

is long, surrounding the waist" (ipipi inde, ijikeliza isinge). (Schapera 1937: 244; Hammond-Tooke 1962: 280). Some other descriptions given me by Tshezi are: "Thikoloshe is a small wild animal, because he does not live with people"; "Thikoloshe is a small person"; "by day he cannot be seen by grown-ups, but only by children: but grown-ups may see him at night"; "when a sorcerer wants to send something evil to a homestead, he dispatches Thikoloshe, who takes it there unseen"; "Thikoloshe is a little boy of the rivers who bewitches women."

I remember from my boyhood days a young girl among the Tshomane who was a cripple so that she had to run on all fours like an animal. Her explanation of her condition was, that Thikoloshe had "jumped on her in the night".

Such beliefs die hard. In 1964 I heard an old African minister say that he had once seen a Thikoloshe, who used to frequent the banks of a rivulet near his home. He heard a noise in his kitchen one night and went to investigate. As soon as he opened the door "a small, hairy black thing" leapt down off the table and escaped through the window. He had two young daughters, whom he sent away to live with a relative. Next day he heard the Thikoloshe (though he could not see him) proceeding along the further bank of the rivulet, calling in a thin, small voice, "Where are my wives? where are my wives?" It is only fair to say, however, that many African ministers would ridicule this as an idle tale.

Impurdulu is another well-known familiar, with the magical power of transforming itself from one thing into another. "It will turn itself into a man and impregnate a woman, so that she bears something not human, like a goose, or something else of that sort." "It is a bird of the heavens. It changes itself into a man, lies with a woman, and kills people." "When it devours a person, it does not seize hold of him: it

creeps close to him and sucks his blood."

Impundulu is the famous lightning bird. It is said to be a duck, with a red bill. Death by haemorrhage from nose and mouth is caused by it. If a man dies of a broken neck, he is said to have been kicked by this bird. When lightning strikes, this too is its work. On such occasions the impundulu is said to leave one or more eggs buried behind the struck hut. The doctor then goes and digs up the eggs and the cinders (amalahle).

Doctors can be engaged to employ the impundulu to injure others. This is described as "playing the impundulu" (ukudlal' impundulu). The fabulous bird is "played" to destroy a man's hut or his person, or both. "It can happen, if God wills it - because all these things are as God wills."

Mamlambo is yet another of these mythical creatures.²

Here is an account that I received.

This snake lives in rivers. Sometimes if you go there, you will see shining things like metallic disks by the river, and if you stare at them your eyes will blink and you will become silly in the head. At other times mamlambo appears as white fowls like leghorns³ perched above the river. They have red bills and feet.

Mamlambo seems to connect with the River Folk, for the account continues:-

Sometimes a bright light appears at night, shining down on a pool. There is such a place on the Umtata river below the Vulo drift, where the water goes round and round. Here one day a boy was called by the people of the river. He did not simply fall in. He went in head first, slowly, straight down, his feet above the pool for some time till he disappeared. His people made a great wailing. This was a mistake, because then the river people killed him. His body came to the surface and floated. It had one ear taken off, and one arm had been severed at the elbow. One should never cry in such cases. Then the people of the river may return

2. These are very important beliefs. They are found all over Southern Africa and suggest the beliefs of aboriginal people.
3. My informant was of mixed blood and worked for Whites in Tsheziland.

the person alive.

There is another such pool near here, called Khenkebe. It is terrible: deep booming sounds come from the water at night. You would not catch me going near such places.

This Khenkebe pool, I subsequently learned, is supposed to be in the Ngcambayana forest near Coffee Bay. Two boys pointed out the forest to me and indicated whereabouts in it the pool was supposed to be. Then they told me of a white man who had once been down there and had seen and heard such terrifying things that he had fled back to his home to get his gun. Later this white man, whom I knew, told me with a laugh that what really had happened was that a youth had offered to conduct him to this pool with its fabulous "birds of the river" (iinkuku zomlambo) said to be black with white bills, but after they had wandered about the forest for a long time, they had given up the search, because the young man said he could not find the place!

