteen game animals and their Dutch or English equivalents. The Xhosa names that he gives are mainly those that are associated with hunting. While his article provides Xhosa equivalents for Dutch or English names, he stresses the conservation of game and the legal implication of contravention of the laws of game
protection. Thus the article handles the application of colonial law at the same time as it identifies certain game by the use of Xhosa names. This approach straddles both the western and African cultures.

In his article, "Some sayings" he gives a list of fifty-six Xhosa idioms and their English equivalents. Here Wauchope demonstrates his knowledge of both the Xhosa and English languages. What is striking about the idioms is that they reflect the cultural background of both languages independently of each other. For example the Xhosa idiom (idom no.27 on his list) "Ukuza kukaNxele" (the coming of Nxele) reflects aspects of Xhosa history; and the English equivalent, "The Fabian policy" reflects English culture in a manner quite unrelated to the Xhosa idiom except in meaning. The same happens with the rest of the idioms, for example: "SesikaMnyaluza" (It's similar to the case of Mnyaluza)/"Vicar of Bray"; "Kude eBhakubha" (Bhakubha is far away)/"A wild goose chase." Wauchope seems to suggest that though the value systems of the two cultures reflected by the two languages may be different, their language and idiom can be used to define identical situations. Thus the role of language in a hybrid culture is laid out as quite broad. Wauchope's language usage is clearly purist in nature, as there is no attempt on his part to demonstrate or encourage a
hybridised language. This could be explained by the fact that in his time these two languages had not as yet undergone as much borrowing as they have done today in spite of apartheid laws. But still in his list of idioms there are some vestiges of hybridisation, though it is clear that for the most part, while the Xhosa idioms draw their inferences from the Xhosa cultural background, the English idioms draw theirs from the European culture. The idiom “Ukuza kukaNxele” (the coming of Nxele) has its origin in the Anglo-Xhosa war when Nxele, upon his being taken as hostage, promised that he would return but never fulfilled that promise. Today one would expect idioms from both English and Xhosa that draw their inferences from a common South African socio-cultural background on a broader scale than “Ukuza kukaNxele”. Perhaps there has not been ample opportunity for that to happen because of the interference of apartheid.

Wauchope’s fourteen articles titled, “Izintsonkotho Zamaghalo” (The hidden meaning of idioms) are a great contribution to the Xhosa language and culture. Furthermore, they are a demonstration that Wauchope was intent on developing the Xhosa culture at the same time as he promoted Christian values within the Xhosa community. What is most striking about his use of the Xhosa idioms is that he does not use them as examples of
the old Xhosa way of life, but, instead, applies them aptly to current situations of his time. In the following example he applies the idiom "Umkhala womgxam" (a rein made from a branch of the boer-boon tree) that draws inference from a traditional Xhosa background where men used to ride oxen using these traditional reins, he applies this idiom to the preachers who mislead people during their term of life. He adds:


(Imvo, 1891.3.26:3)

(The whites compare that to the act of leaning on a broken reed which in breaking injures the person leaning on it. Young men, there are many reins of the boer-boon tree; be careful of your friends. And you, too, young women, be careful of collars and boots, the reins of the boer-boon tree are similar to those of the sneezewood tree. Not too long ago the Editor was complaining about what he calls iiNkibitsholokazi (I wonder what those are), are there no male Nkibitsholos, who struck the king of kings between the neck ligaments, things with large beards, signifying nothing? All those are reins of the boer-boon tree.)
After giving an explanation of the origin of this idiom in the Xhosa traditional culture, he then applies it to the Christian and westernised society around him. In other words, he uses a traditional set-up to explain a current situation. In this manner the scope of the Xhosa idiom is broadened in order to accommodate a "modern" situation. Thus the meaning it commands becomes broader and more general. Explaining the idiom "Uphemb' eshiya" (The treacherer) (Imvo, 1891.3.26:3), Wauchope states: "Atsho ke amanyange" (So say the ancestors); and then he immediately applies the idiom to a current situation, quoting from the Bible (James 1:26) to support his interpretation. He is thus assisted by the hybridity of his culture to move from past to present in giving his explanation.

One idiom which may have been disused today is "Inkonyana kaSighwabe" (Sighwabe's colt) (Imvo, 1891.4.23). Wauchope explains that a colt always follows behind its mother, because it has no knowledge where she is going. After this explanation he then compares that situation to the members of the Afrikaner Bond whom he says follow faithfully after a Mr Hofmeyr. He adds "Namhla kuvele noRhodes othi yena akakhathali ngomntu ontsundu kodwa ukhathalele umhlaba wontsundu" (These days even Rhodes
has joined in stating that he does not care about the black people and yet he is eying their land.)

One idiom which is still used today though its connotation may be lost is "Ukuphuma egusheni" (To come out of the sheep skin: to face the truth) (Imvo, 1892.3.31:3). Wauchope explains that the shipskin blanket used to have lice and to drive them out the blanket would be placed in the sun. After enduring the heat of the sun for a while the lice would start coming into view.

In conclusion, it has been argued that Wauchope supported the use of the Xhosa language. In addition, he has placed some important Xhosa customs like circumcision and the paying of the bride price in the positive light. He has written fourteen articles on Xhosa idioms and applied their lessons in the current socio-political situations of his time. At the same time, like all his contemporaries, he supported missionary education and desired to acquire practical knowledge of western culture. This resulted in him and his contemporaries living in a cultural domain halfway between pure western culture and pure Xhosa culture. It is this hybrid culture that has been threatened throughout the years of apartheid, a period during which cultural purism was emphasised and cultural integration discouraged by law.
Thus the intervening apartheid years delayed the celebration of cultural fusion though they could not stop its process. Hybridisation seems inevitable and in today's world it presents itself as globalisation. Writers like Wauchope stand out as the forerunners of globalisation. Their vision of nationalism rejected the Afrikaner type of nationalism that descredited integration among the various races. Inclusivism that was later adopted by the African National Congress was first solicited by Wauchope and many of his contemporaries. Thus Wauchope and some of his contemporaries spearheaded a balanced and far-seeing response to colonialism and cultural integration.
CHAPTER 4

A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF WAUCHOPE'S LIFE

Ndisakhumbula mhlana ndalibona iBhayi ndiyinkwenkwana ngo1860, kungekabikho loliwe phakathi kweTinaral neBhayi. IRussell Road le namhla ibaleka iitram isengumfula kajwaki obaleka amanzi. ICape Road iseyindlela ephahlwe ngamagquba apho zikhulula khona iinqwelo. (Imvo, 1912.11.12:3)

(I can still remember the very first time I saw Port Elizabeth as a little boy in 1860, before the railway line between Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth was built. Russell Road, where trams are now rushing about hastily, was then a stream complete with water, called the Jwaki Stream. The Cape Road was then flanked by manure spots where wagon teams outspanned and took a break.)

Introduction

The above reminiscence is made by a sixty year old man as he muses over the years of his childhood. The article marks the last chapter of the busy and highly eventful career of Isaac William(s) Wauchope, also recognised as I W W or simply I W. Here, probably for the first time in his many writings, Wauchope pauses and, with undisguised sentimentality, looks back at the long road he has travelled, most of it with his newspaper readers and his very large "family", the people of God in his parish. Starting from the 1870s, this writer's work, in the form of letters, articles, poetry, essays, reports,
educational presentations, religious treatises, historical anecdotes and travelogues, spans a period of more than four decades. Even by the standard of modern writers, Wauchope was a prolific writer, writing in excellent Xhosa and remarkable English. In addition to these languages, he was competent in Dutch and Sesotho, while it can be taken for granted that he could speak and write in Zulu.

Ancestry

Wauchope’s grandfather was a Ndlambe, but after some generations the distinction between a Ndlambe and a Nqgika was not important. About this Mqhayi has the following to say:

Ngokwasebukhosini ngumNqgika kanye; kuba noko amana ukuvakala engumNdlambe, aze abuye avakale engumJingqi, onke lawo maziko ngawakwaNqgika.  
(The Bantu World, 1935.1.5:6)

(Where royal domains are concerned, he is of the land of Nqgika; for though sometimes we learn that he is a Ndlambe and sometimes a Jingqi all those are princes within Nqgika’s kingdom.)

We therefore see Wauchope calling himself a Nqgika as opposed to the Goaleka on the east side of the Kei River.
He was born among the Cetho people of the genealogy of Chizama (Imvo, 1926.9.30). Born in Uitenhage and educated in Lovedale, he had lost much of his original identity as a “pure” Xhosa. The following is part of the praise poetry of his people:

Silwangangubo,
Siphunzi ndazoyika.
Mavumb'engcuka.
Malahle anothuthu,
Ungawanyatheli watsha.
AbakwaMgwiyaKazi,
KwaNgcoko,
KwaChizama.

(Imvo, 1897.8.12:3)

(Fighter with a blanket as a shield,
You are a tree stump, and stumps scare me.
Odours of a hyena.
Live coals ash-covered,
Dare to trample on them, they'll roast you.
Those of MgwiyaKazi,
Of Ngcoko,
Of Chizama.)

The dominant fighting imagery suggests that this is a clan of skilled and vicious fighters. The vulture is often called “isilwangangubo” by the Xhosa because of its habit of blocking blows to its bald head with its wings. Old tree stumps can be dangerous to scouts in the night because they trip and pierce feet causing severe wounds. Ash-covered live coals are deceptive in that they are
covered by white ashes but once touched or trampled on, the bright red coals can inflict a sharp burning pain, hence line 6 warns that one should not be deceived by outward simplicity and seeming harmlessness. Mqhayi describes him thus:

Umfundisi u-Isaac Wauchope wayengumfo omhle kunene enkangelwekweni; isighekevu sendoda; ngokwesithomo ekwiinyawo ezintlanu ezinento, ibala lakhe lulusi, oko kukuthi engemnyama engemhlophe; amabhovu la aphezu komlomo ezingqangula ezimilise okwawamakhoboka; ibunzi lityhilekile libanzi libonisa ukukhalipha kanye; amazinyo emahle evule umhlantlana omncinane, isibili simlingene, xa ehambayo yinto emilenze ikhabalazayo ibonisa impilo kanye kumfo lowo, yaye ibubambile nobugoso. Iinwele zingqangqasholo zilukhuri kungekho nanto ebonisa ukuba angabuye abe nenqayi.

(The Bantu World, 1935.1.26:4)

(Rev. Isaac Wauchope was indeed a handsome fellow in appearance; a healthy man; in height a little more than five feet; his colour was light brown, which means he was not dark complexioned and yet not light complexioned; his moustache was thick like that of the slaves; his forehead was open and broad showing much bravery; he had beautiful teeth that displayed a tiny gap in front, his body was medium size; when he walked his legs kicked out showing genuine vitality and they were also bent. His hair was thick and strong and there was no sign of him getting bald.)

Wauchope’s more recent ancestry can be traced from his grandfather Citashe, a Ndlambe warrior, to Dyoba, his own father. Citashe, the younger brother of Kula of the Ndlambe, had fought the Ngqika at the battle of AmaLinde,
and had sustained a serious injury: the broken point of a wooden assegai lodged in his jaw wounding his left eye. As a Ndlambe, he had followed Makanda's preaching and, together with the other amaNdlambe had danced at the water front at Gombo in the belief that they were in communion with Dalidiphu⁴ (Wauchope, 1908:34-5). Citashe became a convert of Rev. John Ross of the Free Church at Ncerha (Lovedale). Dyoba (born in 1821), one of his sons, first came into contact with formal education at Ncerha, where he was taught spelling by Rev. John Bennie. After the War of the Axe (1846) Dyoba set out to seek his elder brother, Yisake and his cousin, Qambela, who lived in Uitenhage. It is important to note that the name Yisake also becomes his nephew's name, Isaac Wauchope. It was towards the end of 1847 that the young Dyoba arrived in Uitenhage. As already illustrated, this restlessness which resulted in people moving about the country was caused by wars as well as the cattle killing of 1856, and dates back to the times of Gwali, Ntinde, Mdange and Rharhabe, who crossed the Kei and settled on the west side of that river (vide pp 90-2). Wauchope and his generation were merely projecting the results of the restlessness of former generations. These are what writers have called the detribalised Africans.

⁴ Peires (1982:70) states that Makanda (Nxlele) spoke of Mdalidiphu – creator of the deep and his son Tayi, the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the Passion and Resurrection.
Dyoba attended Ndaba’s school, and was baptised by Rev. Thomas James Paterson of the Free Church. It is through this baptism that Dyoba acquired the new names William Wauchope that later passed to his son Isaac William Wauchope. These two names were replacing his original name Dyoba of Citashe. When baptising their converts or registering their children at school, the missionaries gave names of European origin to them as a common practice. This practice is referred to by Mandela (1996:9) when he says:

On the first day of school my teacher, Miss Mdengane, gave each of us an English name. This was the custom among Africans in those days and was undoubtedly due to the British bias of our education.

Wauchope also gives us the new names of the other two men: Nyaniso Mcuwe became Thomas Chalmers and Mashiywa became Charles Dickson. We learn from one of Wauchope’s historical articles that his father had been educated in Lovedale (Imvo, 1898.5.18). Dyoba married Sabina Heka, in 1850, on the same day as Jan Kiviet and Notosi Mdungani, adding to the first Christian Xhosa primary families at Doorn Hoek (Imvo, 1907.12.10:3). The first child born to
this couple was Isaac in 1852. The latter is the poet and writer who is the subject of this thesis.

On his mother's side Wauchope traces his ancestry back to the days of Rharhabe (1722-1787), when the attendant to Princess Ntsusa, daughter of Rharhabe, married a Khoi young man as part of the peace pact between Rharhabe and the Khoi kings. This unnamed attendant who was an orphan gave birth to a boy and a girl, Poyana and Tse. Poyana died in a battle with the Thembu, a battle in which Rharhabe also died. Tse on her part got married Tsobo, son of Maquqana, son of Ntiba, a Ntshilihe by clan, who later died, leaving her with three children namely, Ngo, Tshula and Nqipa. After Tse and her children had accepted the gospel and followed Van der Kemp, the missionary, Ngo, Wauchope's grandmother, was given the Christian name Mina; Mina's mother, Tse, later died at the hands of a Boer woman who had hired her to look after sheep at Hankey. The social injustices, exemplified by the death of Wauchope's great grandmother, Tse, who was killed by a Boer woman, continue to exist in Wauchope's time, but armed with education from the seminary school he and some of his generation were able to fight back. The birth of a political union of black people came about in the form of the founding of Imbumba Yamanyama, an organisation that was to function as a forum for black political
aspirations. Wauchope was one of the founding members and its first secretary (Odendaal, 1984:8).

Mina (17) escaped from the farm and reported the unhappy incident to Van der Kemp in Bethelsdorp (Wauchope, 1908:20-3). She later married Heka, son Mandlana of the Mpdandla people, in the chieftainship of Langa of the land of the Mbalu, and became the right-hand-wife. Mina gave birth to four daughters: the eldest, who is identified as the mother of Mrs Karlina Mawulana Ranuga; Leya, who died near Willowmore; Katjie, who died in Grahamstown; and Sabina. Sabina was born at Ncemerha in 1828.

As the story goes, after the death of Mina’s eldest daughter, Mina took Sabina and her grandchild, Mawulana, to live with Katjie in Grahamstown, but Katjie also soon died, leaving them destitute. Why Mina had to leave the home of her marriage is not stated. They found refuge on the land of a farmer called Ndevu (Willem Fourie), who later helped them to find a black Christian community under a Mr Ndaba, at Doorn Hoek, Uitenhage. Here Mina remarried, this time to a Khoi preacher, Theis Janse. Because of her knowledge of farm Dutch, Sabina was appointed teacher of the Khoi school near what later became known as Ndikindeni, an old church building run by a slave called Geduld. Mina died in 1887 at 96 years of
age (Imvo, 1907.12.3). It is here, at Doorn Hoek, that Dyoba met and married Sabina, whose other name is Lemini.

**Early years in Doorn Hoek**

It was, therefore, to Dyoba's marriage to Sabina that Isaac was born in 1852. After Isaac, nine other children were born, namely: Lydia (later Mrs Mahlamvu of Klip River Oog); Mina (later Mrs Manana of Korsten); William (who later lived in Korsten); Leah (later Mrs Yokwe of New Brighton); Annie Ncanyiwe (later Mrs Maqanda of Grahamstown); Peter (died in 1900); Caroline (died in 1888); Harriet (died in 1872); and James (died in 1896). When Dyoba died on 8 December 1878, Sabina was left alone to bring up and educate all her children. She persevered in giving Christian education to her children, and on Sundays they all travelled the three miles from Doorn Hoek to the Free Church in Uitenhage. There the service was conducted in Dutch and the Sunday School, which was attended by her children as well, was conducted in Dutch and English. The main attraction for Sabina's generation seems to have been Church life, mainly because it provided the desired education and thereby helped bring up morally balanced children. It was through this education that Wauchope's generation used to draw the
respect they deserved, on the one hand, from the white segment of the South African society, and to improve the quality of life of the black people on the other hand. When Sabina died at the age of 79, on 20 October 1907, she was survived by six children, thirty-five grandchildren and fifteen great grandchildren.

Wauchope’s history is set in the origins of what later became known as “locations” in South Africa, soon blossoming out as townships, a physical display of this country’s segregated communities up to the 1990s. The nucleus of these communities were people who had taken refuge in white towns in the wake of the prevailing uncertainty in traditionally black areas. Mina’s desperate journey from Grahamstown has been mentioned here. It is clear that Ndaba, a Mfengu, had sought protection from the white authorities, while Theis Janse, a Khoi preacher, was a lonely and forlorn remnant of the Khoi tribes. They were all drawn together by their desperation and formed one community of mixed races and languages. People in these communities were later redefined as Coloured by the apartheid government, though traces of their mixed heritage seem to have survived to this day. In 1959, in a letter to her brother one of Mr R.Vigne’s sisters describes Korsten, which must have borne similar demographic features as Doorn Hoek, as a
mixture of Coloured, Indians and Africans who "seem to live here in a happy mixture and Afrikaans, English and Xhosa are spoken indiscriminately" (The Mendi Papers, 1959). Mina's marriage to Janse is a clear indication of a point of fusion for the races of South Africa, resulting in what the rural Xhosa call "amaRhanuga" (communities with mixed African and western cultures). It is the elements of these mixed communities that have been an inspiration for South African nationalism where mixed languages and cultures co-exist providing a rich socio-cultural experience.

It was into this kind of community that the child, Isaac, was born, and, after him, his siblings. Mqhayi (The Bantu World, 1935.1.5:6) mentions that the Wauchope brothers were distinguished by their knowledge of many languages. Mqhayi, however, adds that, "Ukwazi kwakhe [uWauchope] iintetho zasemzini akumenzanga nakancinane ukuba eyakowabo intetho yesiXhosa ethe kuyo, kwathi ulwazi lwakhe lwezinye iilwimi eziya lamenza wavela ezweni nasezizweni" (His knowledge of foreign languages did not make him to shift even a little from his mother tongue, the Xhosa language, instead his knowledge of these other languages made him popular in the country and among nations.). From 1860 to 1864 he attended school in Port Elizabeth (Imvo, 1916.3.28:2). In 1865, he attended the
local junior school at Xaba, started by Malgas Kunene since 1852. He was Mr Kunene’s pupil until 1866, when he was sent back to the school in Port Elizabeth. Mr Kunene had gone to further his education in Hankey under the instruction of the popular teacher, Rev. Durand Philip, who later became Isaac’s teacher in Lovedale. When Mr Kunene’s school was combined with a Dutch Reformed Church school under Mr Henry Jones in 1867, Isaac came back from Port Elizabeth to join the school. This school had Khoi, Coloured, former slave as well as Xhosa children.

Some of the children who grew up with Wauchope in Uitenhage near Hankey include Sihlali, Mathodlana and Jona Jonas Mcanyangwa, whose mother, Anna, was a great friend of Wauchope’s mother. These ladies were baptised together in 1849.

**Lovedale and afterwards**

After Port Elizabeth Wauchope was sent to Lovedale in 1874 for training as a teacher. It was here that Wauchope demonstrated a daring spirit and unpretending commitment to the spread of Christianity. When Rev. Henry Kayser came to Lovedale to introduce the International Order of True Templars in 1876, Wauchope was one of the students
to respond to this appeal together with J.K. Bokwe and P.J. Mzimba. He was then a young man of 24 while Bokwe was 21, but he remained a loyal member of the IOTT throughout his life. He later became one of the high-ranking Templars, a highly puritanical religious movement that campaigned for the banning of liquor sales in black locations and villages, advocating abstinence from liquor of all its members and suppporters. His commitment to the growth of this movement and the realisation of its goals sets him off as a man of strong resolution with an equally strong sense of justice. He believed in resolute action, the targeting of results, high principle and honest conduct.

Wauchope was also one of the four student volunteers who were in Dr James Stewart’s expedition to present day Malawi to carry on mission work there in 1876. The other three students were Shadrach Mgunana, William Koyi and Mapasa Ntintili. Stewart had been instrumental in starting a mission station at the southernmost end of Lake Malawi in memory of Dr David Livingstone who had passed away in 1873. This mission station was called Livingstonia. The inclusion of Wauchope and his fellow students represents Stewart’s demonstration to the world that the Lovedale “experiment” was working and from Xhosa students they could produce teachers, catechists,
evangelists and skilled workers. Referring to Steward and his Livingstonia mission The Kaffir Express (1875.8.1:2) had this to say:

We earnestly call attention to the proposal and request for special prayer on behalf of Lake Nyasa Mission as made in the separate sheet enclosed in this month's Kaffir Express. It bears the initials of one who is well known [that one being Steward himself] in the South African mission field, and we hope that the request will be heartily responded to by all who believe in the power of prayer, and who feel an interest in this effort to penetrate into the darkness of Central Africa and carry the light of the glorious Gospel where it has never yet been known or felt.

After settling at cape Maclear, Rev. Robert Laws wrote Dr Steward stating amongst others that, "We have a splendid field here for native catechists or men from Lovedale. In a short time we shall be ready for them" (The Christian Express, 1876.12.1:1).

During the expedition Wauchope wrote two letters to Lovedale, one to a Mr Smith and the other to Mr Bennie. In both letters he makes a mature observation about the black people at the mouth of the Quillimane River. In the letter to Mr Smith he observes,

When we ask them to pronounce the words slowly, we are then enabled to see the connection between
their language and ours, but when they speak to each other, a whole sentence is, as it were, squeezed into one word. For example in the sentence - 'Ngwana, ropazi kafumri fora' pronounced 'Ngwanaropazikafumrifora' - thus making everything more difficult than it really is. They are very noisy when they speak, and one is apt to think that they are quarrelling. They are good oarsmen and acquainted with water. (The Christian Express 1877.1.1:5)

The above extract demonstrates Wauchope's keen interest in people as well as his linguistic insight.

Reporting on the progress of the Lovedale evangelists Stewart (The Christian Express, 1877.1.1:5) comments on Wauchope thus,

Isaac Williams who started very briskly has been 10 days off work with fever. He would strip off his clothes in the boats and go into the water to assist, against orders and warnings to the contrary – and as a consequence he had a very prolonged attack of fever.

The above account is definitive of Wauchope's will power to face challenges, a talent which he showed until death on the Mendi. He returned home in 1877, due to ill-health. It is not clear whether he had completed his teacher's certificate in Lovedale. Mqhayi (The Bantu World, 1935.1.5:6) mentions the year 1879 to 1882 as the years of Wauchope's teaching in Uitenhage. He goes
further to mention the name of Charlotte Maxeke (nee Manyhi), Wauchope's former pupil who later gained fame by going to America. Long after returning from Malawi he wrote about his experience. It is evident that the experience of mission work was indelible in his mind. In one of his articles he recalls one listener asking them after one of their sermons in "Nyasaland": "Lo Yesu nithetha ngaye uyzalana na noVitoliya lowa siva kuthiwa woyisa izizwe ezininzi?" (Is the Jesus you talk of perhaps a relative of the Queen Victoria who we hear has congered many nations?) (Imvo, 1889.2.14).

At the school at Xaba, which operated as a private school, Wauchope taught for at least four years before he took up a new job as a clerk and court interpreter for the Magistrate in Port Elizabeth.

**Family, work and nationhood**

Wauchope married the daughter of Elder John Lukalo, a Mpondomise of the royal Majola clan in Tsolo. Naniwe Ntame Lukalo had the distinction of being one of the first female pupils in Lovedale to be trained by Miss Waterston in 1868. She had later become a member of the staff in Lovedale, an assistant in the Boy's Boarding
Department (1874-1879). Naniwe later distinguished herself as Church leader and organiser, and for “touring] the Cape Colony on behalf of the South African Native College scheme” (Shepherd, 1940:489 & 521). Wauchope’s marriage to Naniwe was clearly a happy one. In some of his letters to Imvo around 1912, Wauchope poignantly uses as his address Lukalo Lodge, named after Naniwe’s people. By this time Naniwe had already died. She died in 1911, a lonely death, her husband being in jail. We learn from his letters that he had not been able to go and bury her because of prison restrictions. Evidently Naniwe had a strong personality, but following the social stipulations of her time, she had abandoned her work after marriage and had become a housewife. Her husband was therefore the sole bread winner and single manager and mouthpiece of his family. Despite her role as housewife articles to her credit appeared in Imvo once or twice.

As a magistrate’s clerk Wauchope was active in the community of Port Elizabeth. It was at this time that his active involvement in the affairs of his people became evident in letters, articles and reports by and about him in the newspapers. He was one of the chief organisers of a pro-development organisation called the South African Aborigines Association, or popularly known as Imbumba YabaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika (Imbumba). The leading
objective of this association was to unite the black people of South Africa around sound and genuine education for themselves and their children. Secondly, the intention was to forge a common political forum to fight for the rights of the South African aborigines. Wauchope became the interim secretary\(^5\) (and first chairperson) of the National Committee in 1882 (Odendaal, 1984:7). As discussion in Chapter 3 (pp 103-9) has illustrated, he was highly active and disturbingly (at least to the nervous white authorities) purposeful in guiding this organisation in its deliberations.

It appears from Wauchope’s correspondence with Imvo that the year of his return to Lovedale was 1888. Mrs Solomons, widow of the Rev. Edward Solomons, and her sons had used part of her husband’s legacy to award Wauchope a bursary to train for the ministry. Further correspondence with Imvo in 1889 suggests his continued progress in Lovedale in that year (Imvo, 1889.2.28:3). We learn from a report he publishes in Imvo (1889.9.12) that he is at the centre of the intellectual life of Lovedale during this time. He was Chairperson of the Literary Society, and as such, he had led a tour of Cape Town with members

\(^5\) He acted as interim secretary at Imbumba’s first national meeting where he was then elected chairperson (vide pp 105-6).
of the Society. He had also given a talk to the Literary Society.

Somewhere between 1890 and 1891 Wauchope qualifies as an ordained minister of the free Church of Scotland. In March, 1892 (Imvo, 1892.3.3:3) Imvo congratulates him and gives a brief synopsis of his background. By this time, Wauchope had established himself as a person of great influence through his prolific writing for Imvo and by his consistent endeavour to generate public debate and to give direction and example. In his message of congratulations the editor aptly conveys the sentiments often expressed by Imvo readers concerning Wauchope when he says,

A diligent and devoted champion of the rights of his people, and from his position of vantage in the Ministry much is hoped from his labours in their cause by his countrymen who wish him well. (Imvo, 1892.3.3:3)

As a minister, Wauchope was called to Fort Beaufort, a district that was identified with his ministry until his death. Imvo of 26 May 1892 bears an article about Wauchope's reception in Fort Beaufort on 15 April 1892. Perhaps because of his knowledge of Dutch, Blinkwater, an area that had been historically associated with
Hermanus's Khoi people, also fell under his ministry. This stage marks a more mature phase of Wauchope's life, at forty years of age, and it is also a period in which his writing career flourishes.

In *Imvo* of 2 April 1895, Rev. J Lennox announced the winners of a poetry prize for the best two poems, one bearing a religious theme, the other a historical one. It can be said that this prize, of one pound, was one of the first publicised Xhosa prizes for an item of Xhosa literature, and the winners were Jonas Ntsiko in the first category, and I.W. Wauchope in the second category. The titles of their poems were "Ungasekunene Kum" and "Imfazwe YamaLinde Phakathi KwamaNdlambe NamaNgqika, April 1818" respectively. This was not the first poem for Wauchope who had already published many poems in *Isigidimi* and *Imvo*.

As a minister, Wauchope's circle of involvement in society widened and he started to tackle more national issues. It was at this stage that his association, Imbumba, faded from the scene, and he made no attempt to revive it. Odendaal (1984:8) maintains that it had been formed "largely in response to the growth of the Afrikaner Bond which many Africans perceived to be a threat to their interests." However, no reasons are given
for its ultimate demise. In later life Wauchope reflects on how Imbumba was killed by the fact of its having originated from an urban environment, while it purported to address first and foremost the problems of the Xhosa people mainly in the rural areas. As a minister, Wauchope focused his energy on the Temperance movement, and, as its chief leader and president, undertook missions, sometimes taking months, with his family across the western and eastern Cape. One of these mission tours is recorded in a report in *Imvo* (1897.5.27), where he details the events of his tour of Thembuland and Emboland during the rinderpest epidemic.

The Wauchope family had four children, namely, Grisell, Jubilee, Jessie and Isaac (Bassie). What happened to Wauchope's children's later lives is still a matter for investigation. A newspaper report, however, informs us of Jessie Wauchope's death in 1903 at the age of fourteen, due to severe chest problems. In the last days of her life she is brought home from Lovedale where she attends school, and is taken to see a doctor. Jessie was named after Mrs Solomon, wife of Rev. Edward Solomon (*Imvo*, 1903.8.4). Their brother Bassie, Wauchope's only son, planned to work in the mines after his father's death in 1917, but there were reports that he still had his home in Fort Beaufort by 1926 (*Imvo*, 1926.5.25).
Exciting challenges and the difficult years

In 1908, Wauchope's only book, The Native and Their Missionaries, was published by the Lovedale Press. He seems to have written this work earlier than the date of its publication, because in it is stated that it has been reprinted from The Christian Express. The year 1908 must have been the worst year in Wauchope's life, due to a lengthy and highly publicised court trial in which he was accused of falsifying a Mrs Elizabeth Tshona's will. This case drew much public and press interest. His lawyer's defence was that Wauchope had had nothing to gain by falsifying the will. It is debatable whether this case was not just a way to silence one of the most outspoken voices and a defender of human rights. One cannot imagine an ordinary black family of the time drawing up wills and fighting for their nullification in law courts. It could easily have been a sophisticated trap laid for Wauchope. More discussion of the merits of this case appears in Chapter 7. Eventually, Wauchope lost the case, and was jailed from 1 February 1910 to 10 January 1912. This is the saddest time for Wauchope and his family. His wife could not survive the trauma of it all, and died in 1911. Wauchope lost everything, but more than that, he had to
cower under the ignominious shame of a "masquerading minister" as the papers called him (Imvo, 1908.9.8), who had apparently attempted to steal a dead woman's possessions and to rob her children of the same by inventing a false will. This was a stigma that, sealed as it was by a four-year jail sentence (of which he spent less than half the time in jail), would never leave him. So he served the compulsory part of his term in Tokai Prison, Cape Town.

During the trial, in which he was represented by Mr James Rose-Innes, a politician and a friend, and subsequent incarceration, Wauchope received much support from his family, relatives, friends, the Church and readers of the newspapers, most of whom had never set eyes on him (Imvo, 1911.7.11). Most of all he received much support from John Tengo Jabavu who even advertised in his paper for contributions to help Wauchope and his family. Mr Rose-Innes, Wauchope's lawyer, was first and foremost a family friend of the Jabavus. It was partly through this support, as well as his strong will power, that Wauchope (58) managed to survive prison. On his return in 1912, welcoming parties were organised and communities, individuals and Imvo readers gave donations of live stock and money to him. We learn of these in the reports in Imvo and the letters he writes thanking everyone,
including those who pleaded with the authorities to release him from jail.

On his return from prison Wauchope continues as minister of his church. His letters to Imvo bore the address Lukalo Lodge or P.O.Box 22, Fort Beaufort, an indication that he had continued to regard Fort Beaufort as his permanent home. He said in his letters that at this stage he was awaiting the decision of his church regarding his suitability to continue in its service.

Imvo of 28 January 1913 bore a report on Wauchope's second marriage, which, according to the report, took place on 21 January 1913 in Port Elizabeth, attended by Wauchope's long standing friend, Rev. J.K.Bokwe. At sixty-one years of age, he was still demonstrating an impressive resilience and strong will to survive and serve his people. Though it must be said that his effort to start a new family seemed futile, yet it is true that his will power drove him to create a semblance of order within his family which had clearly been thrown into disharmony by his incarceration and his wife's death. It appears, however, that he had continued to live in Fort Beaufort or its vicinity, as, in September of the year of his second marriage, he wrote to announce his change of address to c/o F.J.Schulst, Banzi, Knapp's Hope or
P.O.Box 23, Fort Beaufort. Knapp's Hope happens to be his mentor, Rev. Henry Kayser's former mission. Thus Wauchope's whole service as minister is delivered from Fort Beaufort, a term of 24 years from 1892 to 1917.

By 1916, the year in which Wauchope left home at 64 years of age to enlist as a clerk, interpreter and chaplain of the South African Native Labour Corps bound for France, Wauchope had contributed to establishing a writing tradition for the Xhosa papers. He, together with Ntsiko, Pelem, Mqhayi, Bokwe, Umhalla, Gqoba, Mtakati, Jabavu, Soga, Makiwane and many other notable names, all of them school people, had formed an informal elitist clique of writers; clubbing around *Isigidimi*, *Imvo* and *Izwi Labantu*. Within this clique were many sub-groupings, brotherhoods created by common interests, dispositions, politics and professions. Among Wauchope's inner circle of brothers through the calling were Bokwe, Makiwane and Rubusana.

**Wauchope: poet and man of the people**

Wauchope was himself a man of many values, all of them reflecting the range of his influence among the people. As already indicated, he grew up in a mixed community of
Khoi, Coloured, Xhosa, Dutch and English people in Uitenhage. He himself claims that he was born among the English, which seems to mean that he is familiar with the English mode of life (Imvo, 1900.2.12). One Imvo correspondent makes a significant observation regarding Wauchope’s manifold identity when he says:

**UNGingi Dyoba wodaka**


(Imvo, 1913.10.28:3)

(The readers here enjoyed the articles of 14 Oct. by this correspondent immensely. They observe that he uses the quality of Xhosa that was last experienced in the times of Tiyo Soga and William Gqoba. They also note that Ngingi is quite familiar with the discussions of the leading men of this land who probe deeply into the affairs affecting the people’s lives, and it is also evident that he possesses the talent of a praise poet. They then conclude by wondering what this Ngingi Dyoba-wodaka’s real name might be; they are not quite familiar with the one he now uses. We may never know, perhaps they could get yet another name from Ngingi, who is said to be rich in names. I just wonder now who told them all that.)
The pseudonyms Ngingi and Dyoba-wodaka belong to Wauchope and together with many other pseudonyms form up a catalogue of names used by this writer at one time or another. Wauchope’s pseudonyms are discussed elsewhere in this Chapter. It has already been stated in this Chapter that Wauchope’s father, Dyoba son of Citashe, was baptised by Rev. Paterson as William. It can be surmised that, in attempting to pronounce the Xhosa name Dyoba, the white man would have said something like “Uchopa”, which could then have been identified with the surname of the renowned Scotsman, Admiral Wauchope, with relative ease. As such evolution of the name would happen outside formal records, this observation will always remain a matter of conjecture and can never really be verified in the absence of oral evidence; and it will remain a mystery why Admiral Wauchope’s name had been chosen for Dyoba. So it was, therefore, that Dyoba’s names were William Wauchope of Doorn Hoek (Imvo, 1907.12.10:3).

Acquisition of the new Christian fellowship also required individuals to bear surnames, which for the first Xhosa converts meant a father’s or grandfather’s name instead of the commonly recognised clan name as adopted by the Zulu converts in Natal (Koopman, 1986:55-6). More than this, it seems that assuming names of European origin had also become fashionable among the Xhosa of Wauchope’s time and before that. It is mainly from that practice
that names like Balfour, Williams, Jordan, Malgas, and others, emerged. Describing this enthusiasm A.C. Jordan (1973:48-9) adds:

This became the practice for us who had chosen this new road. Nonetheless it was strange, because we had never seen anything wrong with our own names. But so eagerly was this new teaching accepted that many a man, even while still a pagan, kept in mind some new name that he fancied, so that, in the event of his becoming a Christian, he should be known by that name.

