

Ingxoxo enkulu ngoNongqawuse (A Great Debate about Nongqawuse's Era)

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In 2007, some years after assembling leading historians to discuss South African historiography, a scholar reported on a key finding. Scarred as it is by unequal educational opportunities, South Africa's 'historiographical tradition is characterised by the absence of black historians', its central weakness.¹ Such an assessment is surprising. Even if 'historian' is equated with 'published historian', black historians of South Africa have probably far outnumbered their white counterparts. Typically, however, they published in African languages and in the popular media arenas which most scholars have yet to explore. It is not lack of education that has barred blacks from being recognized as historians. It is rather lack of knowledge of African languages among most scholars who pronounce on South African history.

What follows focuses on one such historian: Mbaba, son of Gqoba, of Ngqika's people, otherwise known as William Wellington Gqoba. In the mid-1880s, he was based at his alma mater, the premier mission school of Lovedale, teaching translation skills and editing a monthly Christian newspaper, *Isigidimi SamaXosa*, allied to the *Christian Express*. Known as a multifaceted intellectual - a linguist, ethnographer, poet and historian whose knowledge of Xhosa history was almost unparalleled - he was also a member of the African history subcommittee of Umanzana Ngemfundo, an educational association. The subcommittee's mandate was to promote the publication of histories of black nations. Gqoba was passionate about historical research - '*amabali amanyange abe kuye onke*' ('elders' stories about the past were everything to him'). He pioneered the process of turning African-language newspapers into quasi-historical journals.² Almost every *Isigidimi* issue for 1887 carried one or more articles in line with the subcommittee's mandate.

The mid-1880s were harsh times in the eastern Cape Colony and its frontier zones: cattle diseases were exacerbated by a three-year drought, killing some 100,000 cattle in the Transkei alone. Amid the resultant famine, about a third of the black political elite was disenfranchised. '*[K]uza u Sifuba-sibanzi oza kunikulula kolu laulo*', cried one historian: Sifuba-sibanzi [the Broad-Chested One, God] is

1 H. E. Stolten, 'History in the new South Africa: An introduction' in H.E. Stolten, ed., *History Making and Present Day Politics: the Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 8.

2 The quote is drawn from the debate below. Gqoba, the subcommittee and *Isigidimi* are further discussed in N. Tisani, 'Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography During the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration through Textual Analysis' (Ph. D. Rhodes University, 2000), 239-281; H. Bradford, 'Akukho Ntaka Inokubhabha Ngephiko Elinye (No bird can fly on one wing): The 'Cattle-Killing Delusion' and black intellectuals, c.1840-1910', *African Studies* 67, 2, 2008, 217-223.

coming, coming to deliver us from this government.³ Such hopes had existed *en masse* in Gqoba's youth - and he now turned to this past, tackling an issue that remains controversial to this day.

In 1850, soon after amaXhosa were defeated in a devastating war and their dismembered country was partially colonized, a millenarian movement erupted, predicting Judgement Day, and urging compliance with the commands of God's prophets. As the cascade of catastrophes continued, the movement peaked in 1856-7, under the influence of a female teenage seer, Nongqawuse. On the spurious grounds that participants sought war by obeying her commands - which included a cessation of cultivation and eating of slain cattle - the movement's opponents, marshalled by colonial authorities, headed by Governor George Grey, expropriated most of Xhosaland. A starving populace was scattered to the winds. Tens of thousands died.

What peasants called 'U-Nongqause', the time of Nongqawuse, was reconceptualized in colonial historiography. Here it appeared as 'the Cattle-Killing Delusion', allegedly aimed at war. Gqoba, bridging both worlds, now launched a blistering attack on the war-plot thesis, and provided a revisionist account. His two-part 1888 article was titled '*Isizatu sokuxelwa kwe nkomo ngo Nongqause*' (The reason for cattle-slaughter by Nongqawuse and her followers.) Sixty years later, the eminent linguist A.C. Jordan termed this 'the finest of the renderings of a story that still lives in the emotions and thoughts of the Xhosa people today'.⁴ More recently, the most influential historian of the 'Cattle-Killing', J. B. Peires, described it as 'a profound text in the true sense of the word. Every time I look at it, I find something new and wonderful which I had not noticed before', he wrote.⁵

At the time of its publication, however, it was deemed an account which could be challenged, defended, revised: a key advantage of publishing history in an interactive genre rather than in a book. Issues raised by Gqoba were heatedly discussed by two more contributors. Overall, the *Isigidimi* debate involved figures who exemplified the social forces underpinning divergent historical interpretations.

Gqoba's primary antagonist was Charles Brownlee, a prominent colonial official during Nongqawuse's era and beyond. As a missionary's son speaking fluent isiXhosa, Brownlee had been intimately involved in Xhosaland's colonization. After his heavy-handed supervision of the chiefdom of Sandile kaNgqika from the 1840s to the 1860s - including deep entanglement in the millenarian movement of the 1850s - he became Minister of Native Affairs, overseeing the ninth war between Xhosaland and the Cape, the 1877-8 war of Ngcayechibi. A decade later, having retired to King William's Town, he was writing his reminiscences, as well as a torrent of historical articles and letters, under pseudonyms, for *Isigidimi* and its competitor, *Imvo Zabantsundu*. Here he engaged in cantankerous argu-

3 *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 29 Feb. 1888.

4 A. C. Jordan's original commentary on Gqoba was published in *Africa South* in the 1950s, and republished in his *Towards an African Literature: the Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 70.

5 J. B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing of 1856-7* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2003), 387.

ments with black intellectuals. They accused him of fabricating tales of war-plots, thereby delaying the release of political prisoners. He was ‘outed’ as ‘Xego-Dala’ (The Old Man) and ‘Tol’ Ixalanga’ (Vulture-Shooter).⁶ He had entered the *Isigidimi* debate under these pseudonyms, intent on proving that martial intentions had existed in the past. By this time, he and his wife, Frances, had generated acres of text on Nongqawuse’s era. Brownlee, it was said, was ‘the European best qualified to judge’ its meaning, and the leading authority on Xhosaland.⁷

Such claims irked many members of black elite. Reverend William Philip, a prominent nationalist activist based near East London, enthusiastically supported Gqoba’s attack on colonial historiography and denounced Frances Brownlee in particular. Convinced that war-plots were a colonial invention, but lacking knowledge of the specificities of Nongqawuse’s era, Philip injected both nationalist vigour and unreliable commentary into the *Isigidimi* discussion. He symbolized, in many ways, the future in which colonial orthodoxy was countered less by painstaking research than by bedrock political conviction.

In the midst of this discussion Gqoba unexpectedly died. The debate, like *Isigidimi*, rapidly collapsed. It made minimal impact on the academy. Until the second half of the twentieth century, the erroneous war-plot thesis continued to structure mainstream accounts: it was still evident in the 1990s.⁸ To this day, moreover, there are numerous other arenas where the *Isigidimi* debate is at odds with scholarly orthodoxy.

First, all participants focus on the female seer who bequeathed her nickname to an era, rather than on her uncle, Mhlakaza. By contrast, for over twenty years, much academic energy has been expended on the man, since ‘Mhlakaza not Nongqawuse was the principal driver of the Cattle-Killing’.⁹ This androcentric approach, although deriving support from colonial claims, is contemptuously dismissed by Gqoba.

Second, the debate points to the importance of the female-dominated profession of *amagqirha*.¹⁰ Gqoba terms Nongqawuse an *igogo*, shorthand for an ‘*igqirha eliligogo*’ (a seer), a name derived from the klipspringer antelope which bounds up precipices and views the surrounds.¹¹ She was initiated into this speciality in the standard way, claims Brownlee. If this was the case she was but the latest in a long line of seers. Renowned preceding visionaries – Nxele, Mlanjeni, the new crop of seers flourishing in the calamitous mid-1850s – were all deemed to be *amagogo*.

6 *Imvo* 14 March 1888, 25 April 1888.

7 C. Brownlee, *Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History*, reprint ed. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1977), 143.

8 P.L. Scholtz, ‘The Cape Colony, 1853-1902’, in C. Muller, ed., *Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa* (Pretoria: Academica, 1993), 198-199.

9 J.B. Peires, ‘Cry havoc!: Thoughts on the deconstruction of Mhlakaza’, *African Studies* 67 (2) 2008, 251. See also S. Boniface Davies, ‘Raising the dead: the Xhosa Cattle-Killing and the Mhlakaza-Goliath delusion’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33 (1), 2007; L. Wright, ‘Archdeacon Merriman, “Caliban”, and the Cattle-Killing of 1856-7’, *African Studies*, 67 (2) 2008.

10 Gqoba elsewhere translates *amagqirha* (sing. *igqirha*) as ‘doctors’. W. Gqoba, ‘The native tribes. Their laws, customs, and beliefs’, continuation of Paper read at the Lovedale Literary Society, Part II, Doctors, *The Christian Express*, 1 September 1885, 141-142. Others have used terms such as priest-doctors, diviners, shamans – or argued that no English word is adequate, a position we adopt here.

11 Gqoba again defines Nongqawuse as a famous *igogo* (plur. *amagogo*), a key speciality among *amagqirha*, in ‘Tribes: Doctors’, 141.

Moreover, Nongqawuse's opponents were nicknamed *amagotyia*: those who refused to believe or obey an *igogo*.¹² Some rejected her on principle, having learnt to distrust seers. Following an Africa-wide trend, this speciality, with its historically entrenched patterns of support and opposition, was *the* central source of millenarian prophets in nineteenth century Xhosaland, as a peasant world crumbled before a capitalizing colonial order. Yet *amagogo* barely feature in the academic landscape.¹³

Third, Gqoba highlights the Christian dimensions of this movement. The ultimate authorities for prophetic commands, he suggests, were God and Christ, under the names 'u Sifuba-sibanzi' and 'u Napakade' (praise-names popularized by the renowned Christian prophet, Ntsikana¹⁴). Those who obeyed, he provocatively claims, were '[a]magqob'oka ka Nongqause': Nongqawuse's Christian converts.

Fourth, all participants marginalize the *imofu* ('lungsickness') epidemic which was decimating cattle in Xhosaland and Thembuland in 1855-6. This, in the eyes of many recent historians, was the prime reason for the slaughter of the remaining cattle. Here, however, the pandemic is mentioned in but one sentence. Gqoba pays far more attention to what peasants deemed the crucial intermediary between the existence of a disease and an individual death: *ubuthi* (poison) maliciously deployed.¹⁵

Fifth, while English terminology and colonial concepts constitute the backbone of scholarly accounts, this debate provides vernacular understandings of the era. It also enhances our knowledge of key categories shaping peasant consciousness. Some - like conceptualisations of Governor Grey, whom Nongqawuse equated with Satan - have yet to attract attention. Others have been analysed elsewhere - but this discussion refines their meaning, sometimes suggesting that scholars have accorded them too modern an interpretation, at odds with contemporary notions.

Finally, the debate has a revisionist thrust as regards sources: it opens the way to new ones, and suggests novel ways of reading old texts. When relating their tales to Gqoba, peasant elders often spelt out what officialdom deemed unimportant: Nongqawuse's precise address (the Khamanga stream), her *inkosi* ('chief' Mnzabele), her occupation when her revelation occurred (driving away birds, a crucial task in cultivating sorghum), her definition of the Antichrist (a ruler named Grey, riding a grey horse.) Only with such details in hand can many contemporary praise-poems be understood. These, while according Nongqawuse no overt presence, nonetheless tell of strange events connected to the Khamanga stream, to Mnzabele, to bird-watching, to a grey horse ridden by the devil. As ever more vernacular nar-

12 A. Kropf and R. Godfrey, *Kaffir-English Dictionary* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1915), 123.

13 An exception is J. Hodgson, 'Ntsikana: History and Symbol. Studies in a Process of Religious Change among Xhosa-speaking People', (Ph.D., University of Cape Town, 1985), 103.

14 W. Rubusana, ed., *Zemk' Inkomo Magwalandini* (London: Butler and Tanner, 1911) 564; D.D.T. Jabavu, *Imbumba yama Nyama* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1953), 103. Gqoba was a fervent admirer of Ntsikana, who had converted his grandfather. Both 'u Napakade' and 'u Sifuba-sibanzi' had previously been used as Christian god-names in the press (*Isigidimi SamaXosa*, 1 July 1885; *Imvo*, 29 Feb, 1888.) As this debate demonstrates, these names - which some used interchangeably, denoting either God or Christ - were often meaningless to Christians in white-led churches.

15 Translated by Gqoba as 'poison' ('Tribes: Doctors', 141), *ubuthi* also included *materia medica* deemed psychologically rather than physiologically toxic ('witchcraft', 'charms'.) In this era, those attempting to kill enemies' cattle often incorporated the flesh or fluids of stock which had died of highly contagious *imofu* into their *ubuthi*.

ratives are mastered, a more informed reading of colonial sources also becomes possible. Indeed, if isiXhosa categories start outweighing those in officialdom's accounts, then everything may change: the object of analysis, the period of concern, the region of relevance, the social forces underpinning catastrophe.¹⁶

If such African-language accounts illuminate much, formidable linguistic barriers to their full appreciation nonetheless exist. This *Isigidimi* debate is written in a phonetic orthography unfamiliar to most isiXhosa-speakers today. This renders the spelling alien, the rules of word formation disorientating, the punctuation and capital letters often non-existent: this form of writing is better heard than read. (An English equivalent would be: 'These letters from Sus an tothom as say go home your mutha isil'.) In addition, much of the vocabulary is rooted in a peasant lexicon which is either archaic today, or has changed in meaning, sometimes dramatically. Gqoba's delight in words - in complex poetic sentences, in etymological byways, in satirical wordplay - is likely only to make the heart of many a modern reader sink. Rhythm and alliteration may be evident - '*yahlatyelwa izindlu, yasikelwa intsuba*' - but meaning is often far more opaque. Moreover, such statements as '*ne lenyati walwa*' betray Gqoba's assumption that local geography and colloquialisms were familiar to his readers - which is far from true today.¹⁷

Equally cogently an African past is hard to English. Even when words are understood, some appear to have no English equivalents. The problem of conveying the polysemic nature of much isiXhosa vocabulary looms even larger. Four meanings, for example, exist for 'uNongqawuse': the person; the cataclysmic era with which she was linked; a wondrous phenomenon; an impossibility.¹⁸ But 'Nongqawuse' carries no such wealth of connotations in English. Unless encircled with secondary meanings it is simply a name, difficult to pronounce.

Trained as historians rather than linguists, we wrestled with such problems and rapidly abandoned attempts to produce polished narratives. Instead, we have sought to provide a resource for those interested in revisionist interpretations of Nongqawuse's time. The original texts - representing what was probably the first major clash with colonial orthodoxy ever published - are thus reproduced in their entirety, together with misprints, odd spelling, exotic punctuation. (Rather than litter narratives with '*sics*', we have simply highlighted areas where even readers familiar with the orthography may suspect misprints.) Similarly, our English reformulations have prioritized, not linguistic fluency, but fairly literal translations, often retaining vernacular terms particularly when these are little known keywords for this era. Our annotations, too, focus on Nongqawuse's time, especially on issues which remain revisionist to this day: not on digressions into other eras (interesting as these are), and not on what is now commonly accepted (like the non-existence of a war-plot). They are split between commentary on the original texts - which, we emphasise, are the crucial ones to be read - and commentary, in our reformula-

16 This is argued elsewhere: Bradford, 'Akhukho Ntaka', 212-228.

17 The shorthand '*lenyati*' referred to '*izibuko leNyathi*'.

18 B. Mini, ed., *The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa*, vol. 2 (Alice: University of Fort Hare, 2003), 688-689.

tions alone, on translation issues, such as those raised by Jordan and Peires, the only scholars to have previously Englished parts of this discussion.¹⁹

As a linguist, hailed as the single best translator between isiXhosa and English, Gqoba would doubtless have found our amateur efforts distressing. But as a historian, this debate reveals, he wanted his article on Nongqawuse's era to be Englished and more widely read. Thus far, it has languished on crumbling newsprint held in one locale in the world. We hope only that our pioneering efforts to bring it and its peer reviews to broader attention will fuel future refinements. For such texts are too important to meet with the scholarly indifference that has largely prevailed. Black historians did not merely exist: they could also far outpace their white counterparts. In this case, a revisionist debate conducted 130 years ago remains revisionist to this day. Ought not scholars attempt to catch up?

1a. ISIGIDIMI SAMAXOSA, MARCH 1 1888, 22-23

ISIZATU SOKUXELWA KWE NKOMO NGO NONGQAUSE.

[IVELA KU W. W. G.]

No. 1.