The chief wonder of the mamlambo seems to be its power to undergo a whole series of kaleidoscopic changes. It is more wonderful in this respect than even the impundulu. Said another of my informants:-

A person gets a mamlambo as a consequence of purchasing medicines from a herbalist. Perhaps you wanted medicine to make a girl love you, or to enrich you with cattle, and instead this herbalist gave you a mamlambo.

This medicine changes itself continually, becoming a person, or a dish, or anything else like that. While you are yet carrying it home, it may turn into a maiden or a woman of beauty, with whom you indulge in love-play there on the mountainside.

When you reach home, it does not want to go into the hut with you - because, you see, it is not human. It wants to stay over there by the kraal. It wants to kill someone - perhaps your father or your mother. If you allow it to do so, you will save yourself. But if you do not agree, it will begin by killing you, and after that proceed to kill all the people here at the homestead.

If it is seen by a person other than its owner, that person will break out in patches all over his body, or will go insane.

Ichanti is another fabulous snake. It causes insanity.

Or else it blows on a person so that his body swells to great proportions (Can this have been suggested by the puff-adder's hiss?)

A boy I knew changed from the lodge at which he had been circumcised and went to finish the initiation rites at another. When I inquired the reason, he said his circumcision would not heal at the first lodge, "because they were feeding me ichanti".

Kropf's Dictionary states that the ichanti snake sometimes leaves the river to appear to someone whom it fascinates by its many colours, so that he afterwards becomes a doctor. It is then said of him that "he has the ichanti or that he has been initiated by the snake (uthwase ngechanti)".

In one of the trading stores one day I came upon a herbalist buying impundulu and ichanti "medicine". The trader sold him (for sixty-five cents) two small bottles of coloured liquid (one black, one reddish). One bottle was labelled Impundulu, the other Ichanti. I saw a third one labelled Thikoloshe. No name or address of manufacturer appeared on the labels, but I was told the stuff was prepared by some firm in Durban. The trader said the faith of the people in these "medicines" was implicit - far greater than in any of the other remedies sold in the stores - and that the herbalist would make a handsome profit on his investment.

That evening I discussed these things with my housekeeper, Florence. Though a Christian convert (igqobokha) of long standing, who said she was a member of the Anglican Church, and one who has worked all her life for Whites, her belief in these things was unshakable. She poured out a torrent of words about the certainty that there were witches and sorcerers who bewitched people, some of them practising as doctors at the same time. She gave instances of people

she knew, who, she said, had been spirited away to great distances; of little children found crying in the forests who had been stolen thither after death by witches; of girls bewitched by their lovers; of people driven insane; and even of people who had been brought back from the dead.

Ichanti is said to be especially "the men's snake". "They give attention to it". "It is a serpent of the river, which is bought by young men away at work (emisebenzini⁴); it transforms itself into a woman and he lies with her." "If an ichanti has lost its owner through his death, and it carries on alone (iziphathe ngokwayo), it is called ishologu. Imishologu are evil entities, which destroy people."

Impundulu, on the other hand, is usually the familiar of a woman. If its owner dies, it likewise becomes an ishologu. Said a woman informant:-

When the impundulu's woman ~~has~~ died, if she was the great wife of the head of a homestead, it will return to that homestead and gradually kill off all her children and grandchildren. It does not interest itself in her husband or his relations, only those who are her own descendants. To stop it they call a doctor to chase or scatter (ukuchitha) it. There is no ritual killing or beer. He comes and washes her people daily, morning and evening, for a week, in certain medicines. Then he takes wooden pegs and dips them in the same medicines. One of these he drives into the apex of the hut, the others he places in the ground in a great protective ring around the homestead. The smell of the medicine on the pegs drives the ishologu away. The doctor receives a beast for his reward when he leaves. At the end of a year (and after that, as and when the people think necessary) he returns to repeat the whole treatment.

Umshologu and ishologu are two different things in the terminology of the Tshezi. Umshologu means one who is in his or her novitiate to become a doctor; or alternatively the sickness of such an one (ukuthwasa). Ishologu is an

4. Almost a terminus technicus for those who go away to work in the mines or the cities. There they buy ichanti and other "medicines" from doctors.

impundulu or an ichanti, whose owner has died, so that it lives on at his or her home, out of control, killing the people.