This explained such names as William and Balfour, which make such very strange reading in this context.

Barring the Christian influence, one expects Dyoba's surname to have been C'tashe, and his son, Isaac's to have either been C'tashe or Dyoba (Uchopa/Wauchope, later accorded the Scottish pronunciation, "Worop" by the press), or the name of some earlier ancestor.

Dyoba's family took "Williams" as its surname (Shepherd, 1971:40), but, apparently led by their eldest son, Isaac, they later generally adopted the surname, "Wauchope". We learn from Wauchope's account of his meeting with the former wife of Rev. Joseph Williams that the family was initially called "Williams" when he says:

... ndithi ndakuthi ndingu-Isaac Williams, ithi hayi, loo mntu ubizwa ngaye yayinguJoseph
Williams. Sendigonda ndakukhula ukuba lo Mrs Robson yayingumkaVeledyama wakwaSihota phambili. (Imvo, 1916.3.28:4)

(... on saying in reply that I was Isaac Williams, she would then say, the person from whom you got your name, actually, was Joseph Williams. As an adult, I began to realise that Mrs Robson was in fact the former wife of the Rev. Joseph Williams of Sihota.)

Wauchope shared his first name with his uncle, his father's elder brother, for we learn that Dyoba came to Uitenhage, "apho bekukho umkhuwuwa [wakhe] uYisake nonyana woyisekazi uQambela" (where there was his brother, Isaac, and his cousin, Qambela) (Imvo, 1907.12.10). Thus Wauchope had been named after his father's elder brother. In addition to these names, Wauchope uses his father's name of baptism, "William", as his own first name. In the Lovedale list of distinguished students of former time, Wauchope's name appears as Isaac Williams or Wauchope, which seems to imply that he had been registered as Williams (Shepherd, 1948:488), but the name Wauchope, which he adopted as his surname could not be ignored mainly because of the the strong personality of the person that used it. However, we remain uninformed about how Wauchope received any of his pseudonyms and the sentiments expressed by these whenever he uses them.
The mystic and phenomenal nature of Wauchope’s names, however, lends him his depth as a poet and great thinker. It is common tradition among the Xhosa that a person of action, a hero, a leader, a royal figure or a popular person, bears many names and poetic lines, all of them illustrating his or her multi-faceted personality and captivating talents. In like manner, Wauchope is endowed with more than ten different names, and at least fifteen printed variations, all of them, the Xhosa names as well as those of European origin, featuring more as poetic lines lending poetic attributes to the great figure of the man of courage and action that he was. The names he himself uses as well as those used by other people could be fittingly represented thus:

Isaac
[Yisakej] (as he calls his uncle)
William
Isaac Williams (registered name in Lovedale)
Isaac Williams Wauchope
Isaac Wauchope
I W
I W W
I W W Citashe
Isaac Wauchope Dyobha (by Jacob Bam)
Wauchope
I Wauchope
Umfo kaDyoba (the Xhosa people generally)
Dyoba wcdaka
Dyobha (later writers)
Nginginya
Ngingi
Ngingi Dyobudaka
Ngingi Dyoba
Silwangangubo
Silwangangubo-nye
Mngcangatelo.

All these names and titles embrace specific sentiments, historical anecdotes, relationship, well-being, majestic superiority, memorable events, personality traits and many other and lofty attributes, all of them adding lustre to the one figure of Wauchope, very much like the medals of honour would do to a distinguished member of the uniformed forces in the western military style with embellishments of merit. For example, while it can be agreed that "Isaac" is always used as Wauchope's first name, its poetic packaging can be unpacked to reveal the intensity of his father's sentiments regarding his brother, Yisake, perhaps the significance of the strong bond between these Citashe brothers, that had caused Dyoba to seek out his brother in Uitenhage; and finally, the untold story of how and why they both left home and crossed over into what to them must have been a treacherous and unpredictable domain controlled by the enemy of their people, the white man. We are also compelled to seek meaning in Dyoba's act of transferring his brother's name to his son, an act that clearly marks the intention on his part to transfer certain recognisable and honoured virtues from his generation to the new generation represented by his first child, Isaac.
In Xhosa a "y" is always added before an "i" as in the case with the Xhosa-ised name, Isaac (Yisake). There is also the Biblical reference to Isaac, the son of Abraham, whose father, Abraham was led by God to a land that was to be the heritage of his progeny. Thus, though it is no longer possible to probe into the deeper poetic and cultural significance of this name, we can be satisfied with the knowledge that the name has, by virtue of its transferring function, become a vehicle of cherished values as they move from the old generation to the new. From this cursory observation, it thus becomes clear that the names alone suggest a phenomenal personality. The observation is also made with the understanding that in other cultures as well names possess a significance, the difference often lying in the weight accorded that significance by the users of the names. Referring to izithakazelo (clan praises) as commonly used names in Zulu, Koopman (1976:59-60) adds,

They are perhaps as common a form of address among adult men as the "isibongo" [clan name], and by wives of husbands I found in my research exactly the same percentage (8.5%) usage as clan-names. They have a greater connotation of praise or flattery than isibongo (hence the term 'honorifics'), and this is particularly the case if they are used in combination.
Koopman (1976:61) further suggests that izibongo (praise names) may appear in "groups like izibongo zokulwa [praises for fighting], izibongo zokushela [praises for courting] and izibongo zokugiya [praises for dancing]." He stresses that these groups of praises do not imply "that such praises are used during such activities, but rather these subdivisions indicate the activities referred to in the praise" (1976:61). Similarly, Wauchope's praise names, especially "Silwangangubgo", are used to reflect situations of combat by ink and pen. "Silwangangubgo" is often used in relation to Imbumba and its political activities.

There are names among the above, that have been chosen and used specifically to emphasize certain poetic values. The most obvious one is "Silwangangubgo", mainly because this name is drawn from clan praises of Wauchope's people, the Chizama clan, as already indicated. Wauchope often used this name, or even "Silwangangubonye" while writing for Isigidimi in the 1870s and 1880s, and the editor and many readers used this name while referring to him (Isigidimi, 1883.10.15). An example of the usage of this clan name to praise Wauchope can be observed when he gives an account of what took place at a meeting of Imbumba in Port Elizabeth where,

Ntondini yakwaSilwangangubo
YakwaMgwiyaakazi
YakwaNgcuko
YakwaSiphunzi ndakoyika
Mavumb’engcuka.
Ungadinwa kwedini ukulwela uhlanga.

Phambili mabandla aseColesberg. Ndiyavuya ukuva ukuba amabunzi akhe angqubana noSikanelenu. - He! YIMbumba ke loo nto, ngomso soyikhupha indodana iye kanye phakathi ePalamente. - He yophuma kuyo le Mbumba! (Hear hear.)

(Isigidi, 1883.7.10:5)

(The Chaplain Rev. Mzamo was welcomed by the clapping of hands - and he said; - Excellent! There it is my brothers. What we have been waiting for is here. We have long been lamenting in caves like Elijah. Crying because we are left alone. Alas! Not known to us it turned out there are some remnants of the sons of the exodus. If I break into a praise poem you will demand to know what the minister is up to now. But let me say a few lines in praise of Wauchope, son of Citashe.

Phenomenon of the Silwangangubo clan
Of Mgwiyaakazi
Of Ngcuko
Of Siphunzi, one that inspires with awe
Odours of a hyena.
Never tire of fighting for your nation son.

I encourage you, group from Colesberg. I am glad to hear that you lobbied with [Skanellen]. Excellent! What you see is the power of Imbumba. Tomorrow we are sending a young man right into Parliament. Excellent. He will come from this very Imbumba! (Hear hear.))
The speaker in the above extract is full of praise. In order to elevate Wauchope, who is evidently a young man, to great heights for the work he has done for Imbumba he attributes the good names of his ancestors (found in his clan names) to him. He begins by associating him with his recent ancestor, his grandfather Citashe. The following speaker uses both "Silwangangubo" and "Silwangangubo-nye" to show respect and admiration for the person who has done a good deed for the black man and is most likely Wauchope:


(Isigidi, 1883.10.15:2)

(Silwangangubo deserves praise by those who would like to see the black man treated according to his rights. We will inform those who would like to honour him because we know him well. This gentleman wrote a fitting letter to The Telegraph, a newspaper from Port Elizabeth, complaining about the actions of a white constable in Court who manhandled two black gentlemen when he sent them out of the office together with other negroes. Silwangangubo-nye's point is that a distinction should be made. There are common people who can be shoved around; there are also gentlemen who must be treated as gentlemen.)
This speaker uses the clan names as direct names of his subject of praise. Just as Wauchope himself does in many of his articles for Isigidimi, the writer here uses a clan name as Wauchope's personal name. The metaphor, "Silwangangubo", of the praise poetry of Wauchope's people well-befits his direct, often confrontational approach where social values are at stake. He demonstrates this when defying the cessationists in the late 1890s. Isilwangangubo is the term of admiration normally used to describe the vulture, which defends itself by blocking the blows of its attacker with its wings. This is also a well-known skill of defence among the communities where stick fighting is a traditional practice. There, since the elderly men do not carry two sticks any more, they use their blankets to block their opponents' blows, while applying their walking sticks for attacking. It is possible, therefore, that this traditional praise line sees the veteran fighter as being even more skillful than the vulture, which has two wings to help it block out blows from all directions with remarkable success, hence the term, "ngubo nye" (one blanket) which means the effect of his defence is still more advanced even while defending with one blanket.
Besides the positive image of a skilled fighter, cast by the above metaphor, the very idea of using dress, for defence is both mystifying and noble if we consider the normal usage of the blanket among the Xhosa people.

Praising Wauchope for a successful campaign to get a certain Mr Mdyogolo of Gqugesi to close down his shebeen D.K. Vandala uses, among others, the following lines:

Nqorhololwana kaDyoba
... Ufuna uDyoba oya kumfuna phi?
... Vala inkanti Mdyogolo wafa nguDyoba;
... Mhla babenoDyob'iKhiwane
LaseKrwakrwa ...
... NoDyojwa ngenkwitshi ngumkaDyoba.

(Son of Dyoba despicable in people’s eyes
... You are looking for Dyoba but where will you find him?
... Shut down the shebeen Mdyogolo Dyoba will kill you;
... The day he was with Dyoba the Fig
From Krwakrwa ...
... You will be splashed with liquor by Dyoba’s wife.)

These lines represent a few examples in which this single name, "Dyoba", is used to effect a diversity of meanings
and an impact of varying intensity (Imvo, 1895.4.2). The
line “Nqorhololwana kaDyoba” means offspring of Dyoba. In
this case “Dyoba” features as an ancestral figure
watching over his son. The line “Ufuna uDyoba oya kufuna
phi?” suggests that it is not easy to nail down Wauchope
because he is wise. The poet uses the metaphor of a bird
that makes its nest on the cliffs. Here “Dyoba” refers to
Wauchope himself. The line “Vala inkanti Mdyoqolo wafa
nguDyoba” suggests “Dyoba” the predator. The lines “Mhla
babenoDyob’iKhiwane. LaseKrwakrwa” present Wauchope as a
desirable fruit. The line “NoDyojwa ngenkwitsi
ngumkaDyoba” suggests “-dyobha” to splash as action
instead of the name of a person. The act of splashing is
performed by Wauchope’s wife, which means that Dyoba is
seen here as a skill and energy.

At a meeting to discuss a fund for the Native College
held at Idutywa in 1906, a Mr R.Poswa rises to encourage
Wauchope in this campaign by saying: “Siyakwazi
sikuthemba mfo kaDyoba (We know and trust you son of
Dyoba) (Imvo,1906.5.8). The name “Dyoba” is used by the
speaker to lend emphasis to his language as well as to
convey the intensity of his admiration. A similar effect
finds relevance in Mr Ngesi’s reference to Wauchope
admiringly as “umfo kaDyoba” (Imvo, 1909.4.27). Wauchope
himself sometimes writes of himself as “umfo kaDyoba”, an
example of that being his article on the Ntsikana Commemoration in 1914 (Imvo, 1914.7.21:2). Use of an ancestral name is, on many occasions, intended to portray the subject being addressed as noble in deed and appearance. For Wauchope this becomes a standard expression of admiration and praise, used both by the editor and the correspondents, and, as demonstrated, sometimes by Wauchope himself. In one of his travelogues, Jabavu narrates, "sifike ngoratya eBhofolo seyilapho into kaDyobha (Rev. I.Wauchope)" (Imvo, 1916.9.26). Jabavu's use in brackets of Wauchope's conventional name, "I.Wauchope", emphasizes the former's deliberate intention to refer to the latter through the use of a poetic line to express admiration, a common practice in Xhosa praise poetry.

It can be noted that Wauchope's names assume the significance of titles, where some are more suitable for certain occasions than others. Often, when he uses a language of confrontation and conflict, he applies the title "Silwangangubo". This title is suitable for conflict situations because of its highly visual connotations, suggesting, among other things, the act of blocking a blow. He was, indeed, characterised by aggressive and condemning criticism of whoever appeared in his view to commit a wrongful act. Other people like
J.T. Jabavu and some correspondents use the name Dyoba wodaka to demonstrate that Wauchope is often involved in highly dramatic situations of written combat. One Imvo reporter who calls himself "Ithole Le'Mvo'" sums up the spirit behind the approach characterised by "Dyoba wodaka" when he says

UMFUNDISI UDYOBA. - Hayi sihleli phantsi kwendyebo enkulu yeLizwi. Ulapha uRev. I.Wauchope. Sikhohlwe zizibongo zalo mfundisi, kuba kaloku abafundisi anivumi ukuba sibabonge:

Ligwangq’ elimostashe, elithimla lixele
   Inkabi yeahashe,
Igwangq’ elisonga amadoda liwabethe abe
   Yimbumba;
Zitho zigos o zakowethu emaCetheni
   Untloko izele luhlanga lwabakowethu,
Ndathetha namhlane, kanti nangomso
   Ndithetha kwaloo nto.
Ndiyekeni ndikwel’ epulpitini kanti
   Ziya kuthululw’ iintliziyo zabantu
   Baphume bethe ng’a yinyaniso.

(Imvo, 1897.8.12:3)

(REVEREND DYOB. - The Word is keeping us happy here. The Rev. I.Wauchope is here with us. We are at a loss whether to say the praises of this minister or not, because you deny us the right to do praises for ministers:

Light-skinned, he also sports a mustache,
   And habitually sneezes like a stallion,
This light skinned one wraps up the men
   And beats them into a ball.
His bent legs are the feature of our people,
   the Cetha.
His mind is always thinking about our race.
If I declare a conviction today
   Tomorrow will find me still saying the same.
Allow me to stand behind the pulpit
   And I’ll stir the feelings in people’s hearts,
Leaving them to go home humbled by the truth.)

Here the writer makes a distinction between Wauchope’s more traditional identity as “Umfundisi uDyoba” and this title’s westernised equivalent, “Rev. I. Wauchope”. the pulpit, which is the central image of the poem, stands for Wauchope’s power of words, with the truth itself standing as the source and anchor of that power. Indeed, Wauchope’s dogmatic defence of the truth as he saw it, as well as his vicious and indiscriminate attack on all those who threatened it were his guiding principles in life. Explaining his uncompromising criticisms and frank approach he says:

Isilumko ngumfo ogandula iliwa, ide ivele indlela. Ukuba imfundo ayimiki mandla umntu ukuba ajongane nezimo ezimchashileyo azilwele phakathi kwamawabo ngomlomo wakhe, ehleli, kude kuthethwe kushindaphindwe ehlili, kude kuvela izwi – ndithi asiyiyo mfundo loo nto ... ... Musa ukukhe inkathazo yakho uyinike umhlanu. THETHA!
Ndithi ke masithethe sihleli sithethe ade alunge amaqhina.

(Imvo, 1898.5.25)

(A wise person is one who hammers a rock, and finally carves a way. If education fails to give an individual enough support to face the forces of opposition confronting him and to defend himself with his own tongue where he stands among his people, not just sit back, until a final word is said, I wouldn’t call that education ...
... never turn your back on your problem. SPEAK UP! I, therefore, suggest we debate together, and debate until all the knots are unravelled.)

As already observed in the discussion of the names, "Isaac" and "Silwangangubu", attempting to interpret the poetic title, "Dyoba wodaka" may result in the release of multi-faceted modes of meaning, very much in the manner and treatment of a line of traditional praise poetry. The line, therefore, becomes a thick package of densely packed meaning. Intellectual enjoyment on its part lies not only in the experience that comes with the utterance of the lines, but also in thawing down the manifold layers of meaning.

There is sufficient evidence in the pages of *Imvo* to suggest that every time the title, "Dyoba wodaka" is used, it refers only to one person, namely, Wauchope. The following poetic lines: "... uRev. I.Wauchope, umangqasholo, uDyoba-wodaka, umangxatha athi akuhamba axel' umlungu" (*Imvo*, 1908.1.14:3), pinpoints the unequivocal identity of Wauchope as the Dyoba-wodaka. Whenever this title is used, even without another form of identity (for example, *Imvo*, 1908.5.26:2), one can still identify the style of writing as that of Wauchope, and
further note that the article comes from and is about Wauchope's immediate environment of Fort Beaufort.

In a poem he writes for Songo Kama (Imvo, 1913.8.19:5) Wauchope calls himself "Ngingi Dyobudaka". As the name "Dyoba wodaka" is now familiar, "Dyobudaka" can easily be identified as its variation. Similarly, "Nginginya" can be recognised as his title, sometimes written simply as Ngingi. "Nginginya", meaning "a crowd" and "Ngingi", a short form of Nginginya, whose further meaning is "aristocrat", possess certain poetic qualities. Though how this name got attached to Wauchope is never explained to us, one expects the story behind it to be interesting and highly dramatic. We can, however, be satisfied by the mere knowledge that Wauchope was a popular figure whose endeavour at all times would be to serve the multitudes (iinginginya). If we were to determine Wauchope's understanding of his responsibilities, we would then use the letter he wrote for Imvo from prison (1911.7.11:9) as a suitable form of measurement, where he asks his friends to pray for him and to plead on his behalf with the authorities to release him so he can "ndiye elusatsheni lwam oluninzi kunene" (go back to my very large family). By "large family" (also referred to in the beginning of this Chapter) here he means all the congregations that fall under his pastoral care. In this statement he adds
“nabendlu” (and also those of my house), so that his readers do not misunderstand him to mean just his core family here. A later report, written by Wauchope himself, covering the welcoming parties organised for his return from prison mentions “uhadi lwekwayile yaseBhofolo yosapho lukaNginginya” (melody of the Fort Beaufort choir from Nginginya’s family) (Imvo, 1911.7.11:9). The meaning this title conveys to us is that of multitudes thronging around a man of the people. Though he never openly says so, Wauchope leaves us in no doubt that he refers to himself as “Nginginya”, since he is the only well-known minister in Fort Beaufort. In Imvo of 3 December 1891, Wauchope gives us a translation of Dr Talmage’s article for the Christian Leader, written on the joys of a song. This translation is immediately followed by a poem titled “Umgidi” by Ngingi, where he criticises the taking of liquor. Both the translation of Dr Talmage’s article and Ngingi’s poem appear under one embracing title “Ibali elifundisayo”. This binding title appears to be quite a deliberately created structural feature, and the only implication can be that the two items under it belong to one author namely, Isaac Wauchope also called Ngingi or Nginginya. Of course the editor knew the name game with his readers well and would always intrigue them.
Finally, Wauchope was highly inspired by Rev. Joseph Williams's story, how he started the first mission station on Ngqika's land. That he was also the first minister to die and be buried in the land of King Ngqika clearly had a direct appeal to Wauchope. He mentions in quite a number of articles that he occasionally paid a visit to Williams' grave. Evidently, he valued the name "Williams", which had become his own family name. In his book (1908:25) he states that "the Natives [called Williams] Veledyama, or Dyob'igazi." Again we notice the link between Williams's praise-name, "Dyob'igazi" and Wauchope's title of praise, "Dyoba wodaka" or "Dyob'udaka".

The rich repertoire of names contributes the sublime values of magnanimity to the person of Wauchope which is echoed by the praises he receives as the hero who led his men into song and dance as their troop ship, the Mendi sank with them on board, to their death at the bottom of the English Channel in 1917. Wauchope continued his ministry in Fort Beaufort, and he also kept up his writing mainly for Imvo. He also continued promoting and spreading the rather austere principles of the I.O.T.T., an undertaking that marked him off as a man of Hopkinsian discipline.
Last years

Although Wauchope made a brave return, after his imprisonment in 1910, he was, however, much dispirited by the death of his wife. One of his major achievements after the prison term was seeing the Native College he had been campaigning for finally being opened. This dream was realised when the College was opened by Louis Botha in 1916. Wauchope was among the members of the first Council of this College. When he returned from the opening ceremony he wrote to Imvo with great satisfaction and said:

Phakathi kwentetho ebanzi yeli tshawe [uLouis Botha] ekuvuleni kwalo iKholeji yaBantu kukho ilizwi endithe mna liyintloko kuyo yonke loo ntetho. Ndinga umzi ungalingcina eio zwi, nali: "Mna andillilo chule emfundweni ... kodwa ukuze kubekho imvisiswa phakathi kwethu bامhlophe nesiizwe esimnyama kweli, kuyafuneka ukuba umntu omnyama afundiswe."

Le nto ndithi libalulekile eli lizwi, nditsho ngezi zizathu: "... amaBhulu onke ngabachasi bemfundo kumntu omnyama, ofuneka ngelabo, engumalusi wegusha nomkwilishi weembiza kuphela. Eli lizwi ngoko libaluleke ngokuphumla ecaleni kweenjongo nemizamo yesiBhulu siphela.

(Imvo, 1916.2.29:2)

(Concerning the long speech of this hero to open the Bantu College there is a comment that I personally felt was central to all his speech. I hope my people will take note of it, here it is: "I am no expert in educational matters ... but in order to maintain a situation of peace between us
whites and the black races, the black people must be educated."
I say it is important for the following reasons: the Boers are well-known opponents of black education, expecting blacks to continue being shepherds and cleaners of their pots. This comment is, therefore, important because of its deviation from the known objectives and efforts of the Boers as a whole.

Wauchope's observation suggests that he was rarely deceived by the common stereotype in judging other people. Here he sees something noble in the speech of an Afrikaner at a time when many Xhosa people saw the Boers as a demonic race. The value of reconciliation seems to have been important to Wauchope.

When the call came for black men to offer labour support in France during the First World War, Wauchope, at 64 years of age, enlisted as an interpreter aboard the ill-fated ship the Mendi. It could be that he decided to enlist in an effort to redeem himself from the misfortunes that had befallen him and his family, including imprisonment. On 21 February 1917, Mendi collided with the Darro and the former sank almost immediately. Wauchope and the men whose courage he had invoked in the face of death went down with the sinking ship. Altogether 617 black men died on that day, when Mendi sank to the bottom of the English Channel, near the
Isle of Wight. Commemorations have been organised on the date of this disaster and poems have been written about it, among them the famous poem by the Xhosa bard, S.E.K.Mghayi, titled "Ukutshona KukaMendi" (The Sinking of the Mendi). This sad event was well represented in newspapers and journals, and in Cape Town Parliament observed a moment of silence. The Mendi Memorial Scholarship Fund was also started.

In an article in which Jacob Bam pays tribute to the men who died in the Mendi, this writer contributes the following about Wauchope:

Reverend Isaac Wauchope Dyobha should form the subject of a separate article. Born near Uitenhage in 1852 he had been on the Livingstonia mission in present-day Malawi in 1876 and had served his people in South Africa faithfully as a missionary, teacher and minister for forty years after that. He was a man of great bearing, and piety; he was also chiefly in bearing, and indeed by birth. The many accounts of his words to the men vary slightly, and I have never found the original source of them. With all their possible mistakes they ring as nobly and prophetically today as they did when he cried out to the trapped men facing death in the sea:

"Be quiet and calm my countrymen, for what is taking place now is exactly what you came to do. You are going to die, but that is what you came to do. Brothers we are drilling the drill of death. I, a Xhosa, say you are all my brothers. Zulus, Swazis, Ponds, Basutos, we die like brothers. We are the sons of Africa. Raise your cries, brothers, for though they made us leave our weapons at our homes, our voices are left with our bodies."

Clothier (1987:96-8) argues that the likelihood that Wauchope indeed said these words even though no survivors could confirm having heard them is strong, and he adds, "For what it is worth, the writer is on the side of tradition in believing that there may be a solid core of truth in the story" (1987:98). It can also be said that these words were quite characteristic of Wauchope.

A letter Wauchope wrote in July 1874 (Isigidimi, 1874.9.1:4) is probably the first item by him to be published in a newspaper. In the letter he gives a report about the enthusiasm among the members of the I.O.T.T. in Port Elizabeth, and their determination to stamp out the drinking of liquor. At this stage he was a young man of 22 and a first year student in Lovedale. After this letter his reports about Imbumba appear in 1879, and from that time on his contribution to the newspapers increases. Wauchope could be said to be the first Xhosa writer to publish prison poetry. His prison poems, all of them titled "Iingcamango Ebunzimeni" (Deep thoughts under hardship) appear in Imvo in 1912, with the indication that they have been written in Tokai Prison. This writer enjoyed a highly dramatic life. The social pressures
demanded much from him, but he was brave enough to face the challenges. He wrote extensive articles on controversial subjects like the Dwane and Mzimba cessations, and he was actively involved in the political life of the country.
CHAPTER 5

THE NATIVES AND THEIR MISSIONARIES: A BOOK

Has Christianity ever spoiled anybody or any nation? Was England spoiled or bettered by the introduction of Christianity? What was she before Christianity appeared? What was the position of her Kings and Queens? What was her position in the world? What did she do for the world before Christianity opened her eyes and strengthened her hands? Look at her Hospitals and Homes, and Alms-Houses and Benevolent Societies today. Had she all these before she learnt how Christ suffered shame, and poverty and death for others? Go to the ruins of Babylon and see if you will find traces of Hospitals and Homes there. Go to Rome and Athens and all the ancient cities.

(Wauchope, The Christian Express, 1885.5.1:68)

Introduction

The above extract provides the key arguments regarding the success or failure of the missionaries in their endeavour to spread the gospel in the world and in Africa. It represents one of the current hot debates of the people of Wauchope’s time. The title for his book, The Natives and their Missionaries illustrates that he views the missionaries as acceptable to the black people. This was a hot debate involving the colonial government as well. Many of the colonists believed that the missionaries caused the blacks to be arrogant and churlish by educating them. On the other hand the
missionaries felt that education helped to improve the Christian life of their converts. Meanwhile the colonial government was scheming to use the presence of the missionaries among the blacks as a lever to attain control of the latter. The black people were on their part divided into two main groups, namely, those who resisted the influence of the white people whether it came in the form of colonists or missionaries, fighting to retain their values as they were; and the converts and school people who settled themselves around the mission stations and assisted their own transformation into a westernised black community.

An article titled "Missionaries and Colonists" written for The Kaffir Express (1870.12.1:1) illustrates its central debate thus:

Few men venture to oppose abstractly and in principle, the preaching of the gospel and the giving of education even to savages. This abstract form of the objection to mission work is dangerous to the intellectual and moral character of the man who makes it. Hence the concrete form is preferred. It is this "that the worst natives are Christian natives, - those who come from mission stations:" And by several gaps in the reasoning, this supposed fact is connected in some occult and inexplicable way with the missionary and his teaching. ... If a man thinks thus, he will certainly conclude that the most natural result of all this wrong education is to make the missionary or Christian native, to say nothing of his being the subject of a multitude of worse vices.
This debate around the so-called "natives" and the missionaries created much controversy among the leading people in the country, and teachers like Dr James Stewart were caught up in the debate. As one of the leading figures among the black people Wauchope was fully involved in this debate. An article he wrote for *The Christian Express*, titled "The Christianization of the Natives" (an extract from which appears at the on top of this Chapter) provides another example of his involvement in the debate.

It is not clear how *The Natives* was rewritten as a book but the crux of the debate lies in the reference to the missionaries as belonging to the natives. Already the title presupposes a co-existence between the black people and their missionaries. The book opens with an account of black customs and how the blacks adhered to these in running their own lives. Wauchope then asks the question whether "in the customs, laws and ceremonies, and in the very rich native folklore, legends and traditions, there might not be traced a primeval revelation of a civilization" (p.13). The rest of the book rests on the role of the missionaries and the various wars fought between the Xhosa and the colonists. The writer concludes
with the observation that the missionaries were instrumental in the transformation of the black people from what the Dutch colonists saw merely as "schepselen" to human beings with dignity, commanding respect.

In the book Wauchope uses the suspicion with which the missionaries were held as his premise, and starts off by illustrating:

The country was in [a] disturbed state when the first missionaries appeared. This must be borne in mind as much of the antipathy to Missionary enterprise, and the disfavour still clinging to it in the present day, are due to the state of feeling which existed between the then Colonists and the Natives, and the fact that the Missionaries - without a mandate from any high authority except the one from the Saviour, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all men," - had intruded into the scene and, as they thought, posed as the friends - as distinct from the existing enemies - of the Natives. They were closely watched from the very first. They were suspected of preaching sedition; but the truth of the matter lay deeper.

(p.3)

Thus Wauchope points to the picture of conflict between the blacks and the colonists which creates "a disturbed state" in which the missionaries find themselves on arrival at the scene. They find themselves "closely watched" not only by the colonists who suspect them of corrupting the blacks, but also by the blacks who are
wary of the evil intentions of white people who threaten to take their land and their live stock. Wauchope further claims that "Various charges were made against the Missionaries," and states that "They were said to create a feeling among their converts that they were as good as their masters" (p.4). The prejudices and suspicions directed at the missionaries by the colonists become Wauchope’s point of departure, and in his argument he endeavours to prove that the blacks and their missionaries are on one side of the equation, the colonists and colonial government is on the other.

The "natives": their outlook on life

Wauchope poses a crucial question (quoted earlier in this chapter for a different reason) which he claims "the native students" of his day need to pay attention to:

This is, whether in the customs, laws and ceremonies and in the very rich native folklore, legends and traditions, there might not be traced a primeval revelation of a civilization which some ages back had existed and was afterwards lost.

(p.13)
By his observation Wauchope shows an awareness that a civilization must have existed before the western civilization came to Africa. This awareness stems from a recognition and an understanding of the value systems that have sustained the lives of the blacks. In his book he asks the question: "What was the state of Kafirland when the Missionaries came?" (p.6). This question he attempts to answer himself by a brief analysis of the value systems of the blacks when the missionaries found them. He uses the custom to illustrate the administrative and political life of the blacks. He maintains that,

The first requirement of society is peace, and certain regulations are made for the purpose of maintaining peace and order, which are afterwards raised to the dignity of law. Native laws are based upon long-standing precedents and national traditions. They are thus easily obeyed, first, because they are the embodiment of principles, the justice and equity of which finds support in every heart, secondly they become stereotyped into custom, and so regarded as the accumulated wisdom of past generations, and the feeling of veneration for the past and for the dead, which forms a bed-rock of higher sentiment in the Natives, makes obedience a sacred deity, and disobedience scandal.

(p.8)

Although Wauchope's statement regarding custom is too brief here, he has been able to pinpoint a fundamental issue in the organised existence of humans, namely, that of law and order as custodians of peace. He therefore
finds this legal framework as the basis for an organised life style.

Wauchope’s observation that law and order form the basic framework upon which all the salient values are designed can be used as an argument for a possible theory of African Literature. This observation is made relevant by the fact that custom, which forms the law in African culture, is the basic feature of the majority of works that form African Literature. Renowned works like Chinua Achebe’s Things Fall Apart, Camara Laye’s novels, Wole Soyinka’s plays and the various epics from different parts of Africa, all use the custom as a point of departure if not the crucial part of a piece of work. Furthermore, folktales and poetry are embedded in custom mainly expressed as ritual performances. Xhosa works are equally dominated by the dictates of custom. In A.C.Jordan’s Ingqumbo Yeminyanya the main character, Zwelinzima, is forced by his people to observe the custom and marry from a royal family and he must also marry in compliance with his father’s dying wish. In S.E.K. Mqhayi’s Ityala Lamawele the king observes that ukukhuza ritual has not been performed for the death of Vuyisile. The main complication in this story of the twins is caused by the performance of the custom upon an unborn child.
Wauchope regards isiko as slightly different from custom, a term that he claims means "that which is done every day" (p.8). He suggests that isiko "is derived from the verb Ukusika, to cut, and means 'that which has been cut out by long usage and most equitable and rational'" (p.8). As a term that suggests order and rationality the word isiko represents an organised life style and is used by writers to create the order versus chaos situation. Order versus chaos is a basic construct of the structure of oral and written works and can easily be seen as a principle that partly governs the creation of literature. Writers and oral artists use law and order or custom as a point of departure for their varied themes.

Because of the universal nature of customs it was possible for the black people to understand and accept the western way of life and religion. Shepherd (1948:44) states that,

Around the building of churches amongst the Bantu have gathered customs that bewilder and delight those of different race. For one thing, some of the men most active in furthering a project of the kind may be blanketed 'reds' who cling tenaciously to the ways of their forefathers and who would vehemently repudiate the suggestion that they are amaggobhoka (Christians). They will each part with some herd of stock - a tremendous sacrifice in Bantu eyes - that a place of worship and education may grace
their district, though they may seldom or never enter it when it is built.

According to the above extract even the conservatives support the building of a church. Custom is foregrounded in real life as much as it is evidenced in literature.

Wauchope's vision of the Xhosa society is that of civilized people with well-established institutions. He maintains that the missionaries discovered that,

... instead of a shifty, nomadic race the Natives had settled homes and settled institutions. There were the Chiefs and their Councillors, who represented Law and Order, and administered laws based upon equitable principles. They found existing in the heathen society a complete system of ethics ... . There was much that harmonised with Christian ethics; there were also many things which were repugnant to the Christian sense.

(p.7)

In a way Wauchope seems to answer his own question regarding the existence of a civilization among the blacks. As the above extract suggests he sees the black society sheltered by a well-organised social order and principles that govern a secondary, man-made environment. The primary environment consists of the land and the elements, hence Wauchope starts off his treatise with
references to land and stock. Cripps (1927:viii) sums up the question of land acquisition and government thus:

The universal simple life on the land, which attracts so many idealists, is only practical where there is more land than people to use it, and a paternal government to protect its inhabitants from invasion, economic as well as political, from without.

Thus Wauchope refers to the boer commandos which "spread terror among the Native tribes" (p.3) by raiding their land. In this way Wauchope portrays a situation of organised life that was disrupted by the invasions of a new comer race. He seems to see the land as a primary resource and the law as a secondary world created and managed by people.

Wauchope gives an example of "ukukhuza" custom which shows that like the Christians the Xhosa believed in life after death. Referring to the "ukukhuza" ceremony which is merely "an expression of condolence to the bereaved family," Wauchope adds,

This ceremony is most beautifully performed. All that makes for the peace and comfort of the family is enjoined. The good points of the family the services and the sacrifices their ancestors had performed are held up as examples to be followed.  

(p.11)
Evidence of belief in life after death can be found in abundance in folktales. There is the commonly told story among the Xhosa people of a girl who was cheated of her possessions and her clothes by a creature called imbulu. When this girl was on the point of desperation she struck the ground and there came out shadows of her dead parents and gave her food and clothes. This suggests that as spirits her parents had more control over possessions than they did when they were still in flesh and blood. Explaining the relationship between the mortals and God Bokwe maintains:

While in their heathen state, the [Nqgika people] believed that there was a God, but they had no way of describing Him. They had no idol worship. They believed in the survival of the spirits of their departed ancestors, who, they thought, had power to regulate their condition of life, could take care of them on their travels, and intercede for them with the Being whom they called Qamata, God or Nkulunkulu, the Greatest-great.