Kwati kwa Gcaleka, ezitenjini [*sic*], kwesika Mnzabele ngomnyaka we 1856, ati amantombazana emabini, eye kulinda intaka emasimini, enye igama ngu Nongqause intokazi ka Mhlakaza nenye ingumtshana,²⁰ emlanjeni ekutiwa kuse Kamangeni, abona kufika amadoda amabini, afike ati lamadoda kula mantombazana. - "Maze nisibulisele emakaya, nixele ukuba singo Nantsi (awaxela amagama andikohlile) atsho azibiza ngamagama ke wona. Abafa kudala. Ze nixele ukuba umzi uza kuvuka wonke ekufeni, nenkomo mazixelwe zonke ezi zikoyo kuba zifuywe ngezandla ezincolileyo, kuba kuko nabantu abapete ubuti.

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

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

19 Jordan provided a masterly translation of the first half of Gqoba's article in the 1950s, but worked, unfortunately, from a savagely edited version of this article. For historians, the cost of such editing is often loss of vital insights. Hence our own editorial interventions are minimal, with the following exceptions, in the English versions alone. Punctuation has been added. Misprints have been corrected. IsiXhosa spelling has been modernized.

20 Umhlakaza, obehlala kwicala elingasampuma yomlambo iNciba, wayephantsi kolawulo lwenkosi uMnzabele yaseziThenjini kwaGcaleka. Ngomnyaka we-1856 uMnzabele wayekhokhele indlu encinci yesiThembu kaGcaleka. Imisebenzi yokuprofetha kwaMhlakaza ibiqhutywa, eneneni, oku kweshishini losapho, ibandakanya iqela lezizalwana nabendi. Ngokwemithombo yezamathanga, enye intombazana le, uNombanda, wayehlala kufuphi nomtakwabo, yena owayetshate nodade boMhlakaza.

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

Kwa Tato, kwesuswa u Maramnco into ka Fadana yecala lase kunene ihamba nomtshana wakona u Shwele, into ka Zozi. Kwesama Ndungwana kwesuka u Dlu-laze, into ka Qwasha ezalana no Ndarala. Kuma Tshatshu kwesuswa u Mpeke into yase Mfeneni.

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

Yonke lo nto yasinga ecwebeni le Gxara, e Kamangeni, kwa Mhlakaza.²¹ In-teto yayite kwa mhla mnene, maze bahlelwe abantu abayakuya kwa Mhlakaza. Kute ke kufikiwe kona kwatiwa uti u Nongqausi [*sic*]²² - Mayihlelwe kwakona impi eyakuya e cwebeni, ikolise ngenkosi. Kwenjiwanjalo ke okunene. Kute kuba abantu sebe nendawo eyoyikayo, noko kwati xa kuyiwa kulomfula uli Kamanga babaninzi abate k'ote imiqala, abanxanwayo. Kwaye bekokelwe ngu Nongqause, intokazi eyenze izazobe zembola, intwazana engenananini. Bavakele abanxani-weyo besiti - Angaselana umntu onxaniweyo? Ute u Nongqause - Osukuba en-genabo ubuti angasela angoyikeli nto.

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

UMBONO OWEHLAYO.

Kute xa kunjalo, kwavakala kudilika amatye amakulu kunene eweni elise man-tloko e Kamanga, into leyo eyabeta abantu bafakana amehlo, zako nendawo zo-

21 Inxelo yokaGqoba ngendibano enkulu kwaMhlakaza ngumongo wenkcaciso yakhe ngemvelaphi yentshukumo yesininzi. Kodwa ayinanto iyixhasayo kumaxwebhu alo maxesha. Wona la maxwebhu achaza ngendibano enkulu enjalo (echaphazela uninzi kwababathunywa abanye) kuphela ekuzeni kuphela kokugaywa kwesininzi: uvutho-ndaba, ngenyanga yoMdumbu ngowe-1857. Ubani uzibuza ukuba ngaba imbali yomlomo, yona isenga iinkumbulo zesiganeko esothusayo emva kwemin-yaka engamashumi amathathu, yayingavezi ukukhathazeka kwezombusazwe kunembali echanekileyo: iinkosi yayizizo unobangela wentlekele.

22 Ababebhala ngesiXhosa ngalo maxesha babesoloko bethintshisa ukusetyenziswa kwamagama u-'Nongqausi' no-'Nongqa-use'. Oku kunika umdla xa kuhlalutywa imvelaphi nentsingiselo yesisihulo awasinikwa ngowe-1856, sithabatha indawo yelona gama lakhe. Kwiminyaka yo-1850, elomntu oyindoda igama elifana nelakhe belibhalwa nalo njengo 'Ngqause' okanye 'Ngqausi'.

kundwebela ukungati kuko nto iza kuququmba kweli liwa, kwabako isizotongo sobunzima obunjalo.

Kute kunjalo yati intombazana kanibekise amehlo enu elwandle. Bate bakuqwalasela emazeni olwandle kwanga kuko abantu okunene, kwanga kukonya nenkunzi zenkomo, kwa nenkabi, yasisibiba esimnyama esimane sibuyabuya, sade sabuyasemka sayakutshonela kwase lundini paya emazeni olwandle, baqala bakolwa ke bonke abantu.²³

INTETO YESI SIBIBA.

Lo mkosi uselwandle awuzange wapuma usondele ezinkosini apa. Nenteto yawo ayiviwanga yiyo yonke lonto ngapandle ko Nongqause. Ute ke yakumka yakuya kutshonela lo mpi wati - Ziti inkosi godukani niye kux'ela zonke inkomo kungabiko nto niyifuyileyo, ukuze uvuko lukauleze. Maze ningalimi, yimbani izisele ezikulu ezitsha, niyakubona sezizele kukudla okutsha. Dimbazani neninako eziseleni niye kukulahla. Yakani izindlu ezintsha, nenze nengcango ezininzi nizenze ngobuka, nize nizivalele ezindlwini, namhla ngovuko kuba kuyakuti ngosuku lwesibozo xa upumayo umzi omhle usiza nenkosi yawo u Napakade into ka Sifuba-sibanzi, zonke izilo zehlabati nezemilambo, nenyoka, ziyakuba zizibadubadu kulo lonke ilizwe.²⁴ Ukuze nisinde zenivale ngengcango ezininzi, niqamangele ukubopelela, nilahle bonke ubuti.

ENYE INKOSI KWAKONA.

Utsho wati - Kuko nenye inkosi, ikwela kwihashi elingwevu, igama layo ngu Ngwevu, elinye ke ngu Satana. Wonke ke umntu ongazix'elanga inkomo zake uyakuba ngoka Satana, akayi kububona ubungcwalisa beyetu inkosi u Napakade into ka Sifuba-sibanzi.²⁵

Nantso ke imbangele yokuze kux'elwe inkomo kususela ku 1856 kucitakalwe nge 1857.

UKUVELA KUKA NONKOSI.

Kute kusenjalo kwavela enye intombazana kwa Nkwitshi into yasema Kwemteni, yakwa Ndlambe. Yona ivele e Mpongo apa (Macleantown). Inteto yona ikwanye

23 Ngokufanelekileyo, uGqoba uxininisa ukubaluleka kolwandle ekwenzeni uNongqawuse ogqithe amanye amagogo ngokwaziwa. Ubani uzibuza ikuba isibiba esi sasingahlanene na neenqanawa ezazihamba elunxwemeni. Isenza amalungiselelo emfazwe, iRhuluneli uGrey yathumela inqanawa ukuya kuhlola umlambo iNciba ekupheleni kowe-1856. Emva kwegela leentlekele, inqanawa yanyanzeleka ukuba ihlehle, nto leyo eyakhuthaza kakhulu ukunwenwa kwentshukumo (njengoko le mibhalo ingezantsi ye*Sigidimi ixoxa*.) Enika ingxelo kungekudala emveni koku ngotyelelo kwaMhlakaza, uDilima wachaza ngokusiwa phantse nesiqingatha semayile

of the river by Mhlakaza's niece but was forbidden to go near to it because the steamer was there he thence saw sundry black things in the water rising to the surface either singly or in numbers appearing as it were a cloud in the water... rising and disappearing...he saw things he cannot account for in the water which he says are called these strange people who are arisen from the dead. (Cape Archives (CA), BK 140, H. Vigne to Chief Commissioner (hereafter CC), 17 Nov. 1856.)

24 O ku kunokuthelekiswa no: 'ndawubona umzi ongcwele, iYerusalem entsha, usihla uvela kuThixo...Akusayi kungena kuyo nanye into eyenza inqambi' (Isityihilelo 21: 2, 27.) Xa uvuko lusenzeka, kwakusithiwa, abelungu bakujikwa babe ziinyoka, iimpuku, amasele neembovane, aze amaLawu abe ziimfene. Oko kukuthi, izidumbu zabo zakutyiwa ngala marhamncwa.

25 Le ntetho ibalulekileyo apho uNongqawuse alinganisa iRhuluneli uGrey noSathana ayikanikwa nqwalasela emandla xa kuhlalutywa le ntshukumo. Ivakala oku kukaBawo Wethu Osezulwini: 'nobungcwalisa bubobakhe; kude kube ngunaphakade'. Ifane nangakumbi nengxelo yeBhayibhile ngemihla yokugqibela phambi komhla omkhulu wengqumbo kaKrestu: 'Ndabona, nalo ihashi eliluthuthu; lowo ke wayehleli phezu kwalo enguKufa igama lakhe, nelabafleyo lilandelelana naye. Banikwa igunya lokubulala...ngekrele, nangendlala, nangokufa, nangawo amarhamncwa omhlaba.' (Isityihilelo 6: 8.)

neka Nongqause. Apo kubehle kwabonwa nabakweta abatshila ecibini elise Mpongo apo. Izizwe bezibutelana kona kube yinto ebomvu, zisombela kona intokazi, zivuma imiyeyezelo, ide ingqongqo irazukele kona, kusombelelwa abakweta abatshila ecibini apo.

Nayo leyo ibiteta kwa inteto ka Nongqause, eteta ngovuko lwabantu nenkomo kupela.²⁶

UKUVELA KWE MPONDO ZENKOMO.

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

UMTETO WAMAKOSI.

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

UKWAHLULELANA KOMZI.

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

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

USUKU LWESIBOZO.

Kute kaloku zakuba zikolisiwe ukux'elwa inkomo kuba elikulu omninzi umzi wawungokolwa kule nto, uninzi lukolise abanye inxenye ngokoyika ukubulawa ade akolise ukusaba amagoty kaloku xa indlala sel'ibungena xa sekujongwe usuku lwesib'ozo, sekubu mamausika [*sic*] kuninzi, inxenye sel'ilamba kanye, sel'ipila kudla impotsha kupela.

Kute ke kuba kwaku sekujongwe usuku lwesibozo, usuku ekwakutiwe, loze ilanga lanele ukupuma libomvu lize libuye litshone kwasesibakabakeni, kuzekubeko umnyama omkulu lelo xeshake kwatiwa maze abantu bazivalele ezindlini ukuze banga dliwa ngama ramnco. Enye yendawo ekwakutiwe maze kuhlanganiswane kweli linganeno kwe Nciba ukulindwa usuku lwesibozo, sekukangelwe

26 UNonkosi wayengomnye wawona ayedumile kumagogo aliqela ayesebenza ngexesha likaNongqawuse. NjengokaGqoba, amagosa ezamathanga amdibanisa nemibono emangalisayo, kubakhwetha, nonina-lume u-'Kwitchi'. Ona, ke kodwa, aphakamisa ukuba owakhe umyalezo wahluka kokaNongqawuse kwindawo ebalulekileyo: yena wathi ufumana imiyalelo kuMlanjeni, igogo elivusiweyo.

kulo lonke, nelamatamba kwane lamagogotya. Lapuma ilanga lifana namanye, amatamba agoxa ngezindlu yonke lomini avala aqilingela ngengcango ezininzi, selemane enyondla ngezituba ukutshona kwelanga aye amanye abe ngakolwa kade engazenzanga zonke ezinye izinto ngapandle kokuxela inkomo, ayesebenza into zawo nangalomini.

1b. THE REASON FOR CATTLE- SLAUGHTER BY NONGQAWUSE AND HER FOLLOWERS²⁷

[COMING FROM W. W. G.]

No. 1

It came to pass in the country of Gcaleka [Transkei], in the isiThembu branch of Gcaleka's Great House, in the district under *inkosi* Mnzabele in the year 1856, that two young maidens²⁸ went to the cultivated land to await birds, to drive them away, the one being Nongqawuse by name, Mhlakaza's daughter,²⁹ and the other being his sister's daughter, and at a river called the place of the Khamanga, the Wild-Banana, they saw two men arrive, and these men immediately spoke to these unmarried maidens. 'Do remember us to your homes, reporting that we are So-and-so (they reported their names, which escape me), and in speaking they called themselves by these very names. Of people who died long ago. Do report that the entire *umzi*³⁰ is about to rise from the place of death, and also that all cattle that are present must be slaughtered, for they have been bred by polluted hands, for people who handle *ubuthi*, poison, are present as well.'

27 Other translations are: 'The cause of the Cattle-Killing at the Nongqawuse period' (Jordan, *Literature*, 70); 'The reason for the killing of cattle by Nongqawuse' (Peires, *Dead*, 13.) Whether the person or the period is intended is indeed hard to determine. (Gqoba's orthography does not distinguish between 'ngoNongqawuse' and 'ngooNongqawuse'.) He, however, concludes by claiming to have written an account of '[i]mbali yo Nongqawuse' (the story of Nongqawuse and her followers), which shapes our interpretation here. The discussion below also clarifies that 'isizathu' is better translated as 'reason' (as conceptualized by participants), rather than an underlying 'cause'.

28 Translating '*amantombazana*' enters contested terrain. The term - derived from the diminutive of *intombi* (maiden) - has elsewhere been defined as 'very young girls'. Gqoba's use of 'very young girls' allegedly implies that, even if Nongqawuse (about sixteen) were physically mature - an 1858 photograph depicts her as Junoesque - she had the social status of a child, having missed the initiation that routinely occurred on first menstruation. Gqoba's terminology then provides the sole evidence that Nongqawuse was a 'pure and undefiled child', a 'girl-child' (Peires, *Dead*, 367-76; J. Peires, 'How old was Nongqawuse: Gender issues in the Xhosa Cattle-Killing', University of Stellenbosch seminar, 3 March 2006.)

This, however, is an idiosyncratic interpretation of '*intombazana*'. A dictionary, defining it as an *intombi* who is small and of little consequence, notes its application to a maiden socially recognized as fertile, who remains unmarried. Gqoba himself participated in a discussion about the *intombazana*'s courtship and marriage practices (Mini, ed., *Dictionary*, 705; *Imvo*, 12 April 1888.) Gqoba also describes Nongqawuse as a professional seer, as an '*intokazi*' (a woman between puberty and old age), and as an '*inkazana*' (a woman living at her natal rather than marital home, a term insinuating nobility and perhaps sexual experience.) He uses none of the lexicon reserved for a girl-child. This helps explain why Jordan consistently translates '*amantombazana*' here as 'girls', not 'very young girls'. Elsewhere, it is claimed that 'women' is preferable to 'girls' (Jordan, *Literature*, 69-75; C. Crais, 'Peires and the past', *South African Historical Journal* 25, 1991, 238.) Yet we are here translating the text of a middle-aged man, describing a teenager and her companion in a patriarchal society where men often infantilized women. In representing Gqoba's opinion of them, 'young' or 'unmarried maidens' seems adequate.

29 As the daughter of his deceased younger brother, she was his daughter in Xhosa conceptions of kinship.

30 '*Umzi*' refers to the place where people live; by extension, it denotes the residents thereof; it is often used to appeal to a primordial sense of common identity. Both 'community' and 'nation' have previously translated *umzi* here (Jordan, *Literature*, 70; Peires, *Dead*, 99, 152.) But peasants also anticipated that non-human components of an *umzi* would rise from the underground world. Since no single English word appears to retain all these connotations, we have often retained the original.

‘Let cultivation cease; let great new grain-pits be dug in cattle-kraals, and new dwellings built too, and great strong cattle-kraals constructed also; hides are to be cut into milk-pouches, and doors also woven from the rope-like *ubuka* creeper, many of them. So say lords, Naphakade, For Ever [Christ], the son of Sifubasibanzi, the Broad-Chested [God.] Let people cast away poison of their own accord, that it be not ultimately exposed by *amagqirha*.’ On reaching home the young maidens immediately reported the news, but not a person listened, on the contrary they were ridiculed.