In addition to these familiars, the Tshezi have their own venerated tribal snakes, the species called unomaqetyana, izilenzi, eyomhlaba ("a long, black snake") and umhlwazi. Hunter mentions also another: isiphakula (Hunter 1961: 260). These tribal snakes are addressed as "Tshezi". "They are the people of long ago" (abantu bakudala).

Old Nobaza, a Tshezi woman of sixty years of age or so, who has lived all her life in Tsheziland, said that after her marriage, one of these snakes appeared at her husband's homestead and entered into her hut. The people were kind to it, and, for her sake, they refrained from killing it. "They realised it was astray, and spoke to it, saying, 'Go home, Tshezi! You are not a person of this place.'"⁵ The snake wandered all around the wall of the hut and then went out of the door. It stayed unmolested for some time in the cattle-kraal, until finally it took its departure. She never saw the species again in all the intervening years, until one turned up in the kitchen of the hotel at Coffee Bay, where she works. The other servants, not being Tshezi, were about to kill it, but she dissuaded them and assisted it to escape. "They are the dead people." "Another thing about them is that they act as nurses to lying-in women (ziyafukamisa)."⁵ "Yes", said Ellson, my assistant, and told of a woman who awoke one morning to find such a snake coiled up in her blanket between her baby and herself.

"If a cow has calved, they appear in the fold for small stock; or wherever else the calf may be housed, they stay there."

⁵. Her husband, of course, was of a different clan.

The tribal snake first named above, unomaqetyana, is also known as "the snake of the women" (inyok' abafazi) because it is "dirty" (imdaka), that is they bewitch by means of it.

On the subject of "snakes", there is one called inyobololo. It is a small worm-like brown reptile, which, on being attacked, rolls up like a millipede. It is said to enter the bodies of women by crawling up under their skirts. Then it causes them to lie with their own brothers and commit incest.

Not all sorcery is said to be carried out with the aid of familiars. Umfufunyana, for example, is a form of sorcery which I found common among both the Tshezi and the Tshomane. Ill-disposed persons are said to carry about a powder in little calabashes or bottles. They blow this powder in the direction of those whom they wish to infect, and these, sniffing it, become sick. A herbalist then has to be engaged to cure them, which he does by blowing at them another powder from his calabash, which serves as an antidote.

A part of the treatment consists of herbalists' seances with dancing - called umkwahlo womsino wamadoda. At one of these which I witnessed, a circle of young women stood around the fireplace in the middle of the hut. They were fully clothed in the fashion of Reds. Some wore small towels or kerchiefs on their heads, and one or two had these pulled down over their faces like brides and intonjane girls. Some herbalists require this, but others not. All these girls had recovered from umfufunyana and had now come to dance for the recovery of another girl at this homestead.

The dancing was accompanied with the beating of three drums, made of oxhide stretched over metal containers which had held disinfectant dip for use with cattle at the dipping-tanks. The drummers were girls and women, who took turns to sing and beat out the rhythm.

Standing in a circle, but not going around, the young women danced the ukusina dance, the movements of which are



The Dance

(umkhwahlo wamadoda)

Cured girls dance to help their still-suffering friend, below.

The Sufferer's Fit

During the above dance the sufferer collapses in the middle of the ring. Note beaded "bottle" of "medicines" (powder) dangling from herbalist's neck, and wet patches on floor caused by lymph and blood from girls dancing on their knees (p. 323).



very vigorous. They held their forearms at right angles to their sides, palms extended forward, or else raised their arms above their heads. At the same time they raised their feet quite high to stamp a loud thud-thud-thud on the floor. They kept perfect rhythm. Sometimes it would be stamp (with the left foot), stamp (with the right), followed by stamp-stamp-stamp (from one foot to the other). Again it would be with a sort of double action: stamp-stamp (left foot), stamp-stamp (right foot) and then stamp-stamp-stamp (from one to the other).