(1914:2)

Bokwe's idea that the ancestors intercede between God and the living constitutes a logical interpretation of the role of the ancestors in Xhosa life if not in black life
in general. Isaac Tshefu (Wallis, 1930:1) sets out to explain this view and says:

Thina asitsho ukuthi besingula iminyanya njengokuba besikholelwe kuvuko lwabafileyo. Kuba ekubeni oobawo besandulele ukuya enyangweni ebukumkanini bukaMenzi singene ngabo. Loo nkolo ke siyithathela ekubeni umntu ofikayo endaweni, ufike angene ngothile owaziwayo apha kobu bukhosi basemhlabeni, ukanti xa umntu ecela umthetheleli akatsho ukuthi loo mthetheleli, selenguyena mgwebi. Olu luphawu olukhulu lwembeko esibe sinayo ngakumdali kuthi uQamata lo, ubemkhulu kungangokuba singabi nabo ubunganga nobugagu bokuya ngokwethu ebusweni bakhe.

(We do not say because we believed in the rising of the dead we were worshipping the ancestors. For when our ancestors went to the kingdom of the maker before us, we used them to gain access there. That belief stems from the practice where a newcomer in a village joins that village through the intercession of someone who is well-known and accepted by the village in this earthly kingdom; whereas if a person employs the services of a mediator, it does not mean that mediator is now the prevailing factor. This is the visible sign of our respect for our Maker, Qamata, who is so righteous that we dare not turn to Him directly.)

Tshefu's point of view seems to be that the missionaries found the black people already believing in life after death, so that the story of Jesus Christ did not bring an entirely new concept. Instead it is a grand representation of what they believed happened to their ancestors.
The missionaries: their mission

Wauchope views the missionaries as the benefactors and sees their role among the blacks in the positive light. To him the missionaries stood for accepted human values. The fate of Xhosa culture depended on the missionary: "Could the whole structure be pulled down and a new one set up, or was there room for wise discrimination? That was the problem the Missionary had to solve" (p.7). In this way the missionary is made the decision maker in the whole issue. This is the view that Soga (1930:209) also demonstrates when he states that though the missionaries were given the task of preaching the Word of God they also realised that it would help open understanding if they also introduced education. Thus in Wauchope's representation of the missionaries we see mainly the positive side. It is indeed generally accepted that the missionaries involved themselves in the proclamation of the Gospel, in education, in medical mission work and in industrial training (Elmslie, 1970:9). However, Wauchope does suggest that the missionary erred by trying to abolish all black customs without making a distinction between the good and the bad customs. He maintains:
One by one the old institutions went over the fence dividing the Christian from the heathen community. With the fowler customs and practices went also those which guarded the political and social life of the people, and while the Missionaries were absorbed in founding such institutions as were calculated to form a new basis for the social and religious life of their converts, the Government was propounding schemes for the complete annihilation of the political existence of the Native ... .

(p.14)

It is only in the above statement that Wauchope seems to agree that the missionaries worked hand-in-hand with the colonial government to subdue the blacks. However he does not put much emphasis on this co-operation and merely dismisses it as a logical step in the events of the time.

What seems to hold Wauchope's faith in the missionaries is what he sees as the tremendous sacrifice they have made to improve the lives of the Africans. He claims that "in spite of the limitation of our race, despite the restricting and impeding circumstances, some men believe that there is a future for the native races of South Africa, and those men are the Missionaries and their friends" (p.17). Wauchope focuses his mind on the commitment the missionaries made to Christianise and educate the black people. He uses the adventures of the pioneers of missionary enterprise to demonstrate the sacrifices made by the missionaries. It appears that
Wauchope's view was also the view of other school people of his time. Bokwe (1914:4) also shows an appreciation of what the missionaries have done. He adds that the "spread of the Gospel in South Africa is due to faithful and earnest missionary enterprise, and to the printing of the Holy Scripture and other Christian literature in the vernacular". Soga sees them as "men who sacrificed the fortunes and pleasure of the world in order to devote their lives to the work of enlightening those who sat in gross darkness" (1930:206). These views were all in defence against the colonists' viewpoint that blacks were not suitable to be educated.

Wauchope gives examples of two pioneer missionaries, namely, J.T. van der Kemp and Joseph Williams. About Van der Kemp he says, "He was regarded as having secretly stolen away from his own people who were the enemies of Kafirs to bring to them the light from above (enyangweni). The fact also that he came unarmed convinced the chief that he was a man of peace" (p.19). Thus in Wauchope's eyes what makes the whole mission work such a noble undertaking is the fact that they made friends with the blacks against all odds. Soga makes a more direct observation when he says:
The work of the European missionaries whose desire is to raise and enlighten those who sit in gross 'darkness and the shadow of death' has not had the deep consideration it deserves from some of the Bantu people, nor yet has it been adequately appreciated for its importance. Instead, the missionaries are placed by the thoughtless on the same level with those inimical to the Natives, merely because they are of one colour with those in political authority, and the gulf that really separates them is undescerned. (1930:203-204)

From this one can deduce that it was not Wauchope's view alone that the first missionaries were devoted men and women bringing light to Africa, but that he shared this view with the majority of the school people. Erroneous as the view seems to be in our times, it is evident that it was not only upheld by the school people but that it was a popular view. It can be said however that this view was blind to the wrong-doings of the missionaries as we see them in review today. Wauchope, for example, seems to accept that Van der Kemp brought only light to the Xhosa people without going deep into his background. Majekè (1955:4) solemnly criticises the missionaries and maintains:

It is against this background of vast economic forces that the influx of missionaries to the colonies acquires meaning. The missionaries came from a capitalist christian civilization that unblushingly found religious sanctions for inequality, as it does to this day, and whose
ministers solemnly blessed its wars of aggression.

Although Majeke’s view represents another extreme, it helps to bring to attention the fact that the missionaries brought with them as much evil as they brought good. Majeke (1955:3) further states that Christianity teaches “the poor to be diligent, humble, patient and obedient, and to accept their lowly position in life.” Where Wauchope is reluctant to delve into the background of the missionaries, Majeke makes bold statements regarding the latter. What both approaches lack is a detailed and balanced analysis of the influence of the missionaries in South Africa. Wauchope is struck by the zeal of the missionaries but does not pause to define the spirit that upheld such zeal. About Van der Kemp he claims,

In closing this account let me quote a very striking sentence from Dr Van der Kemp which shows his zeal for the regeneration of the despised Hottentots. The secret of the influence exerted over them by him was the great love which prompted him to say, “I should not fear to offer my life for the least child among them.”

(p.23)

This zeal is indeed evident in Van der Kemp’s selfless work among the Khoi people and was the hallmark of his
good intentions. But he also wrote in his journal in 1799 that, "If it pleases the Lord to give me a resting place among the Kaffres, I think we may consider it as a powerful door of entrance to many other nations, which are hitherto almost entirely unknown even at the Cape." This could be proof that he saw himself partly as pioneering penetration into black territory in the manner, for example, of David Livingstone after him. He also reports in his journal of 1802 that he "reprimanded" Klaas Stuurman the loyal Khoi chief for "his bad behaviour [of attacking the mission station]" and "we offered him to propose his cause in true light to General Dundas which he accepted of." Klaas Stuurman's statement also suggests that he (Stuurman) links the missionary and his operation to the government when he says,

I know you are righteous men and none of my people will do any harm in this my country; it is also not my intention to insult anybody of the English Government because I entertain still some hope that the Governor will at last give ear to our complaints. Desire nothing else, but to Live in rest and subordination to government and request only a tract of land, where we under its protection against our barbarous fellow subjects can live safely.

(Van der Kemp's Journal, 1802)

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6 London Missionary Society Letters, SOAS Archives.
7 London Missionary Society Letters, SOAS Archives.
In this context one can detect both Van der Kemp’s commitment to mission work as well as his shortcomings and the negative impact of his contribution in promoting government intentions. General Dundes clearly desired to protect van der Kemp when he asked him to abandon his settlement and to leave with the soldiers, perhaps because he saw him as a useful tool in the accomplishment of the colonial government’s intentions to subdue the Khoi and the Xhosa. Van der Kemp’s resolution to remain behind (expressed in the statement quoted by Wauchope) can be seen as an act of courage coming from the former soldier, and his response to General Dundes’ offer of help could be just one soldier’s language of commitment to another soldier regarding their common cause. The following account demonstrates clearly Van der Kemp’s tactic of persuasion-and-punishment that the colonial government also applied to the Khoi and the Xhosa:

After they had departed 8 days a troop of plundering Hottentots attacked our place in the middle of the night; and having fired about 50 times with muskets, took away all our cattle. All our endeavours to persuade them to a friendly agreement were in vain, they did not give any answer but by firing. One of our most esteemed Hottentots approached them, and spoke in a friendly manner, but they cried, “Look there comes a peacemaker, kill him, shoot him!” upon which he received a ball in his leg.

(Van der Kemp, 1802)
In retaliation for this Andries Stuurman, Klaas Stuurman's brother is shot dead and later the plunderers are driven away by gun shot and the cattle are recovered. Majeke regards actions like this as a deliberate tactic to subdue the black people (1955:4). Indeed this cannot be ruled out as a strategy if we take into consideration that Van der Kemp had been a soldier in his earlier life. His strategy succeeds where General Dundes' plans have no hope of success. The statement quoted by Wauchope when taken out of context seems very noble and innocent, but when viewed in perspective it is as much a commitment to white domination as it is a willingness on the part of Van der Kemp to die for his converts. It is the paternalistic attitude that he adopts towards his converts that suggests that the converts are compromised. As we can see from Andries Stuurman's example he is prepared to die fighting. This serves as a clear indication that there are two sides to Van der Kemp's mission. There is the more human side of a pioneer seeking fame for himself; then there is the belief that God has sent him to redeem the black people from a life in darkness. In his journal he states:

We always had instructed our people, that the duty of a Christian required that he is obliged rather to part with his earthly goods, than to have them by killing another, and that it was not permitted to kill anybody, but when the safety of
his own life or that of a third person should render it absolutely necessary.

(Van der Kemp, 1802)

We find that the same formula is used by western governments. First they restrain ordinary citizens from killing, making this act a state sanction meted out through a death sentence or through war. Then they sanction killing as if it is a responsible action when they are provoked or resisted. The colonial government at the Cape used the same tactic in order to engage the Xhosa people in war, where the colonists and the commandos took cattle forcefully from the Xhosa, humiliating the Xhosa princes and other leaders in the process. When the Xhosa tried to retaliate war would be declared. With Van der Kemp it is the land that he holds onto, as if it were his right to have it. To pluck him out of the land means a serious fight. Lovett (1899:489-90) quotes from Van der Kemp's journal of 1799 where he says:

I communicated my plan to Bruintie, who disapproved of it. He said that the Caffres, seeing our musquets, had observed that there (pointing to the bayonets) were the very English instruments by which their countrymen were treacherously murdered; that they looked upon us as sent to betray them, and certainly would kill us at the first commencement of the war.
It is evident that with all his good intentions Van der Kemp could not completely discard his identity as an agent of western civilization intent on spreading the western philosophy of life. At the same time his single-minded intention to restore the dignity of the black people cannot be denied. The following comment seems to be characteristic of his strong resolve: "As for me, I knew that when I entered into this country, I entered it, having the sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in God, who raiseth the dead" (Martin, Undated:87). Again Martin (Undated:96) quotes Van der Kemp saying, "I found much pleasure in being despised with them [the Khoï] and Christ on account of his Gospel, hoping that, though we had no candle to read by, yet the light of the Gentiles shone into their hearts." These statements indicate that Van der Kemp had matured and was changed from his original reckless life. It appears that his earlier recklessness had taught him the true principles of life. There is honesty and genuine commitment in what he says as well as in his actions. Basil Holt (1976:11) quotes a statement that shows Van der Kemp's great respect for humanity, a statement in which he says: "I should rather go among those barbarous and rude people than remain in the Colony." Shepherd (1948:87) refers to him as "a man of rare courage and
disinterestedness," and adds, "He was indeed one of the most learned, unselfish, and original men in the Colony of his day." Shepherd (1948:79) also describes Van der Kemp as "hot-blooded, arrogant, clever, scornful of the mob, and rebel against convention, the champion of the oppressed." All this supports Wauchope's high regard for Van der Kemp. Bokwe (1914:5), one of Wauchope's contemporaries, says the following about Van der Kemp:

> Alone yet not alone, he had left his home in obedience to the command of his Master and Saviour - 'Go ye and teach all nations.'

A look at how genuine Van der Kemp's commitment was to restoring the dignity of the blacks reveals that he could indeed be seen to be committed in word and in action. Though Wauchope fails to give much supporting evidence he seems to have acquired a true understanding of the real nature of Van der Kemp's mission. He also does not explain why after a brief period Van der Kemp abandoned his mission among the Xhosa. Was it fear that he might indeed be killed that made him give up his original resolve to convert the Xhosa?

According to Wauchope "the advent of Missionaries forms a distinct epoch" (p.3). He further claims that before this
period the Dutch East India Company "spread terror among the Native tribes" (p.3). The scenario that Wauchope paints is, contrary to his beliefs, the same during the period of missionary endeavour, only it is more systematised and sophisticated. The only difference is that one is inclined to detect a primitive touch and lack of sophistication plus lawlessness in the conduct of the Dutch East India Company and its commando. Wauchope paints this lawlessness thus:

The Hottentot Chiefs in the West had been gradually dispossessed not only of their large herds but of their lands as well. Not satisfied with dispossing the Hottents, commandoes were sent out from time to time to make reprisals, north and east, by which large herds of Native cattle were swept away. These raids were soon followed by corresponding ones from the side of the Natives, who spread all over the country carrying on a system of robbery which their Chiefs considered to be justified by the conduct of their enemies.

(p.3)

The missionaries certainly did not put an end to the above circumstances though they were themselves not directly involved. Joseph Williams is one example of a pioneer missionary who was used by the colonial government for its own end. His settlement among the Xhosa was approved by Lord Charles Somerset who needed someone who would create a window for the colonial
government to see what Ngqika and the Xhosa were doing beyond its borders. Wauchope proudly declares that Joseph Williams “was the first European Missionary who died and was buried among the [Ngqikas]” (p.23). It can also be added that Williams was the first missionary to come and live with his young family among the Xhosa. Wauchope associated him with the “Old School” which the former claims he started. As with Van der Kemp, Wauchope does not say much about Williams beyond the recognition that he was the first missionary to be buried among the Xhosa people. Wauchope regards the fact that some of the missionaries gave up their homes to live and die among their converts as significant. He maintains, “Hundreds of these never returned to their homes. They laboured here and are dead and buried in our midst” (p.5). Here too it is important to seek a balance between a dismissive account of the missionaries as opportunists and an idolation of them as divine beings intent upon their noble cause. Once again it can be noticed that Wauchope accepts this missionary on the basis of surface information but does not delve into the cause and effect of his mission. The letters and reports Williams wrote for the London Missionary Society give a glimpse of the mould of man he was. His first report after moving to the Kat River contains information about twenty-three people who accompany him to start a mission station. In his
report he refers to these people as his servants and adds:

Although this may sound large in the English ear to employ so many yet it must be recollected that two good Europeans would do more than them all & also that two Europeans would be as expensive and not only so but the great object in taking so many was that more of the Caffres might have an opportunity of knowing the word of eternal life from them through their being able to speak their language.

(Williams, 1816)

Through the above extract it is possible to surmise that he might have been condescending and paternalistic. Unlike Van der Kemp he does not see himself as equal to the converts, nor does he observe any dignity in them. If he regards those who are to start the mission station with him as his hired servants, one may expect that he looks upon the Xhosa whom he has come to convert with much less respect. Thus Williams' mission and his burial among the Xhosa people may look noble enough but his commitment is masked by his attitude. Wauchope only honours the gesture of coming with family and of being buried among the Xhosa without strictly qualifying the terms that accompany this gesture. There is evidence that Lord Charles Somerset had plans for Williams on Nqgika's land. Basil Holt (1976:14) puts it thus:
Lord Charles Somerset had consented to Joseph Williams establishing a mission at the Kat river in 1816, among the people of Ngqika, because he thought he would prove useful as a Government Agent in the enemy territory across the Great Fish River boundary, whence thieving and pillaging forays over the border into the Colony were constantly taking place. Now that Williams had died, the Governor found himself at a disadvantage through not having a representative in Xhosaland, through whom he could keep his finger on the doings of the people there, and through whom he could communicate with Ngqika, whom he had recognized as the principal chief.

Wauchope's interpretation of Williams' gesture bears similar sentiments to Shepherd's admiration of the same gesture. Both these writers miss out on the sinister nature of the mission as explained by Holt. Shepherd (1948:89) says:

To Williams will ever remain the distinction of being the first missionary to bring his wife and family to dwell among the eastern Bantu. His doing so and indeed his object in establishing such a mission called out the scorn of the Border residents, both Boer and British. Mrs Williams has left a record of how on their way they were told by the military that nothing but powder and ball would suffice to bring the Bantu to their senses and that only 'after they had sent a good lot of them to hell' would the time arrive for preaching salvation to them.

Besides the fact that Shepherd glorifies Williams' gesture, it appears that he is unaware of the irony in Mrs Williams' report, which suggests that the soldiers
were skeptical of Williams' success. As in Van der Kemp's case we find the soldiers being sympathetic to Williams and weighing on the same scale the two options of subduing the Xhosa by first Christianizing them or by first shooting them and making their lives "hell". The soldiers clearly see Williams as a competitor for the glory of success in taming the Xhosa people. In their enthusiasm to praise Williams Wauchope and Shepherd hardly pause to consider the former's mission as a genuine endeavour to improve the lives of the Xhosa people. Yet at the same time Williams' sincerity in preaching the Gospel and in converting the Xhosa people is evident. Like Van der Kemp he is prepared to go to the people who are looked down upon and, ironically enough, to restore their dignity. One of the reasons he gives in a letter to Rev. Bunden (LMS Letters, 1815.12.11) for going to the Xhosa is that there are 80,000 Xhosa people who are awaiting conversion against the 400 Koranas he had originally been assigned to go to.

In a letter to Rev. Burder (LMS Letters, 1818.14.4) Williams states amongst other things that the Governor sent gifts for Nqrika through him and that "his Lordship’s intention in sending a commando/force into [Nqrika's] land" has been explained to him (Williams).
Williams (LMS Letters, 1818.14.4) gives details of the incident in which he was a negotiator thus:

When the commando was in nothing was done to the party against which they professedly proceeded. On the contrary, all the injury fell on [Ngqika’s] Captains. Several men were shot & one Captain and a great quantity of beasts were taken from them, but this was done professedly against the other party. This has caused much discontentment among them & how it will end I know not. [Ngqika] has asked the question why this was done and the answer was that it was not against him or his hut - [Ngqika] says that is false for the farmers who were on the commando are perfectly acquainted with the Captains of [Ngqika]. This is a question now in agitation in the mean time the Governor has offered to assist [Ngqika] in enforcing the treaty entered into between [Ngqika] & him. To this [Ngqika] has made no reply. He is now about to take another wife.

The above extract shows how Williams has been used to get at Ngqika and his people. As a window for the Governor to see what Ngqika is doing, he seems to be quite effective as he records even Ngqika’s intention to take another wife. Jan Tshotshu, Williams’ interpreter became angry with Williams for the latter’s treacherous treatment of Ngqika. Then all the assistants he had brought with him from Bethelsdorp, Tshotshu among them, abandoned Williams and returned to Bethelsdorp. This shows how Williams had become unpopular even among the converts because of his role in the treatment of the Xhosa people and their chiefs. The appointment of John Brownlee by the Governor
after Williams' death is proof of the value the former attached to the missionaries among the Xhosa people. Wauchope's enthusiasm about Williams therefore is ill-informed and is built upon shallow knowledge of the latter. With Williams, as with Van der Kemp, the Xhosa people, or, in terms of the title of Wauchope's book, the "natives" do not appear to forge a lasting relationship with their missionaries. The missionaries remain strangers in spite of their profound gestures of friendship or brotherhood. If there is any mark of a relationship it all appears skewed and not fully balanced. The missionary is on the whole poorly understood by the "natives" and he hardly understands them. In place of that poor understanding Van der Kemp redeems the situation by placing profound respect of his new acquaintances whom he sees as fellow human beings deserving of respect and dignity.

The transformational process of mission work

Wauchope observes in his argument that because of contact with the missionaries the black race has undergone transformation. He states:
A new community sprang up. It is existing today. Call it "semi-civilised" or "in the transition stage," if you like. But it is there. Standing still or moving on? If moving on, where to? To a social equality with the white man? I do not think so, because it has no basis. For want of a basis the native convert has been unable to find his feet. For want of a practical aim that evolutionary process, which is the sine qua non of all real progress, has become stunted and dwarfish in its relation to the new state of things; it manifests itself to better advantage in the direction of the prohibited state of things, in the restoring of the old institutions, to the annoyance and discouragement of the Missionary. There is evidently a link missing somewhere. (p.14)

Wauchope observes that the transformation that the black people have undergone has not necessarily made them equal to the white people. The missionaries however appear to have been satisfied with their limited transformation of the black people. Shepherd (1955:24) quotes Rev. W.R.Thomson saying:

It is a comfort to me that I can show brickmakers, thatchers, sawyers, ploughmen and jobbers at ditching, hedging and field work, who do wonderfully well considering the master they had to instruct them. Where formerly a wilderness of long grass was, and the soil never turned up since the Flood, we have now growing many of the necessaries, and even some of the luxuries of life. A neat little village has been formed, inhabited by those who a little while ago roamed the world at large.
The transformation that Thomson refers to appears to be merely of material nature. One is inclined to doubt the depth of more fundamental change. Waucboppe states that he does not believe his people's transformation can put them on equal level with the white people. On the other hand Soga (1930:208) believes that the Word of God once accepted by the black people is destined to transform them. He maintains that "they now understand that through its influence they can rise to higher height of living, and to a nobler nationhood." Waucboppe maintains that everything the missionary did was copied except his industry" (p.15). His belief is that "work to us is not a rule of life. A look at the folktales however reveals that work is venerated among the black people. There is the physical aspect of work which involves activities like hoeing, fetching water, getting firewood and such like chores. Then there is the higher order of work which is ceremonial in nature like the story of a boy who sings to his ox before it can obey orders. After the enemy has slaughtered the ox the boy puts the bones in the skin and sings, upon which the ox comes to life. A simple herdboy's routine is lent much nobility through its being presented as a life-giving ceremony. All this demonstrates that the Africans look upon work as a noble mark of humanity. In Africa work lends the individual dignity and worth. Work is not only performed to supply
food, clothing and accommodation, but it is also a ceremonial undertaking and the role one plays is indicative of the regard society has of an individual. Wauchope may feel that the black people did not follow the missionary's industry but this could have been caused by the lack of mutual understanding: on the part of the black people and on the part of the missionary. This does not mean the black people were lazy as Wauchope is inclined to believe. Instead black people attach a high value to work. Wauchope's idea of work is reflected by Steward's triumphant statement when he says:

All the transport of the country by wagons, and the rough work on the farms; the care of sheep and cattle; the loading and unloading of all the ships which enter and leave the ports; the rough work connected with the construction of the now nearly 2000 miles of railway; the working of the Kimberley diamond mines, and of the Johannesburg gold mines, has all been in the past, and is now carried on by native labour.

(1894:18)

The thinking of the missionaries, which is reflected in the above statement was clearly that blacks are lazy. Niven (1840:7) even suggests that it is the men who are lazy and make slaves of their women folk. In great despair he announces, "if the males can be turned out of the kraal into the fields, and the females be invited thence to assume the direction of the nursery, the dairy,
and fresh-pot, - the chief support of this systematic violation of the seventh commandment will be swept away."

Niven’s demeaning attitude is evident in his use of the terms "the males" and "the females". Niven’s misconception about the work ethics of the blacks is echoed by Wauchope when he says "work, for its own sake, is, I am convinced, the only thing we have hitherto failed to imitate" (p.15). Nevertheless, there is truth in Wauchope’s observation, when he says:

I find then this law among my own race which is in direct conflict with the law obtaining among the European races - aimless working, aimless learning, and moving on to an unknown crisis. (p.16)

It can be explained that a lack of understanding of the foreign values and a localised interpretation of the surface values of a Christian life created a shallow vision of the deeper concepts underlying the surface values. Bokwe (1914:15-16) gives an account of how one of the first Xhosa converts, namely, Tiyo Soga’s father was convinced after exposure of a few hours that Christianity is good and then began to practice "Christian" life. Bokwe states:

It is noteworthy that old Soga, the father of the Rev. Tiyo Soga and others of that name was first
among the [Ngqika] to embrace Ntsikana's new teaching and accept these beginnings of Christianity. Being [Ngqika's] leading councillor, Soga had been commissioned by the chief to visit Ntsikana's kraal, and personally investigate the truth of Ntsikana's message, as it was causing a mighty stir in the land. The old councillor came back much impressed by what he had seen and heard, reporting that there was something in these religious gatherings. He recommended that the chief should accept Ntsikana's lead. By way of example Soga himself introduced in his own village family morning and evening prayers in imitation of Ntsikana's fashion.

Soga's introduction of morning and evening prayers is, as Bokwe puts it, "in imitation" of Ntsikana. Soga seems to be reacting to the surface appeal of Christian life. Bokwe further states that Soga's family and relatives "formed the first nucleus of a Christian Native congregation when the European missionaries arrived" (1914:16). At the same time it can be observed that these converts were disoriented by their introduction into the new value systems. Lambourne (1992:4) states that

Throughout the pre-conquest period, missionaries regarded the reordering of African space and time in the image of rural England as a commitment to saving African souls. The structuring of mission stations according to a 'regular plan' was intended to set the stage for the grand drama of conversion.
It was, therefore, in the circumstances described above that the blacks had to adopt a new mode of life. Having been uprooted from their own culture the Xhosa converts were bound to find themselves in profound bewilderment in the "small enclosures of British culture" (Lambourne, 1992:4). Mghayi (1930:23) also contributes to this debate by stating: "amaKristu okuqala abufumene kakhulu ubunzima ekukhonzeni kwawo uKristu; kuba kwakusithiwa alahla iinkosi zawo, emka nezizwe zasenzini" (The first Christians found it very hard to worship Christ, because it was alleged that they had abandoned their own chiefs in pursuit of alien races.). Indeed the blacks had abandoned their traditions for a new and unknown culture. Wauchope demonstrates that he considers only the positive aspects of Christianisation when he says:

Yes, we have our grand Missionaries even there - our Searles, our Schriners and our Wilmots, and all we need now is the concentration of all our energies, in harmonious co-operation with our Missionaries, sinking all minor differences and petty jealousies and rivalries, upon the one object of the amelioration and uplifting of the Native races. When we are ready, when every student makes this the ultimate aim of his learning, when we have all come into line, with our hands to the rope, God will give the signal, and there will be a strong pull, a long pull, and a pull all together, and Africa will be won for Christ.

(p.17)
In his enthusiasm Wauchope dismisses the controversies which in his terms feature as "minor differences", a term that illustrates that he is blind to the truth and would ignore the salient issues involving the separation of the black people from their own culture. In reality the missionaries were themselves erring men who made many mistakes in their attempt to transform the black people into a race whose life style is definable only by European standards. Bringing into the picture the side that Wauchope dismisses as minor discrepancies, Holt (1976:10) adds,

"... in 1820, there was considerable laxity on some of the stations, and even grave irregularities of conduct on the part of some of the missionaries. "On the arrival of Robert Moffat and his colleagues they were astounded to find themselves associated in the service of the Society with men who had brought shame on the very name of Christian, and whose reputations were a byword to the ungodly.""

It is inevitable that men like this were also bound to be opinionated and self-righteous, and, as a result, could not see any positive points in black culture. Callaway (1926:14) gives a poignant picture of a typical convert, Jemuel Pamla, who has lost his traditional values and is a specimen of a semi-westernised black man when he says:
Outside the house I had noticed three or four horses hobbled with reims. 'Father,' said inkosikazi, 'we have had the horses brought in from the pasture so that you may tell us what we ought to do with them.' With the exception of one cow, recently purchased, those few horses represented all the live-stock owned by our friend. To every native of these parts live-stock is a necessary adjunct to a home. A man must have a wife and children, but his home would be incomplete without the ubuhlanti, the circular enclosure where the cattle are sheltered for the night, and the isibaya, the fold for the sheep and goats. Jemuel's home was distinguished from all others by having neither. It was a splendid witness to his singularly simple and contented mind.

Callaway defines the dehumanising circumstances of Jemuel Pamla and his family as the sign of a "singularly simple and contented mind." The poverty of Jemuel Pamla's family cannot be said to be a deliberate choice of a life style. It is at the same time evident from Callaway's description of the circumstances of Pamla's family that he is acquainting himself with these for the first time. There is a marked distance between Pamla and Callaway that separates the two and keeps them in two different worlds. As a superior he is regarded as a "father" to the family, but he seems to interpret this role differently from Pamla's wife. To him the term "Father" is associated with his rank but to Pamla's wife he, as a father, is expected to decide the family's future and to prevail over the family's circumstances. Yet he obviously knows
so little about Jemuel Pamla and his family. It is this chasm between European and African that Wauchope fails to address. In his view the missionaries have come to redeem Africa by westernising its inhabitants, thereby causing the Africans to move away from their traditional ways. Thus Sedding (1945:70) comments: “The destructive forces of civilization came just as the East Coast fever came. Nothing will stop them. The kraal in which the national assets were secured is custom (isiko), but the walls of the kraal have been broken down.” Makanda, who tried to give Christianity his own Africanised interpretation, is an example of someone who tried to safeguard the walls of the kraal and in the process proved to be such a formidable force that he was removed from his people and taken to Robben Island. On the other hand Ntsikana who followed the teachings of the missionaries was made a strong influence among the Xhosa people. The difference between Makanda and Ntsikana has already been discussed in Chapter 2.

John Muir Vimbe, Bokwe’s informant, explains the tough restrictions against his people’s customs thus:

Izinyalo ezikhulu ebendiziva kuloo makholwa elo xesha ziso ezi: ayesithi ukwaluka sisono, nokulobolisa, nokududa, noozithembo. Savela ke nathi sangena kwakuloo ndlela, sathi ke zonke ezi zinto ziyimivuyo sazibiza ngokuthi zizono. Athi
okholwe esmtsha elizwini, athi akukhanglela ekutshileni kwabakhwetha, nokuba kusemdudweni kuze kube yinto enkululeyo, aze abe yinto yokukhutshwa naserementeni. Ndisababeka ngaphandle abafundisi abamhlophe kwezi zinto. Namke ndingomnye wabebesitsho ukuthi ezi zinto zikukona, sisitsho singabuzanga naselizwini lenkosi, undingokhooyo, ohleli ekho kwizizukulwana ngezizukulwana.

(Bokwe, 1914:51-2)

(The leading instruction I used to hear from the converts of that time were these: they said circumcision was sinful, asking for a bride price, dancing and polygamy. We too followed on their tracks and we termed sinful all the merry activities. When a young convert stopped to watch the dancing of the initiates, or just a dance, then this would be such a big issue, and he would even be excommunicated. For the meantime I exclude the missionaries. I am one of those who declared that these things were sin, and we condemned without consulting the Word of the Lord, Jehovah, who is always there throughout all generations.)

Vimbe's account shows that blacks were themselves enforcing the restrictions on the usage of customs, that the missionaries had completed their task of weaning them away from traditional custom. The following extract shows both Niven's attitude towards the products of missionary education and the unconvincing knowledge of the teachers themselves:

You need not to be informed that the four native teachers connected with our mission are deficient in almost every requisite for the work of an evangelist or 'black Teacher,' as they have been colloquially styled; and in that capacity render so very questionable a service to the cause of
Christ, that the office will become extinct with them, unless it can be more efficiently filled.

(1840:27)

the above view supports Niven's opinion of the Xhosa people earlier on in his paper as "a nation of liars" (1840:12). Niven (1840:7) gives the impression that the schooled black person (whom he deplores all the same) has been taught to loathe his more conservative counterpart when he says:

... even the comforts of a cottage lose their charm on a rising native, for he knows the neatest dwelling will be presently polluted by greasy skins, and still filthier bodies - converting his house into a sty through the swinish propensities of his nation.

Here Niven openly insults the conservative section of the black community for their adherence to their customs and traditions. It is this attitude on the part of the missionaries that Wauchope neglects in his admiration of the social transformation for which the former have been responsible. Thus it is clear that this form of transformation has created a chasm between the convert and the conservative. Wauchope fervently highlights the success of the missionary in Africa without pausing to
investigate the damage their schemes have caused to the Xhosa social structures. He declares,

These men and women are here and they make themselves felt in this country. The days in which some men gained popularity by decrying the Missionary are fast passing. The Missionary’s voice, it is true, has been a cry in the wilderness, but that cry has reached the ears of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and many of these are going out to the wilderness - if not to be baptized - to hear the truth that, unless every Christian man feels that he too is a missionary and brings forth missionary fruits, he is no better than the vipers among the stones on the banks of the Jordan.

(p.17)

According to Wauchope Christians, which clearly involves converts, should act like missionaries. He observes that the message the missionary has persevered to deliver is finally taking root and the critics of the missionary are finally becoming convinced. The “critics” he is referring to are the Afrikaners and the colonists. All these remarks are a clear indication that Wauchope’s conviction that the missionary has changed the black man’s world for the better remains unshakable. Although he admits that the work of the missionaries has earned some criticism, he does not enter the debate about the success or failure of this work. However, the main trend of criticism of Wauchope’s time came from the colonists and particularly the Afrikaners, and was for the most part anti-black. The
argument that the transformative work of the missionaries was perhaps corroding African values barely existed in those days.

**Narrative techniques**

The main feature of Wauchope's work are the narrative skills he applies. The work does not pass as an argument in support of the missionary's cause but, nevertheless, it demonstrates the relationships between the black people and the missionaries. Thus it can be said of the work that it is a celebration of the good things that have come with the arrival of the missionaries among the Xhosa people. Wauchope narrates some moving episodes in demonstration of the mutual respect and understanding existing between the Xhosa people and the missionaries. The work can also be seen as a long essay of an autobiographical nature. In the end the relationship between the Xhosa people and the missionaries turns out to be the moving story of Wauchope's great grandmother who met and followed Van der Kemp to Graaff Reinet and later to Bethelsdorp. Wauchope triumphantly announces:
Tsobo died leaving Tse a widow with three children, Ngo, Tshula and Ngipa. Tse attached herself to Van der Kemp and lived at the Debe mission with her children. Her daughter Ngo got the name of Mina; she was nine years old when the Debe mission was founded. This Mina was my grandmother, i.e., my mother's mother. She died in 1887 at Port Elizabeth at the age of 96. She, with her mother Tse, had accompanied Van der Kemp to Graaff Reinet, and back to Bethelsdorp in 1802.

(p.20)

In this way Wauchope uses the story of his grandmother as a testimony of the strong link he and many Xhosa people like him have with the missionaries. It is mainly for this reason that earlier on in his essay he comments:

"Those of us whose forefathers were influenced by these men and women, now dead and buried, cannot pass their graves without a sigh - these graves are dear to us - they speak what would fill many volumes to record" (p.5).

It is mainly because of this strong relationship that Wauchope lays a claim to the remains of the missionaries. The relationship Wauchope concentrates on in this manner is mainly of a sentimental value. He does not question the authority of the missionary in, for example, the manner Ngqika questions it in Millin's novel, *The Burning Man* (1952:227), when he says:

'Atsch!'... You speak to me as to a child ... I am a King ... . Why should I not question the ways of this man who sits in the night with a young
Hottentot woman? Why should I not think the Government has sent him here to soften the hearts of our men so that they may take our land from us?'

In the same way as the essay is about the work of the missionaries among the Xhosa, it is also Wauchope's reminiscence about his own grandmother. Wauchope recreates a moving scene of his own relationship with his grandmother thus:

I used to sit for hours together listening to my grandmother. At the end of her long story she would also sing to me the songs they sang under the tree, the music of which was borrowed from the chorus of the Kaffir National song Umdudo, with this difference, that the strain is disguised by the dropping of the many slurrings common to the vocalised Kafir song, in order to adapt it to the words, so that ideas may be expressed. Both the primary and the secondary strains in the refrain are thus abbreviated. After singing this song she would break into tears.

(p.22)

Reference to the traditional narrative technique and allusions to the strong bond between grandmother and grandchild bring to the forefront the Xhosa cultural background. The song becomes the grandmother's lever to touch the grandchild's spiritual recesses. In this manner Wauchope manages to link up the missionary's message with
traditional Xhosa culture and beliefs, thus supporting his observation that:

We know something about death and we know that our ancestors are living somewhere, but we could not tell where. Nyengana has come to tell us that the good people go to God after death and the bad ones go to the place of izithunzela (evil spirits), where there is a big fire kindled and they are burned there as we burn the amaGqwirha.