On the morrow they arrived even before the birds, and after a long time these people arrived again, and asked the young maidens if they had indeed reported at home, and if anything were said in reply. The young maidens reported that: ‘That thing immediately became a matter for ridicule, and not a person listened. On the contrary it was said that we were telling fabulous fiction.’ That was happening at the lagoon at the Gxarha river’s mouth, in Gcaleka’s country. These people said to these young maidens, ‘Do say to the older people that they must summon all royalty, from Gcaleka’s Great House of Xhosaland, from Thatho’s Great House of Thembuland, from Ngqika’s Right-Hand House of Xhosaland, extending unto Gqunukhwebe’s people.’ Mhlakaza once went with a party of other men, and these men did not then appear, *-vela*.³¹ They were often speaking to Nongqawuse, being heard by her and the other unmarried maiden, who were often interpreting just this pronouncement:³² ‘Let all royalty be summoned that they might appear, *-vela*.’ And it was only then that people went to the Hohita river, to Rhili’s Great Place, to the House of Gcaleka,³³ and this wonder related by this young maiden of Mhlakaza, this *isimanga*, was successfully divulged.³⁴ Rhili immediately sent forth people, and laid great stress on the tidings in all the land. That is, before doing so, he sent forth Bhotomane, a lesser member of royalty also from the House of Gcaleka, who went with Maphasa to Zipunzana during Ngcayechibi’s war, to go and find out personally, and he went to Mhlakaza’s, and before him, too, they refused to appear, *-vela*. This is why it was said, that all rulers must first come, before they appear, *-vela*, because they are ancestral forebears, coming with their lord, Naphakade, For Ever, the son of God-the-Broad-Chested. And then Rhili sent forth people, and they went unto all the royal centres.

31 *-Vela*, here translated as ‘appear’, is a keyword for Nongqawuse’s era. It also regularly surfaces in colonial records, which tell of desires for ‘the people who have appeared’ to make an ‘open appearance’. The crucial point - yet to make much impact on scholarship - was that men who had died in warfare had, in popular belief, *already* been resurrected, in an earlier phase of this millenarian movement. The deliverers, notes Gqoba below, were deemed ‘*namhla selematsha*’ (already young and healthy today); he consistently describes them not as spirits, but as ‘*amanyange*’, ancestral forebears. Although further resurrections - not least of women - were still anticipated, men who had already returned to life were now expected to *-vela*.

32 These two sentences suggest that Gqoba - who often drew on printed primary sources - also consulted unpublished archives. The missionaries A. Kropf and T. Liefeldt, writing in 1856 in German, declared (in translation): ‘Mhlakaza went with a party of men, but these [strangers] did not appear. They spoke with Nongqawuse, and were heard only by her and the other girl, who interpreted what they were saying.’ (Peires, *Dead*, 112, where footnote ‘22’ denotes ‘21’.) The resemblance seems too close for coincidence. Moreover, ‘*intetho*’ might well be translated as ‘what they were saying’ (we regularly use ‘pronouncement’ only because Gqoba engages in wordplay with this term.)

33 ‘Paramount chief Sarhili’ is the academic norm, not ‘Rhili’. But ‘Sarhili’ was allegedly a corruption, derived from Boers. ‘Rhili’ was commonly used by isiXhosa-speakers, and ‘Kreli’ by English-speakers. ‘House of Gcaleka’ is denoted by ‘Gojela’, the favourite ox of Rhili’s grandfather, Khawuta kaGcaleka.

34 ‘*Isimanga*’, a keyword for Nongqawuse’s era, surfaces in Englished accounts as ‘wonder’, ‘marvel’, ‘miracle’, ‘strange thing’. In 1859, talk of the country being ‘full of “Izimanga (Miracles)”’ remained prevalent among Nongqawuse’s supporters scattered on Cape farms (CA, BK 3, J. Warner to Col. Smyth, 12 April 1859.)

From Thato's Great House of Thembuland, was sent forth Maramnco, son of Fadana in his Right-Hand House, travelling with a sister's son, Shwele, son of Zozi. From the supporting Ndongwana House came a son of Qweshu, Dzulaze, related to Ndarala. From the Right-Hand Tshatshu House was sent forth Mpeke, of the amaMfene clan.

From Ngqika's Right-Hand House came Namba, the Great Son of Maqoma. From Gcaleka's Great House are Rhili and Lindinxiwa, sons of Hintsa, and Ngubo, son of Malashe, and Nxito, son of Lutshaba. From Ndlambe's supporting House was sent forth Nowawe, son of Ndlambe. From Gqunukhwebe's people was sent forth Dilima, son of Phato.

That whole group was bound for Mhlakaza's homestead, at the lagoon at the Gxarha river's mouth, at the Khamanga stream. The pronouncement had gone out from the first, that people going to Mhlakaza's should be selected. Then on arriving there it was said that Nongqawuse said: 'Let there again be a selection of the force that will go to the lagoon at the river mouth, mostly from royalty.' And, truly, so was it done. Despite going to this stream called Khamanga, Wild-Banana, there were many thirsty ones, whose throats dried up, *khothe!*, because people were now facing a fearsome matter.³⁵ They were led by Nongqawuse, a woman in her fertile years who had adorned her face with ochre, a young maiden possessing not a thing of value. The ones who were thirsty were heard saying – 'May one who thirsts drink?' Nongqawuse said - 'Whosoever has no poison may drink and fear naught.' Thereupon Phato's son, Dilima, an extremely brave man, flung his mantle yonder, *tya!*, and crouched down and drank. The assemblies of Nomagwayi from the land of the Mbo [towards Natal] continued expressing divergent views.

A WONDROUS AFFAIR THAT OCCURRED

Just then, there was heard the tumbling, as if from rain, of truly big rocks from the precipice at the headwaters of the Khamanga stream, which struck people, and they caught one another's eyes, also dreading that some unknown thing in this precipice might explode, and such a tribulation's giddiness existed.

Just then, the young maiden said: 'Do cast your eyes unto the sea'. When they focused on the waves of the sea, it was as if people were truly there, and as if bulls were bellowing also, and oxen too, and a distant black mass constantly went backwards and forwards, backwards and forwards, until it again departed and disappeared over the horizon yonder, in the waves of the sea, and then all the people believed for the first time.

THE PRONOUNCEMENT OF THIS DISTANT DARK MASS

This army in the sea never emerged to approach royalty here. Even its pronouncement was heard by no one apart from Nongqawuse. When, then, that force departed and disappeared, she said: 'The lords say:³⁶ "go ye home, that you may slay

35 Gqoba uses numerous ideophones (words like '*khothe*', which convey meaning acoustically, often to underline a point.) We signal such ideophones with exclamation marks.

36 Rulers always addressed their subjects through a spokesman, whose opening formula was '*Iti inkosi*', the ruler says.

all cattle; not a thing that you have bred is to exist, so that the resurrection may hasten. Do refrain from cultivation; dig great new grain-pits in cattle-kraals, you will see that they are then full of fresh food. Extract from the grain-pits even the food that you have, that you might cast it away. Build new dwellings, and also make many doors, making them with the rope-like *ubuka* creeper, and then shut yourselves up in the dwellings, even on the day of the resurrection, because it will come to pass on the eighth day, when the beautiful *umzi* emerges, coming with its lord Christ, For Ever, the son of God-the-Broad-Chested, that all hurtful creatures of the earth and of the rivers, and snakes, will become strays in all the land. That you may be safe, do close up with many doors, and fasten them tightly, and cast away all poison.”

ANOTHER RULER IN THE VERY SAME PLACE

She spoke thus saying: ‘There is another ruler, riding upon a grey horse,³⁷ his name is Grey, but his other name is Satan. And every man who did not slaughter his cattle would be Satan’s, and would not see the sanctification of our own lord, Christ, For Ever, the son of God-the-Broad-Chested.’³⁸

There it is, then, the origin of cattle being slaughtered, commencing in 1856, the break-up as a people, *-chithakala*, being in 1857.³⁹

THE APPEARANCE, *-VELA*, OF NONKOSI

Just at this time, there appeared another young maiden, from the homestead of Nkwitshi, of the Kwemta clan, of the House of Ndlambe. She appeared, *-vela*-ed, here at the Mpongo river (Macleantown). Her pronouncement was one and the same as Nongqawuse’s. Initiates into manhood were soon seen there as well, dancing the dance of initiates there at a pool in the Mpongo river. Close-knit groups⁴⁰ used to gather there and it became a ‘red’ scene, of non-Christian ochre people: women were keeping time at that place, ululating, until the drum was torn there, keeping time for initiates into manhood, dancing the dance of initiates there at the pool.

She, too, was saying just what Nongqawuse said, speaking only about the resurrection of people and cattle.

37 Among praise-poets, ‘*ihashhe elingwevu*’ was a metonym for Governor Grey. Although translated here as ‘grey horse’, it had an additional meaning: syphilis.

38 Another translation runs:

It is said there is another chief who used to ride a *ngwevu* horse, his name was *Ngwevu*, otherwise called Satan. It was said that every person who did not slaughter all his cattle was a person of that chief who was Satan. Such a person would never see the blessing of our Chief, Naphakade, the son of Sifubasibanzi.

Gqoba was allegedly inserting authorial comment, to convey popular perceptions that Grey was evil incarnate, who used Nongqawuse as his tool (Peires, *Dead*, 387-8; Peires, ‘Havoc’, 249.)

Yet Gqoba is here reporting direct speech, by Nongqawuse. She, not he, was equating Grey with Satan. She, not ‘it’, was indicting Grey as the Antichrist. This crucial point has yet to be accorded analytical weight.

As noted in commentary on the original text, Nongqawuse’s speech contains strong Biblical echoes. ‘*Ubungwalisa*’ (‘sanctification’) appears to have been widely used by her supporters. According to a missionary, the ‘doctrines of the atonement & that of sanctification were represented as justifying cleansing.. All that was said or done was in the name of God, or that His Word says so’ (Cory Library, MS 6284, J. Ross to A. Thomson, 24 Nov. 1856.)

39 Nongqawuse’s era was popularly subdivided into the initial ‘*umnyaka wengxokolo*’ (the year of the noisy multitude), followed by the ‘*incitakalo ka Nongqause*’ (the break-up of Nongqawuse’s time.) Gqoba often uses the derivatives and synonyms of ‘*-chithakala*’, another keyword for this era.

40 In Gqoba’s day, ‘tribe’ or ‘clan’ were deemed English equivalents of ‘*isizwe*’. But ‘clan’, in the academy, has come to mean an exogamous kinship unit. Hence we use ‘clan’ for such a unit alone.

THE APPEARANCE, -VELA, OF THE HORNS OF CATTLE

In other places, even the horns of cattle were at last seen, having now appeared, -vela-ed, and the lowing of milch-cows was heard also, and the barking of dogs was heard too, and the humming of milkmen as well, and so forth, and so forth.

ROYALTY'S COMMAND

When, then, royalty returned unto their places, and promptly gathered all their general councils, what was now preached was the rising of ancestral forebears, already young and healthy this very day, and the rising of all cattle that would be slain and that had died long ago. Nongqawuse had said that whether a man bartered beef like a peddler, or sold his beast entire, he should acquire its breath, its soul, that it might rise for him on the day of resurrection. And all who failed to slaughter would be swept away by a great tempest and sink into the sea.

A HOUSE DIVIDED

The Xhosa *umzi* promptly split in two, *qwenge!*, and one section completely refused to slay its cattle, knowing and believing, in fact, in a resurrection of dead people, which would be of *people*, not of *cattle*.

The sight was now seen of father divided against son, and brother against brother, and ruler against his people, and blood relation against blood relation, and so forth and so forth, in the whole country of Xhosa's people. Two names for these two groups appeared. The one was called *Amathamba*, the Compliant, that is to say, Nongqawuse's pierced ones, her Christian converts.⁴¹ The other was called *amagogotya*. To *gogotya* is to stay unmoved, not doing something, stopping short of it, and then it is said: 'So-and-so *gogotya*-ed.'⁴²

THE EIGHTH DAY

Now when cattle were being slaughtered in general, because a large number, much of the *umzi*, were believers in this thing, the majority gave others more than enough, some from fear of being put to death, and finally *amagogotya* mostly fled, and now, when starvation was already making inroads, when the eighth day was already faced, now the majority was anxious, now some were exceedingly hungry, now surviving only on stolen stock.

And so did it come to pass, because the eighth day was now faced: the day, it was said, when the sun would no sooner rise red in colour than it would again sink from the sky, and there would be a great darkness, that being the time when

41 'Amagqob'oka' was a nickname for Christian converts, since the Word was believed to have pierced a hole in their hearts. Although Jordan translated it as 'converts', Gqoba was an ardent Christian, editing a paper for Christians - and in this context, the term routinely meant Christian converts (Jordan, *Literature*, 74.) Gqoba had already laid the ground for his claim, by linking Nongqawuse to terms with strong Christian connotations ('uNapakade', 'uSifuba-sibanzi', 'uSatana', 'uvuko', 'ubungcwalisa', 'umpefumlo'.) 'Amatamba' has elsewhere been translated as 'the Submissive' or 'soft ones', but such English words have misleading negative connotations (Jordan, *Literature*, 74; Peires, *Dead*, 199.) 'Compliant', denoting praiseworthy compliance with the wishes of a superior, is closer to the meaning.

42 Other definitions exist. 'Gogogotya [sic] means "hard", just as its opposite *thamba* means "soft", but, significantly, *gogotya* is usually translated as "stingy". This provides the basis for analysing *amagogotya* as an emergent social class adhering to market-oriented norms (Peires, *Dead*, 201, see also 198-206, 334-5.) Yet as Gqoba indicates, 'gogotya' did not usually mean stingy in the nineteenth century. A dictionary defined the verb as to be unyielding, to neither believe nor obey an *igogo*; the noun denoted an unyielding, disloyal person (Kropf and Godfrey, *Dictionary*, 123.)

people were ordered to shut themselves in their dwellings, that they were not devoured by beasts of prey. One of the places in this country where people were told to gather together for the eighth day to be awaited was on this side of the Great Kei river [cis-Kei]; it was now beheld in all the country, that of *amathamba* and of *amagogotya* too. The sun rose like any other, and that entire day the compliant *amathamba* withdrew into their dwellings, and closed up and fastened tightly with many doors, now constantly peeping through gaps for the sinking of the sun, while others, having long disbelieved, having done none of the other things apart from slaughtering cattle, were doing their work even on that day.

2a. ISIGIDIMI SAMAXOSA, APRIL 2, 1888, pp. 29-31

ISIZATU SOKUXELWA KWE NKOMO NGO NONGQAUSE

[IVELA KU W. W. G.]

No. 2.

AMAXEGOKAZI ASE NGXWANGU.

Kutiwa ke kute kwakusa kungabangako nto ngolo lwesibozo, lwati ulutsha - Si-saya kuhlola ukuba kuteni na. Hlalani apa, soza kunixelela into ekude kwayiyo. Kwemka kwati b'e tu bonke abasenamandla kweli zwana lonke, bati abafayo, nentsapo kwezinye indawo, basala, ezinye indawo zahlala wapolazeka ke umzi ukucitakala. Ahlala ntsukwana lo max'egokazi ase Ngxwangu, kwasa ngomnye umhla, elo liqubula umkuba walo, esimelela eti asingisa e Ncemera esikolweni.⁴³ Ashiyisana ngamendu, amanye ahamba esiwa, limbi likohlwe nakuvuka, lifike elingasemva ligalele lidlule lingalincedi elo selisadalele. Imini elusizi embi. I-Ngxwangu le yenye yendawo ekwakutiwe maze kulindwe kuyo ngaba kufupi nayo.

AMAJEKE ENDLELA.

Kutiwa ati akuba kulo mmango upakati kwe Dywarana no Crouch, lavakala elipambili kwamanye lisiti - "Namhla singamajeke endlela, usuku lwesib'ozo ludlule, sishiyiwe ngabase nemitsi, kade sixela!"

IMPAU ZE MFAZWE.

Ukuba kunje ngoko kutiwa inkomo zix'eliwe nje kwakusenzelwa imfazwe, ngubani na ongaze avele ati imfazwe etile yati ukuze ibeko ema-Xoseni yenzelwa amacebo yinkazana etile, eyayiligogo, kunjalo nje iyintombazana? Ngubani na ongayipikisayo indawo yokuba mpau zemfazwe, kukugungqa kwa madoda, kuku-

43 Esi sikolo (I-Peelton, kufuphi neQonce) yayinabantu abakuma-800 ababehlala kuso, bonke bengamagogotya, njengoko yayisisiqhelo kwizikolo. Ngelo xesha, amadoda ayexakeke kukukhusela izilimo zawo, ngemipu, kumathamba ayelamba esiba.

sizilwa kwamak'aka, kukandwa kwezikalali, kupiselwa, kushwanyiswa kwa madoda xa kuko igqira lomkosi. Kuq'uba kuq'ube kuvuke ulubo olungumangaliso pakati kwezizwe ezizungulayo kude kupume imikosana engamatūtù, engeyiyo eyendla-la, eyenza ucekwa, ukuba makude kuliwe, ekunje ngokuba ngeka Hintsu ucekwa kwatinjwa inkomo zase Mngcangatelweni, zakwa Ty'ali, kwa Mankazana, zino Xabakoxunge (u Xoxo), kwaliwa kwalapo. Ngulo mhla u Xoxo wenziwa umqelo entloko, kwaba kupela oko. Kwavakala sekusitsha e Zikuni, kwatsha e Canc'i. Kumhla kwasala impahla eninzi kunene, kuba kwasu kungaseko mntu ekampini yasem-Lungwini. Ngu lo nyaka iti inxenye ukuwubiza ngowesiyikili kuba kwasala swekile na kofu namqatane nani. Nanzo ke zona impau zemfazwe ezezakayo [sic] ema-Xoseni. Zinjalo zonke imfazwe zinabo ocekwa bazo. Ezo ndawo zitshoyo kwezo ncwadi asikuko nokuba ziyalulahlekisa ulutsha olufundiswayo. Baninzi nanamhla nje abantu ababeziyele ngokwabo kwa Gcaleka kwa Mhlakaza, nababe ngamatamba ngezo mini. Lo nteto bayayipikisa mpela. Bati abo bantu bab'ala ukuti kwakufun' ukuze kuliwe ngomsindo nom-Lungu agxotwe kweli lizwe ngelo qinga lokux'elwa kwe nkomo, bati ezo ncwadi zinjalo azinamsebenzi, zifane zaxela izinto ezingazange zibeko, ngokulahlekiswa kwe mbali.