All around the wall of the hut were women and children, and a few men, sitting and looking on, the women clapping. Suddenly a girl sitting on the floor to my left began to look "queer". This was the girl who was sick, for whom this seance was being held. She got up and began to emit cries of distress. Suddenly she fell down on her side in the middle of the space, which included the fireplace, between the dancers. There she lay, rolling about, moaning, crying (though tearlessly) and generally exhibiting signs of acute distress. The herbalist (who, I noticed, was exceedingly well dressed in "European" clothes) bent over her with his neophyte. They spoke soothingly to her and patted her back. After two or three successive bouts they attended her and took her out, while the dancing continued.

The neophyte wore beads over his "western" clothes. Especially he had two little calabashes, beautifully bead-covered. They contained medicines for treating people like this, which the herbalist was teaching him to use.

Another such umkwahlo was exactly similar, except that the girls danced on their knees. They literally pounded the floor with vigorous thud-thud-thuds in this way. I noted several wet patches when they arose, and when the girls lifted their skirts I saw that their knees were torn and bleeding. This, however, did not prevent them from returning to pound the earthen floor again after brief intervals of rest.

As they danced they sang brief exclamatory songs, like:-

1. Yo! yo! bantwana bezinyanga!
Ch! oh! children of doctors!
2. Sizi, mantombazana! sizi, mantombazana!
Pity, girls! Pity, girls!
3. Bhelubhelu, mama, bhelubhelu!
Pretty, mother, pretty! (i.e. the girl has a light skin - which boys much admire).⁶
4. Sozuphinde ulal' emva kwomzi ka Bawo, unamanyala.
You will never again lie behind Father's homestead, you have uncleannesses (i.e. indecency, incest).

White traders scornfully dismiss these umfufunyana fits as mere foolish hysterics, best cured by pouring a bucket of cold water over the afflicted girl or giving her a thrashing. But to the Tshezi, young and old, there is much more to it than that. The "sickness" is caused by malign spirit entities, that enter the stomach of a person when the powder is blown at them and they inhale it. These entities are called "ants" (imbovane) or umfufunyana. They are not thought to be really ants - that is a figure of speech. The cure is for the herbalist to introduce into the stomach by use of the antidote powder, good spiritual entities called "men" (amadoda). Hence the seance is called "dance of the men" (umsino wamadoda). Again "men" is a figure of speech. The "men" inside the person fight the "ants" and when they have

6. Bhelubelu, lit. "yellow". The application of yellow ochre is also much admired. Any handsome person now is said to be bhelubhelu.

finally prevailed (in three months or so), the person is cured.

While umfufunyana seems especially to afflict young women, it is not confined to them. One of the cases I investigated was that of a young man of the "School" type. Almost at will, the subjects consider themselves able to go into a trance, in which the spirits take control and speak through them in the manner alleged of spiritist mediums. In this condition, lying on a mat, in a hut, completely enswathed in blankets, one young woman with whom I "conversed" certainly emitted some very extraordinary sounds, interspersed with intelligible speech. Yet the deep, "belly" grunts, were not quite beyond her own powers to produce, while the words were spoken in a voice evidently her own, but possibly cleverly controlled to sound thin. The young man I tested by asking him questions on early Xhosa history, but I elicited nothing that I did not already know or might not have learnt from any well-informed man.

Florice, my housekeeper, and Matshona, a man who was my research assistant, however, could not accept at all that there was any self-deception. For them the umfufunyana were very real. "They are destroyers, making people ill." The voices I had heard, they averred, were those of the "men" spirits fighting against them.

The "ants" are said to emerge from the graves of long-dead chiefs in Zululand, where sorcerers gather them and grind their bodies into the powder with which they infect their victims.

Failure of crops, like sickness, is often attributed to malign forces and various means are employed to ensure healthy growth. These means seem to combine the practical with the occult.

Before being planted, maize, or any other seed, is sprinkled (ukuvuthela, to blow, i.e. to squirt water from

the mouth) with water infused with ground-up leaves and roots of isisukulo or isiphephetho. This is a plant, which itself resembles the maize plant. Leaves of the isisukulo are hung up in a hut along with the maize cobs that are to be used for seed at next planting.

After a field has been weeded, fires are lit, of certain medicinal herbs and branches, and the field is smoked. This is to ensure that the maize cobs will be plentiful and free from caterpillars (amanyiki). For grubs (izihlwa) the leaves of the nyenye are burnt to smoke the field and those of ugova for plant diseases.