(pp 21-2)

Van der Kemp's message is enmeshed into Xhosa traditional culture so much that it becomes naturalized. In this manner Van der Kemp's message reaches out to the new generation through oral lore. This signifies that Wauchope sets out to demonstrate the tie between the missionary and his converts as well as their offspring. This is however one end of the Christian message; the other end is typified by lack of comprehension and confusion. In a dialogue between a missionary and his convert Shepherd (1948:28) demonstrates confusion on the part of the convert:

"I have a question to ask," [Velite] said. "Say on." [Missionary]
"Was there ever a serpent who stood on its tail and talked?"
The missionary was at pains to explain how the Genesis temptation narrative may be taken more as eternally than historically true. "I am very relieved," came the response, "for I was not believing it."
When observed closely, Wauchope's work does not represent an argument in favour of the missionaries. Instead it is a revisit to some important events and incidents of the past. He uses the traditional Xhosa way of relating a story moving between the known and the unknown events. For example, in relating the story of Joseph Williams he refers to the latter's grave which is ample evidence of the accuracy of his story, and says: "Rev. Joseph Williams settled among the [Nqikas] near Millbank. He died in 1818 and his grave is still to be seen above Mr Ainslie's water course on the Fort Beaufort commonage" (p.23). An oral narrative normally oscillates between known facts and unverifiable information which may include myths and legends. In a similar manner Wauchope presents Williams and Van der Kemp as legendary figures but immediately links them up to the well-known facts of history; Williams being linked to his grave and Van der Kemp being linked to Wauchope himself through his great grandmother. When Wauchope gives account of Williams' burial, he quotes what the Xhosa people are claimed to have said when Mr Hart arrived to see the deceased missionary: "Now we can bury the Missionary since he has been seen by another white man, otherwise we would have been punished according to our own law" (p.30). This
incident is narrated like a legend because there is no way of verifying what Wauchope suggests the Xhosa people said. Yet in the manner in which he mingles legend with verifiable facts it makes it impossible to deny that what we cannot verify is true. From the incident of the missionary’s burial Wauchope moves to the visit to Williams’ grave by Rev. R.Wardlaw Thompson, Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary society in which he was accompanied by Wauchope himself. The following is a further example of how Wauchope mingles the legendary with the factual:

The wagon which brought Mrs Hart returned to Somerset East with Mrs Williams, followed by a small group of sorrowful converts, who, in accordance with Native custom, had shorn their hair and followed the wagon with covered heads. Old Jonas Rati, whose father was one of Mr Williams’ adherents, is still living. He is now 78 years old, and his mother died 5 years ago at the age of 90 years. Old Jonas tells me that Mr Williams first camped on the ridge where the town of Fort Beaufort now stands. Ntsikana, the son of Gaba, came down from Thwathwa near the village of Lushington, to see the new comer.

(p.32)

In order to give the story its legendary touch Wauchope refrains from giving sources for his narrative when he refers to the converts who followed Mrs Williams with shaven heads and when he refers to Ntsikana coming to meet Williams on the latter’s arrival on the Kat River.
At the same time he mentions "Old Jonas Rati" who he says told him where Williams first camped. He simply alludes to an informant without openly stating that the information he now gives us comes from Rati, so that we are at a loss whether to classify the unverified information as common knowledge and therefore legendary in nature or to assign it to Rati, Wauchope's informant. This tantalizing manner of storytelling helps the narrator to fill his readers with wonder. Sometimes he uses direct Xhosa expressions which he claims were used in the event he so describes. For example, he states that in 1819 the Ndlambe people led by Nxele (Makanda) against the English in Grahamstown sent Colonel Ellshire a message of defiance saying: "Siya komula kunye kusasa ngomso. (We shall breakfast with you tomorrow morning.)" (p.36). As they were shot by the English the men shouted, "Wisa, Nxele! Thetha, Nxele! Baphela abantu! (Bring down, Nxele, speak Nxele, the people are perishing.)" (p.36).

All this is pure legendary material as there is no way of verifying it. But Wauchope's intention is to enrich his narrative with direct utterances that enhance the drama being described making it more life-like.

Wauchope gives the details of the rescue of Rev. F. Kayser by Namba in 1851 as if he himself has been witness to the whole matter, but quotes Gongco who he
says is 88 years old at the time of his (Wauchope's) writing. Though Gongco seems to have narrated the story of Kayser's rescue to Wauchope, the latter relates it as a common story and not one individual's version.

In the heat of his narrative Wauchope breaks into spontaneous poetry. This poetry serves to elevate the quality of his narrative. Referring to Van der Kemp's preaching Wauchope states that it was of a conversational character, but he presents his example of Van der Kemp's message in verse form thus:

"The preaching of Van der Kemp was of a conversational character. There were several trees and the men sat under one tree while the women occupied the shade of another, all smoked their pipes while the preaching was going on. Sometimes there was some honey-beer. What is now known as Kafir-beer was not known then. Van der Kemp told them that

There was God in heaven;
He created all things,
The sun, the moon, the stars.
There was one, Sifuba-sibanzi,
(The Broad-breasted one)
He is the leader of men;
Was heralded by a Star;
His feet were wounded for us,
His hands were pierced for us,
His blood was shed for us."

(pp 20-1)

In the above example Wauchope does not attempt to follow the tradition of praise poetry but instead constructs his
own verse form built into the structure of his narrative. In the narrative he quotes his grandmother and, in order to indicate that his grandmother presents Van der Kemp's teachings from memory as she has heard them, he writes the teaching in verse form. In this way Van der Kemp's teachings are shown to have been preserved in memory like a recitation or some other significant oral information. Among the Xhosa people matters of cultural significance were stored in this way and revisited in song or verse. Although this verse is Wauchope's creation, the short, self-contained lines are reminiscent of traditional praise-poetry. The lines can be arranged in any order without compromising the meaning. Repetition in the last three lines however is ruined if the lines are placed away from each other, but among themselves they can be arranged in any order. The simplicity is evidently intended to show that this teaching was intended for the memory. Traditional praise poetry does not necessarily use simple language as Wauchope's does, but the phrases are arranged in such a way that they lock into each other and can be easily remembered.

The fact that it is his grandmother who is narrating the story is reminiscent of traditional storytelling. When she breaks into verse her story falls into the traditional mould of a folktale where the storyteller
breaks into a song or verse. It can, therefore, be said that even when Wauchope writes his verse in English, his narrative style follows the pattern of traditional storytelling. Even the verse that he writes here is narrative verse and, like a song or verse in a folktale, brings into the old woman's story the spiritual part. Reference to the sun, the moon and the stars and to the creator of heaven and earth brings the mythological world into her short narrative verse. It is this mythological world of the Old Testament that seems to have had a direct appeal to the first Xhosa converts. It is reflected in Ntsikana'a song "Ulo Thixo omkhulu", especially when he mentions the objects of nature and the universe that he claims God has created.

Wauchope gives details of Nqgika's address of his men before they go to war with the Ndlambe in 1818. Even this account is done in a manner of storytelling. Here Wauchope demonstrates clearly that he is not writing an argument but a narrative text. As Nqgika inspires his men and urges them to go to battle he uses praise poetry, directing most of it to the leaders. Wauchope recreates this highly dramatic scene thus:

Then [Nqgika] spoke, "Children of [Mlawu], the cattle have gone. You must follow, and die."
Then he addressed his son Maqoma -
"You little of horns,  
Facing the dawn of day,  
You have been a boy all along.  
You must become a man today,  
This is your day."

To his one-eyed son, Tyhali, then a "boy" of 20 - "You must learn today to tie and milk a kicking cow." To the brave Manxoyi: "I see you are already thirsting for human blood."

To Mcoyana, the crooked-necked son of Fuleli, whose assegai never missed its mark -

"Son of Fuleli whose neck is twisted,  
Pointing towards the Great Place,  
Breaker of hard things with the teeth,  
Go, let me not see you again."

To Xhunghe - "Thou Sogolomashe gatya lamkhwinti, i.e., Thou muscular; yet soft-hearted or amiable as a branch of the umkhwinti (Gazania pinnata or integrifolia). Look well after your indwe (the warriors' head-dress with feathers of the blue crane)."

Then to Ntsikana, the Christian, spoke:  
"In my dreams I saw the bones of the [Ngqikas]  
Lying white on the Amalainde flats.  
If in pursuing the enemy you find that they have  
already crossed the Keiskama,  
Follow them not, but return home."

Huk! (advance) cried Manxoyi, and the army moved on.

(pp 27-8)

Judging from the abundant imagery it can be said that here Wauchope has translated traditional praise poetry. History says that this was Maqoma's first experience of war as a leader. His father's praise poetry portrays him as a bullock that has little horns, with his future still
before him. The line, "You must become a man today" invokes Maqoma to prove his manhood. Even the opening phrase, "the cattle have gone" is a traditional Xhosa phrase expressing that the nation is at war. Though the line "You must learn today to tie and milk a kicking cow" appears in prose form it is, nevertheless, laden with imagery. Tyhali’s new experience of war is compared by his father to the task of tying and milking a kicking cow. In the manner of traditional praise poetry Mcoyana’s praises include lines about his physical appearance, namely, his twisted neck: "Son of Fuleli whose neck is twisted/Pointing towards the Great Place." Though he has decided to translate traditional Xhosa verse into English here, Wauchope cannot resist using one line in its original version: "Soqolomashe gatya lamkhwinti." The lines that Ngqika uses including the line in praise of Xhunge that appears in Xhosa, are all intended to invoke courage and commitment. By using these personal praise lines Ngqika hopes to impress his men with his knowledge of them as their personal praise poetry is closer to their souls. The poetry is intended to uplift the men’s spirits. Here Wauchope takes his time to demonstrate the power of praise poetry. He also entertains us with the dramatic nature of the situation as the king turns from one man to the other praising them. Ngqika also uses poetry to stir emotion and encourage the men to fight
willingly. It can be said that Wauchope borrows this drama from oral lore as he makes no references to live informants.

For Gongco, Wauchope's informant, his praise poetry had a redemptive quality. Coming to seek prince Namba's protection on behalf of Rev. F. Kayser in the beginning of one of the Xhosa wars in 1851 he found himself in a dangerous situation where he was commanded to stop while still a distance away from the great place. But when one of the men recognises him he immediately says his praise poetry which is a sign of welcome:

At last one said, "Oh! It is Gongco," and began reciting the praises heaped on him by Sikweyiya when Gongco was an umkhwetha in 1840:

Ndakubona Mxhalisa
Xhalis' amadoda nabafazi
Hashe leNkumanda lilahlekile
Malixo! ilizwe, libonakele.

(I see thee, thou Troubler!
Who causes anxiety to men and women.
The horse of the Commando is lost
Let there be peace, for it has been found.)

Here praise poetry functions to relieve tension and to show friendship. The poetry is associated with Gongco’s circumcision and in that way lends him a strong identity as a Xhosa man. It is an indication that he is well-known
and respected among other Xhosa men. It can therefore be said that this praise poetry functions as a badge of recognition for Gongco.

To conclude his essay Wauchope returns to his argument in favour of the missionaries and asks two important questions: "Have the Missionaries done much for the education of the natives?" (p.44) and "That the fighter, the hunter and the dancer has now become a worker, is that not a sign? Should not every Missionary rejoice to see that sign, as indicating that his work has not been what objectors to missionary enterprise said it would be, namely, that in the mission schools laziness was encouraged, and that educating the native would make him useless for anything else?" (p.46). In his appraisal of the success of the missionaries Wauchope again ignores two aspects which are later brought up by Soga and Mqhayi, namely: the split missionary education created between the school people and the illiterate conservatives among the Xhosa. Relating incidents during the War of Mlanjeni (1850-1853) Soga (1923:30) states:

Asikuko nokuba imfazwe kaMlanjeni yawungxwelerha umsebenzi wemishoni yaseRhabe, baye abafundisi, bembalwa phofu, babesebenze ngempumelelo kwaNgqika ezinkosini nasebantwini. Ekupheleni kwemfazwe bantanywa ngokuthika ngabo abaxhokonxe ukuba amaXhosa avukele iKoloni. Lento ke yawahlungisa amaKristu kunene. Ade azamela
nokusabela kwelaseKoloni ngenxa yobukraka, wala uSandile ewasongele ukuba obulawa onke ekubuyeni kwawo. Asabela ezintabeni kwimigolomba yaseTyhume, emana ukunyebeleleza ukuya ezinkonzweni esikolweni sawc.

(The war of Mlanjeni was a great setback to the work of the Presbyterian mission, where the missionaries, few as they were, had done much work among the Nqika royalty and people. At the end of the war they were accused of having incited the Xhosa people to revolt against the Colony. Indeed this greatly disturbed the Christians. They even attempted to flee to the Cape Colony because of bitterness, and Sandile disagreed swearing that they would all be killed on their return. They then took refuge in the mountains and among the caves of the Tyhume region, surrepticiously emerging to attend their church services in their school.)

According to the above extract the division between the school people and the conservatives is so great that the school people are threatened with death. They flee to live among the mountains fearing for their lives. Though missionary education is viewed in the positive light by Wauchope, it is conflicts like the abovementioned that render it divisive and unwelcome to a large section of the Xhosa people. Mqhayi (1939:69) writes about the conflict in which the first black ministers to pass from Lovedale found themselves. This time the division is between the missionaries and the black ministers who were educated in the seminary schools. Mqhayi mentions that the black ministers were unhappy because of the decision made by the missionaries that the black ministers could
not be allowed to work in certain congregations. This unhappiness resulted in Rev. J.M. Mzimba's cessation from the Presbyterian Church. As Niven (1840:4) suggests, the black person is "neither a devil nor an angel, but a man of like passion with ourselves." Niven proposes all that needs to be done is "Change the course of education pursued in forming his character, and he loses all the peculiarities which render him an object of dread or of sympathy to his detractors or panegyrists" (1840:4). Niven's suggestion implies that the black people were to be weaned away from their traditional culture and transformed into westernized people. Naturally the conservative Xhosa resists this unwelcome transformation and, as there are those who easily succumb to change, a division forms between the former and the latter. Observing the thinking like Niven's Lambourne says,

Unable to comprehend the complexities of African cosmologies, missionaries were not only fixated with difference, but comprehended the differences they identified as absences or defects in African thought and practice.

(1992:5)

Niven seems to undermine the mentality and culture of the Xhosa people and he proposes separating the former from their culture. Lambourne (1992:6) observes this demeaning
attitude on the part of the missionaries which was bound to prejudice them against the Xhosa and says:

The observations of missionaries resident in Caffraria both reflected and refined changing stereotypes about Africans in the Colony and in England. The initial curiosity, and often open admiration, of the newcomers gave way during the early 1820s to dismissal and loathing of African thought and culture. Such abhorrence was also manifested in a perceived deficiency in the mental capacity of Africans, thought to have generally been much over-rated by earlier observers.

Wauchope believes that the missionary has succeeded in convincing "the logical among ... the Africanders" (p.46) that the black person is human like them. According to Wauchope the black person "clamours for education, and is willing to pay for it" (p.45). He maintains that they have become industrious and "work in the mines, on the farm, at the docks, as clerk, as teacher, as preacher" (p.46). Sedding (1945:64) observes a mixture of success and disaster in the missionary's work when he says:

Although, then, Europe cannot fairly be accused, in Africa, of being merely a bird of prey, and of reaping where she has not sowed, there is no doubt that, at least indirectly, we have been spoilers as well as sowers.
It has been reluctantly recognised as inevitable that wherever the native meets with civilization the process of destruction begins. The restraints by which his life and all the best characteristics of the race were fenced and
guarded begin to break down before civilization upon native character.

The Natives can be said to represent a combination of interests. Its fundamental structure is that of a traditional Xhosa narrative related with anecdotes and poetry. It is designed to be entertaining yet serious and provocative. Here Wauchope clearly sees himself as the mouthpiece of those "natives" whose lives have been improved by the teachings of the missionaries. He relates his link with the pioneer missionaries with pride and confidence. As a representation of the early writings and publications of the black people in South Africa the book releases a proud heritage of African writing. The fact that the essay was written in English with translations of poetry from Xhosa to English is proof enough that the black people were competent in communicating in foreign languages and their writings reflect that they still saw themselves on equal levels with the white races. These are writers whose dignity still remained intact, who do not see themselves as the oppressed underdogs in the manner of black apartheid writers.

Wauchope's essay tackles a theme which seems to have been one of the central debates of his time. The subject of the contribution of the missionaries to black development
has not been exhausted to this day. The tendency of those who participate in the debate is to take one extreme or the other. To them it is either that the missionaries brought light and redemption to the black people or, in terms of Majeké and others of the post-apartheid era, they brought the Bible to tame the people so that they could take their land, and the gun to shoot and kill them if they resisted being tamed amicably. There is substance on both sides of the debate, but Wauchope’s contribution is not only to defend the missionary as was the tendency of the school people of his time, but also to give a testament, with living examples, of how he as an individual has been directly affected by the missionary enterprise. His book can, therefore, be viewed as a precursor of autobiographical texts like those written many decades later by the *Drum* writers, for example, Todd Matshikiza’s *Chocolates for my Wife* (1961), Nat Nakasa’s *The World of Nat Nakasa* (1975) and E’skia Mphahlele’s *The Unbroken Song* (1981).
CHAPTER 6

POETRY

... he celebrates the victories of the nation, he sings songs of praise, chants the laws and customs of the nation, he recites the genealogies of the royal families; and, in addition, he criticizes the chiefs for perverting the laws and the customs of the nation and laments their abuse of power and neglect of their responsibilities and obligations to the people.

(Mafeje, 1967:195)

Introduction

Wauchope was a versatile writer whose writings ranged from letters and articles to poetry. Poetry seems to have come spontaneously to this writer, and some of his most interesting poems are those he penned spontaneously as he wrote his articles. The poems that Wauchope has written can be put into three categories, namely, memorised poetry (clan praises, personal praises), written poetry composed for publication and prison poetry. Opland (1998:5) notes the interrelationship between improvised, memorised and written poetry. He maintains that, "These four activities - general improvising, memorising, the refined improvising of the imbangi, and writing - form the Xhosa poetic tradition. Any Xhosa poem is the product
of at least one of these activities.” Opland (1998:5) further observes that “Impromptu izibongo may draw from the memorised poems; the literate imbongi may compose his poetry in performance in addition to writing izibongo for publication.” Wauchope’s poetry features memorised poems as well as poems composed specifically for publication. It is interesting that already in the 1880s and 1890s we have in Wauchope a Xhosa poet who writes with both the traditional Xhosa influence and the influence of western culture. He blends skills from both traditional poetry and Victorian poetry in such a manner that his style becomes both unique and decidedly pioneering. What Opland discovers about Xhosa poets in the 1990s is already evident in Wauchope’s writing, namely the duality between urban Xhosa poetry and the traditional rural praise poetry. Opland (1998:6) observes:

As expected, Xhosa people living freer of Western influence are readier to break into spontaneous poetry, but their urban counterparts have not yet lost the ability.

Judging by Wauchope’s urban background, one would expect that he has difficulty commanding the craft of poetry-making, but as can be judged from his poems, he even uses the praises of Xhosa royalty. His poetry is a pointer to
the type of traditional poetry one could expect among the Xhosa people of his time.

Memorised poetry: clan names and praises

In his use of traditional poetry, Wauchope appears more as the memoriser, which brings up the question of the status of memorised poetry in his time. It is evident from the manner in which he approaches this poetry that memorised poetry was seen as standard poetry very much in the sense in which Zulu poetry is seen today. About a memoriser Opland (1990:11) says the following:

A memoriser learns a poem by heart; whenever he or she performs, the poem is repeated with few - if any - verbal alterations. Such performers may have composed the poem themselves, they may have picked it up by listening to another memoriser repeating the poem, or they may have learned it from a book. They may absorb the poem unconsciously by hearing it many times, they may learn the poem for ritual or functional purposes, they may learn the poem simply because they like to sing praises; they may (especially if they are school children) learn the poem because they hope to pass themselves off as limbongi.

It is evident that Wauchope's writing of his poetry is based on a combination of the reasons mentioned by Opland above, but more than this, Wauchope uses this traditional
poetry more as a statement of his identity as a true spokesperson of the Xhosa people. Wauchope’s problem of identity as a marginalised urban black seems to have bothered him in his life, forcing him often to have to assert himself as a Ngqika or a Mngcangatelo. He uses his knowledge of true traditional Xhosa poetry as a means of defining himself back into the fold of main stream Xhosa writers and nation builders. For Wauchope the printed newspaper represents a platform, which he uses to convey his message to the reading audience. He does what a traditional praise poet would do on an occasion like a ceremony, a wedding or dance. He uses the newspapers to do what a traditional praise poet would do as illustrated by Opland’s explanation (1999:6):

In the rural areas it is not uncommon to see someone stand up at a ceremony and burst into spontaneous poetry. This usually happens at social functions with many people present, events such as weddings, beer-drinking parties or dances. The poets here feel themselves inspired and moved by the specific occasion, and give expression to emotion through energetic verbalisation.

Wauchope makes use of spontaneity as his style of writing. This is one way in which he drives home an important point. Writing an article about a meeting of Imbumba (Isigidimi, 1883.7.18:5; also quoted in Chapter
4, p.171) he introduces his central role in the meeting thus:


Ntondini yakwaSilwangangubo
YakwaMgwiyaKazi
Yakwangcoko
YakwaSiphunzi ndakoyika
Mavumb' engcuka.
Ungadinwa kwedini ukulwela uhlanga.

(The Chaplain, Rev. Mr Mzamo was welcomed by the clapping of hands - and he said. Excellent! There it is, my brothers. What we have been waiting for is here. We have long been lamenting in caves like Elijah. Crying because we are left alone. Alas! Not known to us it turned out there are some remnants of the sons of the exodus. If I break into a praise poem you will demand to know what the minister is doing now. But let me say a few lines in praise of Wauchope, son of Citashe.

Phenomenon of the Silwangangubo clan
Of MgwiyaKazi
Of Ngcoko
Of Sipunzi, one that inspires with awe
Odours of a hyena.
Never tire of fighting for your nation son.)

Wauchope introduces this poem by quoting Rev. Mzamo making a speech. Partly to indicate that the meeting is at its height, he breaks into this poem in praise of Wauchope. The poem functions mainly to shield Wauchope
from self-praise and to help him maintain his modesty as he reports about his role in organising Imbumba. The poem, therefore, crystalises Wauchope's role and elevates him above the other participants. Rev. Mzamo proclaims that he will say a few lines in praise of Wauchope. As it turns out these are lines of the clan praises. Here we encounter evidence of memorised poetry being used as praise poetry for an individual. The last line, however, "Ungadinwa kwedini ukulwela uhlanga" does not constitute clan praises, but Wauchope cleverly uses it as an additional line of poetry, though, as its overhanging structure demonstrates, it represents a different layer of praise poetry. This line represents improvised poetry. Actually, the line is a subtle combination of memorised poetry and improvised poetry. Its derivation from the Xhosa idiom "ungadinwa nangomso" (be as willing tomorrow as you are today) echoes memorised verse, but the prosaic nature of the remainder of the line suggests the emotive power of an improvised line. This line is also a direct address to the individual and is created on the spur of the moment. After this line the speaker relaxes back into prose, beginning with the statement, "Phambili mabandla aseColesberg" (Forward Colesberg battalion). This sentence still begins with an idiom, namely, "Phambili" like the last line of the praise poem. Wauchope cleverly marks these levels from high poetry to
improvised poetry and finally to an ordinary speech. Referring to memorised and improvised poetry in the past, Opland (1998:47) suggests that memorised poetry was probably high poetry in the past, but warns:

... one must be wary of concluding that the Xhosa tradition of izibongo in the early years of this century was primarily memorial or that the imbongi was just a memoriser. All that one can say is that izibongo in praise of the early chiefs were memorised by some imbongi ... . One ought not to assume that improvisation was not an element in a complex tradition.

It is evident from the above poem and from Opland's observation that the improvised line was as much poetry as was the memorised line. The memorised line bears the original wisdom, reinforced as it passes from situation to situation and from generation to generation and crystalised as the wise words of all time. Being a storage of many of these lines which may refer to individuals and situations means being a reservoir of wisdom, and an individual with such material stored in his/her memory passes as a poet. Rev. Mzamo, in the above example demonstrates his knowledge of the clan praises of Wauchope's people which is an indication on his part that to some extent he possesses knowledge of traditional praise poetry. It is therefore logical that a person who is in possession of such knowledge should be regarded as
a wise person and anything else he says is taken seriously. Mafeje (1967:195) observes that,

It is, ... apparent that the main function of the South African bard is to interpret public opinion and to organize it (once he has been firmly established), failing that, he does not achieve the status of 'national poet'.

If a recognised poet should cut across the etiquette of speech making and suddenly erupt into emotive language, that is likely to be interpreted as the working of the wisdom he so possesses. In that sense, a second tier of poetry is developed, and this Opland defines as improvised poetry. When Mabunu responds to a question asked by Opland (1998:48) by saying, "there is no qualification of imbongi. The qualification is their acceptance, you see, his acceptance by the people as imbongi," it can be said that his response is self-contradictory. After stating that there are no qualifications, he immediately points out that acceptance by the people is a qualification. One only needs to investigate the critical idiom and the judgement that renders one person a poet and another a non-poet or one poet as better than another, in order to discover qualifications and therefore the high standard required of imbongi. Imbongi cannot be said to set his own
standards as Mabunu also concurs, and inspiration alone cannot be the major determining factor for a good poet. Oral tradition relied on good memory and it, therefore, follows that individuals with enduring memories were highly respected. Clearly if a poet relied only on inspiration and emotion without proving himself/herself to be a reservoir of memorised poetry he would not be seen as much of a poet.

Rev. Mzamo first demonstrates that he has poetic lines reserved in his memory and uses this knowledge to give his speech a greater impact than a speaker who may have concentrated on the prosaic nature of address. As a school person, he realises that his audience is going to accuse him of employing "pagan" practices, but despite that knowledge he still applies traditional praise poetry as an effective way of conveying his speech. This implies that Rev. Mzamo recognises the status of a poet among his people and acknowledges memorised poetry as the mark of good poets. As a minister of religion Rev. Mzamo recognises that his wisdom will be better appreciated if he shows that he has knowledge of traditional poetry.

Clan names or iziduko are an example of ancient poetry that has been in existence over generations. When Mzamo demonstrates knowledge of this poetry, it is a clear
indication on his part that he is tapping the wisdom of his people. He also intends to elevate the person he so addresses, namely, Wauchope. About the use of clan praises Mzolo (1977:10) quotes Bryant explaining that,

In addition to the clan name, isibongo, there is the isithakazelo, an address name or praise name common to every member of the clan, which was usually the personal name of some ancient celebrity and is now applied – properly, only in polite conversation – to any clansman who by being called after him, felt participator in his glory.

So Wauchope shares in the glory of his ancestors when he is praised by Mzamo. Kuse (1972:4) states that iziduko “may be used as refering to the various isidukos or definitive clan names ... or they may be used as the set of praise names for each clan.” Kuse (1972:4) goes further and explains that the “names of prominent ancestors and heroes of the past form the backbone of the praise recitations known as iziduko.”

In an article written for Invo titled, “ECala” Wauchope mentions the name of a man he had met at Cala who had impressed him immensely by his unpretentious style of life. He introduces this man to the readers by using his clan praises (Poem XXI):
... ndingabalula into kaMakhohliso uMr Duncan - yakwaGcina -

KwaNkomo zikaXhamela,
ZikaNcancashe,
ZikaNokwindla,
ZikaGabal’ ukhula,
ZikaButsolo bentonga,
ZikaSichopha dwaleni,
Idwala lomthwakazi
LomkaMdakana.
ZikaNjikazi into kakhotha,
Mabandla akuloZaze.

(Imvo, 1897.7.1)

(I can just mention the great son of Makhohliso, Mr Duncan - of the Gcina clan -

In the house of Nkomo, the cattle of Xhamela,
Of Ncancashe,
Of Nokwindla,
Of Gabula who chops down the weed,
Of Butsolo, the sharpness of a stick,
Of Sichopha who squats on a rock,
The rock of a bush woman
The rock of Mdakana’s wife.
Of Njikazi great son of Khotha,
Division from Zaze’s home.)

Following the tradition of clan praises, Wauchope’s praise poem includes many names of the illustrious ancestors of the Gcina clan. Here Wauchope demonstrates his knowledge of the praises of other Xhosa clans. This knowledge sets him off as a resourceful person. The identity he lends to Makhohliso here is expected to appeal particularly to those readers who belong to the Gcina clan and their relatives. The poem immediately summons up admiration and support of the subject being praised. As Mzolo points out in an earlier extract,
Makhohliso is here given a taste of the glory of his ancestors. Here the names of the Gcina ancestors are given complimentary expressions in order to make the praise lines complete poetic packages of aesthetic utterances, for example, the line “ZikaGabul’ ukhula”, “ZikaButsole bentonga” and “ZikaSichopha dwaleni,/Idwala lomthwakazi/LomkaMdkana.” In these lines, “Gabula” is complimented by “ukhula” which enhances the aesthetics of the line. Similarly, “Butsole” is complimented by “bentonga” and “Sichopha” by “dwaleni/Idwala lomthwakazi/LomkaMdkana.” Wauchope generates three lines from “dwaleni” by using linkage both with “edwaleni/Idwala” and “Lomthwakazi/LomkaMdkana.” The first clan name, “Nkomo”, is used as if it refers specifically to the cattle of the Gcina clan. Thus the possessive “Zika-” forms up parallelism which adds more beauty to the poem. This added beauty can be attributed to Wauchope’s own invention and craftsmanship. Parallelism on its own is a well-known Xhosa traditional poetic device. Wauchope seems to have been particularly fond of this style in his poetic use of clan praises. In another memorised poem (Poem XXII) of his own clan he uses “yakwa-” to create parallelism. In fact he varies parallelism here between “Si-“, “Ma-” and “Yakwa”:
Ndaluma mfo kakhale ekhubalweni - ndayibiza yonke imirinya yakwa-

Silwangangubo,
Siphunzi ndazoyika,
Mavumb' engcuka,
Malahle anothuthu
Ungawanyakatheli watsha;
YakwaMgwiyakazi,
YakwaNgcoko,
YakwaChizama.

Hayi ke, Jili, ndabona bendikhulula.
(1897.8.12:3)

(I took a bite from the charm, my dear fellow, and invoked all the ancestors of -

Silwangangubo,
Siphunzi, the stump that scares me,
Odcurs of a hyena,
Live coal ash covered
Don't step on them they'll burn you,
Of Mgwiyakazi
Of Ngcoko
Of Chizama.

And indeed, Jili, I found that they were releasing me.)

Parallelism in this sense has the effect of creating the impression of information tumbling from memory. One name brings out the next with its fitting compliment, and that one in turn invokes rememberance of others. Parallelism links up the long chain of names, attributes and many other memorable utterances. In the rural areas old people still use this linkage by parallelism when recalling from memory.
In the above poem some of the names are complimented by
decorative expressions, like, for example, “Mavumba”
which is complimented by “wengcuka”, “Siphunzi” is
complimented by “ndazoyika” and “Malahle” by
“anothuthu/Úngawanyatheli watsha.” In order to retain the
poetic mode he addresses Jabavu, the editor, by his clan
name, “Jili”.

Wauchope’s use of clan names even in prose brings the
poetic touch to his language. For him prose can still
function as poetry because of the poetic language and
techniques he uses. In an article titled, “ITwenty-Four”
Wauchope expresses concern about the divisions in the
United Methodist Church. At the end of the article (Poem
XLII) he makes a direct appeal to individuals he mentions
by name, calling them by their clan names as he does so:

Tarhu William nto kaNtsikana! Nguwe na lo
uchitha umzi wakowenu? Tarhu Cirha! Tarhu mkhwe
wam nto kaRanuga, mzukulwana kaYeye! Tarhu
mNkabane. Tarhu Ntanga, nto kaMatane, mzukulwana
kaNdlabela; tarhu Mgocwa! Tarhu nto kabawo, nkomo
zakwaChizama, nto kaHloyi yakwaMalahlanothuthu;
tarhu Cethe! Tarhu Frank, mzukulwana kaNeku
wesikhulu sakowethu. Ukuba ibiyeyeentonga beniya
kubheka, athi umntu ngubani na lowo uthethayo
ngathi ngowakwa-

Silwangangubo
Siphunzi ndakoyika
Mavumb’ engcuka.

Ewe ndim - owaseMqwashwini eXhukwane ka-DYOBA-
WODAKA.
(Imvo, 1907.9.3)

(Peace, William, son of Ntsikana! Is it even you who is destroying your own people’s house? Peace Cirha! Peace, my brother/father-in-law, son of Ranuga, grandson of Yeye! Peace mNkabane. Peace, my own peer, son of Matane, grandson of Ndlabela; peace, Mqocwa! Peace my father’s son, you of the cattle of Chizama, son of Hloyi, of the ash-covered coals; peace Cethe! Peace Frank, grandson of Neku, the illustrious ancestor of our nation. If this was a stick fight, you would look up now, and one would ask who uttered these words that sounds like it is one from the house of

Silwangangubo
Siphunzi, the stump that scares me
Odours of a hyena.

Yes it is I of the Milkwood tree at Xhukwane, son of DYOBA-WODAKA.

The clan names that Wauchope uses are intended to appeal to the individuals he is addressing and to soften their hearts. Together with the clan names, Wauchope applies the names of the grandfathers of some of the individuals he addresses. The clan names and the names of the more recent ancestors render Wauchope’s prose more powerful than ordinary prose. His use of repetition with the expression “Tarhu” brings rhythm into the poet’s appeal. The rhythm seems to gallop at a growing pace until, finally, it erupts into pure praise poetry as he says the praises of his own clan. The poet gives his identity in the form a praise line, “DYOBA-WODAKA”. He suggests that if these names were uttered during a stick fight, they
would induce the fighters to pause and look around for the owner of a voice they recognise so well. Wauchope uses clan names to bolster a voice of peace that rings in the midst of a fight, hence he compares the conflict in church to a stick fight. The clan names do not only lend identity to the people addressed, but they also reinforce the intimate relationship of those involved. This idea is supported by the use of expressions like "umzi wakowenu" (your own home), "mkhwe" (brother-/father-in-law), "mfo ka-" (son of), "mzukulwana" (grandson), which are all markers of interrelationship if not fraternity. He calls Hloyi "nto kabawo" (my father's son), which is a term of appreciation used for a blood brother. Mzolo (1977:114-5) maintains that "Members of the particular clan regard one another as father, brother, son etc., even though there may be no known relationship or association between them." We find the same effect in the use of Xhosa clan names as in Zulu, about which Mzolo (1977:114) has the following to say:

Clan praises pervade the social life of the Zulu people. They are a cohesive force which binds the members of the clan together into a social unit and bring about its solidarity. The unity and "family feeling" of the clan is also evident in the classificatory terminology of the kinship system.
Memorised poetry: personal praises

The application of memorised praise poetry allows for a free flow between prose and verse in Wauchope's style of writing. Because this verse is already in his memory, he uses it now and then in his prose to seal whatever he says. In his article, "Umhleli WeSigidimi", Wauchope declares that a variety of people compete for the editor's attention. Among these people there are the conservatives who complain to the editor about the excesses of immorality. Then there is the preacher who clamours about the ineffectiveness of his preaching. He too appeals to the editor for sympathy and reassurance. In order to give the preacher character Wauchope breaks into impassioned verse (Poem III),

Ndiswele imilomo       (I lack mouths
Ayaba iliwaka          I wish I had a thousand
Ibonga 'ngentlokoma     To praise loudly
Inceb' engakanana      So much mercy.)
(Isigidimi, 1884.3.1)

The above is a representation of a popular chorus often sung at the spiritual revival vigils. It is also a recognised Methodist hymn that is often learnt off by heart. Here it plays a dual role, namely, to lend character to the preacher referred to in the article and
to express gratitude to the editor for the role he plays in society. The words of this chorus are also used in everyday language as an idiomatic expression. But whether spoken, sung or uttered in praise these lines often appear arranged in the same manner with the slight variations where, for example, the lines, "Ibonga ngentlokoma/Inceb' engakanana" sometimes appear as "Ndibonge ngentlokoma/Le nceb' ingakanana." In a situation of worship these lines refer to the sacrifice done by Jesus Christ to buy the likes of his followers with his sacrificial death. Generally, the lines imply that someone has made a sacrifice worthy of praise by a thousand mouths. After being originally a written hymn this verse has successfully drifted into the realm of memorised and orally transmitted verse. In the context of Wauchope's article, the lines portray the editor of Isigidi as a sacrifice upon which the survival of the nation depends. Wauchope compares the editor of Isigidi to the editors of white newspapers and finds the latter more comfortable because readers can choose among a number of newspapers and may simply avoid the newspaper with which they are dissatisfied. But since there is only one Xhosa newspaper, Xhosa readers of various tastes demand satisfaction from the editor. Wauchope compares this editor to Charles Brownlee's wife who fed the people during major national disasters. Wauchope puts it thus:

(Isigidimi, 1884.3.1:2)

(He can be compared to the wife of Naphakade, the son of Brownlee, when that great woman had to wake up at dawn to cook lots of porridge for the refugees of the great influenza, Mhlakaza and Nongqawuse disasters. These refugees rummaged the countryside uprooting mimosas, braving sleets, eating grass warbles, cabbage trees, climbing plants and edible roots until a Khoi maroder came and said, “Crawl on to Charles’s home” – and so it was, so that today we still have the remnants of Tshiwo’s progeny.)