ISIZATU SALO NTETO.

Bati bona ukuyazi kwabo inteto enjalo ivele xa bahamba bekonza becitakele, behamba beny'ukutywa ngamagogyu, ecenga ngabo ezitandisa ku Belungu, esiti xa ahlekisayo - Kaloku bati xa baxela inkomo zabo bati bafun'ukuze bamgxote um-Lungu, alwe onke ama-Xosa, enomsindo, kuba kungeko uyakulibala zinkomo namhla. Kwaba njalo ukuqaleka kweso sigxeko emva kokuba sezix'elwe kade inkomo, kwade kwacitakalwa.⁴⁴ Fanukuba aba babalisi bab'ale ezi ncwadi zinesi silahlekiso babaliselwa ngamagogyu, abantu abebe nekwele ngamatamba. Kufana nokuba kute kule mfazwe ka Nc'ayec'ibi ahlulelana ama-Ngqika, bati abaye ngasem-Lungwini kwatiwa igama labo ngama Gxabuza, suke nabo balibekisa kwa elo gama kwabaye emahlatini, kwade kwasuke kwatyeba elo lokuba ama Gxabuza ngabebeye ehlatini.

Kwakona. Into enje ngale yehlela esi sizwe kutiwa ngama-Mfengu namhla nje. Eli gama mhla lafika, lafika no Goceni iDladla, ehamba nomnye. Bati bakubuzwa apo bavela kona bati - Siyamfenguza, kwase kusuleleka izizwe ngezizwe, nezo bezicita ezinye ukuze zimfenguze, ndawonye nezazingatshongo kwa nezingamfenguzanga kweli lasema-Xoseni. Naleyo into seli jekiwe. Iti enye incwadi yababalisi, eli gama liti Mfengu liteta ukuti yinja, into ke naleyo engekoyo kanye. Ukumfenguza kukucitakala, kukuswela ikaya, nento yokuzinceda. Nanko ukumfenguza. Akuzange kube kukuba yinja napakade. Incwadi ezinjalo zingenisa umoya ombi kanjalo ziyalahlekisa, kuba aziteti yona inyaniso, ziyazigqweta izinto ukuzixela. Ukuba eli lizwi liti mfengu beliteta ukuti yi nja, kunjani na le nto lingaziwayo ngabanini nteto ukuba liteta lo nto? Lo nto ibonisa ukuba ligqwetwa

44 Intetho yokaGqoba ayingqinwa yeminye imithombo. Iziganeko zazisenzeka kwindawo yemfazwe, kwaye amagosa ezamathanga ekunye namahlakani awo amnyama ayekrokrela iyelenqe lemfazwe kanye ngoku kuxhelwa iinkomo.

ngabom ukuze lidale umoya ombi pakati kwama-Mfengu nama-Xosa kuba kusitiwa elo gama lavela kuma-Xosa.

IMFAZWE EYAKE YAKO.

Into kambe esingade siti yayibumfazwana ukukolisa abatanda ukuyibiza njalo, ngu Pato obeti ngenxa kwa yokulamba amane ezitintela inqwelo ezivela e Monti zisiya e Qonce, kwade kwa ngulo nyaka wokufika kwa ma-Jelimeni.⁴⁵ Kanjalo belifile mpela pakati komntu wonke olambileyo notyayo, nokuba baluhlanga lunye kungeko sahluko. Imikosana ebihlal' ihlalywa kule milanjana yonke, ibimininzi, ngenxa yamat'ut'u amatamba, kwaye kunjalo nasemasimini, nase zintlanti emakaya.

Injalo ke into eyake yabako ngencitakalo ka Nongqause. Enye into ekwayimposiso yile kutiwa - Oyena ubeteta ezi zinto ngu Mhlakaza, u Nongqause ngowavela yena ngokuncedisa u Mhlakaza lowo. Akuko nto yake yanjalo.⁴⁶

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

EZONA MPAU ZEMFAZWE.

Ukuba zazix'elwa nje inkomo kwakusenzelwa imfazwe kunge kuhlatywe inkabi zodwa, kwasizilwa amakaka, kwakandwa kunene izikali kulo lonke elasema Xoseni, kwapiselwa. Kunge kubeko amagogo anje ngo Mlanjeni,⁴⁷ no Nxito,⁴⁸ okulungisa amadoda ayakulwa imfazwe. Ukuba yayi licebo le mfazwe, kuteni na ukuze zingabiko ezo zinto? Le nto ibonisa mhlope ukuba akuko nyaniso kulo nte-to isel'isezincwadini ezishicilelweyo esingazibiza ngamagama eziti - Ama-Xosa ayesenza icebo lokwenza imfazwe yokugxota a-Belungu kulo mhlaba.

UBUNQINA BENKOSI ZAMA-XOSA.

Zininzi inkosi ezabanjwayo ngalo nto ka Nongqause, kwa ne bezinx'anyelwe ukubanjwa kuba zigqibise abantu wac'itakala umhlaba ngenxa yeli cebo kutiwa yayilele mfazwe.

Zonke bezizibuzela ngamazwi ati - Sinatyala lani na kubani na, six'ele inkomo zetu nje, emhlabeni wakowetu, saye silinde uvuko lwe zihlobo zetu nezafa kudala emanyangeni, kwaye okunye silindele kwa novuko lwezi nkomo sizix'elayo, kuba kutiwa ziti inkosi ezo zizakuvuka masizix'ele, kuba sizifuye ngezandla ezimdaka

45 Ngowe-1855, ubukhosi bukaPhato babhujiswa sisifo senkomo imofu. Amagogo avela, esithi iinkomo mazixelwe kwaye kungalinywa. Kwisiqingatha sokuqala sowe-1856, abaninzi ababephila ngokulima nokufuya babezimpula zikalujaca, bengekutya kuzinkozo nazinkomo. Ugqogqo olwanda kwisiqingatha sesibini sowe-1856, lwaqhuba ukuya kowe-1857, emva kokufika kwamaJamani, eneneni lwathatyathwa njengemfazwe, kwakunye nesisithelo sokuziphindezela ngezigalo.

46 OkaGqoba ubephikisa intetho ezilolo hlobo ezifana nale: 'In March 1856, the most renowned of Kafir seers arose, Mhlakaza by name, assisted by his daughter Nonqause' (Brownlee, *Reminiscences*, 126.)

47 UMlanjeni kaKala (c1830-1853) wafumana indumasi njengegogo emva kwenyikima kowe-1850. Wathi ingqumbo kaThixo yayiza kuwa phezu kwabeLungu, bona ababulala Unyana wakhe. Kukholelwa ukuba uyakwazi ukuvusa abafileyo, uMlanjeni wathi ayakoyiswa ngamandla anqabileyo amaNgesi xa imiyalelo yakhe inokulandelwa. Eli gogo linendumasi lagaxeleka emfazweni eyaphela sele isaziwa njengemfazwe kaMlanjeni (1850-1853), isiliwa ngamaNgqika ehlangene nabaThembu namaLawu. Wafa ngowe-1853, kodwa kukholelwa ukuba wavuswa kwakamsinya, waza ngoncedo lukaSifuba-sibanzi wabanenxaxheba ekuvusweni kwamadoda amnyama awayefe kwiimfazwe ngemida.

48 UNgxito kaNcamba wayenefuthe kwimfazwe yowe-1877-1878 kaNgcayechibi.

ezipata ubut’i nezinye izinto ezinje ngemibulo nokurexeza? Yini na ukuze zitsho ukuzipendulela kwazo xa kanti bezixela inkomo zifuna ukwenza imfazwe. enkulu kangaka.

UKUZILWELA KUKA TOLA.

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

Ke u Tola watimbisa walwa no Gola inkosi yom-Lungu efunelwa kwa uku-banjwa naye kwa ngenxa yesi sizatu sabanjelwa ezinye inkosi.⁴⁹ Watimba wada waya kufela kufupi, ne lenyati [*sic*] walwa nje nge gora kunye no nyana bake, waye xolele ukufa kunokuba abanjelwe inkolo awayenayo kunye namakwabo ku-vuko ekufeni obe lulindelekile. Wafa u Tola nje nge nkosi, wafa nje nge gora kunye no nyana bake wafa nje nge kolwa enamatele elunqulweni lwake.

Zezo ndawana ke ezi kutiwa yayi yimfazwe? Yayi yimikwa yendhlala [*sic*] leyo kuba kakade nanamhla nje ngenxa le dlala [*sic*] wambi amasela ayatimba alwe kuf’ abantu, ati ukuba oyisile abasukele abanini mpahla- [*sic*] Maninzi am-atùtù abeko ngo Nongqause, nje ngokuba ehlala ebako, kwa nezigebenga ngamax-asha endlala kwakudala. Baninzi nabafele emasimini abo kwi ndawo ngendawo kwa namasela ngamanye amaxa. Yilomfazwe na ke leyo?

UKUNDULULWA KWEZIZWE.

Kute ke kuba ibisipitipiti, engonwabile amagogotya ngamatamba aq’utywa yind-lala, kwaba bupitizela kwade kwabako imikosana epumayo ukuya kundlulula abantu abebesahleli kwa semanxiweni. Kwaba njalo, wade umhlaba omninzi wa-kolisa ukuba yintlango ngenxa yemikosi enjalo, ukuze emva koko kusuke kutiwe umhlaba bawuwele bawushiya.⁵⁰

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

49 U-Major John Gawler wayengumantyi ophambili ebandakanyeka ekubambeni iinkosi. UTola kaFunu, owayeqhweshe kwintolongo yaseQonce ngo-Februwari kowe-1858, wabulawa noonzana ababini ngo-Disemba kowe-1858, esilwa nama-polisa ayelawulwa ngophantsi ko-Gawler.

50 Imikosana - ubukhulu becala ingamadoda angamagogotya aphantsi kolawulo lwezamathanga - yaqalisa ukumiselwa ngo-Februwari kowe-1857, iyeyokwenza abathi ukuyibiza abasemagunyeni ‘clearing out the cattle-killers’. Oku kwenzeka ngokusebenzisa iqhinga lemfazwe lokutshisa yonke into (*Report and Proceedings, with Appendices, of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, G4-83 (Cape Town, 1883), 281.)

INYANISO YAYINGEKO OKO.

Ukubonisa ukuba le nto iyinyaniso yayishiwa ngezo mini, encotezwa [*sic*] amatamba ku-Belungu, into eninzi kunene yabantu ababe ngax'elanga, inxenye bax'ela inxenye ye nkomo kuba le nto ibingangeni kakuhle, koko sebesoyika inkosi zabo ezixelileyo, inxenye ijanyelwa ngamerele yimizalwana yayo kwade kwasuke kwafika imofu, zati ke zakufa yimofu inkomo zabo zincwatywa bekangele bonke (kuba imofu le ike yoyikwa ema-Xoseni kakulu ayandulanga ityiwe kwanase zikolweni ke kona) zati zakupela kwezipele kubo, bayakuvukela kubazalwana babo, basuka nabo batukwa kwa ngobutamba kwatiwa ukuvinjwa kwabo - "Benizixela nje ezenu nisiti namhla nje um-Lungu niyakumweza ulwandle, hleli nje beninyeke ukuze nize kukataza tina?" Azikavukina kaloku, benite ziyakuvuka nje?⁵¹

OYIPIKISAYO LE NGXELO MAKAVELE.

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

UKUGQWETWA KWEMBANGI KUXELWA INKOMO.

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

UKULUNGISA ESO SIPOSO.

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

51 Ingongoma yokaGqoba, yokuba abantu abanjalo babetyholwa ngokungafanelekanga ekufanisweni namathamba, inakho ukungqinisiswa nangakumbi. Amathamba okwenene ayengavumelekanga ukuhambelana nokutya ukutya kwamagogotya, kuba benekuzingcolisa.

2b. THE REASON FOR CATTLE-SLAUGHTER BY NONGQAWUSE AND HER FOLLOWERS

[COMING FROM W. W. G.]

No. 2.

THE ELDERLY WOMEN FROM NGXWANGU.

And then, it is said, nothing having occurred on that eighth day, the young people said on the morrow: 'We have still to investigate if anything has come to pass. Stay here, and we will come to you to report what has ultimately occurred.' And all people who still had strength departed from this entire region, leaving it utterly desolate, *bhe!*, and the dying, with their little ones in some places, remained behind, other places being motionless, and so the *umzi* spilt out in the *-chithakala*, the break-up of a people. Those elderly woman from Ngxwangu stayed a few days, and, when one day dawned, each suddenly snatched up her staff, and, leaning thereon, they headed for Peelson mission station. Differing in speed, they forsook one another, and some walked stumbling, another struggled to rise, and one arrived from behind and joined them and passed by without helping that elderly woman who had already collapsed. The woeful, evil day. This Ngxwangu is another place at which those nearby were instructed to await the eighth day.

THE SCATTERED STARVELINGS OF THE PATH.⁵²

The foremost elderly woman, it is said, was heard saying to others when on this ridge between Dywarana and Crouch: 'Today we are the scattered starvelings of the path, the eighth day has passed, and we are forsaken by those still with a spring in their step, we are slow in reporting!'

THE BRAND-MARKS OF WAR.

If, as is claimed, cattle were simply slain for war to be waged, who can appear, *-vela*, and say that a particular war occurred in Xhosaland, strategized by a certain *inkazana*, a marriageable member of the female sex,⁵³ who was a seer, an *igogo*, just a young maiden at that? Who can contest the fact that war has brand marks: the war-dances of men, the strengthening of shields, the forging of weapons, the fixing of blades to shafts, the ritual feasting of men when the *igqirha* of the army is present. It continues and continues, and astounding theft arises between groups on the prowl, until petty armies of cattle-stealers emerge, which are not those of famine, but provide the provocation that must ultimately lead to conflict, like Hintsas's war, where the provocation was the seizure of Tyhali's cattle, from Mngcangatelo, at the Mankazana river, being with Xabakoxunge (Xhoxho), and fighting occurred

52 *Amajeke*, the plural of *ijeke* (a poor, lean calf) has been defined as 'poor, exhausted, scattered people' (Kropf and Godfrey, *Dictionary*, 169.) Hence our translation diverges from the 'poor calves' found elsewhere (Peires, *Dead*, 262, 266.)

53 '*Inkazana*' referred to a female living at her father's home, whether as an unmarried woman, a widow or a divorcee. It had connotations of nubility, and could be a derogatory reference to a spinster's loss of virginity (Kropf and Godfrey, *Dictionary*, 98, 273.)

just there. This is the day that Xhoxho was lightly wounded on the head, and that was that. It was evident that Zikhuni was already put to the torch, and Cangci was fired. A large amount of property, truly, was left behind on that day, because at dawn there was no longer anyone in the European military camp. This is the year that some call that of the dispersion, because sugar and coffee and hard biscuits and absolutely anything were left behind. There they are, then, the brand marks of wars known in Xhosaland. All wars are like that, having such things as their causes of strife. There is nothing that deceives young people being educated more than those places in those books telling of cattle-killing as a war-scheme. Many are the people, even today, who went of their own free will to Gcaleka's country, to Mhlakaza's, and were also *amathamba* in those days. They contest that pronouncement root and branch. They say those people who wrote that the aim was to fight furiously with the European, and have him expelled from this country through that cattle-killing ploy: they say such books are useless, simply reporting what never existed, through misrepresentation of history.

THE REASON FOR THAT PRONOUNCEMENT.

Their understanding of such a pronouncement, they themselves say, is that it appeared when they were on the move, in servitude, being broken-up as a people, *-chithakala*; on the move while being thrust forward by those who had held back, the *amagogotya*, who were trying to curry favour with Europeans at their expense, saying when ridiculing them: 'Remember what they said when rupturing the aortas of their cattle: they said they wanted to expel the European, and all amaXhosa would fight, furiously, because there would be no wasting of time on cattle today.' Thus did this slander start, long after cattle had already been slain, and the break-up of a people, *-chithakala*, finally occurred. It seems that these narrators who wrote these books containing this deception were told the story by the non-compliant, the *amagogotya*, who used to be jealous of *amathamba*. It even seems to resemble what happened during this war of Ngcayechibi, when Ngqika's people split, and those who went towards the European's place were given the name *amaGxabuza* [Traitors/Refugees], and then they too gave this very name to those who went to the forests, until it then became widespread that *amaGxabuza* were those who went to the forest.

Again, something like this happened to this people called amaMfengu today. When this name first arrived, it arrived with Goceni, of the Dladla clan, on the move with another. When asked whence they came, they said: 'We are *-mfenguza*' and already various people were infected, including those scattering others so that they were *-mfenguza*, together with those who did not declare themselves as such, and also those who were not *-mfenguza* in this country of Xhosa's people. That, too, has now been twisted in meaning. One of the narrators' books says, this word 'Mfengu' means 'dog', but that, too, is completely absent. To '*-mfenguza*' is to be broken-up as a people, *-chithakala*, lacking a home, and means of self-help. That is what '*-mfenguza*' is. It has never, in all eternity, been about being a dog. Such books inject ill-feeling, and likewise deceive, for they tell not the truth, they are turning things topsy-turvy in reporting them. If this word '*mfengu*' meant 'dog', why is it unknown to those who authored this utterance that it means

that? That shews that it is being turned topsy-turvy deliberately, to create ill-feeling between amaMfengu and amaXhosa, for that name is alleged to have appeared from Xhosa's people.

A WAR THAT ONCE WAS.

What we probably might ultimately term a petty war of sorts, to appease those so inclined, concerns Phato, who, just because of hunger, would constantly intercept wagons going from East London to King William's Town, until the arrival of the Germans the same year. Similarly, there was total war between every starving person and one who ate, even if they were of the same race, division there being none. Many petty armies were continually being mobilized by war cries at all these rivulets, due to the cattle-stealing *amathamba*, and it was similar in cultivated lands as well, and also in the cattle-kraals at homes.

Something of the kind, then, once existed during the *inkcithakalo kaNongqawuse*, the break-up of Nongqawuse's era. The one thing that is just a mistake is this claim: 'The one who was foremost in speaking of these things is Mhlakaza; as for Nongqawuse, she is one who appeared, -*vela*-ed, to assist Mhlakaza'. There was never anything of the kind.

For which war here in Xhosaland were homesteads ever built, and grain-pits dug in cattle-kraals, and dwellings prepared for thatching, and hides cut into milk-pouches, and cattle exterminated, their souls having been acquired?

THE REAL BRAND-MARKS OF WAR.

If cattle were but slain for war to be waged, then oxen alone would have been killed, and shields strengthened, and weapons forged in earnest in all this land of amaXhosa, and blades fixed to shafts. There would have been *amagogo*, seers, like Mlanjeni, and Ngxito, to put men in the right state to fight a war. If it were a war-scheme, why were those things absent? That clearly shews that there is no truth in that pronouncement already contained in published books, which we could name, claiming - AmaXhosa were devising a scheme for waging war to expel Europeans from this territory.

THE TESTIMONY OF XHOSA ROYALTY.

Many were the members of royalty who were imprisoned for this thing of Nongqawuse,⁵⁴ together with those under imminent threat of imprisonment because they destroyed people, and the territory was broken-up, -*chithakala*, due to this scheme said to be hatched for war.

All were making enquiries on their own behalf with words that ran: 'What is our offence and whom have we offended? We have but slaughtered our cattle, in our fatherland, and we have awaited the resurrection of our friends and those who died long ago from the place of our ancestral forebears, and otherwise we have also awaited the resurrection of these cattle that we slew, for we were ordered

54 'Lo nto ka Nongqause' (literally, this thing of Nongqawuse) was a common euphemism for her revelation.

to slaughter them by rulers about to arise, for we bred them with dirty hands that handle poison and other things like incest, fornication and adultery'. Why did they speak thus in their accounting for themselves if they were nonetheless killing cattle wanting to wage war: such an immense one.

TOLA'S SELF-DEFENCE.

There, in *Isigidimis* of years gone by, is the history of the imiDange being in two sections, there used to be Bhotomane's, and Tola's as well.

Now Tola, being also sought for the same imprisonment for the same reason as other rulers were imprisoned, defended himself against capture and fought with Gawler, a European ruler. He took booty until he died nearby, and also fought like a brave man at Nyathi's ford of the Great Kei river, together with his sons, and he was willing to die rather than be imprisoned for his and his own people's faith in the anticipated resurrection from death. Tola died like royalty, and he died like a brave man together with his sons, and he died like a believer who cleaves to his religion.

Are those, then, the minor incidents called war? They were the customary practices of famine, for of course even today, due to this famine, robbers of a different description are taking booty, and fighting, and people die; if they prevail, they pursue stock-owners. Many were the cattle-thieves present in Nongqawuse's time, as they are ever present, and also bandits in times of starvation long ago. Many, too, were those who died in their cultivated lands in various places, together with thieves in other times. Is that, then, this war?

THE BREAK-UP OF CHIEFDOMS.

It came to pass, then, because of the uproar, *amagogyta* being unhappy about *amathamba* who were driven by famine, there was disorder of sorts, until emergent petty armies came into being, to break up and drive away from their ruined homesteads people who were still alive. Thus it was, until much of the territory was largely an uninhabited wilderness due to such armies, so that it might afterwards be claimed, on the contrary, that they had emigrated from the territory and forsaken it.⁵⁵

Even Sarhili was likewise driven away by such armies, that he might forsake the country of his own people and proceed to that of the amaMpondomise, so that he, too, was alleged to have emigrated from his territory and forsaken it, that he might now become one who was merely apportioned land by Government, and most of it was appropriated, and given to other chiefdoms. Even today, he too is reclaiming it, likewise in a word that runs: 'How is it that I emigrated from this territory of Gcaleka, and to whom did I emigrate? I killed our own people's cattle alone, not the European's; for what reason was this territory of Khawuta appropriated?' What is the matter if all royalty, living and departed, spoke this word when complaining of their imprisonment (those who were imprisoned), and the living,

55 Since natural features like rivers often constituted political boundaries, '*wela*' (to cross over) also denoted emigration.

together with the majority who were *amathamba*, as well as those who were *amagotyia* in those days, wished not to extract the kernel of truth about the origin of cattle-slaughter by Nongqawuse and her followers?

THE TRUTH WAS NOT THAT.

To shew that what is called truth was forsaken in those days, *amathamba* being slandered before Europeans: a truly large number of people not having slaughtered, some slew some of their cattle because they were not convinced by this thing, but now feared their rulers who had slaughtered; some were intimidated by the stabbing-spears of their relatives; and then finally the disease of the ‘*mof*’ cattle arrived,⁵⁶ and when their cattle died of the ‘*mof*’ disease, they were buried while all watched (because this ‘*mof*’ breed was once greatly feared in Xhosaland, and it was not eaten at the time even at mission stations there); and when their cattle were entirely eliminated, they would rise to beg food of their kin, and then they, too, were cursed just for *thamba*-ness, for compliance to the seer, it being said in refusing them ‘You were simply slaying yours, saying you would send the European across the sea today, were you in truth eyeing us, that you might come and trouble us? And now, have cattle not yet arisen, you having said they would simply arise?’

WHOEVER CONTESTS THIS ACCOUNT SHOULD APPEAR, -VELA.

This account of this story of Nongqawuse and her followers still has thousands upon thousands of surviving witnesses, who would say to whoever still has the frivolity to persist in saying: ‘A perfect scheme for defeating the European was sought in cattle simply being slain’ - that they should openly appear, *-vela*, with their own reasons, together with the people who were in this affair, while they are alive, they being independent of hearsay, because this issue is utterly misleading to young people who are taught this history, which is why we are pointing out this immense error. It is not they alone who are led astray at this point of this story. Everyone, including Europeans and those-over-the-water who bought these books with this history, together with those to whom it is told: everyone grasps not a bird but merely its tail feathers, because that thing never was.

THE TOPSY-TURVINESS OF THE ORIGIN OF CATTLE-KILLING.

Today, the most notorious issue at this time, having ultimately been written in the books of certain narrators as well, is that [t]he true origin of cattle-killing by the children of Xhosa was a scheme of the rulers of Xhosa’s people, for cattle to be slain, that all people might fight the European furiously, no one wasting time on cattle, that the European might be decanted into the sea this very day, and the case be closed.

56 Although this disease is normally Englished as ‘lung sickness’, the isiXhosa word, *imofu*, is more revealing. This denigratory term is derived from ‘*mof*’ (a colonial Dutch word for an animal which was not a pure-bred indigenous species, or for a European foreigner). *Imofu* originally referred to cattle of European ancestry, and was extended to the pandemic that they imported in 1853. It thus connected the disease, not to neutral medical discourse, but to an alien invasion, to European imperialism, to a denigratory term for European cattle and foreigners.

SETTING THIS ERROR RIGHT [WITH A SACRIFICE].

No pronouncement is more erroneous than this, possessing not a grain of truth, thus being an enigma without parallel. Even a person of merely average intelligence, but able to make comparisons, would see that such a pronouncement - when knowing the amaXhosa, and their love of cattle, and their faith in the resurrection of dead people - could never be true outside the realm of fabulous fiction.

3a. ISIGIDIMI SAMAXOSA, MAY 1, 1888, p.40

INCWADI ZABA BALELI. IMBALI KA NONQAUSE.

MNUMZETU,

Ibali elibonakele kwi *Sigidimi* sika March no April, eli ngokux'elwa kwe Nkomo, ndililese ngomxelo wonke, kuba ucukumise kwindawo esake sabambana ngayo nomb'ali otila, ndaye ke ndike ndazikataza ngokuzamela ukuyifumana eyona nyaniso, mayela nesizatu sokuxelwa kwazo inkomo. Indawo enda ndipikisa yona kulonteto eya yibalisa ngo Nongqause yileyo yokuba kusitiwa kwaku nxanyelwe IMFAZWE - "*Driving, [sic] the white man into the sea.*" Nantso intetwana abati ababalisi nge mbali yokuxelwa kwe nkomo baye kupela kuyo bonke aba balisi aba ngaba hlobo betu abamhlope, sendingati basulelene ngesi siteto.⁵⁷ Isi xaki kum saba sesokuba ati um-Xosa xa aya emfazweni aqale ngoku bulala inkomo, acite ukudla. Buza kum-Xosa ukuba, wenza nganina lento um-Lungu oyisayo? Ukukupendula uya kuti, - Kwenziwa, kukuba engalambi, ukudla kwahlala kuyitungele imikosi. Nguwo umbuzo wokub'ekiswa kubanini balenteto - Angatinina ukub'ub'isa eyona nto ibiya kuxasa neyona kweyiswa ngayo ngabe yisayo - kudla? Wolwa njani xa erenywa lipango? Lembuzo yendaka ndayibekisa kulombalisi nditeta ngaye. Uku-pendulwa kwam ndalatiswa imbali ebalwe ngu Rev. J. A. Chalmers - "Life of Tiyo Soga" apo akoyo lomazwi : Ndati ukudluliswa apo ndanekelwa amazwi ekutiwa ab'alwa ngu Mrs C. Brownlee. Ebalisa ngokuputa kwe yelenqe elo ekutiwa kw akuyilwa lona ngama wetu. Mandiwabale kwa ngenteto ab'alwe ngayo, ngawola ke, "*The back of the plot was broken, the simultaneous action of the tribes had been thwarted, and war was no longer imminent.*"⁵⁸ Mandinga fumane ndizidube ngento oyaziyo nawe mnumzetu, indawo endicela yona mna yeyokuba upakele umzi wase Mlungwini ibali lika Nongqause, njengoko laziwa ngako kwa Xosa

57 Imibhalo ephambili eyayixovula ixesha likaNongqawuse, eneneni yayibhalwe ngabo 'aba hlobo betu abamhlope' (eyayibhekisa kubantu abafana nabahambisi belizwi neetitshala, ezazizama ukwakha ingcingu kwabamnyama.) U-George Theal, obefundise e-Lovedale kwiminyaka yowe-1870s, wayiphicotha i 'cattle-killing mania' kwi *Compendium of South African History and Geography* yakhe (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1876), 49-59. Umfundisi u-J.A. Chalmers, wayengumhambisi welizwi, wayixoxa ku*Tiyo Soga: a Page of South African Mission Work* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1878.) Bobabini babeka umnwe ekutheni lalikho iyelenqe lemfazwe kwinkokheli ezithile, kodwa bobabini abazange babhekise ekulindelweni kwe-IMFAZWE - "*driving, the white man into the sea.*" Umfazi ka-Charles Brownlee yena wayetshilo ukuthi ngosuku lovuko kwakulindeke ukuba amagogyi, 'together with the white man, would be driven into the sea', ngumoya omkhulu (Chalmers, *Soga*, 114.) U-Philip, ubukhulu becala, naye ubengenangqiniseko xa ashwankathela abo abaphikisayo. Inkoliso yoko athi zizicatshulwa ayiqibelelanga, okanye iyalahlekisa, okanye zombini ezi zinto.

58 Chalmers, *Soga*, 114-115.

kukade belahlekisana. Malingene elibali kwi *Christian Express* “ njengoko linjalo. Umzi omhlope walahlekiswa mpela yilenteto ingena siseko ukuvuma ukuba nabo ngokwabo ababali balamazwi babelahlekiswe kunga yinto elungileyo. Into angaba woyikisela yona ngokungaxeli okoyo namhla, yintoni lento ilizwi labo lingamkelwayo, lokuba ngenene babelinde ukuvuka ko nina kulu?⁵⁹ Ndim owako,

WM. PHILIP

Gwaba, 16th April 1888.

[Siyavumelana nombaleli wetu obekekileyo ngendawo angayo. Inye into esimcela ukuba ayenze, kukusineda ngoku lib’ala elibali ngokwake ngesi Ngesi, nokuba aguqule eli selik’e labonakala e *Sigidimini*, aze ke alitumele kuti solicelela indawo kwi *Christian Express*. - ED. *Sigidimi*.⁶⁰]

3b. CORRESPONDENTS’ LETTERS

THE HISTORY OF NONGQAWUSE’S ERA

OUR HOST,

I read the story about the Cattle-killing, that appeared in *Isigidimi* of March and April, with all my heart, for you have ignited an issue over which we once quarrelled with a certain author, and so I sometimes wore myself out struggling to find the real truth, regarding the reason for the killing of cattle. In that account telling the story of Nongqawuse’s time, I disputed the point that there was eagerness for WAR – ‘*Driving the white man into the sea*’. There it is, the little pronouncement with which the narrators of the history of the cattle-killing would end, all the narrators who are our white friends, and I can now say that they have infected one another with this idiom. The problem for me at that time was that of a Xhosa man, when going to war, massacring cattle for the first time, and destroying food. Ask a Xhosa man: ‘What did the European man do to prevail?’ In answering you he will say: ‘It was brought to pass, because he hungered not, and food always poured into the regiments’. The question to be posed to the authors of this pronouncement is: ‘How can he annihilate the very thing that would sustain him, and the very source of victors’ victory - food? How will he fight when gnawed by hunger?’ I once posed this question to this narrator of whom I speak. In my being answered, I was referred to a history written by Rev. J. A. Chalmers, *Life of Tiyo Soga*, where those words are. In being made to pass there, I was exposed to words said to have been written by Mrs. C. Brownlee. Telling the story about the miscarriage of the plot allegedly hatched by our people. Let me write them from the very statement in which they were written, and they are these, “*The back of the plot was broken,*

59 Imithombo yalawulo lwamathanga phantse ngaphandle kwamathandabuzo ibonise abakholuli ababelindelwe njengamadoda. Intetho ka-Philip ayiqhelekanga, xa ephakamisa ukuba kwakulindwe ngomdla oomakhulu.

60 La ngamanye kumazwi okugqibela ashicilelweyo kaGqoba: ubhubhe ngesaquphe nge-26 April 1888.

the simultaneous action of the tribes had been thwarted, and war was no longer imminent.” Let me not disturb myself needlessly about something that is known to you, our host; what I myself request is that you dish up for the European community the story of Nongqawuse, as much as is known in Xhosaland, they having been deluding one another a very long time. Let this story go into the *Christian Express* ‘just as it is’. The white community has been completely deluded by this baseless pronouncement, it seems a good thing to admit that the writers of these words, too, were being deluded by none other than themselves. Something that may be frightening those here today into not providing information: why is it that their word is not accepted, that in reality they were awaiting the return to life of their grandmothers? I am yours truly,

WM. PHILIP.

Gwaba river, 16th April 1888.

[We are in agreement with our esteemed correspondent about his point. The only thing that we ask him to do is to help us, by writing this story in English on his own, even if he translates this one that already appeared once in *Isigidimi*, and then, having sent it to us, we shall request space for it in the *Christian Express*. ED. *Isigidimi*.]

4a. ISIGIDIMI SAMAXOSA, JUNE 1, 1888, p.46.

IMPENDULO NGO NONGQAUSE

KUMHLELI WE “SIGIDIMI”.