The memory lines of the verse reinforce the idea of sacrifice exemplified by Brownlee’s wife above by adding the Christian understanding of the term. Now that this chorus appears as a written word, it can be viewed as praise poetry as well, in the manner of praise poetry that uses idiomatic expressions. The lines are used without forewarning but the poet shifts from prose to poetry with remarkable ease and spontaneity. He concludes his article with a praise poem for the editor, a poem which is a further example of Wauchope’s dramatic shifts from prose to poetry. Wauchope’s conclusion is put thus (Poem III):
Unjalo uMhleli weSigidimi Sama-Yosa, ngu-

Malahl' anothuthu
Unganyatheli wotsha
Nangani uMantyi, nangani uGqirha
Woghutywa yinjabav' enkulu.

ulo gqothiso lomkhombe,
ulo bhul' iminyani
ad' azalis' ingobozi
Usayama ngentab' enzwakazi.

Uthambo dala kade liqongqothwa,
Uzwi laziwa ngumfi uSobantu,
UNdaziwa naseKapa
NgooDomala nooSawala.

(Isigidimi, 1884.3.1:5)

(Such is the Editor of Isigidimi Sama-Yosa, he is -

Live coals ash covered
Don't step on them, they will burn you,
Whether a Magistrate, whether a Doctor
He'll be handled by the great Jabavu.

He is the horn of a rhino,
He is the one that thrashes empty corn heads
Until he fills a basket,
He who leans against the lady's mountain.

The old bone so often knocked on a rock for its
Murrow,
He whose voice is known to the late Sobantu,
He who is known even in Cape Town
By the likes of de Waal and Sauer.)

In the creation of the above poem, Wauchope demonstrates his poetic skill. The poem is evidently composed especially for Jabavu, but the poet presents it in a spontaneous manner as if it is memorised personal poetry. In order to make the poem appeal as memorised praise
poetry, he lends it lines from traditional poetry. For example, the opening two lines, are borrowed from the clan praises of the Cethe clan to which Wauchope himself belongs. The lines, "Nangani uMantyi, nangani uGqirha/Woqhutywa yinJabav' enkulu," appear basically as improvised lines written like memorised lines. Here Wauchope uses the advantage of writing to combine the art of improvisation with the presentation of memorised lines in rapid movement. The terse expression "Nangani uMantyi" has been shortened so that it can imitate the traditional memorised line. The use of repetition mimics traditional praise poetry techniques in aiding the memory. In the last line of the first stanza, Jabavu’s name has been transformed into an abstract term in an attempt on the poet’s part to erase the prosaic mode of the line.

The use of the word "Ulo" in the second stanza echoes Ntsikana’s song in praise of God. But in this instance it is used to effect brevity. Again repetition is used to aid the memory and to promote the rhythm of the lines. The form "Usayama" is often found in traditional personal praise poetry where a name is formed by prefixing "-sa-" to a verb stem. This creates an allusion to the deeds of the person being praised. Here the line, "Usayama ngentab’ enzwakazi" could be referring to Jabavu’s leaning against the British government and against
western education, if "inzvakazi" is interpreted as Queen Victoria.

Again the line, "Uthambo 'dala kade ligongqothwa" is a free-floating poetic line found in traditional poetry, which poets normally harness in their praise poetry to enrich it. Opland (1998:56) makes the following observation:

Now apart from these personal lines, there also occur groups of words that might be called traditional, in that they are common property of other poets in the tradition, phrases of general application or usefulness.

The repeated use of the copulative formative "u-" enhances the quality of memorised traditional poetry, so that, though the lines, "Uzwi laziwa ngumfi uSobantu,/Undaziwa naseKapa/NgoDoma/la nooSawala" are clearly improvised by Wauchope's pen, their presentation answers to memorised personal praises. Here the term "improvised" is used to cover all poetry that is composed at the moment of writing. Although Wauchope's poem is composed in stanzas in the manner of western poetry, the compact and terse lines give it the quality of memorised personal poetry. Thus, as a writer, Wauchope uses both the skill of poetry writing that he has learnt at school
and the traditional Xhosa method of presentation. The fact that while writing prose he can still break into poetry, brings into his poetry the quality of spontaneity as well as the idea of quick improvisation. Yet at the back of our minds we know that because he writes, he must have spent time working at a poem. The division into stanzas serves mainly to highlight the traditional method of recalling praise lines which often come as memory blocks of a number of about three to five lines per block. For example, the lines of the first stanza have a character of their own, with the last two lines complimenting or explaining the first two. The first two lines suggest that though on the surface the editor seems harmless, he can actually be quite vicious. The last two lines elaborate on that by stating that he has handled magistrates and doctors (perhaps Dr James Stewart of Lovedale) without fear.

The lines of the second and third stanzas are bound together by parallelism. They form two distinct memory blocks with the last stanza adding specific details and actual names to the generalised sentiments of the second stanza.

Wauchope uses personal praises to single out important individuals and to acknowledge their central roles.
Referring to the composition of personal praises, Opland (1998:12) observes that "Men may compose little autobiographical izibongo, which they may shout out while dancing or fighting." Wauchope normally picks up an important occasion that may resemble a ceremony or fighting. Then to replace the admiration that would be shown for men dancing or fighting he often picks up good deeds that individuals do for their nation and praise them for those deeds. In the following example, Wauchope gives us a picture of the Templars attending their jubilee (Poem IV):

Seletsheleza uNobhala wendlu enkulu nento kayise u-

Ngondolo jampondolo
Sundu lisekhaya
Apho lisikwa khona
Dondolo masikhondolo.

Lulapha ubengu lukaKata lwakuloJingqi intanga kaMhlathi. Ilapha into kaNgesi umNdlambe ikroti elikhulu. Zilapha iingxiba zikaLabi into kaMaqanda amaNgwevu, kunye nengq' uva kaSasanti umTempile ngentliziyi. Ndiyishiyelani na into kaMkoti umNkabane omkhulu, into elwa ngokwechelesi, nento kaKama u-

Ndolosa kuhamba
Umde ngentonga
Ntondini yakwaJwarha.

(Isigidimi, 1887.8.1:60)

(And the national Secretary, son of his own father

Ngondolo japondolo
The branch is at home
Where it is cut to size
Dondolo masikhondolo.

The sharp son of Kata of the Jingqi people, Mhlathi’s peer, was there. The son of Ngesi a great Ndlambe hero was there. The tall sons of Labi of Maqanda of the Ngwevu clan were there, and so was the bald headed son of Sasanti, a Templar at heart. I leave to you the son of Mkoti a great mNkabane by clan, one who fights like a honey ratel, as well as the son of Kama

Who treads with brave steps
Tall through his stick
Great fellow of the Jwarha clan.)

In the first instance, Wauchope uses the praises of the father of the general secretary of the Templars to praise the latter. This subject is not identified by his name but by the praise poetry of his father. This implies that the general secretary is well-known, or it could be Wauchope himself, trying to hide his own identity. The first and last lines of the praise poem are linked together by internal rhyme as well as the dominant “o” sound. Besides contributing a beautiful sound pattern, the expressions themselves carry no meaning of their own. Opland (1998:12) notes that sense is sometimes sacrificed for sound and rhythm in memorised praise poetry. He maintains that personal praise poetry is sometimes “uttered with little regard for communication of sense”. Opland (1998:12) adds,
... these same memorised izibongo may be used on completely inapposite occasions: it is not the words so much as the sound of the verbal activity and the emotional rising intonation that is significant. Again, since memory is at work here, misunderstanding on the part of the memorisers may render their poems nonsensical, or they may not themselves fully understand what they are saying.

Here Opland overlooks an important poetic device. The idea of straying from the expected sense to the unexpected represents the art of testing or pricking the brains of the listeners or participants who also share in the competition. From the above it can be assumed that in his research Opland was in contact with a variety of poets without any means on his part of determining who is a true poet and who is not. In Wauchope’s case we can determine that he deliberately sets out to introduce sound effects in his poem. The middle lines represent traditional praise lines, and they are carefully bound together by the sound effects, “Nqondolo japondolo” and “Dondolo masikhondolo.” Memorised praise poetry is the property of the people which renders it unnecessary for an individual poet to attempt to explain the meaning. The lines are merely presented so that they can on their own appeal to the memory and knowledge of individuals.
Again the prose section possesses some poetic qualities which are sustained by the continued repetition of "-lapha" and "ka-" as well as the references to the names of the ancestors. Once again the copulative formatives are used to bind together the praises of Kama, and the line, "Umde ngentonga" is drawn from collective memory. The line, "Ntondini yakwaJwarha" has been created by the use of the term of admiration, "Ntondini" accompanied by the clan name "-Jwarha". Though this line appears as part of Kama's praise poetry, it nevertheless features on the same tier as the poetry in the prose section. This implies that the section that now features as prose can still be written as lines of poetry. The only difference such an alteration would incur is the creation of greater passion and deeper emotion.

There is an interesting article written for *Imvo* (1889.9.12:3) on the Literary Society in Lovedale. The identity of the contributor is not given beyond the statement, "Ngumbhaleli wethu" (By our correspondent). The style in which the article is written is Wauchope's, his characteristic display of the names of important people and the use of these names as a decorative feature of the occasion being described, as well as the generous admiration of individuals displayed by the use of expressions like "iinto zoo-" (sons of), are all
reminiscent of Wauchope's flambouyant style. But what lends the article identity as Wauchope's work even more is the central poem in praise of Queen Victoria. In a typical manner, the writer breaks into poetry without warning, and there is an even flow from prose to poetry and back to prose. Furthermore, the praise poem ends with a memorised line of the Cethe clan praises, the latter being Wauchope's clan. The line, "Silwangangubonye" is the line he sometimes uses as his pen name, with the special addition of "-nye" to the clan name functioning as his signature tune. Wauchope presents the poem (Poem IX) thus:

Nge30 August, yayingumhla omkhulu, -. kwakubambene ooMessrs E.Harries noE.Dower. Umbuzo wale Debate wawungulo:- "Umbuso kaQueen Elizabeth, (inkosazana yasemaNgesini eyangena embusweni nge1558) wawulunge ngaphezulu na kunalo wenkosazana yethu uQueen Victoria?" Yeka ke mfonini! Yaphathwa emsileni inyoka! Yathetha imidaka yada yalambisa ukukhusela uQueen Victoria

Umaze enebamba
Ephala neenkabi,
Ukhaya leendwendwe,
Umfaz' onga 'ndoda;
Umthunzi omkhulu
Emin' emaganda,
Kwiimpanza ngeempanza
Likhaka likhaya.
Iingqege zeBhondi
Zokhumka amenyo,
Iintshaba zontsundu
Zotyaphak' amehlo;
Bodan' ooxoshomba
Ighosh' imibombo
Kuba ngezi mini
Silwa ngangubonye.

(Imvo, 1889.9.12:3)

(30 August was a great day, - there was a battle between Messrs E. Harries and E. Dower. The question for this Debate was:— "Was the rule of Queen Elizabeth, (the British queen who was crowned in 1558) better than that of our queen, Queen Victoria?" You wait for it, my good fellow! The snake had been touched on its tail! Blacks spoke until their navies caved in protecting Queen Victoria -

Female with a tusk
Who gallops with the males.
Home to visitors
Woman that's like a man.
Great shade
At midday
To many a destitute person
She is the shield, the home.
Mongrels of the Bond
Will lose their teeth.
Enemies of the black man
Will lose their eyes.
Exploiters will be disappointed,
They will swallow their pride
Because these days
We fight with a common blanket.)

From an ordinary narrative mode, Wauchope moves to a state of dramatic interaction by using exclamations like, "Yeka ke mfondini!" and "Yaphathwa emsileni inyoka!" These are indicative of the heat of the debate in which the members of the Lovedale Literary Society are involved. Wauchope's appreciation of Queen Victoria is expressed in a personal praise poem which mimics the traditional Xhosa way of high admiration. The traditional copulative formative "u-" is used to compare Queen
Victoria to the various phenomena of nature. The lines, "UmaZ' enebamba/Ephala neenkabi" are drawn from collective memory to lend the quality of strength to Queen Victoria. She is compared to an elephant, with huge tusks. The line, "Umfaz' onga 'ndoda" is also drawn from collective memory, but it has been shortened even further from the traditional line, "Umfaz' onga yindoda" in order to lend it more rhythm and rapid movement. In Ntsikana's song we find a similar linguistic structure, reminiscent of traditional praise poetry. Ntsikana also uses the copulative formative "u-", for example: "Ulo Thixo omkhulu, ngosezulwini./UnguWena, Wena, Khaka lenyaniso." Here too the lines are designed to sustain a definite rhythmic pattern. Instead of saying "Ungulo Thixo", the lyricist shortens the word structure to "Ulo Thixo Wauchope mingles the traditional lines from collective memory with the lines that are his own invention like, "Iingqeqe zeBhondi/Zokhumka ameny." This gives us an impression of how personal praise poetry is created. The line from his clan praises, "Silwa ngangubonye" has been adapted to the queen's praises in such a manner that, while it functions basically as a statement of unity (appearing here as two words), it also echoes the praise line of Wauchope's clan praises, "Silwangangubo" (appearing as one word). The double role of this line reinforces the idea of unity. Clan names and praises play
a central role in unifying people as already discussed. So when Queen Victoria is lent the praises of the Cethe clan, this gesture binds the British government to the black people. This sentiment supports the actions of the black people who defend Queen Victoria in the debate as stated in the article. The improvised lines, "Iingqeze bhondi/Zokhumka amenyc/Iintshaba zontsundu/Zotyaphak' amehlo," basically constitute a prose structure, which, as it appears as poetic lines mingled with the traditional lines, also becomes a poetic presentation. They mark the thin dividing line between improvised praise poetry and memorised poetry. They are also another example of Wauchope's shifts from prose to poetry and vice versa, where the lines of poetry cannot hide the prose structures and prose cannot suppress the poetic mode.

The lines,

Kwiimpanza ngeempanza
Likhaka, likhaya,

maintain a balance between traditional poetry and Wauchope's own invention. As it is, it is hard to measure the poet's craftsmanship and separate that from the borrowed traditional artistry. Repetition in "Kwiimpanza
ngeempanza" is a traditional technique, but in this particular line it could easily be Wauchope’s effort to make the line look and sound traditional. Alliteration and internal rhyme in the line, "Likhaya, likhaka" could equally be attributed to the poet’s skill as well as to traditional poetry. In its creation, therefore, a personal praise poem assembles lines from collective memory with the poet’s own invention and statements. With today’s Xhosa poets individual invention and statements have developed into what Opland identifies as "improvised poetry". Lines from collective memory have been drastically curtailed in an effort by poets to emphasise individual talent. The lines of Wauchope’s poem in praise of Queen Victoria are not divided into stanzas which gives it a more traditional look.

Queen Victoria’s praise poem is contrived to sound like traditional praise poetry, but it compares well with the following poem (Poem XII) which appears to have less, if any, invention by Wauchope:

Into elulwimi, elunyawo. Into ethi ntu apha, igxagxamise nje kuthi ntu phaya, naphaya, naphaya, ishiye. Into engabhekiyo ngasemva kuba ingakhathali. Hayi umfo omelele:

Yinto kaMxinini;
UMBabala ephemba izinja,
Ndithetha ezamaNqgosini.
Ndingathethi ezakulonolingo,
Ndithetha ezakulokhab' uthikoloshe,
Into eyoze ingcwatywe
Ngecephe lenkala
Mhlana ibhubhayo.
Ntloko yenkewu, hihi!
Wayinyhalela, hihi!
Azikhuhle esingele
Uphemb' eshiya!

(Imvo, 1891.3.26:3)

(The thing talks, goes everywhere. The thing sets alight here and then hurries to set alight there and there, and disappears. The thing never looks back for he does not care. And the fellow is strong:

Son of Mxhinini
Antelope that confuses the dogs,
I mean those of the Ngqosinis.
I don’t mean those of Nolingo’s home,
I mean those of Khaba, who kicks the dwarf,
The fellow will be buried
In a crab’s shell
When time comes for him to die.
Head of a rascal, ha ha!
Which you scorn, ha ha!
He rubs himself as he heads off.
That’s him who kindles a fire and turns to go.)

Repetition dominates the introductory prose and lends it a poetic mood like the previous examples. The lines look original with the references to the Ngqosini clan, Nolingo and Khab’ uthikoloshe featuring so casually as if we should know the incidents which involved these names. This is because traditional poetry is delivered as if it is common knowledge. Since in this article Wauchope discusses idioms, poetry contributes its wisdom to the discussion. Similarly, the lines (Poem XIII),
Kufa wena ulutshaba
Kwinto zonk' ezino bom,
Konde okusemhlabeni
Phambi kwakho kuyagoba

(Imvo, 1891.4.23)

(Death you are the enemy
To everything that has life,
Everything on earth
Bows down to you.)

add wisdom to the discussion of the idiom, "Ukugxwala emswaneni" (to bellow over offal). Here Wauchope transforms a common saying into verse and introduces it with the expression "Okwenene" (Indeed) which implies that he draws these words from common wisdom. The same originality is shown when Wauchope quotes a chant (Poem XIV) commonly associated with the witches:

Tyelel' emaBambeni,
Tyelel' emaBambeni,
Hi wada wadinwa
Umfo wakwaSombamba
    Hom hi-hi-hi-.

(Imvo, 1891.4.23)

(Pay a visit to maBambeni clan,
Pay a visit to maBambeni clan,
Hi until he grows tired
The man from Sombamba’s people.
    Hom hi-hi-hi-.)

It is interesting that Wauchope uses praise poetry and chants quite freely in his discussion of the idioms. It is as though he sees them belonging together as a source
of wisdom. The use of idioms in poetry and poetry with idioms is therefore not accidental but these are seen as coming from a common source.

Wauchope also uses praises of animals to boost the level of his instruction on Xhosa life and behaviour. He starts his article on the behaviour of the Christians, titled, "Amaramente Aselayo," with a poem in praise of a dog. Clearly this is a well-known dog in his locality, and to give the story more credibility, he mentions the name and clan name of the dog's owner, namely Rholinyathi of the Ntshilibe clan. The dog's praises (Poem XVII) are:

Nqangakhiwebe!
'Hlu lwam lobuhlali
Mbokothwana yam yengcinisini
Ndilinde ndingunyoko!
(1893.10.11)

(Nqangakhiwebe!
My string of beads
My little grinding stone for medicine
Wait for me I am your mother!)

Opland (1983:35) quotes Monica Wilson's interview with a Mpondo (belonging to the same language group as the Xhosá) man called Geza who says, "People and animals are praised for gallant deeds ... Those who are praised are men and boys, bulls, oxen, cows, horses, dogs, cocks, and certain birds." In the above praise poem Nqangakhiwebe is
praised because of his/her success as a hunting dog. The lines that constitute memorised praise poetry are normally arranged as "packages" of information that, though often put together, need not necessarily be related to each other. They can then be arranged in any order each time the praise poem is sung. The lines,

'Hiu lwam lobuhlali
Mbokothwana yam yengcinisini

from the above poem, are an example of such "packages" which often appear as copulatives. These lines can be arranged with the second line coming first and this will not alter the meaning. It should be remembered that packaging information like this is a way of aiding memory and transmission from generation to generation. In the absence of writing skills an efficient system of storing, easy rememberance and transmission of information had to be designed. In order to be memorable, the information has to be striking and should have a strong impact that a brief but loaded statement can make. Unpacking the information in the lines is another process, and it involves the elderly and the wise who normally give instruction to the young and up-coming generation. In the same manner as Wauchope does in his articles, especially where he explains Xhosa idioms, the
explanation of a line may constitute a long verbal instruction or a narrative. In Wauchope's articles the explanation appears in prose. Why there is so much interaction between prose and poetry is because prose sustains explanations and poetry is the vehicle for transporting important information. The elderly people were, therefore, important in the cultural lives of the Xhosa people because they were custodians of information that remained locked up in the lines of poetry. Without the elderly people to explain the poetic lines and to give instruction the condensed information remained obscure and inaccessible. For example, in the above two lines we can only guess the values that were attached to the beads which have become part of Xhosa culture. We know that they were highly valued because they were bought with cattle which were central in Xhosa life and thought. They must have been quite precious, probably the value we attach to gold in today's society. It is by thus guessing the value of beads that we can determine the relationship between the hunter and his dog, as well as the importance of hunting. Similarly, it would require an elderly person, knowledgeable in the culture of the Xhosa people, to explain what "imbokothwana ... yengcinisini" signified in the olden days. It is only two lines, but the information they retain about the value systems of the Xhosa people, the stories, history, myths, beliefs,
etc, can be covered by a lengthy instruction in prose. Thus we view the personal praise poem dedicated to Soga as a condensation of his biography (Poem XIX):

\begin{verbatim}
USongcangcashe
UNTonga inembaxa yaseQawukeni;
UZola kaNkungu, ungub' isetyeni'
Ndotshis' amatye khe ndikuyale:
UNkwenkwezi zizivatho zezulu,
UXuwa linkangezi;
Abalimi na abalingweneleyo?
ULim' intabalala
ULimel' ing'ang'ane lithi ng'a,
UDolo limdaka:
Ingqothc yakoPhakama,
USihlala ndulini bayoyikayo,
USihlala ndulini kaNomshwaka.
(Imvo, 1895.12.19)
\end{verbatim}

(Father of Ngcangcashe
The two-pronged stick from Qawukeni
Zola, son of Nkungu, his blanket is on the rock
I'll burn stones and counsel you:
He is the stars that dress up the sky,
He is the site that is in a valley;
Why can't those who so desire occupy it?
He is the one that ploughs a lot
He ploughs for the hadadah until its mouth is wide open,
He ploughs for the hadadah.
He is the one with a dirty knee:
The feared one from Phakama's home,
He who lives on the feared hill,
He who lives on Nomshwaka's hill.)

All the lines of the poem contribute something of significance about the life of Soga, but it would require someone with knowledge of Soga's historical background to unravel the meanings of the lines. The first line refers to his progeny hence the use of "Songcangcashe" which
means "father of Ngcangcashe." The process of unpacking this line would reveal the whole lineage from Soga to the present generation. Chalmers (1923.ix) attempts this to a limited extent. This is a fitting example of the amount of knowledge required to explain a short memory line. In the second line, "UNtonga inembaxa yaseQawukeni," the phrase "UNtonga inembaxa" would demand possession of relevant knowledge which at this stage can be regarded as lost information. We can only guess that the two-pronged stick referred to here has something to do with Soga's traditional background on the one hand, and his newly-found Christian style of life on the other hand. It is stated however that his home was at "Qawukeni lomNgcangatelo" on the banks of the Tyhume River (Chalmers, 1923:vi). While the first half of the line could be said to bear the story of Soga's encounter with the whites and the missionaries leading to his ultimate conversion, the second half carries information about where and how he grew up. Chalmers presents a couple of these lines in prose form, which, again stresses the interchangeability between verse and prose: "Alal' apho ke Mlesi amathambo kaSoga uDololimdaka, iNtong' enembaxa yaseQawukeni, elinde uVuko lokuGqibela" (Chalmers, 1923:xiii). The lines,

ULim' intabalala
ULimel' ing'ang'ane lisithi ng'a,

Could be referring to Soga's adoption of the western way of preparing the land with a plough. Where we would require an old person to relate the story of how Soga got to use the European plough, we have a written account by C.L. Stretch (Chalmers, 1923:4):

Andamqhula na ngamizan' apha ngokuthi "kanti uzithanda kangaka nje iinkomo ezi, akuzimbi na nanzi zilele phantsi kwezi ntili zimcmbalala zeTyhume nje?" suka umnt' omkhulu wandiwa ngentsini ngokuvimba kwam. Ndintyhilele endikuthethayo, ukulinywa komhlaba lo eyona nto ityebisa abantu aba kunje. Ndintyhilele ukuba angatyebe ngelanga elime imifuno enokuthengwa ngulo mkhosi simelene naxo eFort Cox, ndamyalela apho iiimbewu-mbewana angazizuza zilichele khona. Ndalukene loo mini noSoga, ndothuka ngamhla uthile ndisalama umfo ongumXhosa ebaleka esiza ngakowethu apha ngemigcobo emikhulu nemikhwazo: "Wa Xolilizwe, nanzi iinkomo akuboni na izandla zam sezisele yisilivere yamaJamani neefagolweni!"

(One day I jokingly said to him: "If you like cattle so much why don't you dig them from the stretching valleys of the Tyhume?" The great fellow just laughed at me for being so stingy. I then explained to him what I meant, namely, the cultivation of the land which makes people so rich. I told him that he would be rich within a day if he could grow vegetables that can be bought by the regiment in the neighbouring Fort Cox, and I advised him where he can find plenty of seeds. That was the last I saw of Soga, then one day I saw a Xhosa man running in the direction of my home shouting exultedly, "Hey, Xolilizwe, here are cattle. Can't you see my hands are full of the soldiers' silver and half-a-crowns!")
Stretch continues to say from then on Col. Smith organised a plough and people to train Soga to grow crops and vegetables. Evidently this cannot be the only story told about Soga’s new venture. In the poem, however, all this is condensed to two lines that may mean little to those that have not got the knowledge. These few lines of Soga’s personal poetry contain volumes of important information about him. It is unfortunate, however, that very little of the information can be thawed out of the poem.

Wauchope uses the epitaph on Tiyo Soga as the latter’s personal poetry. This gives us an opportunity to compare the straightforward lines of the epitaph with the condensed lines of old Soga’s personal poem, preserving as they do information for the future generations. While the epitaph is a mere statement of obvious facts, Soga’s lines are allusions to hidden stories, history, incidents, events as well as to various aspects of culture. This is how the epitaph appears on paper (Poem XX):

“ELI LITYE LELOKUKHUMBULA UREV. TIYO SOGA”
“Owokuqala umfundisi wohlanga lwakwa-Xhosa.
Owemiswa ngokubekwa izandla.
Ebesihlobo sikaThixo,"
Esithandwa sonyana wakhe.
Ekhanyiselwe nguMoya wakhe.
Engumfundisi weLizwi lakhe eliNgcwele.
Umtandi wamakwabo nowabantu bonke.
Unyana ohlonle abazali,
Umzalwana onobubele.
Umyeni onofefe.
Umzali onemfesane.
Isihlobo esithembekileyo.
Umfundisi ofundileyo:
Iciko lokuThetha.
Umfo ondilekileyo;
Umshumayeli weenDaba eziLungileyo
Owazincamela emsebenzini weNkosi
Yakhe.
UmXhosa ongumfuziselowo.

("IN MEMORY OF THE REV. TIYO SOGA"
"The fist Xhosa missionary
Who was inducted by a formal ordination.
He was God’s dear one,
He was loved by His Son.
He was inspired by His Spirit.
He was the minister of his Holy Word.
One who loved his people and everyone.
As a son he respected his parents,
A friendly brother.
A graceful husband.
A merciful parent.
A trusted friend.
A learned minister:
An eloquent speaker.
A dignified fellow;
Preacher of the Gospel
Who sacrificed all for the work of his Lord.
A model Xhosa.")

Most of what is said in the epitaph about Tiyo Soga’s
calling and commitment is condensed into one short line
in old Soga’s personal poem, namely, “UDolo limdaka”. On
the surface this line refers to a dirty knee, but in
reality it means one who is always at prayer. This
further implies that he is dedicated to the work that is his calling. The line gives a striking dramatic picture while the alliteration lends the line its aesthetic quality. The sound of the words appeals to the ear and the line itself appears as a proper name which makes it easy to commit to memory. On the other hand the lines from the epitaph mean only what they say, and possess no provocative quality that would induce one to ask questions, but, like the lines of Soga’s praise poem, the simple lines from the epitaph are a representation of many unsaid stories and events involving Tiyo Soga. The intention of both sets of artists is to condense a long story of a person’s life time into a few short lines. The first of the two poems is however more advanced and sophisticated.

Wauchope cleverly transfers the singing of praise poetry from a traditional situation of armed conflict to one of active participation in nation building (Poems XXXVII and XXXVIII):

Yeka ke! Yakufika indodana eliciko kunene ethunyelwe ngumzukulwana

KaSongcangcashe,
KaDolo limdaka,
KaNkwenkwezi zizivatho zezulu.
Ndithetha uMr A.K.Soga othumele iponti, efike yacikozza – zawelana iindonga. Yeka ke! Yakufika inephika iponti ka-

Mde ngentonga, Tshoba lijikele emyeni, Usigaba Qumrha belixekeza, Bethi slikholwa nguNomaphuzi.

Ndithetha into kaBokwe, konakala. Yeka ke! Yakuvakala ikhonya imazi enethole – [one pound one shilling], yakuloJili (Mr J.T.J.) zaqala zabonga iimbongi. Avuka amaHleke! Avuka amaJwarha! Avuka amaNywabe! Avuka amaNgwevu! Avuka amaChwama! Avuka amaCirha!

(Imvo, 1897.12.9)

(You wait for it! There arrived an eloquent young man sent by the grandson

Of the father of Ngcangcashe, Of the one with a dirty knee, Of him of the stars that dress up the skies.

I am referring to Mr A.K.Soga who sent his one pound which waxed eloquent – and the competition was even. You wait for it! Another one pound came panting from

One that’s tall through his stick The whisk has swept round a bush They smear red clay while scorning it Saying they prefer Nomaphuzi.

I am referring to the son of Bokwe, now there was trouble. You wait for it! The good mother from Jili’s home (Mr J.T.J.) made its call – [one pound one shilling], and that got the poets singing praises. The Hleke clan came alive! The Jwarha clan came alive! The Nywabe clan came alive! The Ngwevu clan came alive! The Chwama clan came alive! The Cirha clan came alive!)

Wauchope himself states that the poet used to urge people to battle. In The Natives, he says, “to urge the warriors to death custom was always ready with the ‘Imbongi’ and
the war song" (1908:10). In the above examples the poet uses praise poetry to acknowledge the good deeds of some nation builders. A.K.Soga is praised with the poetry of his grandfather. Once again we encounter the use of parallelism as a style of recalling from memory as the poet uses the possessive "Ka-". Wauchope applies a similar technique when he praises N.C.Umhalla with the praise poetry (Poem XLI) of one of his ancestors:

Mbonda kaSigqeku,
UNgwe yina la ebomvu,
UNgcuka lirhwexu elimdaka;
USozikhohokotho,
UJiyis' uwuca.

(1899.7.3)

(Mbonda of Sigqeku
He who is a red leopard with white spots.
He who is a spotted hyena;
Father of Zikhohokotho,
He who thickens the gruel.)

The line, "Mde ngentonga" in the praises of J.K.Bokwe is derived from collective memory and is normally used as a praise line for brave men of short stature, or short men with great achievements. We encounter this line in the praises of Kama (already discussed). More poetry dominates the prose section following the praises of Bokwe, sustained by the use of repetition of the phrase "Avuka" and the use of clan names. The line, "Usiqaba Qumrha beligxekeza" is dominated by a play on sounds, a
feature that is found in abundance in memorised praise poetry. These are catch lines that normally appeal to memory with their sounds that effect eloquence. Wauchope’s poetry here is accompanied by much drama and action, introduced as often, by the expression, “Yeka ke!” which he often uses to introduce action and to show his admiration of the participants.

Other examples of spontaneous poetry are preaching and prayer. Though these are improvised at the spur of the moment, Wauchope writes them down in the style of memorised poetry. In his article titled, “Ngubani na lo Kush?” Wauchope argues that the teachings of the new Ethiopian Church are brainwashing people into believing that they are now in command of western civilization in South Africa. In order to emphasise the danger of these teachings having been absorbed into the collective memory bank of the people and being regurgitated with much fervour and dedication, Wauchope presents these teachings in the form of memorised praise poetry (Poem XXXIX) thus:

“Nazo izikhephe,
Nabo ocololiwe,
Nazo iiGolide,
Iingxowa zemigubo,
Amabhali amabhayi;
Ilifa likaKushe
Elaphangwa ngabelungu
Nalo libuya!
Kade sicudiswa,
Kade sikhanyangwa,
Siboniwe namhla."
(Im Vo, 1898.2.24)

(There are the ships,
There are the trains
There is Gold,
Pockets of flower,
Bales of blankets;
Kush’s own legacy
Which was stolen by the whites
Is now coming back!
We have been oppressed for too long,
We have long been enslaved,
Today we are saved.”)

The dominant features of memorised poetry found in the above preaching are parallelism in “Nanzo”, “Nabo”, “Nazo” and repetition of “Kade”. The falsehood of this “poetry” however lies in the fact that its lines enumerate physical objects that people can see. They are, therefore, devoid of memory, history, stories, culture, etc that memorised poetry is known for. As they refer to here and now, they are open to a critical view. That the objects enumerated are Kush’s heritage, for example, can be disputed. It is also questionable that the speakers’ day of freedom has come as they claim: “Siboniwe namhla”. In this way Wauchope declaims these preachings as false instruction and dismisses them as another Nongqawuse\(^8\) incident.

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\(^8\) In 1856 Nongqawuse claimed that the spirits of the ancestors would free the people from white bondage on a specified day. She ordered the killing of cattle in preparation for the appointed day, but nothing happened and people started to die of starvation.
Memorised poetry: personal praises for royalty and heroes

Concerning today's praise poetry, Gunner (1991:11) maintains that "the new kind of izibongo challenges any suggestion that izibongo are only the preserve of kings or the preserve of those who emphasise ethnic rather than national loyalties." She sees this genre as belonging to the workers and "progressive organisations," as something of a public property. Kaschula (1991:24) also makes a similar observation, stating that, "iimbongi produce praises at various functions such as graduation ceremonies, retirement parties, the opening of schools, creches, clinics and so on." What both critics seem to suggest is that the idea of popular poetry governs the production and performance of poetry today. In Wauchope's time praise poetry also appears to have been the property of the people. One can sense that the spirit in which he volunteers to publish the praise poems of important Xhosa leaders is that of taking to the people what belongs to them, as this poetry already exists in the collective memory of the nation. In this case he invents nothing but proudly displays his broad knowledge of the praises of the Xhosa royalty and the heroes. His feeling of self-importance can be detected in the casual remarks he makes
as he moves from praise poem to praise poem, comments like (Imvo, 1897.12.2), "Makhe ndithi gqada kuloma emaMbalwini" (Let me make a leap to my mother's people the Mbalu people) and (Imvo, 1908.8.4) "Khawundiphe nto kaMhalla awakowenu akwaNdlambe amagorha ezo mini" (Can you give me something about the heroes of those days from your people, the Ndlambe, son of Mhalla?). Having the right old people from whom to gather knowledge similar to what Wauchope displays in the praise poetry of Xhosa leaders was a great privilege that clearly elevated an individual to a higher status in Wauchope's time, putting individual achievement side-by-side with the spirit of collective experience and national well-being. Gunner's comment (1991:7) bears some relevance to Wauchope's career when she says:

... praise poetry is a genre that has been and still is extremely open to appropriation by those who had or wished to have access to political power and influence. It can also be used by leaders wishing not only to validate the positions of power, but to include some groups and exclude others. Perhaps this is why it has been easy to "misread" it as a genre that is basically the preserve of the powerful, of kings and chiefs.