NKOSI, - Kwi *Sigidimi* sokuqala kuka May kuko incwadi eb’alwe ngu W. Philip eti lendawo kutiwa isimanga sika Nongqause besingecebo lamfazwe, ngokuba besingenaziganeko zemfazwe. Utsho elandela amazwi eciko ebelib’ala ngengqondo, - esilililelayo namhla sisiti azi ngubanina oyakuhlala esihlalweni sonyana ka Gqoba.

Ebekolisile obesiti amabali ohlanga makab’alwe aze ahlale esazeka ngokukodwa esi simanga sika Nongqause bekufanelekile ukuba sixoxwe saziwe inene yaso, bengekathshoneli abebonela. Kutiwa lendawo ka Nongqause ebisingisela emfazweni, iqinga layo lalilelokuba ama-Xosa azix’ele ngamininye inkomo, kuze kuti kwakufunzwa e-Mlungwini nasema Mfengwini kutiwe nazo ke inkomo zenu kungabiko oyakuhlala, basebefunzuka ngangoko bengako, bawucite ngamininye umzi wasem-Lungwini. Bati ke o-W.Philip no W.W.Gqoba akunjalo.

Makak’e andixolele u Mr. Philip ndakumbuza ngalemibuzwana, kuba andenzi ngabutshaba ndifuna ukucacisa inyaniso. Osiyazi baninzi, asikupela kwabo o-W.Philip no W.W.Gqoba; bako abanye abanga kanyisayo. Nditi ke xa lento ka Nongqause ibingasingisele mfazweni ibiyeyantonina? Ewe ndiyavuma ukuba eninzi yabantu ibikoliwe kanye ukuba lento ka Nongqause ib’iyinene, kwa nenkosi ezinje ngo Sandile bezikoliwe zingenalo nesuntswana lemfazwe ezintliziyweni.

Aba bati lento ka Nongqause ib’isingisele emfazweni, bazekelisa ngo Nxele

ob'ete eprofitsha waye esingate imfazwe yokubulala ama-Ngqika nama-Ngesi,⁶¹ bazekelisa ngo Mlanjeni oway'eprofitsha esingate kwa imfazwe. Bati ke u-Nonqause naye ukwangati eb'elandela kwa o-Nxele, no-Mlanjeni ezifihlile kodwa into ab'esingisela kuzo.

(2) Owesibini umbuzo. Ndingati - kuteni na ukuba lento yamkelwe zezona nkosi zinokuqonda okukulu ezinje ngo Rili, no Mhala, no Maqoma, ziyiqube ngamandl' onke londawo?

(3) Ndingabuye ndibuze nditi inkomo ezi zazibulawa nje amahashe la abegcinelwe ntonina?⁶²

(4) Kwabe kutenina lento ama Mfengu nabe-Lungu bahlulwayo ekux'eleni, kanti akwahlulwanga kwabangax'elanga kwatiwa bonke baya kuya ku Rwexu?⁶³

(5) U Mr. Philip eb'engevanga ukuba bekutiwa kuza u Sifuba-sibanzi (ama Russia ke lowo abesilwa nama Ngesi pesheya) oyakuti akuwagqibela aze kuneda [sic] ama-Xosa nganeno ukucita abe Lungu?⁶⁴

(6) Akavangana u Mr. Philip ukuba kwakuko inqanawa enkulu ngasekunene kwe Nciba ekute yakukupha iboti ukuba iyekuwela, yati yakuqukulwa ngamaza, benzakala omatrosi; zati zakupuma namanzi impahla zabo kwahanjwa kuboniswa ngazo emhlabeni wonke kusitiwa iqalile into, sekuko ababuleweyo ngabo bezayo baxelwa ngu Nongqause?⁶⁵

(7) Akevanga na u W. Philip ukuba kute xa ikulileyo lento ka Nongqause kwagqogqwa ivenkile ngase Mpongo, kwabulawa u Mlungu ongu Barr ezihambela eb'eka kwa Gcaleka?⁶⁶

Mandipele apa. Sisafuna ukanyiselo. Banga bangati osiyazi bavele basikanyisele, no Xego-Dala [uTshalisi into ka Buluneli] oke asibalisele wanga angasityela ab'ekubona, ati naye angafumane afunisele ati u Nongqause eb'ex'ox'a imfazwe. - Otshoyo makamise izizatu.

TOL' IXALANGA [uTshalisi into ka Buluneli]

61 UNxele wayeligogo elaliphantsi kwefuthe lobuKrestu elaziwayo. Nangona wayeyinxalenye yemfazwe ngowe 1818/1819, eneneni wayezigxeka izikhali nokuphalala kwegazi, kwaye endaweni yoko walatha impumelelo ezayo kwidabi neentshaba zakhe ezingamaNgesi namaNgqika ngesandla sonamandla anqabileyo, inkqwithela ezingummangaliso, kwakunye novoko loo bawo-mkhulu oluzakwenzeka kamsinya.

62 Amahashe ayesetyenziswa ngokubanzi kwiimfazwe emdeni.

63 'Urwexu' yayiligama elanikwa uSathana.

64 Ngemfazwe e-Russia (1854-6 Crimean War), umkhosi waseBritane waphantse ukutshatyalaliswa xa wawusilwa nama-Rashiya. Inkolelo yokuba uSifuba-sibanzi yayilelinye igama lamaRashiya yayixhaphakile kumagosa ezamathanga, kwaye yayinwenwiswa ngu-Brownlee (CA, GH 8/29, C. Brownlee to CC, 22 October 1856; CA, BK 71, C. Brownlee to CC, 12 Dec. 1856.)

Ukufakelwa kwesiNgesi kwigama 'ama Russia' kwenziwe *kwiSigidimi* kwiminyaka yowe-1880s, hayi 'amaRashiya'. Oku kwalatha ukuba belingekaveli elenkobe xa kuthethwa ngabantu ababehlala e-Russia. Abantu ababetshabalalisa umkhosi wamaNgesi ngowe-1854-1856 kwakuxoxwa ngabo emaXhoseni ngokuqinisekileyo - kodwa kwakwande inkolo yokuba babe ngengoma 'Russia' amhlophe, koko yayingamadoda amnyama awayefe kwimfazwe ezingaphambili, aze avuswa. Bengengo ma-'Russia' nje, bayebanikwa kwagama elilelinye, lona abasemagunyeni abalayamanisa noSifuba-sibanzi.

65 Oku kwakubhekisele kwinqanawa yokulwa, i-Geysers, eyayithunyelwe ukuyakuhlola ukuba amajoni anganakho na ukwethulwa kumlambo iNciba. Ukungwelekerha kwabasebenzi benqanawa kwanokuhlehla kwe-Geysers zanika ifuthe elinamandla kwintshukumo yenguqulelo emangalisayo ezayo.

66 Ezi zehlakalo zisenokuba zazihlangene ne 'robbery and murder' u-Brownlee awachazela ngazo iinkosi kumhlaba kaSandile ngo-Juni kowe-1856 (*Reminiscences*, 131.)

4b. A RESPONSE ABOUT NONGQAWUSE'S TIME

TO THE EDITOR OF "ISIGIDIMI"

SIR, - In the *Isigidimi* of the start of May is a letter written by W. Philip, saying this issue called Nongqawuse's *isimanga*, Nongqawuse's wonder, was not a war-scheme, because martial events were absent. He says so echoing the words of an orator who was writing intelligently - whom we mourn today, asking who will it be who will take the seat of Gqoba's son.

He who was saying that the historical stories of a nation must be written down, that they might always be known, did well, and it was especially fitting that this wonder of Nongqawuse be discussed and the truth thereof known, before eye-witnesses disappear. It is alleged that this issue of Nongqawuse was aiming at war, its ploy being that the amaXhosa should have killed their cattle by the same day, so that when incited on the European man and on the amaMfengu, it would be said: 'There are your cattle', and, there being none who would remain, they would now be rising in such great numbers, that they would scatter the European community in one day. But the likes of W. Philip and W. W. Gqoba say it is not so.

Let Mr. Philip forgive me when I ask him these minor questions, because, acting without hostility, I want to make the truth clear. There are many knowledgeable ones, not only W. Philip and W. W. Gqoba and their ilk; there are others who can enlighten. And so I say, if this thing of Nongqawuse aimed not at war, what sort of thing was it? Yes, I accept that very many people fully believed that this thing of Nongqawuse were true, and also royalty such as Sandile and his like, who believed having not even a speck of war in their hearts.

These people who say that this thing of Nongqawuse was aiming at war, cite the example of Nxele who, while prophesying, was embracing a war to kill Ngqika's people and the English; they cite the example of Mlanjeni who was prophesying while embracing a war as well. So they say that Nongqawuse, too, likewise seems to have been following in the very footsteps of the Nxeles, and Mlanjenis, only concealing what she was aiming at.

(2) The second question. I am at liberty to say - why is it that this thing was accepted by the most intelligent rulers, like Rhili, and Mhala, and Maqoma, and they drove this matter forwards with all their might?

(3) For what purpose, I may again ask, were horses preserved, while cattle were simply massacred?

(4) Why was it that amaMfengu and Europeans were set apart from slaughter, and yet were not set apart from those who slaughtered not, it being said that all would go to Rhwexu, to Grey-Pockmarked-Satan?⁶⁷

(5) Had Mr. Philip not heard the rumour of the coming of Sifuba-sibanzi (Russians, really, who were fighting the English over the water) who, when he had

67 *'Irwexu'* has been defined, literally, as a grey spotted animal, and, figuratively, as a person with the pockmarks of smallpox, which had previously devastated Xhosaland. This helps explain why Satan was called uRhwexu (Grey-Pockmarked-One), and British soldiers were nicknamed '*amarwexu*' during Mlanjeni's 1850-3 war, connoting spotty, satanic creatures (Kropf and Godfrey *Dictionary*, 377, 506.) In 1856, smallpox was threatening to erupt again. Moreover, Grey's medical officer was said to be giving amaXhosa smallpox, through vaccinations.

eliminated them, would come to help amaXhosa this side to scatter and lay Europeans waste?

(6) Did Mr. Philip not hear that there was a large ship near the right-hand side of the Great Kei river, and, when it released a boat to cross over, and when it was capsized by the waves, the sailors were injured; and when their wet possessions surfaced, they were taken around the whole territory to be shewn, it being said that something important had started, already there were people who had been killed by those who were coming, as reported by Nongqawuse?

(7) Did W. Philip not hear that when this thing of Nongqawuse expanded, a shop near the Mpongo river was ransacked, and a European man, called Barr, was murdered while travelling on his own account towards Gcaleka's country?

Let me end here. We are still seeking enlightenment. May the knowledgeable ones appear and enlighten us, and may Xego-Dala, The Old Man [Charles Brownlee], who sometimes told us stories, tell us what he saw, and he too does not simply conjecture and say that Nongqawuse was inciting a war. Let him who speaks thus present reasons.

TOL' IXALANGA, VULTURE-SHOOTER [CHARLES BROWNLEE]

5a. ISIGIDIMI SAMAXOSA, JULY 2, 1888, p.53.

IMPENDULO NGO NONGQAUSE

MNUMZETU: - Ndivana nobubi ukuziva ndingakulingene ukuyingena ngokufeze-kileyo lengxoxo ingakanana; sendofumane ndenze kambe kuba ndazingenisayo. Akwaba bendisele nalo nexakato lomfi owayihlabelayo lengxoxo.⁶⁸ Neligama sipi-wa lona ngu Tol'-Ixalanga, belingelimfanele yena kuba amabali amanyange abe kuye onke, mna ndiyalimangala ngokungandifaneli.⁶⁹ Waya ngapina oka Kobe obe sakuba kwa Hleke pantsi kwamahlati, enye indodana enamabali? Makake avele naye noburelerele angavela nabo, ziko nengwevu ezinengqondo kulomandla akuwo, mabuzise kuzo. Kokwam ukuqonda abona bantu sinokulufumana kubo ukuzo lwento ngabax'elayo, sosiva kubo isizatu sokuzihlaba kwabo inkomo. Amagogotya osilahlekisa kuba ayakungena kulomgaqo womfo wasem' Lungwini wokuzindla, ngenxa enokuba bona bengakolelwanga kuyo lento.

Imibuzo ka Tol'-Ixalanga isixenxe, anditsho ukuti ndoba nokuyifinca ngokuyi-pendula kwam.

1. U Tol'-Ixalanga ute ebuza waye ebuye ezipendula kwalandelayo amazwi, ngoko andisayi kuba sax'amleka. Yiyo nalendawo k'e ndafuna ukuti emx'elweni wam noko ayenzayo lemibuzo lomfo uyandivumela Uti - "ukuba bekunga singiselwe mfazweni, ibi yeya ntonina ke lento ka Nongqause?" Azipendule ngalandelayo

68 U-Philip unika intlononipho kokaGqoba ngokucaphula, hayi ngqo, kumhobe wakhe wodumo, 'Ingxoxo Enkulu Yomginwa Nom-Kristu'.

69 Eli gama likhangeleka ngokungathi yayingo 'osiyazi'.

amazwi xa ati “ndiyavuma into eninzi yabantu ibikoliwe...ingenalo nesuntswana lemfazwe entliziyweni.” Kupela ke mnumzetu, kwakungekono *kuninzi* lodwa, kwakunjalo kubo bonke abax’elayo.⁷⁰ Xa ufaka u-Nxele no Mlanjeni, ungene ekuzindleni lento ndiyimangele kwase ntloko, uhlanganisa izinto ezingazaniyo; uti “u-Nongqause naye *ukwangati* ebelandela, etc.” Mus’ukufanekisa. Akazange yena azalamanise namagogo, nguwe lowo umenjenjalo, ungene enqwini yokulahlekisa ke.⁷¹ Umbuzo womfo ka Gqoba uti - Kuko mfazwe yaka yenzelwa amacebo yinkazana na apa kwa Xosa. angalanyaniswa no Debora kwa Sirayeli, no Joan of Arc kuma gwangqa? Yahlukana nokuzindla. Ukusikwa kwe mvaba, nokumbiwa kwezisele, bekuxela mhlope ukuba aba bantu bazilungiselele ukuma, - akuko zintsabo.

2. Lendawo yengqondo yezi nkosi ubala zona yeyona yabangela ukuba zizikise ukuyisebenzisa, yakuwiswa lenteto; akuko buxoki benzakalisa njengobo busakuti bube nentsobi yenyanyiso. Indawo yokungafi komntu yahlala ilaula enkolweni yamawetu kwase bunyameni. Xa afihlwayo umntu, - izihlobo zake bezisiza namatye ngazinye zibeke pezu kwenc’waba ziti, “uze usikangele nguweni uya enyangweni.” Kwakona xa kubingelelwa idini, kutiwe, “amakaya ayacela” - kutetwa ke abafayo. Kuti kanjalo xa isikuhlani sikulileyo, kufike kub’ekiswe kwabangasekoyo, ukuba ngamana bakangele. Xa ke intombazana iteta ngovuko icukumisa kwinto abayaziyo ukuba amanyange ahleli. Kanene u Sandile lo umahlula ngantoni ko Rili, no Mhala no Maqoma, kuba kambe yena ngaye uti way’enganalo nesuntswana le mfazwe entliziyweni ize ibe zezi zintatu ozirelayo? Umteto upume kwa Rili yakuba inteto yentombazana yamkelwe, wahanjiswa ko Sandileinja yakomkulu, ote ke yena kuba ninawe bake abo “X’elani bantwana bakowetu, ziyahlatywa inkomo eb’otwe,” kwa Rili ke.

3. Lento yokux’ela yaye iyeyohlanga lwama Xosa lodwa, kwa njengokuba nokuvuka kwakulindleke umzi wakwa Xosa, owawu wiselwe umteto, ezintlanga zazingapandle kwayo yonke into eyenziwayo, zimanywa namagogoty ngencitakalo eyakuvela ukuvuka komzi kunge ngazikali kodwa, kuba kwakungeko mfazwe ijongiweyo, babe lindelwe ukuba bawukwelele umzi abo bagogotyileyo.