Considering that in the nineteenth century Xhosa kings and princes were closely watched and their power was curtailed, Wauchope was taking quite a bold step to
publish praises that were meant to lend royalty and Xhosa war heroes their true dignity and respect. This may be one of the reasons why he had become unpopular with some people in the colonial government, a sentiment that demonstrated itself in his trial and subsequent imprisonment in 1908. In 1888 (Imvo, 1898.12.20:3) he writes a poem in which he thanks God for the release of the black princes who were in prison, and the first stanza of the poem (Poem VIII) reads as follows:

Zikhululw' ebubanjweni
Iinkos' ebeziseshweni,
Zisindile ekufeni
Zibuyi' elusatheni.

(They have been released from imprisonment.
Those princes who had been unfortunate,
They have escaped death
They have come back to their families.)

There is also his famous article, written in 1882 (Imvo, 1892:6.1:4) in which he proposes a petition to be sent to the colonial government to plead for the release of black royalty from prison. This article is accompanied by his most quoted poem, "Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga." Thus Wachope deliberately uses poetry as a political statement, and he seems to view the praise poetry of royalty and heroes as high culture. Wachope seems to recognise that there is power in this kind of art and in his time it was
associated with royalty. Kashcula implies that the shift from praising kings and princes to praising potential organisations today is influenced by political power when he says:

... the most highly-regarded praises are those produced in honour of political organisations and political leaders, including those who align themselves with these organisations. The reason for this would seem to be that it is now these organisations, and to a large extent no longer the 'traditional' chiefs, which are important in the lives of the people.

Modestly acknowledging that praise singing is expected from old people, Wauchope apologetically states that (Imvo, 1897.11.18), "Andimbongi nkosi yam kwaandingumfana omncinane. Into endenza yona ndivuthela igwebu ukuba zivele iimbongi zakwaXhosa" (I am not a praise poet, sir, I am just a young man. What I am doing is to blow off the foam so that the true Xhosa praise poets should appear.) and that (Imvo, 1897.12.2) "andimbongi - asekho amaxhego omzi" (I am no praise poet - the old men of the nation are still there). This implies that to have such volume of knowledge one needs to be an old man who has been exposed to much information about his people over the years. Mafeje (1967:195) makes an important observation that "it is not everybody that can stand up in important political meetings and recite
verses, either for himself, the chief, or his cow." This observation supports my view (expressed earlier) that though not written, there are certain qualifications one is expected to display in order to be accepted as imbongi. In 1897 Wauchope was only 45 years old which suggests that he had made an extra effort to learn about his people's poetry quite early in life. He uses it to give himself the identity as a true Xhosa. As discussed in Chapter 4, Wauchope regards himself as "uMngcangatelo", these being the subjects of Tyhali. Wauchope's urban background and his light-brown complexion must have placed him in a marginalised position among the Xhosa people as already discussed. He then used his pen to bring himself into the region of mainstream Xhosa writers and nation builders. His recollection of the praises of royalty and the Xhosa heroes is random and not organised as would be something that is thoroughly researched and chronologically arranged. He seems to allow his memory to flow uninterrupted and records what comes to his mind at each given time. By looking at the position, on the lineage, of the princes whose praise poetry Wauchope records, one is able to gauge the extent of his knowledge. He focuses on more or less one generation and one that is not too remote from his own. Tyhali is Ngika's son from iqadi (minor house to the Great or Right Hand House); Obha and
Feni are his sons. Here the criterion he uses is the line of princes in his region of the Xhosa land, the Mngcangatelo area. Then he proceeds to the praises of Maqoma. Maqoma is Ngqika's son from the Right Hand House. He then records the praises of Kona, Maqoma's son from the Right Hand House and concludes his article with Namba, Maqoma's son from the Great House. The choice of Maqoma and his sons can be explained in no other way than the workings of memory.

In the next article (Imvo, 1897.12.2) Wauchope begins with Sandile, Ngqika's son to the Great House; then he goes on to Xhoxho, Ngqika's son from iqâdi to the Right Hand House. From here he jumps over to the Mbalu lineage and picks up Dodo, an obscure prince who does not feature in Soga's genealogy (1930:80); next comes Stokwe, Ngeno's son. Another jump takes him to Umhalla, Ndlambe's son to the Right Hand House; then he concludes by the praises of Sarhili, a Gcaleka King and Hintsa's son from the Great House.

Wauchope does not cover all the princes of the Ngqika people mainly because not all the princes would have personal praise poems and, moreover, his own knowledge of the praise poems of other princes may also be limited. Only the popular princes would have substantial personal
praise poetry. As already illustrated regarding memorised poetry, this personal praise poetry of the Ngqika princes on the whole remains obscure. Wauchope makes no attempt to unravel the meanings of the lines. It can be noted, however, that no princes share common lines, which implies that all the lines have been composed specifically for each prince. This can, therefore, be said to be high art. Mafeje (1967:194) makes the following remark:

It seems to me that poems composed for self-entertainment, amusement, and for the cattle and horses do not belong to the same class as poems composed for chiefs and notables. I would suggest that the latter category is a more serious type of undertaking and has great political significance.

Indeed, there seems to be some truth in what Mafeje says, because praise poetry of the kings and princes is more sophisticated, with more allusions to history, important incidents, wars, stories, myths, legends genealogies, cultural values, social values, and much other information traditionally embodied by the person of royal birth.

In Maqoma's poem (Poem XXVI), the line (Imvo, 1897.11.18:3), "Manqumla ntloko zoonomshwaka" (One who
cuts the head of Nomshwaka and his/her lot) echoes Soga's lines (Poem XIX), "USihlala ndulini bayoyikayo, /USihlala ndulini kaNomshwaka" (He who lives on the feared hill, /He who lives on Nomshwaka's hill). It is evident from these lines that Nomshwaka occupies a significant place in the lives of the Xhosa people of the past. Maqoma's praise poetry possesses the line (Imvo, 1897.11.18), "USayama ngentaba kaMngwazi eneenkom" (One who leans on Mngwazi's mountain which is covered with cattle) while Umhalla (Poem XXXV) is said to be (Imvo, 1897.12.2), "USayama ngentaba kaGqebeni" (One who leans on Gqebeni's mountain). The formula for creating these lines seems to be the same, and they both seem to refer to the geographical location of the homes of the princes whose praises are sung.

In most cases personal praise poems allude to the physical appearance and mannerisms of the person they are sung to. Feni (Poem XXV) is said to be (Imvo, 1897.11.18) "Umdak' ojongwe ziinkunzi-nkunzana" (The dark one who is watched by bulls and bullocks). Though we cannot explain what being watched by bulls and bullocks really means, we glean, however, that Feni is darker in colour. Maqoma (Poem XXVI) (Imvo, 1897.11.18) is also called "U Mdaka kaJwahele" (The dark son of Jwahele). Although
his mannerisms cannot be fully explained, Sandile (Poem XXX) is said to be (Imvo, 1897.12.2),

Intaka efinyez’ umqala ukub’ ihlale.  
Intaka esunduz’ umqala ukub’ isuke.

(The bird that shortens its neck when landing. 
The bird that stretches its neck when taking off.)

It is likely that Sandile somehow stretched out his neck when walking, maybe because of his deformity. Soga (1930:170) says that Sandile “Was a cripple from infancy, an infirmity which prevented him from engaging in many sports and other feats of strength.”

Matanzima (Poem XXX), one of Sandile’s sons, is said to be, “UXhonti lasëBholo,” which implies that he was hairy. Sometimes this poetry refers to incidents that may not be remembered today, but which were clearly seen as characteristic enough to be stored and recollected in poetry. Tyhali (Poem XXIII) is said be “UNozondwa ngemaz’ ewasakazi/YasesiKolweni kuloMjamba.” (One who is hated because of a black cow with a white belly/Which belongs to the School people of Mjamba’s family.). Clearly there is some incident involving the cow mentioned in the poem, but that incident has since ceased to be transmitted to the new generations. It would not be surprising, however,
to find that someone in the rural areas possesses this story about the cow from the Mjamba family, for, though one of the weaknesses of oral literature is dependence on a chance interaction between the informed generation and the new, such information is normally regarded as precious by individuals and treasured by them to be proudly shared whenever opportunity prevails. Obha (Poem XXIV) seems to have been the chief herdboy of his grandfather, Sandile’s stock. The lines, “Mlunguzwenkunzi kaSandile;/Nkomo zidl’ eTyhume zingaweli,/Ziye kusela kwelikaGqume” (Caretaker of Sandile’s bull;/One whose cattle graze at the Tyhume not crossing/To drink on Ngqume’s lands), suggest that Obha looked after the family herds taking care they did not cross the Tyhume River. It is not easy to determine who Ngqume was, but it is evident that individuals laid claims on divisions of land in the manner of white farmers. Ngqume could, in fact, be one of the white farmers. Feni (Poem XXV) is said to be, “UZamisa ngentungo kaKetile – efile yena/OkaNgogolo,” (He who uses Ketile ieg for stirring/While Ngogolo’s son is already dead), which implies some conflict between Feni, Ketile and Ngogolo.

Almost all the lines of this poetry begin with the copulative formative “U-”, which is one of the dominant features of personal praise poetry. Sometimes at the end
of the poem the poet adds, "njalo" (etc) or "njalo njalo" (etc, etc) which implies that the poet is not expected to say all the lines of this poetry, but only those lines he can remember at each given time. Though this is memorised poetry, there are no strict rules governing its presentation. Collective ownership of this poetry is thus acknowledged and its presenter often does so in the spirit of challenging other poets to add more or to do a more accurate presentation. It is essentially a collective process. It is for this reason that Wauchope claims that he is no poet and that there are still old men in the nation who can recall deeper. To accommodate the Mfengu princes who live among the Nqgika, he even attempts the praises of Bhungane, only he goes so far as to say the praises of the Hlubi nation without uttering a single line of the personal praises of Bhungane. This is partly intended to provoke the pride of the Mfengu people and to make them contribute what they know of their ancient king's praises.

Considering Wauchope's urban background, his vast knowledge of the praise poetry of Xhosa princes and heroes is a great achievement. He picks the praises of the Xhosa heroes randomly without following any order. The poetry that Wauchope writes is accompanied by a few details regarding each hero, and the whole article is
presented in the same conversational manner in which oral material is transferred. Though Mtyingili (Poem XLV) is said to have been a coward, his praises appear together with those of the heroes. Like the praises of Xhosa princes, the praises of Xhosa heroes are biographical snatches with obscure meanings. Wauchope actually identifies four names as Xhosa heroes, namely Ngxokela (Poem XLVI), Wasa (Poem XLVII), Mcoyana (Poem XLVIII) and Xhunge (Poem XLIX). In Wasa's praise poem the line, "Onxeba lisentloko lesinandile" (One with a bullet scar on his head) suggests that Wasa has been involved in conflicts with the colonists. In The Natives Wauchope presents a dramatic situation where the king invokes the bravery of his heroes by uttering their praise lines (the quotation has been used in Chapter 5 (pp 239-40) for a different purpose):

"Children of [Mlawu], the cattle have gone. You must follow and die."
Then he addressed his son Maqoma -

"Ycu of little horns,
Forcing the dawn of day,
You have been a boy all along,
You must become a man today,
This is your day."

To his one-eyed son, Tyhali, then a "boy" of 20 - "You must learn today to tie and milk a kicking cow." To the brave Monxoyi: "I see you are already thirsting for human blood."

To Mcoyana, the crooked-necked son of Fuleli, whose assegai never missed its mark -
"Son of Fuleli whose neck is twisted,
Pointing towards the Great Place,
Breaker of hard things with the teeth;
Go, let me not see you again."

To Xhunge - "Thou Sogolomashe Gatya lamKhwinti, i.e. Thou muscular; yet soft-hearted or amiable as a branch of the umKhwinti (Gazania pinnata or integrifolia). Look well after your indwe ... ."

(1908:27-28)

As the king addresses his heroes, he mixes pure memorised lines with instructions, thereby creating a combination of poetry and inspired speech. The lines, "Son of Fuleli whose neck is twisted/Pointing towards the Great Place," from Mcoyana's praises represent memorised poetry, but in Nqika's address they are accompanied by the line, "Go, let me not see you again," while the memorised line, "Thou Sogolomashe Gatya lamKhwinti" is a memorised line which now appears in prose form accompanied by the instruction, "Look well after your indwe." This intermingling of prose and poetry, drama and narration constitutes a powerful presentation of personal praises. It is as if poetry alone without prose is not sufficient to give a rounded picture of the subject of praise. The lines referring to Mcoyana are also definitive of his physical appearance, namely, his twisted neck.
Written poetry

Wauchope has formally composed and published about twenty poems in the newspapers. Prison poetry also features under this poetry. One of the first poems in this category is the poem “Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga” (Poem I). It appears in his article titled “Iinkosi zakwaXhosa”. In this article he makes a suggestion that the black people in the country should organise themselves and petition the government to release the princes that are in custody.

Wauchope then asks the question, “Sithini na ke?” (So what do we do?) Then he suggests, as an alternative to fighting with a spear, the use of a pen: “YILWANI NGOSIBA”, and, thereupon, he invites everyone to start fighting with a pen, and proposes as a start the signing of his suggested petition. He appeals to the readers by quoting James Ntsiko and reminding every one that, “Siluhlanga nto zakowethu, awu!” (We are a nation, oh my fellow countrymen.) As his conclusion Wauchope then presents his poem:

Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga,
Phuthuma, phuthuma;
Yishiy' imfakadolo,
Phuthuma ngosiba
Thabath' iphepha neinki,
Likhaka lakho elo.

Ayemk' amalungelo,
Qubula usiba;
Ngxasha, ngxasha ngeinki,
Hlala esitulweni,
Ungangeni kwaHoho,
Dubula ngosiba.

Thambeka umhlathi ke,
Bambelel' ebunzi,
Ziggale iiyaniso,
Umise ngomxholo;
Bek' izinto ungaliwi,
Umsindo liyilo.

(Isigidi, 1882.6.1:5)

(Your cattle are plundered, compatriot!
After them! After them!
Lay down the musket,
Take up the pen.
Seize paper and ink:
That's your shield.

Your rights are plundered!
Grab a pen,
Load, load it with ink;
Sit in your chair,
Don't head for Hoho:
Fire with your pen.

Press on the page,
Engage your mind;
Focus on facts,
And speak loud and clear;
Don't rush into battle:
Anger stutters.)

(Opland, 1997:9)

This poem is a powerful instruction to the black people.
In writing this poem, Wauchope seems to have believed
that the battle for human rights in South Africa was to
be led by school people. He seems to suggest, implicitly, that the era of physical conflicts has passed and a new class of blacks educated in western institutions is taking over the struggle. He makes the appeal directly to the school people to take up the fight and save the Xhosa royalty from complete defeat, hence the line, "Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga." This line represents a traditional Xhosa war cry. When invaders entered the land their first action would be to drive the cattle of the nation away with them. Thereupon the herdboys would report the incident to the men and a man would stand on a hill overlooking the village and shout, "Zemk' iinkomo magawalandini!" (Your cattle are plundered, you cowards!). Then all the men would come out armed for battle. Wauchope creates a similar situation and urges the men to fetch the nation's cattle: "Phuthuma, phuthuma". The first stanza prescribes that a pen, ink and paper should be used as arms instead of the gun. The first line of the second stanza spells out the issue that is tantamount to the nation's cattle being driven away: "Ayemk' amalungelo" (Your rights are plundered). While the ancient warrior would go after his nation's cattle, the new class of fighter aims at an intellectual battle to restore human rights. The last two stanzas represent a training session for the use of the new military weapon, namely, pen, ink and paper. The whole poem is in the form
of an instruction and though it begins with a traditional way of raising an alarm, it is written in purely western style, namely, three six-line stanzas. Here the poet gives urgent instructions about what must be done. The style and approach are different from that of memorised poetry. Here the poet makes a direct address to his audience and details out what must be done. He appeals for mass action instead of invoking the bravery of individuals by reciting their praise poetry. The poem as well as the article that it accompanies represent the earliest attempt by black leaders to involve mass action using the media, instead of the fires that used to be lit on the hills to call the nation to arms. Instead of shuttling between prose and poetry, Wauchope attaches the poem at the end of a prose structure with the advantage that it becomes more commanding and more urgent than the prose section. Here drama and action are enacted: "Ngxasha, ngxasha, ngeinki" (Load, load with ink).

This poem, however, also reflects the general enthusiasm of the school people among the blacks, who had discovered a new and effective way of communication through pen and paper. The spirit of its warning also echoes Buchanan's paper quoted in Chapter 2, confirming the idea that the products of missionary education were made to think of themselves as redeemers of the black races from total
erasure from the land. Thus, Wauchope fallaciously assumes that it is time for the Xhosa nation to replace armed conflict with writing. He fails to acknowledge that the shield and battle axe of the colonising nations has not been replaced by pen and paper, but has, instead, been improved into the more lethal gun and is used together with the pen. Although the English idiom, the pen is stronger than the sword seems to suggest this replacement of weapons with pen and paper, in practice the pen and the sword go hand in hand and are interchangeable. If this was not the case, a reduction in wars and arms manufacturing would coincide with the growth in literacy among all the nations of the world.

Around 1882/1883 the South African Aborigines Association/Imbumba YabaNtsundu BaseSouth Africa was formed with Wauchope, a young man of thirty-one years, as the interim Secretary as well as the first Chairperson. He writes several articles to Isigidimi around this period in an attempt to publicise Imbumba and to encourage the formation of branches throughout the country.

In 1884 Wauchope wrote a poem titled “Imbumba Yamanyama” (Poem II) (Isigidimi, 1884.3.1:1). This time his poem consists of four four-line stanzas. The mood of the poem
is styled like a spirited public address. The poet starts off with Ntsikans’s dying wish about unity. Wauchope calls for unity between the Nggika and Mfengu people. He then directs his appeal to the editor, asking him not to be harsh in his judgement of Imbumba. He then turns to a few individual ministers, namely, Mzozoyiyana, Humana, Dumako and Momoti, and urges them to be active in the promotion of the new association.

Both the structure and the message of this poem are designed in the Victorian style of poem writing. Here Wauchope pioneers a new art of creating an Xhosa poem using the western style instead of following the traditional method of presentation. Throughout the poem the lines are patterned into tetrameters, for example:

Wali/lumzi/ akwa/tyiwa
Mhla sa/shiywa/ nguNtsi/kana;
Wangcwa/tywa ke/ wase/lelewa
Washi/yw’ apho/ kwago/dukwa.

In order to fit within this rigid pattern the word “inkwenkwe” (boy), in the second-last line of the last stanza has been shortened, so that the line reads: “Yixo/bise/ yinkwe’/ yako.”
In the first three stanzas all the lines rhyme but in the fourth stanza he links two lines by alternate rhyme thus:

Saphondini lwakwa "Mbombo,"
Nilandele eli lizwi
Lomtyangampo woManyano.

(You house of "Mbombo,"
Heed this word
A warning about Unity.)

From there on he either uses rhyming couplets or more alternate rhyme, but there is no stanza that passes without a rhyme of sorts. It is doubtful if the creation of rhyme is accidental.

The message of the poem is conveyed as a direct address to the readers, essentially factual and devoid of obscure lines and implicit allusions to memorised traditional poetry. The lines are bare of poetic idiom but are dominated by everyday language. Even the one central idiom used, "Umanyano lungamandla" remains an unobscure statement of fact. To warn the editor not to be too critical, the poet uses the allegory of an ox that is beaten until it is deaf to the voice of its driver:

Yakubethwa futh' inkabi
Id' ityeshe, ingaliva
Izwi lombhexeshi wayo,
Pheza! Yod' irhan' iMbumba.
(If an ox is beaten all the time
It finally loses concentration and hears
The voice of its driver no more,
Stop! Before Imbumba becomes suspicious.)

The first three stanzas are narrative in nature, recalling one of Ntsikana’s teachings. The next two stanzas are an invocation of the Nqqika and Mfengu people and a call for their unity. Frankness and a direct language of address are the hallmark of Wauchope’s written poetry. He states exactly what he feels and mentions the names of individuals without restraint as the following lines indicate: "Shukumani ningalali/Bafundisi abantsundu" (Get moving and do not sleep/Black ministers). His becomes the voice of one who counsels his nation:

Maziphole izilonda
He, neengala zentiyano;
Siyazalana sibanye,
Sikhulumwa lwimi lunye.

(Let the wounds heal
Exactly, as well as grudges and hatred;
We are related to each other, we are one,
We speak [Zulu] one language.)

In the tenth stanza he draws attention to the individuals he mentions by name:
Tarhu nto kaMzozoyiyana,
Nawe kaHumana enci;
Tarhu nzwana kaDumako,
Nawe ngcingi kaMomoti.

(Peace to you, son of Mzozoyiyana,
And to you younger son of Humana;
Peace to you handsome son of Dumako,
And to you great thinker and son of Momoti.)

Here repetition highlights the appeal that is directed at the individuals mentioned. The poet actually falls short of stating what these individuals have done. In the sense that Wauchope states his message unequivocally, the poem replaces a full article and functions to convey what he would have said had he chosen to write an article.

Similarly, the poem (Poem VI), "Esomnt' ofileyo" (Imvo, 1888.12.6) is used as a means of communication alternative to an article. In this poem the poet bemoans the elections in which Solomon has lost. The opening stanza is a strong expression of regret:

Ndikholwe nalapho ndizimbela khona,
Kufe nentliziyo, ndiphele amandla;
Ndiswel' imilomo ayab' iliwaka
Ixel' ihlazo elikhulu kangaka.

(I am at a loss where to dig and hide myself,
My heart is broken, I have lost my strength;
I lack mouths, I wish I had a thousand mouths,
To report such a great disgrace.)
The line, "Ndiswel' imilomo ayab' iliwaka" is derived
from memorised verse, but here Wauchope twists the
meaning and suggests that the many mouths will express
shame at such a disgrace. He calls the splinter group
"ookhaka kaMpethu" (teacherous individuals), and in the
third stanza he mentions some of them by name:

OoPamla nooMhaila nooDleni Gowana
Bazenz' abaBhem ngokukaMnyaluza
Bejongwe sisil' esimehlw' aluhlaza
Bebulal' uhlanga, bakwenzile ukwenza.

(People like Pamla, Mhalla, Dleni Gowana
Pretend to be great men in the manner of Mnyaluza
Being faced by a green-eyed monster
They destroy the nation, they have done the
deed.)

The lines, "uthini' na umzi ngayo le demeshe?/Siphoswe
nguSol' mon ngenxa yoontamnani" (What is the nation
saying about this damage?/We have missed out on Solomon
because of these sellouts) are another example of
Wauchope's direct language of address. But, with the
exception of 7 lines all the lines have been forged to
fit a rigid metrical pattern as six-metre lines. Wauchope
skillfully manages balance between direct language and
lyrical poetry.

The second half of Wauchope's poem bears a conciliatory
note. Here names of prominent figures are mentioned,
namely Makiwane, Mzimba, Rubusana, Bokwe, Wauchope himself, Ntsikana, Bottoman, Kama, Mahlutshana and Gqadushe (Henry Kayser). To prove that Wauchope is aware of the lyrical quality of his written poetry, he asks Bokwe in the last stanza to make music out of his poem.

Poem VII titled, "Imfundo Lilifa" bears lines of four trimeter lines plus a kind of pedestal for each stanza. All the seven stanzas adopt the pattern of the first stanza:

Umzamo omkhulu womzali
Ophiwe usapho nguMdali,
Uzama ukwenza ilifa,
Losapho aza kulushiya;
Ubila esoma,
Imihla ngemihla,
Ezama iliya lothando.

(It is a big struggle for a parent
Who has a gift of children from the Creator,
When he struggles to gather together a legacy,
Of the family he will leave behind;
He is now sweating now dry,
Day after day,
Struggling to secure the legacy of love.)

The cup-like structure of each of the seven stanzas bears witness to the poet’s craftsmanship, the rhyming couplet of the short lines that form the stem of the cup being the highlight and seal of the artist’s work. The last line of each stanza is a brilliantly disguised refrain
with the expression “ilifa losapho” (the legacy of the family) maintaining the consistent identity of the line. The phrase “lothando” of the first stanza rhymes well with “losapho” of the rest of the stanzas while the word “ilifa” of the first stanza is echoed in the rest of the stanzas, an arrangement that creates harmony in the design of the refrain. The artist adds variation in the first half of the refrain (first stanza) in order to effect eloquence and emphasis, but the word “-mfundo” dominates the refrain. The refrain in the first stanza, “Ezama ilifa lothando” (Struggling to secure the legacy of love) is complimented by the copulative nature of the refrain in the second stanza, “Yimfundo ilifa losapho” (Education is the family’s legacy), while the latter is implied in the refrain of the fifth stanza, “Nalo ke ilifa losapho!” (That then is the family’s legacy).

The first four lines of each stanza are arranged in rhyming couplets, each couplet possessing a complete thought or idea. In stanza 4 the thoughts expressed in the couplets represent a contradiction of feelings while for the rest of the juxtaposed couplets the second line always compliments the first one.

The poems “Umbulelo” (A word of gratitude) (Imvo, 1888.12.20) and “Umkile umKristu Wenene” (A true
Christian has departed) (Imvo, 1889.2.28), Poems VIII and X, are also characteristically controlled by a strict metrical pattern and end-rhyme. In poem X the poet adds parallelism between the lines,

Umkile umKristu wenene,
Umkile umfazi wenene;
Uhambe ngoxolo evuya.
Uhambe engenamaxhala.

(A true Christian has departed,
A true woman has departed.
She left peacefully being happy.
She left having no anxiety.)

Parallelism is displayed by "Umkile" and "wenene" in the first couplet and by "Uhambe" in the second couplet. Poems VIII and X are designed with short lines and brief but complete expressions. Once again an idea is contained in a couplet in both poems. While the diction of Poem X conveys a sense of loss, the diction of Poem VIII ushers in a sense of fulfilment. The key expressions in both poems are emphasised either through repetition or position in the lines, for example, a sense of loss in Poem X is conveyed by expressions like, "Umkile" (She has gone), "Uhamba" (She left), "Uship[a]" (She leaves behind), "iinyembezi" (tears), and "zizolise" (console yourself). Both repetition and placing of these expressions at the beginning of the lines lends them
dominance in the poem. In Poem VIII the terms that collectively create an atmosphere of fulfilment are: "Zikhululw[e]" (they have been released), "Zisindile" (they have escaped), "Zibuyel[e]" (they have returned), "uyaphiwa" (is given), "ad’ eviwa" (they were heard at last), "Azuzile" (They have received), "Sokuvuwa" (Of being heard), "iziqhama/Zomanyano, nemizamo" (fruits/Of unity and struggle), "dinga" (promise), "onenceba" (the merciful one), "imibulelo" (thanks giving), "kosivileyo" (to the one who has heard us), and "Ziphuphume iintliziyo” (hearts will overflow). Wauchope uses simple diction, but he ensures that the expressions he chooses make sense and have relevance to his subject.

Poem XVI ("Original Poem") is one of the first poems written in English by a black South African poet. In it Wauchope adopts the same style that he has used with Xhosa poems. The lines of each stanza rhyme together, and, while three lines in each stanza are written in iambic trimeter, one line is a tetrameter. The poet’s skill in the application of language is remarkable even with English. In the following stanza there is even a touch of humour:

Some say his name is Bill,
But this is doubtful still;
Some Native name, fresh from the mill,
Would need no little skill.

Even with the humour surrounding the naming of the child there is a serious note. Naming can be associated with the identity of the child, and here Wauchope highlights the uncertainty surrounding the choice of a name between western names and African names. The following stanza takes the uncertainty still further:

And yet it's hard to tell
A name that will not sell,
Or one that rings so like a bell
As that of William Tell!

Referring to this poem, Tim Couzens (1982:2) says the following:

The earliest poem in English we have unearthed (perhaps earlier examples will be found in future) is one which fuses the birth of the author's child with the resurrection of Christ. The poem was signed with the initials 'I W W'. This use of initials or a pseudonym was a frequent device in the newspapers of the time, and it is not always possible to determine the true name of the author. In this case, however, we know that the author must have been Isaac W Wauchope. He also wrote as I W W Citashe – in Xhosa.
Wauchope's narrative poem (Poem XVII), "Imfazwe YamaLinde, Phakathi KwamaNdlambe NamaNgqika, April, 1818" won a poetry prize. Evidently this poem was judged on the standards of western poetry, with the main focus being on rhythm and a play on words. Each stanza consists of two rhyming couplets and each line is composed of six feet. Each couplet bears an idea or sense. The poem is mainly a criticism of Ngqika's rule and immoral conduct. The poet criticises Ngqika for marrying his uncle, Ndlambe's wife.

Concerning "uphundlo" ceremony, the poet observes,

Wamena isizwe wamisel' uphundlo
Ukuze aphahlwe kwintlondi yesono.

(He invited the nation and invented uphundlo
So that he would have company in sin.)

In The Natives he explains uphundlo thus:

[Ngqika] had, in 1795, instituted a new custom called uPhundlo, the object of which was to facilitate marriages between very old men and very young women! Feasts were proclaimed to take place in different localities where old men of 60 to 80 assembled in their best costumes of leopard carasses, etc, looking very young indeed; all the girls of the district were compelled to come to this feast to dance and sing and otherwise contribute to the enjoyment of the old lords by engaging in all manner of queer practices, and at the end of the feast to find themselves torn from parental care to be the young wives of men often old enough to be their grandfathers! ... [Ngqika's] excuse for instituting this abominable practice was quite sound politically.
When Ngqika was defeated by Ndlambe at the Battle of AmaLinde the former appealed for assistance to the colonial government. Wauchope identifies this as an act of betrayal and chides,

Kunjani na namhla! Lilizwe leengcingo.
Ongenay' uThixo uxinwe ziinzingo.

The above lines imply that Christian churches were, to many, simply a place of refuge from the colonial government. In stanza X we encounter one of the most powerful ideas generated by Wauchope. This is the apt observation that Xhosa royalty is being replaced by officials:

Kuphele amandla enyama kwaXhosa,
Kuphele iinkosi kwavel' amaGosa.

(All energy has been drained among the Xhosa, Royalty is wiped off and now officials prevail.)

Only Poem XI ("Hamba ke ngoxolo Simgxada") (Go in peace Simgxada) seems to be written in free verse. Here the poet confesses, "Namhlanje kuphel’ ubuciko/Le mini yimini
yosizi” (Today all the eloquence is gone, /Today is a day of sorrow.)

The poems titled “Iingcamango Ebunzimeni” are all prison poems written from Tokai Prison in Cape Town. These poems reflect deep philosophical thought. The idioms used in the sub-titles, namely, “Akukho Nkanga Idubula Ingethi” (Everyone has to mellow down with age), “UKhaka KaMpethu” (The Treacherer), “Imithunzi Enelanga” (Shades that let in the sun), “USala-kutyelwa” (The obstinate one), all convey more profound ideas and obscure meanings. The bodies of the poems themselves do not give explanation to the idioms nor does the poet unravel the cause of his feelings. In the first of these poems (Poem LII) he begins by quoting from the Book of Job, stating that he came to this earth bare of all possessions, and he will leave it just as bare. Then he denounces wealth, wisdom and goodness, and claims that,

Inye into ema imi
Kukuthwala umngamlezo
Kukukholwa eNkosini
Kukufela inyaniso.

(Only one thing stands for ever
It is to carry the cross
It is to believe in the Lord
It is to die for the truth.)
Poem LIII is a condemnation of all treacherers. Here a treacherer is seen as the very devil, while Poem LIV lends harsh judgement upon one who tries to hide from his/her conscience. The last stanza of the latter poem is a direct call to the individual being criticised to come out of the darkness and leave behind the shades that let in the sun. These unprotective shades are identified as drunkenness and doing sinful deeds. Poem LV demonstrates the recklessness of an obstinate person who refuses to listen to the parents, ending up in dangerous situations. The poet concludes that only God’s Spirit can redeem such a person. Structurally, this poem is sustained by the refrain, “Unjalo uSala-kutyelwa” (Such is the obstinate one), which becomes “Angabi nguSala-kutyelwa” (And stop being the obstinate one).

The poem titled “Amahlath’ aphelile” (No place to hide) (Poem LVI) illustrates a number of customs and rituals performed by people who believe that their lives are protected by the ancestors, and concludes that only Christ is the ultimate redeemer. The poem ends with a prayer in which the poet dedicates himself to God. Similarly, the poem titled “Uzalo Olutsha” (Born again) is a prayer for the Lord’s guidance. Its unique arrangement of lines adds beauty to the structure of the poem, with each stanza appearing like an engravement.
This lapidary style is one of the dominant features of Victorian poetry.

Structurally, all these six poems are arranged each in its own special way. The length of the lines as well as the diction are carefully worked out to control the length of the lines and the number of lines in each stanza of each poem. These could be the first and only prison poems written in Xhosa. This is indeed a rare genre in Xhosa literature, but the circumstances in which they were written are not explained anywhere. One can guess that Wauchope would not have been allowed to publish poetry from prison if it was detected that he made references to his case and/or to his imprisonment. For this reason the poems are masked by idiomatic expressions while the bodies of the poems remain mainly allegorical and obscure. All six poems are references to human behaviour and highlight a tone of disappointment if not disgust. Whereas most of Wauchope’s poems are partly or wholly directed at individuals, these prison poems are rendered both general and specific by the use of idioms. When the poet turns to himself he becomes prayerful and hopeful, but refrains from self-pity or self-condemnation.
Wauchope's poetry compares well to English poetry of the Victorian era. He applies the mainstream approach of his time but uses the Xhosa language to achieve structural patterns that prevail in the English poetry of his time. In this manner, he can be said to be a pioneer of Xhosa poetry. Other poets of his time like Ntsiko also applied the lyrical techniques of poetry writing. It is clear that Wauchope's understanding of English poetry was advanced enough for him to apply the same techniques using the Xhosa language with remarkable success.

On the other hand, Wauchope applies the traditional techniques of Xhosa oral poetry. He demonstrates the extent of his knowledge of this poetry by using clan praises of various clans and by publishing the praise poems of Xhosa princes and heroes. Inevitably, Wauchope also experiments with a merge of techniques, where he applies traditional praise poetry using the western style of poetry writing. The poem (Poem LVII) titled "Aa! Ndlovu!" is an example of this combination. The title represents a traditional salute to a Xhosa king, but the poem is arranged in stanzas, which gives it the structural pattern of a typical western poem. The line, "Sayama ngenduli yeGolgotha" (One who leans on the hill of Golgotha) is a hybrid line which bears the characteristics of memorised poetry ("Sayama ngenduli")
as well as landmarks from the Christian teachings, namely, Golgotha. In addition, Wauchope introduces direct statements of his own creation for example,

Uphi n’uDlamanzi into kaMbikimba?
Imbongi kaPato, ikh’ ibongisele,
Ibulel’ uSongo ngezwi “lombuliso”
Kudityenwe kwaKama nge18 kaJuly.

(Where is Dlamanzi, son of Mbikimba?
Let Pato’s poet sing some praises,
Let him thank Songo for his “word of thanks”
All met in Kama’s land on 18 July.)

The above lines represent improvisation (with a pen) on the part of the poet. As an artist, Wauchope makes use of the broad field of techniques to create his poetry and to make it richer. His knowledge of English poetry as well as his knowledge of Xhosa traditional poetry help him to create unique poetry that borrows from two cultures. His own poetic skills add more flavour to his poetry and increase the profound nature of the message in each poem.
CHAPTER 7

LAST YEARS: THE END

Blacked-out against the hazards of U-boat attack, she ghosted through the cold, dark, fog-thinned night of February 20.
(The Evening Post, Port Elizabeth, 1959.1.17)

Conclusion

Wauchope and his contemporaries spearheaded black nationalism in South Africa. What they did in the political arena foreshadowed the thinking that followed in the 1950s. By writing to the newspapers they were able to mass-educate the black people. Around 1912 Wauchope’s disillusionment with white politicians was evident. He was having his first taste of things to be, and though he and his contemporaries had been fighting for the rights of the black people all their lives, it does not seem that these rights were honoured by the ruling party. In a letter to the editor titled, “Equal Rights” (Imvo, 1912.10.29:5) Wauchope vents his dissatisfaction with the South African Party and adds:

Not only has the number of Natives in Government employ been reduced, but the few who remain are singled out for special ill-treatment, simply because they possess a black skin. Such a policy must be degrading as well to its authors as to
its subjects, and must ultimately result in the utter demoralization of all concerned. The growing tendency to deny the Native his legitimate share of enjoying the privileges which all expect to reap under Union, is more to be deplored because no stone is left unturned to find fresh enjoyments for the European section.

This letter is an example of Wauchope's criticism of government as well as proof of the expectations of the black people. Wauchope oscillated between writing in English and in Xhosa. When addressing the black people only, he wrote in Xhosa, but concerning issues that had to be addressed to the white community as well, he used English. This approach was adopted by black South African writers during the time of apartheid. Because the issues were more pressing and the situation more desperate in this period more writings were done in English. This versatile usage of language was assisted by the fact that the two dominant cultures, the African and the European were undergoing the process of fusion.

Court judgement

Wauchope was fully conscious of his rights as a black person, especially his land rights. As a result he could not have been entirely popular with the colonial
authorities. He also recognized the authority of the Xhosa royal house, a stance that should have made him a threat to the colonial government which was trying to disempower the Xhosa kings and princes. It is not surprising that he was made the subject of trial that ended with his conviction and subsequent imprisonment. This is one of the most important turning points in Wauchope's life. The charge that he had falsified the will of Mrs E.B.Tshona brings many questions to bear; one being whether the colonial authorities had been working towards an opportunity like this to nail him down. In their decision to annul the will in question, judges Kotze and Shiclin add,

But from a high press point of view and the higher interest of the public it is our duty to suggest further that unless the defendant succeeds in clearing himself from this stigma, it is the duty of the Church in which he belongs to disrobe him of his clerical vestments as it is preposterous to permit a man with charge of such gravity resting upon him to be masquerading as a minister.

(Imvo, 1908.9.1)

It is clear from the above statement that the judges were satisfied that they had done enough to dispossess Wauchope of his position of leadership among his people. A highly unsympathetic article titled, "A Masquerading
Minister," was published in *Imvo* (1908.9.8), where it was stated:

The native of intelligence, of education, and presumably of religious zeal, utilised his natural and acquired talents to plunder the children and fraudulently misrepresent the intentions of an ignorant woman lying at death's door. Could anything be more heinous, more deserving of contempt and contumely. The brazen manner in which this Masquerading Minister bluffed and bounced through one Court into another stamps him as an ecclesiastical pirate of the worst possible type. The affrontery of the man in daring to present his villainous tissue of falsehood: before a tribunal which takes stern cognizance of perjury almost stupefies one.

Thus Wauchope was condemned at the trial to annul the will in question even before he was tried for fraud. Unfortunately for him, all the judges did was to concentrate on the validity of the will, clearly ruling out circumstantial evidence. It was on this technicality that he was finally sentenced to imprisonment. An ill-advised decision accounted for the tragic spell in this instance. After sentence he stayed in jail for two years, which was a period of great unhappiness for him. This was further aggravated by the death of his wife while he was in jail, which is something that left him unable to cope with life as he used to do before. Writing for *Imvo* after his prison term he adds:
Andisemntu mna mzi wakowethu bendingumntu ngoNaniwe [Mrs Wauchope], owasuswayo kum ndashiywa neentsizi zeenkedama nabazukulwana.

(Imvo, 1912.11.12)

(I am no longer a complete person, my fellow countrymen, I was what I was because of Naniwe, who was removed from me, leaving me with these poor orphans and grandchildren.)

It should be noted that Wauchope erred in falsifying the will, but this was not for personal gain, as it was done on behalf of some or one of the disputing children. He entered a family dispute and found himself taking a side.

One report puts it thus:

Xa sikhangeleyo sifumana ukuba umfundisi lo ubengumkangeli wezinto kulo mzi kaTshona, engumlamlili kwizinto zokungavisisani kwentsapho. Uthe ke akubhubha uMrs Elizabeth Tshona emva komveni wakhe, waqala umfundisi wangenwa yimpehla; ubiziwe ngomnye umhla lusapho ol o ukuba aye eNtoleni, efikile lubuzile ukuba kukho myalelo ubhaliweyo na oshiwe ngunina, walandula umfundisi waqokombisa ngaloo mhla, kwathi kanti sekungene into ethi makaseleyibhala, athi ibhalwe ngunina wosapho; koko athe ukuyenza kwakhe loo nto, wathatha ikhethe kanobom baza ke abo bachwethiweyo bahuna ukuba ngumyolelo obubhalwe nini na kanene wona? Kuba umfundisi besimbizile sambuza walandula.

(Imvo, 1908.9.1)

(It seems to us that the minister was a family counsellor helping the Tshona family and intervening in family disputes. It was when Mrs Elizabeth Tshona died after her husband, that the minister started to entertain sinister ideas; on one of the days he was called by the family to Ntoleni. When he arrived they asked him if their mother had left any will, and he flatly denied on that day. Then it occurred to him to compose one,
and claim that it was written by their mother, but in doing this he was highly prejudiced and so those who had been excluded wanted to know when the will had been written. Because we called the minister and asked him and he denied it.)

Wauchope seems to be one of a few ministers to be imprisoned by the Cape colonial government. His imprisonment compares with the humiliating and demeaning treatment the traditional leaders received from the colonial government. His fate and misfortunes are often closely linked to those of the Xhosa royal figures like Sandile, Hintsa and Maqoma. His "ill-luck" is orchestrated by those in authority, to whom he falls victim. As court interpreter in Port Elizabeth he had been uncompromising in fighting for the rights of the black people, something which the white authorities would not easily forget or forgive. So he pays dearly for the acts he has carried on behalf of his people. It is evident that as a minister he is even more influential, hence his case receives much publicity. Unlike Xhosa kings and princes, black ministers find refuge from the disempowering colonial authorities in Christianity. It is from this pedestal that they are able to face society and to address its problems. Wauchope left a secure job as court interpreter for ministry clearly because the latter occupation afforded him a wider scope within which to
cast his influence. In a letter written from prison Wauchope concurs,

... iindleko zeli tyala zindishiy e ndingenayo nenkuku le, kuba iindleko zafika kwi[four hundred pounds] (amakhulu amane eeponti) kwalungeka ukuba ndithengise yonke into ehambayo ebendinayo. Sendinga wona umphefumlo wam ungahlala uzimele phantsi komngamlezo kaYesu ukuze usinde ngonaphakade. Ndihleli ke ngoko ezinyaweni zaKhe emini nasebusuku. Kuphela koxolo endinalo. UYesu ungamandla am, ndibambelele kuYe. Wanganga uBawo wam noBawo wenu angenza ukuba ndibuye ndiphume kobu bunzima.

(Imvo, 1911.7.11)

(... costs to cover this case left me without even a chicken, as they soared up to four hundred pounds, and I had to sell all the stock I had in my possession. I only hope my soul will remain hidden under the cross of Jesus so that it can be redeemed to live eternally. I am thus at His feet day and night. That is all the peace I have got. Jesus is my strength, I am holding onto Him. May my Father who is your Father do all He can to get me out of this difficulty.)

Thus his role as a social leader and his political involvement cost him dearly. Though these are indirectly connected to his imprisonment they can be viewed as issues that made his humiliation desirable to the authorities. It is evident that he was no average minister and his writings had much audience. He is most likely to be the first Xhosa writer to publish prison poetry. His poetry indicates how he has become more philosophical because of this experience. It can thus be
concluded that his imprisonment was one of the most important turning points in his life. He was fifty-seven years old when he went to prison which suggests that it might have been at the height of his popularity.

The sinking of the Mendi

Wauchope's death is an event whose account forms a suitable conclusion because of its dramatic nature as well as its deep significance. He had lived a highly active life, and many of the letters, articles and poems reflect this life. The end of his life was equally eventful and memorable. The ship, the Mendi, was chartered by the British government in autumn of 1916, first as a freight ship but was later fitted with transport fittings to be used as a troop ship. It left Liverpool with 88 crew members on board and made its way to the Cape via East Africa. It left Cape Town in January 1917, still with a crew of 88; and 5 officers, 17 non-commissioned officers and 802 black labour corps. The report from South Africa (The Mendi Records) states that this ship was “treated as Admiralty transport and exempted from customs formalities in Cape Town,” but it had sufficient life-saving equipment. A letter (3 July
1917) from the Ministry of shipping to the Board of Trade states:

I have to inform you that the MENDI was fitted with boats to accommodate 290 persons and with life rafts for 920 persons besides a life belt for each man. It is accordingly considered that ample life saving provision was made having regard to the number carried, viz., about 900.

The appliances were, so far as the structure of the ship would permit, the best adopted for the purpose.

(The Mendi Records)

Among the black labour corps there were people from royal families and educated people. They came from all the black races in South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland. Clothier (1987:19-20) gives the following details about Wauchope who was with the black Labour Corps:

Educated men also volunteered. They were a small minority in the community then, when only the missions provided more than the most rudimentary education. There was the Reverend Isaac Wauchope Dyobha, a Xhosa of the Chisana clan. He had been educated at the Lovedale Mission, and had been one of a party of five evangelists, who went to Nyasaland (now Malawi) in 1876, from where he had to return the following year because of repeated bouts of fever. He took up teaching at Uitenhage and then was clerk and interpreter in the Magistrate's Court at Port Elizabeth. Subsequently he entered the ministry of the Congregational Church and served for many years at Port Beaufort. He had written poetry and is believed to have written the first poem in English by a black. He was recruited as a clerk and interpreter.
When Wauchope joined the Labour Contingent in Cape Town, he was 64 years old and had served as minister in Fort Beaufort for 24 years. Thus he was quite a mature man at this stage. Clothier (1987:20) mentions that in the Contingent there were young men from Lovedale and other institutions, and adds that "the majority were young men who had grown up, with little opportunity for education, herding cattle in the tribal areas and worked for money - very little money - in the mines, on white-owned farms and as unskilled labourers in the towns." By this time Wauchope had remarried and no specific reasons are given for him to leave his family at this stage and at his age of 64 years. The real reasons for his decision can only be guessed, and that it was a good break for him after a prison spell may not be farfetched as one of the hidden reasons. Clothier (1987:25-6) puts together what he believes were the reasons for some of the black men to join and says:

For some it seems there was a genuine emotional response to the appeal to serve their king and country, just as that rhetoric motivated the white volunteers. Many of them would have preferred to fight, but though they were only called upon to work so as to relieve others for fighting, they still came forward. For the leaders, there was the additional desire to travel and learn, to see for themselves what European civilisation was like, and the hope that, when they had served their country well,
the South African Government would show gratitude by improving the privileges and the status of its black people.

For Wauchope a need to win recognition for his people by the British and the South African governments must have been one of his reasons. Jacob Bam (1966:29) claims the black men had gone to war "because the white people persuaded their chiefs and leaders they should do so."

The Court of Inquiry in London has recorded the last journey of the Mendi (4,300 tons) in great detail with the help of all the people called in to give evidence after the ship's collision with the Darro. The Mendi was registered in Liverpool in 1905, the owner being the British and African Steam Navigation Company of Liverpool. She had four holds, with four hatchways. She had 7 boats of which 6 could carry 298 persons and the latter were carried under davits ready to launch. All these boats were properly equipped according to the Board of Trade regulations. There were 46 life rafts of the bouyant air tank type each supporting 20 persons on board and suspended by the life line. In addition, there were 15 life buoys, six fitted with Holme's lights and 1,319 life belts for adults, 15 for children. After carrying a government cargo to East Africa, the fittings for troop
transportation were inspected and were in every respect the same as if she would carry European troops. Its master was Mr Henry Arthur Yardley.

During the voyage the crew and the Labour Contingent performed regular fire and boat landing exercises. Their daily exercises at the boats included putting on life-belts. Two life boats were reserved for the sick and hospital attendants. Four blasts of the whistle brought all the men to their boat stations.

On 20 February 1917 the Mendi left a British port and started what was probably her last leg of the journey to Le Havre in France. To keep a look-out one man was on the crow's nest and two were on the forecastle head. The quarter master and officers were on the bridge. The ship was escorted by HMS Brisk, a royal frigate. At 19H30 p.m. navigation lights were displayed on the ship and the oil lights and stern light were exhibited. At 23H00 p.m. the ship was still going at the full speed of 12 knots. As it entered a fog the whistle was sounded at intervals. From this time until the time of the collision the master remained on the bridge. After midnight the ship ran into thick patches of fog and the speed of travel was reduced and the vessel travelled at various speeds. At 03H45 on 21 February the engines were put to slow because of the
density of the fog. The whistle was blown and whistles from a number of steamers were heard mostly on the port side.

The second and fourth officers came on the watch at 04H00 a.m. The fog continued to be dense after 04H00 a.m. forcing the Mendi to go at a low speed sounding her whistle. At 04H30 the fog was even thicker and the Mendi proceeded at an even slower pace. At 04H45 communication was received from HMS Brisk which suggested that the slow speed made it difficult for her to keep her position, but exercising his discretion and being concerned about the safety of his ship the master did not increase speed. The master left the bridge to fix the new position obtained from a sounding. His ship was now at position S.75E. magnetic. While the master was in the chart-room the fourth officer and second officer who were on the bridge heard the approach of another vessel. They sounded the Mendi's whistle. At that moment there appeared through the fog the musthead light and portside light of an approaching vessel. The vessel was heading straight for the Mendi's starboard side. The second officer (who incidentally was among those lost in the disaster) rang "full speed astern" and gave an order "hard-a-starboard" and blew three short blasts with the whistle. On hearing this the master came back to the bridge in time to see
the mast head and lights of a steamer very close to the Mendi. Though the second officer's orders were carried out immediately, this did not change the position of the Mendi, and the collision occurred almost immediately. The ss Darro was the other vessel, and it caught the Mendi at right angles between hatches No.1 and No.2 about twelve feet forward from the bulkhead. She cut right into her for about twenty feet.

The Darro was 11,483.92 tons, owned by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company of 18 Moorgate Street, London. It had 14 Class Ia lifeboats for 713 persons; 10 Class IIc Engleheart boats not in davits for 464 persons; 10 Perry and 8 Chambers' life-rafts each supporting 20 persons; 18 life-buoys 9 with Holmes lights; and 1,220 life belts for adults and 120 for children.

The Darro had left Buenos Ayres on 10 December 1916. It had docked at an English port on 28 January 1917 but left on the same day for France. On 1 February it was discovered to have a leak and was dry-docked on 8 February to give temporary repairs to its 16-17 feet wide hole. On 20 February the Darro set sail from France with the only cargo being the damaged meat which was part of what she had delivered in France. It had a crew of 143 hands under her master Mr Henry Winchester Stump.
According to the evidence of her command the weather was dull, overcast and misty until 23H00 p.m. Her master wanted to reach England before day break. It was travelling at the speed of 14 knots. There had been no alteration of speed from "ahead full" given at 22H06. Then the signal "Stop" was given at 04H55 a.m. The only other entry was "Stand-by" at 23H19 p.m. while she was going through thick fog. The speed had not been reduced nor had the whistle been sounded. At 04H00 a.m. the vessel was still going at full speed and the master was on the bridge with the chief and third officer on the lookout. The electric side lights and masthead light were exhibited. From 04H00 a.m. to the time of the collision the fog was thick and lied in patches. No ships lights were seen and no sounds were heard. The master stated at the inquiry that he had received instructions to override the standing regulations as it was during the war, but he could not identify the source, time and place where these orders were given. Subsequently he admitted that there were no such instructions given from any source and that he was using his own discretion. The report states that, "At 5 a.m. of the 21st February, the "Darro," was still going at full speed and making no sound signals, though the weather was becoming even thicker, the master and chief officer heard what appeared to them to be a long blast from a whistle and another from a siren. At the
same time they saw a green light some 200 feet distant about a point on the port bow.” They heard one blast and their vessel was upon the Mendi. For a few minutes the engines turned at full speed astern and were stopped. The two vessels separated and the Mendi disappeared in the fog and was not seen again. The Darro picked no distress signal from the Mendi and from the escort vessel.

When the collision of the two vessels took place the master of the Mendi was knocked down and when he got up he discovered that the engines were “full speed astern.” Because of the darkness he failed to see the bow of the other vessel embedded in the body of his ship. He ordered the engines to stop and summoned the carpenter to sound the ship. When he called the Marconi operator the latter did not respond and he was never seen again. He sent no SOS signal but, instead, ordered the boats to be put in the water. The Mendi began to lean towards the starboard side and only the boats on that side could be launched. The boats on the port side became tangled in the railings and could not be successfully lowered: boat No.2 could not be disentangled from the rails; boat No.4 was overloaded and capsized on touching the water; boat No.6 was stuck to the ship’s side. Boats No.1 and No.3 on the starboard side were lowered safely but boat No.5 capsized on touching the water. The master ordered all the rafts
overboard and almost all of them were successfully thrown overboard.

On the side of the Darro no attempt was made to hail the Mendi or to lower a boat. The Darro, however, remained on the scene of the collision until 08H45 a.m. The court of inquiry states that it could not find any excuse for the master of the Darro's reluctance to help, and it states: "He must have heard, for much longer than he admitted, the cries proceeding from the water."

In its conclusion the Court of Inquiry wrote the following:

The Court having carefully inquired into the circumstances attending the abovementioned shipping casualty finds, for the reasons stated in the Annex hereto, that the collision and consequent loss of life, loss of the ss "Mendi" and material damage to the ss "Darro," were caused by the wrongful act and default of Mr Henry Winchester Stump, the master of the ss "Darro," in not complying with articles 15 and 16 of the Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, as to sound signals and speed in a fog, and by his more serious default in failing, without any reasonable cause, to send away a boat or boats to ascertain the extent of the damage to the "Mendi," and to render to her, her master, crew and passengers, such assistance as was practicable and necessary, as required by section 422(1)(a) of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894. The Court suspends his certificate, No.017169, for 12 months from the date hereof.
This finding was signed by Judge J.G.Hay Halkett and his three assessors. A suspension of Mr Stump's licence for a year was too light a punishment for the loss of the lives of more than 600 people, but the fact that it was war time may have mitigated in his favour. An internal memorandum suggests that the master of the Darro would not have been prosecuted had it not been for the fact that he withheld help after the accident. The memorandum (Admiralty Report, 1917.8.15) reads:

It would be desirable to consider at once as far as possible, the question of prosecuting the master of the Darro for failing to assist the Mendi as required by S.422, MSA 1894. As Sir R.Acland is doubtful of the success of an action, and it was mainly on account of this failure to aid the other ship that the certificate was suspended for twelve months; we would hesitate to prosecute unless strong reasons appear in the report taking further steps.

The inquiry into the tragedy of the Mendi took place in Caxton Hall, Westminster on 24, 27 and 31 July and 1 and 8 August 1917, with Judge J.G.Hay Halkett presiding assisted by Captain J.D.Moulton R.N., Commander L.W.Bayldon, R.N.R. and Commander R.S.Houstoun R.N.R. The fact that the master of the Darro did not take any action to help the men of the Mendi seems to have determined the conclusion to the enquiry. Pressure from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society as well as the Union of
South Africa also functioned as a matter of concern for the judge and his assessors. In a letter to Mr W.P. Schreiner, Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, the abovementioned society wrote (The *Mendi* Records, 1917.3.12):

We are anxious to ask your advice privately in regard to the recent deplorable accident in the Channel, whereby 600 of the natives brought over from South Africa for labour lost their lives. We have received information on good evidence that but for the negligence on the part of one Commander a larger number of the natives would have been saved. It is alleged that the colliding ship was going at full speed in a fog and after the collision instead of steaming ahead she went astern, so leaving a gaping hole in the transport; further, that she lowered no boats to rescue any of the sufferers, leaving this task to the sinking ship and to the escorting gun boats. We think it probable that you already have this information and are in communication with the War Office, but we shall be glad to know if you think that our Society would do well to address a formal enquiry on the subject either to yourself or to the War Office, as the matter seems to us a serious one which demands investigation.

Upon receiving this letter, Schreiner wrote his own letter (The *Mendi* Records, 1917.3.22) addressed to Walter Long of the Colonial Office:

In connection with our recent correspondence about the loss of the ss *Mendi*, may I say that I have good reason to think that the circumstances connected with the lamentable accident call for special and careful enquiry - and that investigation is particularly necessary as to
whether the other ship did what it could after the collision to minimise the loss of life and to rescue the survivors from the Mendi when struggling in the waters. I am quite sure that it will be both right and prudent to take prompt steps to hold a thorough enquiry, and trust you may be able to tell me that this is in train, and that the evidence of surviving officers and men will be carefully taken.

Survivors of the Mendi mentioned the valour and calmness of the men aboard the Mendi during the time of the disaster. Wauchope being one of the men, also lost his life during the disaster. He was particularly noted for outstanding courage and many reported that as the ship sank he addressed the men and called upon them to dance. Randolph Vigne, in an article titled, "The drill of death" which appeared in The Guardian (The Mendi Records, 1967.2.12) wrote:

What followed was calmness, courage and self-sacrifice of the highest order. An officer who survived wrote of the 617 who perished "they died like heroes. Even when life hung in the balance and the groans of the injured were ringing in our ears there was a general calmness."

Newspaper reports mention Wauchope’s address of the men on the ship and, though none of the survivors seem to have claimed to have heard him, the words are characteristic of Wauchope. The words often quoted are:
Be quiet and calm, my countrymen, for what is taking place is exactly what you came to do. You are going to die ... but that is what you came here to do. Brothers, we are drilling the death-drill. I, a Zulu say you are all my brothers. Swazis, Pondos, Basutos ... we die like brothers. We are the sons of Africa. Raise your war-cries brothers, for though they made us leave our assegais at the kraals, our voices are left with our bodies.

(The New African, 1966.3.29)

One newspaper report is titled, "Naked feet of 800 Natives stamped the death-dance on the sinking Mendi"; another article is headed, "They did the death dance as the ship went down" (The Mendi Records). A report in the Evening Post of Port Elizabeth (The Mendi Records, 1959.1.17) creates the scene thus:

EPIC SCENE

They crouched tensed on the sinking deck of the steamship. They crouched momentarily with arms uplifted and fists clenched, swelled their throats in the deep diapason of their war-chant and as one man thudded their hard, bare feet on the shuddering steel deck in the wild, rhythmic death-dance, even as the riven ship sank beneath them.

Such was the scene that marked out in epic grandeur the end of the troopship Mendi, in the days of the first Great War of 1914-18.

About Wauchope's address the same report says: "In the midst of all the dreadful pandemonium of panic at sea, a
great voice, unafraid and resonant, cried out commandingly in the Zulu tongue in the fog-thickened darkness of the English Channel" (Evening Post, 1959.1.17). Clothier (1987:58) calls this address a "legend" and says, "Somewhere about this time must have occurred the best known legend in the story of the Mendi. It is not confirmed by any survivor's or official account, but oral tradition has preserved it and the press has kept it alive. It has stirred the emotions of all who have heard it." In the absence of clear evidence of this address having been delivered Clothier (1987:97-8) offers the following speculation:

1. Oral tradition in Africa is strong and it seems inconceivable that a story like this can have risen without any foundation at all, though it is understandable that it could have been embroidered subsequently.

2. The Mendi was 370 feet in length, about the same as a football field, and was divided by the midships deck. It was dark and foggy, visibility negligible. Most individuals were concerned with their own fears and their own hope of survival. In these circumstances it seems feasible that the incident could have occurred and that many of the survivors could have been unaware of it.

3. Dyobha was signed on as an interpreter and as such would have been billeted with the medical orderlies and sick near the hospital. There is an observation by Matle, unsubstantiated by anyone else, that one of the doors to the interior was jammed and that men were trapped inside. No less than 123 men of this section were listed as drowned. Perhaps the thought is a little far-fetched, but could it be that Dyobha made an address to, and danced with, men trapped there, few of whom escaped? Dyobha
was not a Zulu, as he describes himself in the traditional version of the address, but a Xhosa from Fort Beaufort. Another person to whom leadership in this incident has been attributed by one source was Chief Bokleni Ndamase of Pondoland.

Though Clothier associates this legend with oral literature the verbatim report was given by the newspapers. It is, therefore, clear that the information came through a survivor. It is hardly likely that the newspapers should invent something so characteristic of Wauchope. Moreover, it is not the Xhosa newspapers, whose editors knew Wauchope well, that gave this report. The likelihood is that it happened and the shroud of mystery in which it is wrapped deepens the legend. Clothier (1987:98) concludes: "It is unlikely that the truth of this matter will ever be known and the evidence is insufficient for a definite judgement to be made. For what it is worth, the writer is on the side of tradition in believing that there may be a solid core of truth in the story."

Thus, Wauchope's end was tragic, but manly, dramatic and heroic. It concluded a life that had been lived equally dramatically and epically. His writings had been charged with drama and action and his poetry was typical of heroic poetry. The life and works of I.W. Wauchope is a
pointer to the predicament of globalisation. When he lived the newspaper took his name to the far corners of his country, when he died modern transport had taken him to the far places of the world. This is the man who grew up in a world of cultural fusion, a world that closely links up with South Africa of the 1990s and beyond. The period between 1948 and 1989 has managed to cut off the colonial from the post-colonial experience in South Africa. This work mainly functions to reconstruct that link.
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THESES


THE POETIC WORKS

OF

I.W. WAUCHOPE
IMIHOLE KA-I.W.WAUCHOPE

I. JNKOSI ZAKWAXHOSA

Siluhianga nto zakwethu, awu!
Ubesakutsho uHadi waseluhangeni. Ndiphela ngokuthi:-

Zinkile! Mfo wohlanga,
Phuthuma, phuthuma;
Yishiy' imfakadalo,
Phuthuma ngosiba;
Thabath' iphepha ne-inki,
Likhaka lako elo.

Ayem' analungelo,
Qubula usiba;
Ngxasha, ngxasha, nge-inki,
Hlala estilweni,
Ungangeni kwaHloko;
Dubula ngosiba.

Thambeka umhlathi ke,
Bambel' ebunzi;
Zigaile ninyantso,
Umise ngomsholo;
Bek' izwabo ungali,
Unisindo iyilo.

I.W.W.Citashe
(Isigidimi, 1882.6.1)

II. IMUBUMBA YAMANYAMA

Walil' umizi akwatiwa
Mhla sashiywa nguNisikan.
Wangcwatywa ke waselelw
Washiyw' apho kwagadwuka.

Amhlophe phantsi komhlaba
Amakhub' ento kaGaba,
Yahlum' ingqa kvelo ikala
Lomlele omkhulu wohlanga.

Kant' wekhlo usathetha,
Izwi lakhe linamva,
Linenc celebrities linomkhitha;
Ela "Mbumba Yamanyama."

Khanivuke niphakane
Saphondini lwakwa "Mbombo,"
Nilandelele eli isizi
Ontiyangampo wOmanyano.

Khanivuke niphakane
Saphondini loThukala
Kuba nani naselelw
Lishwa lomzi wakwaphalo.

Maphirole izilonda
He, nengala nentiyano;
Siyazalana sibanye,
Sikhuluma lwimi lunye.

Safelwa nguKristu Emnye,
Sinelifa linye ngaye;
Umanye lungamandla –
Olwe "Mbumba Yamanyanya."

Heyi bo! Mhleli wes 'Gidimi
Akuhlanga lungaHlanga.
Sifulapho phwako noko
Wakubetha phphulula.

Yakubethwa futh' ikabi
Id' iyesho, ingoliva
Izwi lombheshi weyo,
Pheza! Yod' irhan' Imbumba.

Tarhu nto kaMzozoyiyana,
Nawe kaHumana enci;
Tarhu nzwana kaDumako,
Nawe ngcingi kaMamolori.

Shukamani ngalali
Bafundisi abantuNdu,
Kunjie sakulilo ngani
Xa laphaleley' uhlanga.

Lumanye ngokweMfundo!
Nants' Imbumba tihelela
Yxhopise, yinkosi yakho,
Yfundise eli Dabi.

SILWANGANGUBO-NYE
(Isigidimi, 1884.3.1)

III. UMHELE WESIGIDIMI

Andinabani ngaphandle kwakhe,
sendinqengqeke inceba yakhe – azi ndoba yini
na ukuba "undiphendule kalukhuni?"
UBungcathu uze esiqzenkweke exakwe
yimpangalasane yamanxila, aze kuMhleli
esithi makancede akhalime lwafa uhlanga!
UMshumayeli uza ethwene izandla entoloko
ambehe intjaktantsa ekhala esiit, "Ngubani
na okheliweyo yintshumayelo yethu?" Nceda
Mhleli –

Ndibwele imlomo
Ayaba iliwaka
Ibonga ngenitokama
Inceh' engakanana.

... ...
Ikhe imihla aya kuthi ocela isonka athi geleqeqe ngexulubha ezi "Mpaweni." Asidedle noko. Asincomi noko. Kuba noNqipika ebehamba nenkonjane ebehla athi minxi ngayo esiquleni sendoda, kanti ulola impi yakhe ukuze ake nomqamelo mhlala italonga empumalanga. Unjalo uMhleli weSigidi SamaXhosa, ngu-

Malathi 'anothuthu
Unangatheli wotsha,
Nangani uManjyi nangani uGqirha
Waqhutywa yinJabav 'enkulu.

Ulo gotho solo lokhomba,
Ulo bhul' impinyani,
Ad' azalis' ingobozi,
Usayama ngenjab 'enzawakazi.

Uthambo 'dala kade liqongqoqo,
Uzwi latiza ngumf uSobantu,
UNDZiwa naseKapa
Ngoodomala nooSawala.

SILWANGANGUBO-NYE
(Isigidi, 1884.3.1)

IV. AMATEMPLE
(UNqondolo)

Ibe yinto entle kunene ukubona amaTempile ngomhla weJubili ephumile evetho iziyatho zawo. Iyawa phakathi into kaGqadushe – umfo ongayaziyo le nto ukudinwa nokuncama emsebenzini olungileyo. Ndithetha uRev. Henry Kayser, ithwalandwe elaziwayo yimikhosyi yale mbubhisco. Ilapha ingwevu endala eyasala esikhundleni sikaNyenganu emaLawini aseBheeltseldorp, uRev. Thos. Merrington, ephahlwe lusapho lwakhe oo-“Broeder” Wm. Harris, noPiet van Vuuren. Zilapha into zoOCaithness nezooDavids, into eziphikile ukweyisa. Seletsheleza uNobhala wendlu enkulu nento kayise u-

Ngondolo japondolo
Sandu lisekhaya
Apho lisikwa khona
Dondolo masikhondlo.

(I.W.W.
Mngcangatelo
(Isigidi, 1887.8.1)

V. AMATEMPLE
(Irito kaKuma)

Lulapha ubengu lukaKata lwakuloJingqi
intanga kaMhlathi. Ilapha into kaNgesi umNdlambe okroti elikhulu. Zilapha iingxiba zikaLabi into kaMaqanda amaNgwevu, kune nengqu' va kaSasanti uMtempile ngentliziyo. Ndiyishiyelani na into kaMKoti uMNkabane omkhulu, into elwa ngkwe-elesi, nento kaKama u-

Ndolosa kuhamba
Umde ngentonga
Ntondini yakwaJwara.

I.W.W.
Mngcangatelo.
(Isigidi, 1887.8.1)

VI. ESOMNT' OFILEYO

Ndikholwe nalapho ndizimbela khona,
Kufe nentliziyo, ndihele amandla;
Ndiswel 'imlomlo ayab 'ilwaka
Izel' eli hlazo ilikhulu kagaka.

Kwe ke sfunya iskay' isizathu;
Ndilifel' icebo lokhaka kampethu,
Elone ivoti yabant' abantsundu
Abemke nesizwe emva konikanu.

OoPamla nooMhalla nooDleni Gowana
Bazenz' abaBhem ngokukanaMnyaluza
Bejongwe sisil' esimek' aluhlaza
Bebulal' uholanga, bakhwenzile ukwensa.

Iintwana zooGosa amaVezandlebe
Zikhohlwe lithuba lokhaha zingsuzhe
Zijund' amakhwelo, ziqhub' ubudenge,
Ziswel' olukahenya sikhe sitshileye.

Uthini no umzi ngayo le demeshe?
Siphoswe nguSol' mon ngenza yoontamnani;
Ukuba uhleli aw' zami maqivina,
Ndihlamba izandla ngayo le migcana.

Yekani bahambi sobonana phambili,
Ngenene, inene yohlala ihleli,
Siquamele ngayo astyi kakhala;
Iyeza imini yokweth' ukuvuya.

Kulilwa kuhlekwa, kulilwa ngazo nye,
Kunyuka kulilwa, kuvelwa kutshonwana;
Nathi ke sinayo indawo nok' inye
Evanga ukuba sithile sincuma.

Iinto zooJabavu neezooMakwane
Zineento zooMzimba neezooKubusana,
Umama kaBokwe noSilwangangubu
Bada' uqlima baqiniso' umgqolo.
Into kaNtikana Phantsi kwamaHlathi,
Ndingayi kunshiyi okaBotoman,
Umana kaKama nokaMahlutsana
Umfo kaGqadushe ngaseTsitsikama.

Maninz namanye amadod’ohlanga:
Ebhaliwe onke angacim’langa;
Ndicile’uxolo ndithi tarh’ameva.
Ndoyik’ukucin’ indawo yephepha.

Nhlala loo madoda zinto zokuhukwa
Ngabo bang’uhlanga lunganyibika,
Ndikise apho ke ndizuze amandla
Ngenx’ enemizamo eniika ithemba.

Ndzam’ukucola: khon’ukulihala
Ihaz’ elongaka kungaba simanga:
Akwaba la mazi ofika nakwabo
Bathe ngophoyiya balathi’Imbo yabo.

Ukuze la mazi abe ngusa kafa
Ze side sidlul’esi ‘zukulwana;
Ndigqiba ngokuhl kuman kaBokwe
Yenzela la mazi ingoma iyole.

I.W.W.
(Imvo, 1888.12.6)

VII. IMFUNDO LILIFA


1. Unzamo omkhulu womzali
Ophuwe usapho nguMdali,
Uzama ukenza ilifa,
Losapho aza kulushiya;
Ubila esoma,
Imihla ngemihla,
Ezama ilifa lothando

2. Ngamany’ amaxesha yimali
Imazi ezwi libhulali,
Banisa abaphil’imihala
Bengas’ ukuba iyakhaba
Nakuba imali
Tabang’ imihlali
Yimfundile ilifa losapho.

3. Bakho abafun’ imihlaba
Bakho abafun’ imihlaba
Bakho abafun’ imihlaba
Bakho abafun’ imihlaba

4. Bambi ke bazama inkomo
Imfuyo edal’ isithomo;
Inkomo lifa lombendeni
Zikhupha usaph’emfundweni,
Kungena nemofo
Kwanomzabomvu;
Yimfundile ilifa losapho.

5. Wathetha umntwana kuyise
Efuna ukub’ amfundise:
“Inkomo lifa lombendeni,
Ndifuna ukuy’ esikuleni
Ndiphe ubulumkho
Ukanyo lwemfundile,”
Nalo ke ilifa losapho!

6. Nantsa ke ingaba yamafa
Ehamba iship’ amava,
Naso k’esona sikrwege
Imfundo iyangwelelitshehe
Nyasha izwize,
Ilavula izwize,
Yimfundile lilifa losapho.

7. Uthinini na mzali elako?
Nank’itili umntwana akho.
Zihlambe ezakho izandla
Ucel’ enkostini amandla.
Guza ke ngedolo
Qhinsha umqolo,
Yimfundile lilifa losapho.

[Ubawo wabhubha ngale mini 8 Dec., ngo-1878, wandishiya nelifa lemfundo yodwa; ndiyabulela.]

I.W.W.

VIII. UMBULELO

Zikhuluw’ebubanjweni
Inkos’ ebeziseshweni,
Zisinile ekuwani
Zibuyel’ elusatsheni.

Yagingqithwa iminyaka
Zililela ngamawoko,
Kwajokisz’ ukuhlandazwa
KonguMdali akwapheswa.

Ocelayo uyaphiswa
Entenjalo amakholwa,
Aqembudla akadiniwa,
Azingiza ad’e viwa.

Azuzile irifundo
Sokuvwa komthandazo,
Aboniswe tsiqhamo
Zomanyano, nemizamo.
Asacela asafuna
AmaKrestu konjesa,
Zingeniwe enkolweni,
Zikhuluwe ezonweni.

Ikhuluwe imizimba
Emashweni obukhokwenza
Eyona nabo ingamandla
Intiiziyi ingumbanjwa.

Agamele ngelo dina
Lithi "celani nophiwa,"
Abulela enethemba
Kahayova onenceba.

Mayinyak’ imibulelo
Ibheke kosivileyo
Ziphuphume intiiziyi
Yimivuyo neendumiso.