4. Amahashe lawo, uteta wona, uteta nge nqambi into ebingazange yazalelwe nadini, ayizange ihlatywe nangamkonto. Unantonina ungabuzi ibokwe ke gxebe? Nayo andiyazelele kubingelelwa? Ihashe liyinqambi mus’ ukusitetela ngalo.⁷²

5 ne 6. Ama Russia lawo undixelela wona ngala ufunda ngawo kwezincwadi zinilahlekisileyo, asibantu baziwayo kwa-Xosa, nomatilose abo.⁷³ U “Sifuba-Sibanzi” andimazi ukuba umhlanganisa ngokutinina nama Russia, wenza kwa lanto yokwalamanisa izinto ezingazaniyo. U Sifuba-Sibanzi tina kwa-Xosa wazelelwa nto yimbi engeyiyo leyo yama Russia uteta yona wena uyifumana kwezo

70 Ngokuchasene noku, bobabini okaGqoba noTol’ Ixalanga bathi abaninzi babaxhelayo babengakholwa.

71 NgokaGqoba, hayi uTol’ Ixalanga, owabhekisa kuNongqawuse njengegogo.

72 U-Philip ugqwethe indawo yombuzo wesithathu nowesine kaTol’ Ixalanga. Apha ukhangeleka ephakamisa ukuba iinkomo zabingelelwa. Incinane inkxaso efunyanwa koku kokaGqoba, okanye uTol’ Ixalanga, okanye incwadi yokuqala ka-Philip (apho athetha ngo-’[u]ku bulala inkomo’.) Ukwakhangeleka engazi ukuba ezininzi izilwanyana ezityiwayo zabalawa okanye zathengiswa, kubandakanya iibhokwe neenkukhu. Umba wokuba zaxhelwa okanye zabingelelwa na iinkomo uxoxiwe kwenye indawo: N. Mndende, ‘The prophecy of Nongqawuse: A white man’s lie about the Xhosa cattle killing - 1856-57’, seminar paper presented 8 May 1997, University of Cape Town; Bradford, ‘Akukho Ntaka’, 220-1, 227.

73 Ukungabinalwazi kuka-Philip ngomatilose, kwanye namahum-hum mayela nokoyiswa komkhosi waseBritane e-Russia, kwanokuba kukaSifuba-sibanzi, kwalatha ubunyenge-nyenge bolwazi lwakhe ngeziganeko ngoNongqawuse.

ncwadi ziyawazindla. Ndoke ndenjenjalo ndikuti tya ngo Sifuba-Sibanzi hlezibe kanti andikuvisisanga.

7. Leyo yokugqogqwa kwe venkile, oka Gqoba ube yigqibile, okuya ate, imikosana ebihlatywa kule milanjana yonke, ibimininzi ngenxa yamatutu amat-amba emasimini, nase zintlanti, koko ku'renywa kwabo ngamapango akubangako nakuhlonela venkile namhambi.⁷⁴ Kuhle ngokukauleza ukumema o-Xego-Dala, ezabo ingxelo ndiyatamba ukuba zizo ezo ulese zona ngalomibuzo uyibekisa kum. Nantsi into eyakwahlula, abalesi be *Sigidimi*, banabile makati onomntu omvayo kwisitili akuso osekooyo kwaba babeye kwa Mhlakaza, nokuba yinzala yabo ake abuzise atumele kuwe Mgcogeli, k'e sive ingxelo ezona zizizo, base bonke abasekooyo. Sabela ke wena ukwa Tato, nawe ukwa Ndungwane, nakwa Gcaleka, njalo njalo. Mna ndimele lomzi wakowetu wakwa Ndlambe, sendoyikangela kwelicala londawo, kuba kambe iseko nalo ngwevu tina apa eyayikutshwe kwa Ndlambe, ingu Nowawe, ndokwela ndiye kufika namadinala engekadliwa.⁷⁵

Sendiwile, mnumzetu, wondixolela sendiqukumbela ngoku, olutyundyuto andiyi kulupinda. Enye yezinto umXosa amncame ngayo um-Lungu, emfazweni, yile yokuhlala nokudla apo akona, akazange akuswele, lifikile ixesha lokudla sekuwiwa kuzo, umfo odlayo akanakumelana nongadliyo. Xa kulapo ke make senze umbuzo. Ube ngayenzayo na ke um-Xosa indawo yokuti eyona nto ayiqondileyo ukuba yexasa utshaba lwake, ayib'ub'ise kwelake icala ancedise impi ke ngokwenjenjalo? Ukuteta kwenu makungabi kubini kaloku. Kute ukufa kwalo ngale ka Nc'ayec'ibi, kwakubonwa amahasa Amangqika, kwatiwa kukade iyilwa lemfazwe ngalamadoda, kutshiwo ngokubonwa lamahasa ke. Kauhlanganise ezonteto mbini, wena mntu ukwaziyo ulwalamanisa izinto ezingahlanganiyo, kuba usalamanisa u-Mlanjeni no-Nongqause. Nditi hlanganisa ukucitwa kokudla okuseziseleni kuyilwa imfazwe ngo Nongqause, nokuputshunyiswa kwezisele kuyilwa kwa imfazwe ngo Nc'ayec'ibi. Apo ilahleko iqala kona kusekubeni abantu bazamela ukupengulula apo kungeko nto yendeleyo. Lento ilahlekise izilumko ezilinani, malunga nentyilo yezib'alo (commentators) yiyo le ke kanye, zisuke zilishiye ilizwi licacile lesib'alo, ziti ngokuba kuzo lingangeni ngolohlobo, malibe alinjalo, pofu kungeko nto ifihlileleyo ezib'alweni apo. Ise kwaleliya lidala, "Zingatini ezi zinto ukuba nokubako?" Ngangokuba bona beyibonele ubudenge lonto, nabanye makube kunjalo kubo.

Lomzi wakowetu uyazeka nge Ratshi lobuhlanga, yinto ke leyo eke yawulaula. Enye yezinto ababe ratsha ngayo yimihlambi yabo yenkomo. Nanku zite zakungabiko langa liyet'a elo ratshi; hi! kanti eli ratshi belisisitintelo ekwamkelekeni kwe lizwi? Nditi inkomo bezinqulwa ngumXosa; xa kunjalo ke ib'ngebi ngummangaliso na ukuba Umlauli-Nto-Zonke ayib'angise lonto aratsha ngayo, amp'ange eso sitixwana sake? Sisandla so-Mhlekezi esifihlakeleyo esize kulamla. Isib'alo esingcwele sona asifihliseli, sisibonisa indawo yokuba, bati xa abantu bazinike-

74 Enyanisweni okaGqoba zange ayithethe le: oku kudibanisa intetho yakhe nezimvo zika-Philip.

75 UNowawe kaNdlambe, ngenene, wayengumthombo wolwazi ngezi ziganeke. Njenge phakathi elinefuthe, ubemazi uN-onkosi, kwaye ebethunywa rhoqo kwaMhlakaza. Wabekwa ityala lokuvukela umbuso ngowe-1858: ngokuceba imfazwe, ngokukhuthaza ukuxhelwa kweenkomo.

leyo ekubeni bakohliseke, u-Tixo ubayekele kulondlela yabo, kubonakale ngoku kaloku selingabo abazisebenzela intshabalalo. “Ngenxa yoko u Tixo uyakubatumela ukusebenza kolahlekiso, ukuze bakolwe buxoki” - 2 *Teselonika* ii.11.⁷⁶ Esi siqendwana sisigqibile isizatu sika Nongqause. Ukutsho ke olwam uluvo lolokuba kwaye kug’ecelwa i-Vangeli indlela ngu-Mhlekezazi. “Zonke intaba nenduli ziyakutotywa.” Intaba zamaratshi ke ezo nokuzingca.

Ndisasitela, Mnumzetu. Ndingowako.

WM. PHILIP.

Gwaba, 11 June 1888.

P.S. U-Nkwintsha obe kankanywe kwi *Sigidimi* sika March, xa kutetwa ngo Nonkosi ubek’e ekankanywa nga kwa Qaka paya, abameli balommandla make babuzise nakuye singafumana into enkulu kuye.⁷⁷

5b. A RESPONSE ABOUT NONGQAWUSE’S TIME.

OUR HOST: - ‘*Ndivana nobubi*’, I am participating in an unpleasant venture when contesting the previous speaker, feeling myself inadequate to enter so great a debate in an accomplished manner;⁷⁸ to be sure, I shall now simply do so, because I thrust myself in. Would that I retained even the shawl of the deceased who called this debate into being. Even this name given us by Tol’-Ixalanga would have suited him, because elders’ stories about the past were everything to him, whereas I reject it, as unsuitable for me. Where did Kobe’s son go, he who was still in Hleke’s domain beneath the forests, the one young man who knows stories about the past? Let him, too, appear, with the illumination which he can bring, there being intelligent greybeards in his area also, of whom he should make enquiries. In my understanding, the very people from whom we can obtain the essence of the matter are those who slaughtered, from them will we hear the reason for their killing of cattle. *Amagogyta* will delude us, for they will follow in the track of the European fellow, that of suspicious conjecture, because they themselves did not believe in this thing.

Tol’-Ixalanga’s questions being seven in number, I do not claim that I will be able to exhaust them in my response.

1. In asking this question, Tol’-Ixalanga was answering himself again in his next words, so I shall not be put out in the slightest. This is why I sometimes wanted to say in my heart of hearts that although this fellow was asking these questions, he agrees with me. He says ‘if it aimed not at war, then what sort of thing was this thing of Nongqawuse?’ He answers himself in his next words when

76 Le vesi iyinxalenye yesilumkiso esimbaxa: mayela nokukholelwa ukuba umhla kaKrestu sewusondele. Phambi kokufika kwalomhla, indoda enezono, izibeka ngaphezulu kwento yonke eyayinqulwa, yayiza kwenza imimangaliso yobuxoki. Abo bangayamkelanga inyaniso kaThixo bakukholwa, baze batshabalale.

77 U-Nkwintsha (obizwa ngokuba ngu ‘Nkwitshi’ ngokaGqoba) waphela elingqina lombuso. Wathi nguye owaququzelela imimangaliso eyenzeka echibini apho uNonkosi wayesebenza khona.

78 Philip, the correspondent here, is paying tribute to Gqoba, invoking the title and first line of the fourth instalment of Gqoba’s famous poem, ‘*Ingxoxo Enkulu Yomgimwa Nom-Kristu*’ (A Great Debate between a Pagan and a Christian.) He is also evoking the opening sentiments of this instalment.

saying, 'I accept very many people believed...having not even a speck of war in their hearts'. Only, sir, it was not the case with the *majority* alone, it was the case with all who slaughtered. When you mix in Nxele and Mlanjeni, you enter the terrain of suspicious conjecture that I rejected from the start, bringing alien points together; you say: 'Nongqawuse, too, *likewise seems* to have been following, etc.' Do not create similarities. As for her, she never connected herself to *amagogo*, you are the one doing so, and you enter the very heart of deception. The question of the son of Gqoba is: Was there ever a war that was strategized by a marriageable member of the female sex here in Xhosaland? Can she be connected to Deborah of Israel and Joan of Arc among the palefaces? Distance yourself from suspicious conjecture. The cutting of hides into milk-pouches, and the digging of grain-pits in cattle-kraals, clearly indicated that these people were putting themselves in the right position to stay - there was no flight from an enemy.

2. This point of the intelligence of these rulers whom you list: it is the very reason that, in using it, when this pronouncement was divulged, they explained the matter clearly; no lie is as damaging as that which is still the image of truth. From the days of darkness, the issue of a human being's immortality has always been dominant in our people's faith. When a man is hidden in burial, his associates would come with stones and one by one place them on top of the grave, saying, 'Do watch over us, for you are the one going unto a place of safety'.⁷⁹ Again, when the sacrificial offering of an animal is made, it is said, 'the family is requesting' those who are dead are meant. Likewise, when a sickness has become worse, those who are no longer here are promptly alerted, that they might watch out. When, then, the young maiden speaks about the resurrection, she ignites what they know, that ancestral forebears are alive. By the way, on what grounds do you set Sandile apart from the likes of Rhili, and Mhala and Maqoma, because of course you say of him that he had not even a speck of war in his heart, and it was these three whom you reproached? The command arose from Rhili's place when the young maiden's pronouncement was accepted, and it was conveyed to the associates of Sandile, the Great Place's subordinate 'dog', who then said to his younger brothers: 'Slaughter ye, children of our own house, cattle are being killed at the seat of government', that is, at Rhili's.

3. This matter of slaughter was for the Xhosa nation alone, just as the anticipated return to life, too, was of the Xhosa *umzi*, which had been subject to the command; these foreign nations, which were apart from everything done, are amalgamated with the *amagogoty*a during the break-up that would emanate from the *umzi*'s return to life, it not being merely a matter of weapons, for no war was faced, but those who did not comply were expected to vacate the *umzi*.

4. As for the horses you mention: you talk of an animal unclean for food, that was never previously known as a sacrificial offering, and also never killed with a spear. What is the matter with you that you do not rather ask about the goat? It, too,

79 Discussing burial elsewhere, Gqoba translates '*enyangweni*' as 'a place of safety', which we have followed ('The Native tribes. Their laws, customs, and beliefs.' Paper read at the Lovedale Literary Society, April 1885. Part II. *The Christian Express*, 1 July 1885, 110.)

I did not previously know as a sacrifice? Talk not to us about the horse, it is unclean for food.

5 and 6. The Russians of whom you inform me are the ones you read about in these books that have deluded us, they are not people known in Xhosaland, and the same for those sailors. I know not the so-called 'Sifuba-Sibanzi' whom, in some mysterious way, you bring together with Russians, doing the same thing of creating a relationship between alien things. To us in Xhosaland, Sifuba-Sibanzi was previously known for something different, distinct from the Russians whom you discuss; as for you, you derive what you say from those books that are always engaging in suspicious conjecture. And yet I for once shall be doing the same, if I cast you aside, *tya!*, over Sifuba-sibanzi, just in case I have misunderstood you.

7. Gqoba's son had resolved that ransacking of the shop, when he said: many petty armies were being mobilized by war cries at all these rivulets, due to the cattle-stealing *amathamba* in the cultivated lands, and also in the cattle-kraals, but, in their being gnawed by hunger, there was no possibility of respect for a shop or traveller. Take your time in calling on Xego-Dala [Charles Brownlee] and his associates, from those questions you are directing at me I expect that those accounts you have read are precisely their own. Here is what will make a difference: the readers of *Isigidimi*, spread out widely; when a man hears of anyone still in his district of those who went to Mhlakaza's, even if it is their offspring, he should make a few enquiries, and despatch to you, Editor, and then for once we may hear the real accounts, from all who are alive. And so answer the call, you of Thatho's Great House of Thembuland, and you of the supporting Ndungwana House of Thembuland, and of Gcaleka's Great House in Xhosaland, and so forth and so forth. As for me, I represent this community of ours of Ndlambe's House, and will now look around this side of the place, for of course as regards us here, even that greybeard who was sent from Ndlambe's House is still present, he being Nowawe, I'll ride and arrive before dinner-time.

I am nearly there, our host, you will excuse me for I am now concluding, I shall not recapitulate this wearisome tale. In wartime, one of the issues about which the Xhosa man despaired, as regards the European, is that of his always being able to eat where he was; never did he lack; when mealtime arrived, no time was wasted; a fellow who eats cannot be matched against one who does not. At this stage, then, let us ask a question. Would a Xhosa man make a point of doing the very thing that he knew supported his enemy, and destroyed his own side, and by so doing assist his enemy? Now your talk should not have double standards. Death of the land came to pass during this war of Ngcayechibi, and when Ngqika's people's stored grain of previous years was seen, it was said: 'This war was planned a long time by these men' thus was it spoken on sight of this stored grain of previous years. Just bring those two statements together, you being a man who knows how to create a relationship between unconnected matters, because you still create a relationship between Mlanjeni and Nongqawuse's followers. I say, bring together the scattering of food in grain-pits, planned for war in Nongqawuse's time, and the heaping-up of grain-pits, planned for the selfsame war in Ngcayechibi's time. Where the loss starts is when people labour to uncover the hidden where nothing is deep-laid. What has led a number of wise people (commentators) astray, as regards

interpretation of the scriptures, is exactly this, and they thereupon forsake the clear word of the scriptures, saying because they do not see it that way, it cannot be so, when in fact nothing is concealed there in the scriptures. It is still the same old story over there: 'How can these things possibly exist?' So much did they perceive this thing as stupidity, that it must be so to others as well.

This homeland of our own people is wedded to Pride of nationality, and at one time that dominated it. Another thing in which people took pride was their herds of cattle. Behold, when these did not exist, that pride seemed to subside; excellent! Was it this pride, however, that was an obstacle to acceptance of the Word? I am saying that cattle were being worshipped by a Xhosa man; if so, surely it would not be wondrous if the Ruler-of-All contended for that source of pride, and robbed him of that little idol of his? It is the hidden hand of the Lord that would intervene. The holy scripture itself conceals nothing, it shews us that, when people deliver themselves to being deceived, God leaves them on this path of theirs, and it now appears that it is still they who are bringing destruction on themselves. 'For this reason God shall send them the work of delusion, that they should believe a lie' 2 Thessalonians ii.11. This verse has resolved the reason for Nongqawuse's era. In so saying, my opinion is that the way for the Gospel was opened up by the Lord.' All mountains and hills will be bowed down.' The mountains of pride, and those of conceit.

Our Host, I am in the act of disappearing. I am yours truly.

WM. PHILIP.

Gwaba river, 11 June, 1888.

P.S. Nkwintsha, who was mentioned in March's *Isigidimi*, when Nonkosi was discussed, was sometimes mentioned near Qhaka's place yonder; representatives of this region should make enquiries about him too, we might obtain something important from him.

6a. ISIGIDIMI SAMAXOSA, AUGUST 1, 1888, p.64.

U-TOL' IXALANGA NGO "NONGQAUSE."

KU MHLELI WE "SIGIDIMI."

NKOSI, - Ndiyibonile incwadi ka Mr. Philip kwi *Sigidimi* sika July. Kuqondekile ke ngayo ukuba igogotyia lisemi endaweni ebelimi kuyo; netamba lisemi endaweni yalo. Sekufuneka ukuba imiswe lendawo ka Nongqause ngokuhla kwayo, aze elowo azigwebele ngokubona kwake. Ndisati kwangelamhla mnene inkoliso yamatamba ib'ikoliwe yinteto ka Nongqause, yax'ela njalo, yayiko noko into eninzi eyax'ela ingakolwa, enjengo Bu'ru no Gxabaxaba eyax'ela ngenxa yobukali bomteto wenkosi.⁸⁰ Ukuba ke beliko iqinga lemfazwe, ndingati lendawo ib'ikutile

80 Bona Brownlee, *Reminiscences*, 140, 157-8.

nakutile, wona umhlambi ungayazi. Mhlana yafika lendawo kuma Ngqika ati amagogyta saka sabona, u Nxele waka wasivelela nenteto esingayaziyo kanti uyasitshabalalisa.⁸¹ U Mlanjeni wavelisa okwake kanti siya kufa.⁸² Lento ka Nongqause ifana kwa nezo - asiyivumi.⁸³ Nalendawo aqoshelisa ngayo u Mr. Philip ngamazwi esiqendu sesibini sama Tesalonika, undikumbuza inteto ka Mr. Brownlee mhlana waqala ukuwahlanganisa ama Ngqika ngale ndawo ka Nongqause. Wabuza wati, nina Maxosa noze niyaleke ngandawo nina? Naka nayilandela inteto ka Nxele, nafa; nabuye nayilandela eka Mlanjeni, nafa; okunyenamhla nilandela eka Nongqause. Nilandela indawo etyileke mhlope ezi-B'alweni ezi-Ngcwele, ngokuba uhlobo lokuvuka kwabafileyo lucaciswe akuko lumbi. Nalendawo niyenzayo nayo ityiliwe ezi-Balweni, wati ke akutsho wabatyilela eso siqendu sikankanywe ngu Mr. Philip. Wati ilizwi lika Tixo nilalile, ngoko ke u-Tixo uniyekele elulahlekisweni, ukuba nikolwe ebuxokini, into eya kuningenisa entshabalalweni.⁸⁴ Siya vumelana ke no Mr. Philip ngale ndawo.

Andiyi kuyilanda lenteto ka Nongqause, kuba sesitenjiswe ukuba u Xego-Dala uya kuyilanda, ngoko ke akufuneki ukuba ndingene kuwo onke amazwi ka Mr. Philip.⁸⁵ Into engatetwayo ngabo bonke abax'elayo kukuti, sasikolwa yinto eyayitetwa ngu Nongqause, abanye bangati sasingakolwa, sax'ela ngokunyanzelwa. Akuko namnye owoti sasix'ela ngokunx'amela imfazwe. Lendawo ukuba ib'iko yayiko kubanini nto kupela, nabo abazange bayivelise, ngokuba into ingeyib'ange kwalapo ukuba babeke batsho. Okunene o-Nxele, no Mlanjeni, no Nongqause bahlukene ngenteto zabo, ngokuba bebengayi kuteta ngendawo esezisaziwa ukuba ziyinkohliso. Indawo abahlangene ngazo kukutwasa, kukuba ngamatola, ukuba ngamagogo. Baye ngokutsho kwabo behlangana neminyanya, beve kuyo izinto eziya kubako, banikele abantu. Andiyazi ke into angaba ubeyiyo u Nongqause xa ati u Mr. Philip ubengelilo igogo. Nelo gama lubogogo belingelilo elam, bendisiti mna bobatatu babeprofitsha. Akuko utshoyo ukuti imfazwe ib'icetywa ngu Nongqause, siyazi ukuba yena wayex'aswa ngu Mhlakaza, kwakusitiwa uti u Nongqause, abantu benikelwa ngu Mhlakaza. Ukutwasa oku kuyinto engakete ndoda nankazana, bayatwasa bonke. Naye u Mr. Philip akangeyi kude azekelise ngo Debora no Joan of Arc, angazekelsa [*sic*] kwase kaya apa, ngento esand'ukuhla.

81 Kwezinye zezinto ezaziwayo ezathethwa nguNxele, owathi yena uthunyelwe kumaXhosa yinkosi yamazulu nomhlaba, zezi zilandelayo. 'Ditunyiwe, ubuti, negazi, nombulo, ozonto zonke ziyekeni'; 'abantu bayakuvuka ekufeni'; 'Hrumani, nindinike inkomo ezibomvu, nezimnyama, nezimdaka, dobavuse abafileyo'; 'Tina maxosa asinatyala enkosini; abelungu banetyala...Babetela ubawo abelungu.' (W. Kaye, 'Ati Maxosa enbalini yawo', South African National Library, G. Grey Collection, 10b10, 172c; *Eyesibini Inmchwadana Yokufunda* (e-Hreni: Aldam No-Harvey, 1839), 94, 100-1.)

82 U Mlanjeni kwakusithiwa wafumana imfihlelo yokungafi. Kwakukholelwa ukuba unakho ukuvusa abafileyo, kwanokunqanda ukufa kwabo bathobela imiyalelo yakhe.

83 Kwenye indawo, amagogyta avakalisa izimvo ezifana nezi. 'We do not believe in Umthlakaza for we saw how Xele's prophecies were not accomplished and how Umlanjeni led the people astray and how we lost our country through him therefore believe Umthlakaza to be a false prophet.' (CA, BK 85, R. Robertson to CC, 5 March 1857.)

84 Wayethethile kule ntlanganiso, ngelo xesha u-Brownlee wanika ingxelo ngoluhlobo. AmaXhosa aqhathwa sisithembiso sikaMlanjeni sokuba babengasayi kufa. Aphinda aqhathwa ngamagqirha angoku, ethenjiswa ukukhululwa ukuba kuyekwe ukulinywa neenkomo zaxhelwa. Kodwa, okungathi bazimisele ukuzitshabalalisa, abaninzi ngoku bebelandela uMhlakaza. 'Now, as I foretold you with Umlanjeni what will take place, I will again tell you...from God's word we learn that there will be a resurrection of all men...but the time is not yet. Umthlakaza professes to have his revelations from God - God is a God of truth, and what He has once revealed to man stands as unchangeable as Himself. There will be no resurrection of men or beasts as predicted by Umthlakaza, for his resurrection is opposed to the word of God. If the Galekas persist in their present evil course, they will perish' (CA, GH 28/71, C. Brownlee to CC, 5 August 1856.)

85 Kwi*Sigidimi* 2 July 1888, 'uXego-Dala' wayebhalele umhleli esamkela ukumenywa kwakhe nguTol' Ixalanga ukuba angenelele ingxoxo, kodwa elinde impendulo ka-Philip nabanye oosiyazi. 'Okunene lendawo ka Nongqause ibifanele ukucaciswa imiswe ngendlela yayo, beseke nje abebe yibonela.'

Angazekelisa ngo Nomjucu, unina ka Makaula inkosi yakwa B'aca, owati mhlana Amampondo abulala u Ncapayi, umyeni wake, u Makaula ese yinkwenkwana, yati imikosi yakwa B'aca yalaulwa ngu Nomjucu, lwati umpondo lokunyanga impi lwapatwa nguye, yakalipa impi yake, yayixota yonke into ebiza kwa B'aca.⁸⁶

Lo Sifubasibanzi andipikisa ngaye u Mr Philip andimazi. Ndamva ngo Nongqause kusitiwa usalwa na Mangesi pesheya, uya kuti akuwagqiba eze kunceda Amaxosa nganeno apa, ukuc'ita u Mlungu. Ngelo xesha ke Amangesi ayesilwa nama Russia, engalwi nawumbi, ngoko ke ndingati u Nongqause ubexela ama Russia lawo.

Ndiyamvumela u Mr. Philip xa ati indawo yokungafi komntu iyalaula enkolweni yama Xosa. Yona eyokuvuka ekufeni ayiko, nenkomo ezo bekutiwa ziya kuvuka azizange zilinganiswe nabantu gokungafi.

U Sandile lo ubek'e waduma ngobugogoty, kwati kwakufika umteto ka Rili kuyo, wati kuma Ngqika londawo imxakile, akangetsho nokuti makux'elwe nokuti makungax'elwa - kuba kungati kux'eliwe ayavela into kulilwe ngaye, okunye kungati kungax'elwanga yavela into kulilwe ngaye, umntu makazenzele ngokubona kwake.⁸⁷ Akuko ke oke wax'ela ngelizwi lika Sandile.

Lento yamahashe bendiyibuza nje kungokuba nenkomo ezi nebokwe bezi-sezinje ngenqambi, kuba kwezinye indawo zabe zingasax'elwa ukudliwa, zabe zibulawa nje ukuze zingabiko, zikwelele ezinye. Ib'ingummangaliso ke ukuba amahashe lento itandwa kangakanana ngu Mxosa ingabulawa ize ikwelele amanzi.

Ukugqogqwa kwevenkile e Mpongo nokubulawe kuka Mr. Barr, bekusekusukeleni kwento ka Nongqause, abantu besaqala ukux'ela, kungekabiko matutu namikosana, ngelo xesha abantu bebesafeketa ngokudla. Ziko indawo eziseleyo ezinjengo Matalose, nenteto ngamahasa kwa Ngqika nezinye ndiya kuziyeka ugobude [*sic*] beli pepa, sendiya kulindela ukulandwa kwenteto ngo siyazi, ukuze yanekwe inyaniso, baze bahlule bagwebe abanengqondo.

TOL' IXALANGA

6b. UTOL' IXALANGA ON "THE NONGQAWUSE ERA."

TO THE EDITOR OF "ISIGIDIMI."

SIR, - I have seen Mr. Philip's letter in July's *Isigidimi*. It was very clear from it that the non-compliant *igogoty* still stands in the place where he was standing; the compliant *ithamba*, too, still stands in his place. This issue of Nongqawuse

86 UNcaphayi wabulawa ngowe-1845. U-Brownlee wayesazana kakhulu nosapho lwakhe, kwaye ngowe-1889 wabonga uMakhawula nomyana wakhe.

87 Ngelo xesha u-Brownlee wanika ingxelo ngempendulo kaSandile kumyalelo kaSarhili, owafika xa kuqala ixesha lokuhlwayela. USandile kuthiwa wayesengxakini, ebambeke phakathi dread of the wrath of the people who had appeared, and dread of famine, should he direct the people to cultivate their lands, and they should therefore be destroyed, the blame would be his, and likewise should he direct them not to cultivate, and a famine ensue, the blame would be his, he did not wish to take responsibility in this matter,' (CA, BK 70, C. Brownlee to CC, 24 Sept. 1856.)

now needs to be positioned amid its events, and then each may pass judgement in accordance with his views. I still maintain, as from the first, that the majority of *amathamba*, the compliant ones, did believe in Nongqawuse's pronouncement, and thus slaughtered, although there were a great number who slaughtered while not believing, like Bhuru and Gxabaxaba, who slaughtered due to the harshness of royalty's command.⁸⁸ If, then, a war-plot existed, I think that this matter was restricted to certain individuals, the common herd knowing nothing. The day this matter reached Ngqika's people, *amagogotya* said that they had seen this before: 'Nxele once appeared before us with a pronouncement which we knew not; he, however, is destroying us. Mlanjeni brought forth his own; we, however, shall die. This thing of Nongqawuse is one and the same - we reject it.' Even this point with which Mr Philip concludes, with words from the second part of Thessalonians, reminds me of Mr. Brownlee's speech the day he started to bring together Ngqika's people about this issue of Nongqawuse. He asked a question, saying: 'You maXhosa, what will it take for you to learn your lesson from experience? You once followed Nxele's words, and you died; and again you followed those of Mlanjeni, and you died; and once again you follow those of Nongqawuse today. You pursue a matter that is clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures, for the kind of coming back to life of dead people is made clear, and there is no other. Even what you are doing has also been revealed in the Scriptures,' and when he said that he revealed to them that extract mentioned by Mr. Philip. He said: 'You have rejected God's word, and therefore God has abandoned you to a delusion, that you believe lies, which will bring you to destruction.' So we are in agreement with Mr. Philip on this point.

I shall not pursue this pronouncement of Nongqawuse, because we have already been promised that Xego-Dala [Charles Brownlee] will pursue it, so there is no need for me to go into all of Mr. Philip's remarks. What might be said by all who slaughtered is: 'We believed in what was said by Nongqawuse', while others might say, 'We believed not, we slaughtered under duress.' Not one would say, 'We slaughtered from eagerness for war'. If this matter existed, then it existed only for its originators, and they, too, never brought it into the open, because the thing would have ceased right there if they had for a moment spoken thus. True, the likes of Nxele, and Mlanjeni, and Nongqawuse, were distinct in their pronouncements, because they would not have spoken of matters already known to be a delusion. What brought them together is their initiation into the *igqirha* profession, is being *amatola*,⁸⁹ is being *amagogo*. According to their sayings, they were meeting with the guardian-spirits of their ancestors, hearing from them what would come into being, and they transmitted this to the people. I know not, then, what Nongqawuse could have been, if Mr. Philip says that she was not an *igogo*. In addition, that term

88 These opening sentences suggest that compliant/non-compliant is more helpful than believer/unbeliever, soft/hard, unselfish/stingy or submissive/unyielding in translating *ithamba/igogotya*.

89 An *itola* (plur. *amatola*) differed from other *amagqirha* in being exclusively linked to a member of the royal family, for whom the *itola* worked, above all in times of war and disaster. *Amatola* would seek to render enemies impotent, and strengthen their own sides, often through purification, prophecies, amulets. It was unusual but not unprecedented for a woman to be closely associated with war. One example is provided below. 'MaNtsofha in Lesotho during Mlanjeni's war was another; in the war of Ngcayechibi, a young unmarried female *igqirha*, greatly revered, was said to have prepared men for battle. Nongqawuse was often said to be communicating with warriors; her purificatory commands were intended to ensure their victory.

'*ubugogo*', clairvoyance, was not mine, I myself was saying that all three were '*profitesha*', prophesying. No one is stating that war was being planned by Nongqawuse: we know that she was being supported by Mhlakaza, and it was being said, '*uti u Nongqause*', 'Nongqawuse says', people receiving this from Mhlakaza. This initiation into the *igqirha* profession does not discriminate between male and female, all undergo initiation. In addition, Mr. Philip should not finally cite the examples of Deborah and Joan of Arc: he can give home-grown instances, about what happened just at that time. He can cite the example of Nomjucu, the mother of Makhawula, a ruler of Bhacaland, who, when amaMpondo killed Ncaphayi, her husband [1845], Makhawula still being a young lad, commanded the Bhaca armies, and the horn for doctoring the army was handled by Nomjucu, and her army was brave, and put to flight everything that came to Bhacaland.

I know not this Sifuba-sibanzi character about whom Mr. Philip picks a quarrel with me. I heard of him in Nongqawuse's time, it being said that he was still fighting with the English over the water, and that when he had eliminated them he would come to help amaXhosa here on this side, to scatter and lay waste the European. But at that time the English were fighting with Russians, not anyone else, and I can therefore say that Nongqawuse was telling of the Russians.

I am in agreement with Mr. Philip when he says that the matter of a human being's immortality is dominant in the faith of the amaXhosa. That of *returning to life from death*, however, is absent, and it was being said that cattle, too, would return to life, yet they were never equated with people as regards immortality.

At one time Sandile was notorious for *ubugogoty*, for non-compliance, and when Rhili's command reached him, he told Ngqika's people that this matter placed him in a difficulty, and he could not announce whether there should be slaughter or non-slaughter - because he would be blamed if nothing materialized after slaughter, or he would be blamed if something materialized on non-slaughter, so each should act according to his views. And so no one ever slaughtered as a result of Sandile's word.

The reason I was raising the matter of horses is that even cattle and goats were starting to resemble animals unclean to eat, because in some places they were no longer slaughtered to be eaten, they were simply massacred, that they might be absent, out of the way of others. It was wondrous, then, that horses, a much-loved possession of the Xhosa man, were not massacred to be out of the way of many more.

The ransacking of the shop at the Mpongo river and the murder of Mr. Barr were at the start of Nongqawuse's thing; people were still beginning to slaughter, neither cattle-thieves nor small armies existed yet, at that time people were still playing the fool with food. There are outstanding points such as the Sailors, and, due to the length of this letter, I shall leave aside what is said about stored grain in Ngqika's land and other matters, now waiting for what is said to be followed-up by knowledgeable ones, so that the truth may be exposed, and those with understanding may then decide and pass judgement.

TOL' IXALANGA, VULTURE-SHOOTER [CHARLES BROWNLEE]