I.W.W.
(Imvo, 1888.12.20)

IX. UQUEEN VICTORIA

Ngwe-30 August, yayingumhla omkhulu, -
kwakubambene ooMessrs E.Harries no-
E.Dower. Umbuzo wale Debate wawungulo-:
"Umbuso kaQueen Elizabeth (inkosazana
yasemaNgesini eyangena embusweni ngo-
1558), wawulunge ngaphezulu na kunalo
wenkosazana yethu uQueen Victoria?". Yeka
ke, mfondini! Yaphathwa emsileni inyoka!
Yathetha imidaka yada yalambisa ukukhusela
uQueen Victoria –

Umaz’ eneBamba
Ephala neenkabi,
Ukhaya leendwendwe,
Umfa’ onga’ ndola;
Umthunzi omkhulu
Emin’ emaqanda;

Kwiimpanza ngeePanza
Likha, likhaya.
Lingqeqe zeBondi
Zokhumka amenyo,
Lintshaba zontsundu
Zotyaphak’ amehlo;
Bodan’ ooxoshomba
Iqhos’ imibombo
Kuba ngezi mini
Silwa ngangubonye.

(Imvo, 1889.9.12)

XI. EAZELOVEDALE
UDr Stewart

Unduluke eLovedale ngolwesuThathi,
gnomhla we14th May uDr Stewart. Emva
kweminyaka emashumi mabini anesine
esebenza kule Lovedale, kufike ixesha lokuba
akhe azuze iholide.

1. Hamba ke ngxolo Somgzada,
Umlungu oeyedwa ngenene;
Kukumka kwekroti lenene,
Kuhamba komlandi wohlanga,
Usizinkedama, miivelwe,
Mahlwepu, - abantu’ abantsundu.

2. Somgzada usenze abantu
Ukanti besitzincikevu;
Kwizint’ ebesezibuncama,
Uvuse ithemba lobom;
Kaloko sizue amandla
Ngethembu elihle onalo.

3. Oxingiza ughiwule inkalo
Iqhlinga linawe somgzada.
Thina ke sinjengezanya-mtya,
4. **Namhlane kuphel’ ubuciko,**
   Le mini yimini yosi.
   Siswele amazwi Somgxada,
   Ibonwa phenzul’ imihcelo.
   Ngamana waborwne nguMenzi,
   Wogcinwa waphakwa nguThixo.

5. **Bhota ke Somgxada njengele**
   Nakaba sisele silila
   Kusany’ amathole ngasemva,
   Noko ke silila ngaso nje,
   Sikhohwa ukuba wobuya,
   Sohlala sifong’ enkalweni.

6. **Wobuya nini na Somgxada?**
   Namhlane kusendele eLovedale
   Xangona akhon’ amadoda
   Ezama ukusikholisana,
   Khanisho ke kodwa zikhobo
   Ningaba noba nini na?

   Mr Wauchope
   *(Imvo, 1890.5.29)*

**XII**

**Uphemb’ eshiya.** Into elulwini,
   eunyayo. Into ethi ngu phela igxangxamise
   iye kuthi ngu phaya, naphaya, naphaya,
   ishiye. Into engabhekiyo ngasemva kuba
   ingakhatli. Hayi umfo onelele.

Yinto kaikhinini;
   Umbabala ephamha izinja.
   Ndithetha ezamaNgqosini,
   Ndimgathetha ezakulQhingono,
   Ndithetha ezakulaKhab’ uThikoloshe,
   Into eyoze ingcayawwe
   Ngcelope lenkala
   Mihana ibhubhayo.
   Ntloko yenkwu, hihi!
   Wayinyakalela, hihi!
   Azikhuhle esinge le
   Uphemb’ eshiya!

   WAUCHOPE
   *(Imvo, 1891.3.26)*

**XIII**

Yinto elusizi ukubonela inkomo zigxwala
   enisweleni wenywe. Zide ngathi zingathi ke
   zabona uKufa ethi gqi kuloo ndawo
   zimnyathele ngeenayawo. Okwenene

   *Kufa wena ulushaba*

   *Kwinto zonk’ ezinobom,
    Konke okusumhlabeni
    Phambili kwakho kuyagoba.*

   WAUCHOPE
   *(Imvo, 1891.4.23)*

**XIV**

Ufana nengqirha ekuthiwa lalize
    kuthakathaka emaBambo lenzeni
    lisavuma ingoma yalo yobusuku, lifuna
    ukoyikisi umfazi owayekhathazwa
    ngumntwana – lisathlizi-

   *Tyelele* emaBambo,
   *Tyelele* emaBambo,
   Hi wada wadinwa
   Umfo wakwaSomkhumba,
   Hom hi-hi-hi-

   Leva ugezikhali sezimi enhlana. Yeka ke
    ukurhwaqela kwenkewu!

   *(Imvo, 1891.4.23)*

**XV. UMGGIDI**
   *(NGINGINYA)*

   Basela, basele, basele, basele,
   Bengqonge imiphandla, bayam’ amajoma.
   Befung’ oobhungane nonNgqika
    noLanga,
   Betheth’ amafene, bethsh’ intaphane
   Bengazi ukuba basaya kubuzwa
   Nqungwesi omkhulu won plaisir wokuphela
   Ngeentlo zemigidi ezinasikizi.

   Banxile, banxile, banxile, banxile,
   Beverh’ oofephwe, bagon’ amahule
   Zyweth’ inkamuko, ithik’ imiqweni,
   Betyunjwe kkwafa bejungw’ etheni
   Kuliwa iinkusa zingenamkhangeli,
   Oonina behaph’ amagwba kumphola
   Ooyise betshaya, besela, berkapha
   Kufa kufunjwe ino zemigidi.

   Benzane, benzane, benzane, benzane,
   Ngebhisa, nenduku neentelel’ ezimakka,
   Kubol’ intiizyo bophel’ ubuntu;
   Zizilo, zizinjwa ngabantu bani na!
   Kubheth’ into yonke phakathi kosapho.
   Akukho matiwa, akukho zintlo.

**XVI. ORIGINAL POEM**
   *(I.W.W.)*

   To us a child is born,
   We gladly blow the horn.
And bid our friends with us to scorn  
The day of hopes forlorn!

On Sabbath night he came (10.4.92)  
This man without a name;  
With shouts and yells he made his claim  
And that with might and main.

Some say his name is Bill,  
But this is doubtfull still;  
Some Native name, fresh from the mill,  
Would need no little skill.

And yet 'tis hard to tell  
A name that will not sell,  
Or one that rings so like a bell  
As that of William Tell!

I must not keep you long.  
This is no Easter song;  
Yet all good gifts to Him belong  
Who never will do wrong.

(_Invo_, 1892.5.19)

XVII

Igama lenjakazi kaRolinyathi into kaMrholo  
yasemaNshilweni lalingu:-

“Nqangakwhebe!  
'Hlu lwam lobuhlali  
Mbokothwana yam yengcinisini  
Ndlinde ndingunyoko.”

ISAAC WAUCHOPE  
(_Invo_, 1893.10.4)

XVIII. IMFAZWE YAMALINDE,  
PHAKATHI KWAMANDLAMBE  
NAMANGOIKA, APRIL, 1818

I

Lwaqhekek' udivu kwamhlangoThuthula  
Bahlulwa isono uNdlambe noNgqika,  
Wangena uNgqika kwishweshwe loyise  
Waxel' u-Absalom umfo kaDavide.

II

Zalila intonga labuya laxola,  
Kwasala wendumulinde umoya;  
Wagquba uNgqika kuba oysisile.  
Wasala emkhulu kub'uNdlambo enkile.

III

Wamema iziwe wanisel' uphundlo  
Ukuze aphahlwe kwintloandi yesono.  
Angen' amaxhego awengena imntse  
Wantsila wabuya wanc'am' uNyengana.

IV

Zagengwa iingcango, wath' umntu, yinyhayya!  
Saphakam' isono sahamba ngezantya.  
Wabona uThixo, waqumba, wazonda,  
Wamsusa uVeldyama, waqubul' iintonga.

V

Kwavulelw' ukusa, umvuzo wesono.  
Kwengana ugezo lwetimbo yevenkomo;  
Zathinjwa eNyhume ezeno kaMlawu  
Esqhole isono yasezen' ubulawu.

VI

Watsh' uNtsikana elil' iinyembesi:  
"Phangani, nobuya nganeno kweXesi,  
Amhlophi amathombi' amaNgqika eDebe."  
Waphik' uMarxoyi oswele iindlebe.

VII

Lashiwywa icebo lomana kaGabha  
Yaqabel' uKhalo enoMpondwana,  
Yakhweza uMdiza olawulwa nguNdlambe.  
Zawelan' iindonga, af' amathwalandwe.

VIII

Wadiba kuNdlab' owakuloGojela,  
Zalil' izikhali zanga ziyombela,  
Wajika uNgqika wacela koxhongo,  
Zamleqa iimfid' akalala buthongo.

IX

Elok' ukusinga kwelaseMlungwini!  
Angen' amaband' akoNib' eluhlwin!  
Kunjani na namhla! Lilizwe leengcingo,  
Ongenay' uThixo uxiniwe zinzinto.

X

Kuphele amandla enyama kwaXhosa,  
Kuphele inkosi kwavel' amaGosa.
Kudak' amabhongo konqul' iminyanya.
Kuphakam' uphondo kolwa nobunyama.

XI

Jindwe zamagorha, neemishinga zeenzwana,
Zoxitywa ngumkhosi omjikulu weMvana.
Usanel' u'Tesi iTshawe loxolo,
Masilwe uMhlo oluule lokholo.

XII

Phezulu! Phambili! Siphum' eYiphutha!
Ithemba legunya lenyama lapalhu.
Phambili! Balaph' abangcwele nembuko;
Phezulu! Ilaph' injengele yezuko.

ISAAC WAUCHOPE
(Invo, 1895.4.11)

* AmaGcaleka

XIX. "LO NZI KAKHONWAN
SIWUBIZILE,"

Watsho umfobo kaGabhala, baza abashicileli
bamva gwenxa, bawajaya amazwi aisingisele
kumzi kaKhonwana, bathi "Lo mzi wakhonana
siwubizile." Ukhonwana uzele uJotelo, waza
ujotelo wazala

USOGA:

USong-cangcashe
UNTonga inembaxa yaseQawukeni;
UZola kaNkungu, ungb' isetyeni,
NdolATHIS' amatywe khe ndikuyale;
UNKwenkwezi zizivatho zezulu,
UNxowa linkangezi;
Abalimi na abalingqwenileyo?
ULim' intabalala
ULimel' ing'ang'ane lighthouse
UDolo limdaka:
Ingotho yakophakama,
USiHLala ndulini bayoyikayo,
USiHLala ndulini kaNomshwaka.

SILWANGANGUBO
(Invo, 1895.12.19)

XX. "ELI LITIE LELOKUKHUMBULA
UREY. TIYO SOGA

Owokupala umfundisi wohlanga lwakwaXhosa
Owamiswa ngokubekwa Izanda.
Ebesihlobo sikaThixo,
Esithandwa soNyama waKhe.
Ekhanisilewe ngumoya waKhe.
Engumfundiwe weLizwi lakhe eliNgcwele.

Umthandi wamakwabo nowabantu bonke,
Unyana ohlonle abazali,
Umzalwana onobubele.
Umweni onqhefe.
Umsali onemfesane.
Isihlobo esthembekileyo.
Umfundisi ofundileyo:
Iciko Lokuthetha.
Umfo ondilekeleyo;
Umshumayeli weeNdaba eszLungileyo
Owazincamela ensebenzini wenkosi yakhe.
UmXhosa ongunqoziyo.
Eli litye lakshoma nguJ. McFarlan
waseDundee eScotland.
Ngombuliso kuni mzi waseMgweli.
Ndim, SILWANGANGUBO
(Invo, 1895.12.19)

XXI

ECALA

Kukho amanene aphambili, kanjalo abantu
baninzizabangqonge idolophu. Kumanene eke
ndahlagana nabo, ndabona nemiziyawo,
ndingabalulana into kaMakhohlosi, uMr Duncan
— yakwaGcira —

KwaNkomo zikaXhamela,
Zikayancashe,
ZikaNokwindla,
ZikaGabul' ukhula,
ZikaButsolo bentonga,
ZikaSichopho daweni,
Idwala loMthwakazi
LomkaMdakena.
ZikaNjikazi into kaKhatha,
Mabandla akuloZaze.

Lo mfana ndimbonga nje ndithaade iinto
zantathu kuye. Kuqala uvana namanoda
amakhulu; okwesibini ngumTempile;
okwesithathu unothando, umoya wakhe
uphandle.

REV. I. WAUCHOPE
(Invo, 1897.7.1)

XXII

UKUBUBLUZA KUKAMR WAUCHOPE

Apha eDikeni babona ngani sendimi
ngasemalikeni emini. Hayi ke ndaba
ndiyabanjwa ndisiwa enkongolweni. Ndaluma
mfo kakhulile ekhubalweni — ndayibiza yonke
iminyanya yakwa —
Silwanga ngubuo,
Siphungi ndazoyika,
Mavumb’ engcuka,
Malahle anothuthu
Ungawanyatheli watsha;
YakwaMgwiyakazi,
YakwaNgeko,
YakwaChizama.

Hayi ke, Jili, ndbona bendikhulu ngaleti
uz’ ungakhululile ude uye kungeza bhofolo.

*(Imvo, 1897.8.12)*

**INKOSI ZAKWANGQIKA**

**XXIII.**

1. **UTYHALI INTO KANGQIKA (1800-1842)**

USopasi
UNGcelu yephuthi,
ULiya ngesiphanga –
ULiy’ engakasuka.
UNkomo zibalanye nezikaNgqiqa zayise.
UKwaliKhwali akakufikile ngamancam
phzelu,
UNozomwa ngemaz’ ewasakazi
YaseSiqoweni kuloMjambu.

**XXIV.**

2. **U-OBHA INTO KATYHALI (1832-)**

UNGqonyama
UGqobho’ izulu lide libe yinkala.
UNDlela ihla eNgewazi,
UMlunguzi wenkunzi kaSandile;
UNKomo zidi’ eTyhuma zingwaveli,
ziye kusela kwelikaNgqume.

**XXV.**

3. **UFENI INTO KATYHALI (1834-)**

UMPathi ‘kana msombokulu.
ULanga liphum’ enkaleni,
liphuma kuloNgqume;
lathe lakuphinda laphuma kwatshaka.
UMdak’ ojongwe zinkunzi-nkunzana
UZamisa ngeentungu kaKetile – efile yena
okaNgqolo.
igwebu ukuba zivele iimbongi zakwakhosa. Ndokodzenze imithithi kwezinkulu zakuleMbombbo, ndize ndidululele kumabandla kaBhungane; kaNtsele:

Amanqelengene
Ampundwana zinga zingangiswa.
Anzishana zimnyama kuqhaywana.
Amihlana inga ngogo zenkonyana.

NGUSILWANGANGUBO
(Imvo, 1897.11.18)

IINKOSI ZAKWANGQIKA

XXX
KULOMBOMBO

7. USANDILE (1821-1878)
UXesi – magogqala
Intaka efinqez’umqala ukub’ikhale.
Intaka esinndaz’umqala ukub’isiku.
Uvela bambaKame oonyana beendwana
Ungalo icenkombo.
Umthishi weendlu zooMzokhokana beziya
kutsha kakade.

XXXI

8. UMATANZIMA (1849-1895)
Into kaSandile,
UXhonti lasheBholo
UKhohuthi engik’umkhoba
Phantsi koGcobo.

XXXII

9. UXO XO KANGQIKA (1808-1878)
UXaba wakwaxhunga
UNokuzingibila
Umsebenzi ngeyeza lomdabu
Wophile ukuba ube nehlwili,
Ujiko lwakoNibe.
Khwelela ndihlale endlwini yomqolomba.

XXXIII
Makhe ndithi sxada kulonga emaMbalwini –
zibekwini kuphela – ndiqale ngo-

10. DODO INTO KANQENO (1798-?)

UGongqoz’ixhama
UNgotho yoNoheyi
Umanelwa kuhlala emzengana – into
kaCuthalele.
UHlala zinthuza iningcungenza,
USEla kwabantadyo esoyika umlomo
ukugobhoka.

XXXIV

11. USTOKWE INTO KANQENO (1808-1876)
URhad’woNontshengu
USmogokazazi,
UMaconini ngodada lukaZango.
UMdubu umani waphula iinkomo
USopha ngqunjana axel’umkrombe.

XXXV

11. Umhalla into kaNdlambe
Ndikhe ndithi sxada kwaNdlambe ndithathathe:
UMbowdla kaSegqeku
UNGwe yinafa ebomvu
UNGcuka lurkweku elimdaka
USozikelokoto.
USayamanga ngenabab kaGqebeni,
UMdaka wesDikeni
UJiyis’umvuka.

XXXVI
Mandigqibele okwananhla ngento kaRhili.

12. UNONQANE
ULungu likaNtaba.
UDolophini,
Umntwana ukufusa ezikelemini
Kuba eya wafiza kuNgqika noRharhabe.

Makhe ndithi xha apho, Jili, andimbongi –
asekho amakhqo emzi.

NGUSILWANGANGUBO
(Imvo, 1897.12.2)

XXXVII. UKUVULWA KWETYALIKE
EMONTI (UMr A.K.Soga)

Yeka ke! Aqumbana amashumi neeponti.
Waye seleman’ukuthibela uSilwangangubo.
University of Cape Town

Yeka ke! Yakufika iedodana eliciko kunene ethunyelwe ngumuzkulwana

Kasongcangcashe,
Kadolo limdaka,
Kankwenzezi zizivatho zezula,

Ndithetha umr A.K.Soga othunelene iponti, efike yacikoza – zawelana iindonga.

XXXVIII. UKUVULWA KWETYALIKE EMONTI (UBOKWE)

Yeka ke! Yakufika inephika iponti ka-

Mdengentonga,
Tshoba lijikele emyeni,
Uqiqaba Qumtha beligxezeza,
Bethi sikholwa nguNemaphuzi,

Ndithetha into kaBokwe, konakala.

Liliso "LeMvo"

(Imvo, 1897.12.9)

XXXIX. NGUBANI NA LO KUSH? NO.2

Mthuleni lo. Kush nimbeke emnaamlezweni kaKristu abathi abantu abahluthwa imihlaba nobukhesi ngokumana besilwa noRhulumene, nibavuse amagazi enyama, ngokuthi xa nishumayelayo:

"Nanzo izikhospel,
Nabo ooolawe,
Nazo itholide,
Lungowa zemigabe,
Amabhali amabhayi;
Ifili ifuKushe
Elaphangwa ngabelungu
Nalo libuya!
Kade sicudiswa,
Kade sikhanyangwa,
Siboniwe nihamba."

Umthwakwazi ukuba

Rev. Isaac Wauchope

(Imvo, 1898.2.24)

XL. INQULO ELIDALA

Kukho inizo enku lefundo kwaSihota
cela lenkwe ngweba likaVeleydym (Rev.
Joseph Williams). Ngomhla we-28 January
uRev. Isaac Wauchope wayese uRev.
R.Wardlaw Thompson (Secretary of L.M.S.)
kwelo nguwuma. Uthe esathetha ngeli ngqulo,
esathi, "Kukho inqulo elikhulu elingazange
lishenxe apha" beva ngalo selifutha phambi
kwabo.

Umr Thompson uthe akulikhangela
likwikhulu elinamashumi amabhlanu (150)
iminyaka yobudala balo. Amakhghe esithi
athi avela likho kade elo ngqulo ngakwela
ngcwaba. Kamb le nto inqulo iyaliqhiba
iwaka leminyaka ipihille, - qonda kwa
ngokomelela kweqokobhe lalo.

1. Hlala ngqulo ndini,
Ngcwaba lolfundisi
Elashiy’ entiango,
Kuyo le mimango;
Nyaka ngamalindi,
Lingenay’ umLindi.

2. Uyinthumayelo,
Ukwa nesiyo,
Kuthi ngezi mini,
Zaziphithiphithi,
Zokanyelisana,
Kwa nokudelana.

3. Oludal’ uNqulo,
Lolu lweli NQULO;
Ukühlala phantsi,
Kwindaw’ esezantsi;
Ungabhed’ idlaba,

4. Olu DUBADUBO,
Nolu Kusha-Kusho;
Zinto zale mini,
Zobe zithi cimi;
Akuku kwakhanya,
Kwinto zoominyanya.

Wauchope

(Imvo, 1898.3.10)

XL. UCHITHA NTONI NA UCITASHE?
(UN C. Umhalla)

... nduvuya ukuba [u-Umhalla] aphume kuloo
ngxushungxushu engekezakazi. Nokuba
uphume kakubi, liyyala lakhe, ebequina ntoni na
umntwana ka-

Mbona kaSiggaku,
UNgwe yinale ebonvu,
UNgaca linwevu elimdaka;
USozikholokho,
UJiyis’ wewca.

Isaac Wauchope

(Imvo, 1899.7.3)
XLII. "TWENTY-FOUR"
(UDYoba Wodaka)

Ukuba ibiyeyeentonga beniya kubhaka, athi umnta ngubani na lowo ngathi ngowakwa-

Silwanganqubo
Siphunzi ndakoyika
Mavumb' engcuka.

Ewe ndim owaseMqwashwini eXhukwane kaDYoba Wodaka
Rev. Isaac Wauchope

(Imvo, 1907.9.3)

XLIII. UMRS SABINA WAUCHOPE
(Umthandazo kaNgo)

Kumhla waqala lwo moni ukucinga ngoThixo awayemvwe eBethelsdorp ngo-1806, kaDr van der Kemp (uNyengana) oko babekhona noTse unina. Wacanda ithafa ebhamba ekhala esithi:

Qamata kaNyengana,
Dal' iinkwenkwezi noostilimela,
Mondli weenkedama,
Hlati likaNtisikan,
Sitza. Sifubasibanzi.

Wauchope
(Imvo, 1907.12.3)

XLIV "TWENTY-FOUR"
("Ufa ngantoni na wena")


Untongana emnyama
YakuloDina.
Eihanjiswa ngenqatina leontyi.
No-
Gaqira likaqongqothwane
Linyanga burhabarhaba.
LeleBhungane lodwa
Elinyanga inyaniso.
Kuba lona iubumb ubulongo.
Shu! Wafa oka-

DYOBA
(Imvo, 1907.12.17)

XLV
(UMtyingili into kaTose)

Akhe ndishiyi uMtyingili into kaTose umKhwele u-

Njenja kwakusa,
Mabonwa abalawe
Nangabakokwabo.

XLVI. AMAKROTI AKWAXHOSA (1)
(UNgxokela into kaCukula)

Zixinene eGqugesi, wathi omnye komnye,
"Mfonndini, nguNgxokela lo, wobuyhe avuke
ukuba sanelo ukumtyuva ngezikhali, 
masimngqume into. Aminqumla into. kumhla wafa loo mini, ngoApril, 1818. Ndhbe
bethu ebesakuhu uChakuma xa ambangayo

Nodude,
Imbalalana entsundwana
Ekhuza ukutshwa nokungina!
Ukukalipha kwakhwe uyanabela
Wode ukumtye yingcuka yaseRhulu
Unkabi kaMarhotya.

XLVII. AMAKROTI AKWAXHOSA (2)
(UWasa kaCelu, into kaNothwala)

into enzimba uzele ngamanxeka wonke, 
eblikholwane likaNgxekela. Ingqondela,
ongeshe ububone ubuso bayo xa ubetha nayo. 
Ife phampi koNgayechibi niyinkweli, 
seyalupehle. Bebethi ngu-

Ntaka zishamine kweli hlathi
Ziva ngesihlanu samagqubushe,
Ungaqhu yakwaldNgqumo.
Uzingwetsha, uzele luvumukile,
Onxebe lisentloko lesinandle.

XLVIII. AMAKROTI AKWAXHOSA (3;
(UMcoyana)

Into kaFuleli,
Un'ntamo ising' eBhotwe,
Unqab' indimbisile.

XLIX. AMAKROTI AKWAXHOSA (4)
(UXhunga)

USogamashe,
Gayta lamkhwinti.
L. AMAKROT'I AKWAXHOSA (5)
(Utyala)
Utthe umtu, 'Abafana nabanaduluke baphumle neenkomo zerhoma. Aqala antadoda ayalaza iintshapho zawo. Kwaba lusirizana athi uNeyi - Ze nindigirele loo nkwenkwana yakwethu (uTyla),
USikhapha makhwange,
Umbela yam inomkhewu wani na,
Le nto bathi heyiqaba babe heyiwekeza?
Usimbwa Qumhla belisekeza:
Bethi sikhola nguNomaphuzi.

LI. AMAKROT'I AKWAXHOSA (6)
(OoMphapho ookCtishane nooSilimela)
Khawundiphle nto kaMhalla awakwenu
akwaNdlambe amagorha ezo minini.
Kalo ku simka ngesilMangala - mhlwa zaphuma emini
into zakwa-
Silwengangubo,
KwaNgoyakazi,
Kwaphisiwuni ndakoyika
Mavum' enguku,
KwaNgcoko kwaChizama.
NguDyoba Wodaka
(Imvo, 1908.8.4)

LIII. JINGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.1
Akukho nkanga iubula ingethi
(Tokai 17.3.10)
1. "Ndeza ndize emhlabeni,"
Watshe uYobhi mhlwa ngeemzingo
"Ndeza ndize, ndomka ndize,"
Yinyaniso yodwa leyo.
2. UBUTYEBI ngamogqabi,
Nganampunge kamaampunge;
Bubaleka ngamaphikoko,
Njengenyanbamo yeNkanga.
3. UBULUMKO buyatshitshe
Akudula amadala,
Bupheleliwa ngamakesha
Kwakavela ke amasila.
4. UBUNZIMA buyafana
Nal' ulucu loMhlangala,
Lukhuthuka lube mdaka
Lukhwelele olweNyhwagi.
5. UKULUNGA - ububele -
Bubulala umninibo:
Kwabelizwe babudenge,
Ilungis' alaminvuso.
6. Othembele uNyameni
Olandela ihlabethi,
Usiphembel' emoenyi
Waka phesu kwentlabathi.
7. Ubutyebi, ubulumko,
Ubunzwana, ukulungu,
Kukuthengi inyaniso,
Kukungathengisi ngayo.
8. Imye into ema imi
Kukuthwala umqamlezo
Kukhohlwa enKosini;
Kukafela inyaniso.
9. Xa sinaye umsindisi
Akukho nto singenayo,
Zokuphela ezi rusizi
Sakungena ebomini.
10. Akuqika onguMyeni
Ephuthuma umshakazi,
Bakumkhawulel' emafini
Siziinzwana nenzwakazi.
I.W.
(Imvo, 1912.8.20)

LIII. JINGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.2
UKhaka kaMpethu
(Tokai 17 July 1910)
1. Wahlatywa umkhosi kwathiwa
"Zimkile!"
Aphum' amadoda ephethe izikhali
Watheth' umntu wathi "Valan' amazi-
Buko."
2. Bafika utshaba selubaindile
Luhobi lwavela ngamero - luthimba
Nanko ke uKhaka kaMpethu -
Yinile!
Ujike guqugu sebinz' amakhaya.
Unjalo uKhaka kaMpethu.
3. UKhaka kaMpethu sesikaMnyaluza,
Ezhima kuNqiquka aphose kuNdlambe,
Athimba kuNdlambe aphose kuNqiquka,
Unjalo uKhaka kaMpethu
4. Ngayena Sathana uKhaka kaMpethu
Okratshi likhuwa laduba izulu
Ongumbambanisi, utshaba lwabantu
UMhendi, uMpholi UXo' elikhulu.
Unjalo uKhaka kaMpethu.
LIV. IINGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.3
Imthinzi enelanga

1. Ngubani ezweni ongenzintshaba?
  Ongathi ehambeni abe ebhekhekhekha?
  Ongathi ehleli abe elindel’ iindlela?
  Ongathi elele ab’ epenapena?

2. Liphuma, litshhonza, kushiza, kusisa,
Umelwe likhala, uphethele singqala,
Uzam’ amacebo okusitsindisa.
Equlele ngamehl’ oomasisa-mbulala.

3. Uthunga ephuma efuna ingaba,
Tyholswana isikhoyo ngumthunzi’ onelanga,
Oogqirha beseza, kumph’ awqukaqaba,
Zibhe izanwee zihlab’ izimanga.

4. Uphatha kugxotha iintsizi ngotyolwa,
Aspende phakathi ukuba weyele;
Zivele isitsho awwele’ amatyolwa,
Zithi khe inthwala ‘Inkomo Yeyele.’

5. Wumbi ke wayama ngenzabo yezonzo
Agqobhe ephuma kwimfandla ngenentondi
Kuxa ke banjwe nguMiyoloi ngengonce
Emfuluwe ubuntu. wampangwe neentloli.

6. Wozimela phi ke kwiliso loMgwbe?
Olehlei kwitlrono eniulu empholphe?
Umhlaba uphandle ungenamagumbi?
Sidokov’ isono ubambe igope.

7. Wozifiila phi ke lakukhona ilizongonko
Lomkhosi wosimhla omkhulu wenzulu?
Uhlaleleni nephu kwambabhu
Usizephisela uzenza lisisulu.

8. Phezu’ eluwini lilapha ikhaya
Loxinwe zintshaba, ongqongwe zithendo
Ulapha umhlobo wabo’t’misya,
Invana kaThixo eyahlaha umendo.

9. Phum’ ebunnyameni! Yisa ekukhanyeni?
Qubula ikhaka umise ngekhohlol
Funzelwa phambili uy’ emngqamlezweni?
Ushiy’ imihunza enelanga yezonzo.

LV. IINGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.4
“USala-kutyelewa”

1. Akuku budenge bufana nobomuntu
Odel’ iziyalo ophike ngenkanini,

I.W.
(Imvo, 1912.8.27)

2. Yinkomo eneso ehambeni bucalu.
Yibhokhwi’ enochwane egabe ngokhandla.
Unjengencinibha ehamb’ aph’ ithanda.
Ng‘ “Andikhathali,” ng‘ “Ndiziponela.”
Unjalo USala-kutyelewa.

3. Kuqala umina amane emyala
Kulandel’ uylese ngengqumbio noswazi
Kufukwa intlobo ngendebl’ imikhala,
Aphel’ amacebo, adak’ amathenzibha.
Unjalo USala-kutyelewa.

4. USala-kutyelewa wobona ngolophu
Lomoya oshushu weentshi neenzingo,
“siya kumlungisa,” “atsiwa’ amakhwe-

5. Uqobha ephuma ezimolongweni,
Umlhla kuywonywa ngekasi,
Nasebubanyakweni yinto yezelele,
Ng‘ “andikhathali” ng‘ “Ndozibonela,”
Unjalo USala-kutyelewa.

6. Bahlawul’ anisinya abazali bakhe
Bachitha tinkomo befani’ amagqwele,
Bamakhupha kule nto angene kuleya
Bad’ ekupheleni basonge izanda,
Unjalo USala-kutyelewa.

7. UMoya kaThixo kuphela kweyenza
Igazi leMvuna kuphela komchiza,
UMoya’ oyiNgewele ngay’ onokunjeza
Abuye aphile ayek’ ukugeza,
Angabi nguUSala-kutyelewa.

LV. IINGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.2
Amahlath’ aphilele
(Tokai)

1. Iminyana yimimoya
Yabada abafayo,
Kuyazhelwa xa kungulwa,
Iyabonwa ngamathonga.

2. Bayenzele amadini,
Bayibekile nenymena:
Iyangena ezintshini.
Yenz’ umihamo xa kumnyama.

3. Amakhubalo eNtleni,
Oozintangla noomikabelo
Ookuhlamba ngeentelezi.

I.W.
(Imvo, 1912.10.1)

LV. IINGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.4
“USala-kutyelewa”

1. Akuku budenge bufana nobomuntu
Odel’ iziyalo ophike ngenkani,
Bebekhwisa bekhafula.

4. Okasel’ imith’ ekakra,
    Ukugzoth’ amashwanglesha;
    Berhudaswa bekhushe,
    Ngoosiya hamba ngaphi.

5. Ozingqithi noobulungu,
    Kude kuze kooMlambo,
    Zonq’ ezoc nito ziyalwana,
    Sithi bantu kolu hambo.

6. Kuk’ ihlathi elishule,
    ElaZwelwa ngiksikanaka,
    Kuk’ okxalaba likhulu,
    Owafela intishizana.

7. Low’ uzondlala z’ namanxele,
    Ulithi lokuhlela,
    Low’ unyawo z’ namanxela
    Weza uspa wastelfa.

8. Lahlaza ezoluphela,
    Phos’ xegithi emiianjeni,
    OoMaMlambo – le inkamisi. 
    Ezolonyo zasezimini.

9. Ndiza kwwe Thixo Bawo,
    Ngoba, Hlathi lamakho,
    Bawo xa nigosidukayo,  
    Ungamgxothi unyana wakho.

I.W.

(Lvmo, 1912.10.29)

LVII. INGCAMANGO EBUNZIMENI NO.5
Uzalo olutsha

1. Isimanga sezimanga
    Uzalo olutsha!
    Okwamansi okuzalwa,
    Kunye nokomoya!
    Athi umuntu selemela,
    Ahbuy’ azalwe!
    Selondu nabantwana,
    Ahbuy’ abelekwe!

2. Angazalwe nangezazi,
    Intw’ enesabiso,
    Ibe ngala-ngala amanzi,
    Angaswe liso.
    Inentando yay’ imanya,
    Le sithandayo,
    Ingabi yiso neyomuntu,
    Ibe yekaThixo.

3. Makazalwe yiloo Nundo
    YoMminintzonke,
    Makalawulwe lolo Thando
    Lubathanda bonke,

I.W.

(Rvmo, 1912.11.5)

1. Aa! Ndlovu!
    Songo Kama

2. Aa! Ndlovu! Madyama wena engi,
    Saya ngendulwwe yeGocolo,
    YeNqeti yakhe eyelfa abanye
    Emingini wehlazo ongenamqabi.

3. Aa! Ndlovu! Indlovu engenamphondo
    Kub’ impondo ngamazinyo, akahafuni
    Noko,
    Sophethla ngqekha elingenamrvenge,
    Izikhalo azikhize zicinde phesulu kayise
    uKama.

4. Aa! Ndlovu! Elishwa tifana nelontho-
    viyane!
    Kanti ithamsangana linje ngelencukuthi
    Umkhatha unje ngqhehashe elinesali.
    Ameblo akaphakeleni, mfondini
    hama.

5. Aa! Ndlovu! Thandazela unGangelizewe –
    Iqaz’ egazini, iikhonko ilikhokoma
    ngelinye.
    Nyamezel’ umvangambo wohomba ngawo
    ngomso;
Thamsangelisa! soza ngokwaso
isiqalekiso.

6. Uphi n' uDlamanzi into kaMbikimba?
Imbongi kaPato, ikh' ibongisele,
Ibule' uSongo ngezwi "lombuliso"
Kuditjenwe kwAkama nge18 kaJuly.

7. "Kudala suthethwa ngamaTopiya
Akanyelele, ahleli, wayekeni' aqhubhe,
Sijenge phambili kwenza tiindima."
Watsho ngeSongo, ndaphuma ndiyaya
Aa! Ndlovu!

Ngingi Dyobudaka
(Invo, 1913.8.19)
IMIHOBENGOWAUCHOPE

I. EBHOFOLO

Hayi sihle phantsi kwendyebo enkulu yeLizwi. Ulapha uRev. I.Wauchope. Sikhohlwe zizibongo zalo mfundisi, kuba kaloku abafundisi anivumi ukuba sibonenge:

Ligwangq’ elimostashe, elithimla lizele
inkabi yehashe;
Igwangq’ elibonga amadoda lwabethe abe
yimbumba;
Zitho zigoso zakowethu emoCetheni
Umtoko izele luhlanga lwakowethu.
Ndathetha namhlanje, kanti nangomso
ndikwasher nto.
Ndinekeni ndikhwele eupupitini kanti
ziya kutabulalw’ iimilizyo zabantu
baphume bethe ng’a yinyaniso.

IGAMA ALAZIWA
(1897.12.2)

II. IKHOLEJI YABANTSUNDU
(INTO KADYOBA)

Bozwa buhele
Umvundlakazi ola’ egageni
KwaNothulula.

IGAMA ALAZIWA
(1996.9.18)