Pumpkin plants are beaten with branches of the wild currant, Rhus laevigata L. (umhlakothi) to make them bear pumpkins prolifically.

Ixoshombhe is performed twice a year by virgins. The age of the girls does not matter, so long as they have never borne children.

The first ixoshombhe is at weeding time. On a day selected by the girls they meet at one spot and go together to dig red clay, with which they smear their whole bodies from head to foot. Wearing nothing but small bead aprons or towels around the waist, and carrying in a pot some of the red clay diluted with water, they walk from field to field throughout their own locality. They do not cover each field as a whole, but cross through the middle of it, sprinkling the maize plants to right and left with the red clay. They say that by doing this they are praying to God to send good rains and to make the maize grow well and that it may be free of grubs, caterpillars and fungoid parasites. In each field they pluck up three of the maize plants by the roots. These they take to a selected spot on a hillside where they spread them out to sleep on, and then resume their "doctoring" of the fields next day. They cook and eat maize they bring with them from their homes.

The second (and more popular) time for ixoshombhe is in February-March, before harvest. The girls walk in single file through the fields singing all the time. This time they pull up eight stalks from each field and eat the green maize on the cobs instead of bringing food from home. They live for three or four weeks like this, their friends visiting them on the hillside at night, until they have finished treating all the fields of their locality, when they burn up the maize stalks on which they have slept, wash the red clay from their bodies and return home.

The justification for including such things in a chapter on Witchcraft and Sorcery is that failure and disease of crops are often attributed to the machinations of sorcerers, which must be thwarted by such field-magic.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY AND EDUCATION IN TSHEZILAND

Christianity seems to have made little impact upon the Tshezi, as far as their becoming church-members is concerned.

Their first contact with the Christian missionary enterprise was indirect, through the establishment of a Methodist mission called Morley at Wilo among their neighbours the Tshomane. This was in 1830.¹ Wilo is about twenty miles from Tsheziland by road, but some of the Tshezi live nearer to it than that. Curiosity must have driven some of them to visit Morley, especially if it came to include, as apparently it did, a trading store. News of missionary teachings would reach Tshezi homesteads by word of mouth. One old Tshezi man today still remembers that the missionary was called "uPama". This was the Rev. Samuel Palmer, who came to Wilo as its second missionary. He died in 1847.

From 1830, however, the Tshezi had to wait another 65 years before they had a missionary of their own. This was the present writer's father, the Rev. Samuel Holt, from Northern Ireland, a Baptist in the interdenominational South Africa General Mission, who arrived among them in the year 1897. Tyelinzima had recently become chief. Only one resident missionary (Rev. Scott Searle, a Congregationalist of the same mission) followed Holt, after he retired in 1927, and since

1. There have been three Morleys, a fact which has confused some. The station was first established in 1829 across the Umtata river at Nomadolo in Pondoland by Rev. W. Shepstone (father of Sir Theophilus Shepstone), as the Tshomane were then living there. It was burnt down by Ngetho and his tribe of amaQwabe, who had fled from Tshaka in Zululand, the missionary and his family narrowly escaping. When Shepstone returned the following year, it was to find the Tshomane living below the Umtata river, so he re-founded his station there, at Wilo. In 1863 the missionary in charge deemed the situation was unsuitable, so he moved the station further inland to Ncanasine. Wilo continued as a trading station named Old Morley (subsequently also a post-office) and Ncanasine was called New Morley. These places were named after the Rev. George Morley of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in England.

then Mount Packard mission at the Ngqakayi, not far from the great place at Qhogi, has been in charge of African ministers or evangelists under a white superintendent resident in Pondo-land. There is a church, and a schoolteacher serves as its secretary. He gave me the 1968 membership of the church as thirty. At an out-station (Izinkawu) were six more and ten "on trial". If we include members on trial with full members, this gives a total of forty-six. As one who grew up on this station, I can say that the church was probably never larger than this during the seventy years or so of its existence.

The Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) opened a mission on the border of Tsheziland and Bomvana-land at Zithulele in 1956. Besides the church, with four outstations, there is a fine hospital. The Zithulele church has thirty-four members, of whom, however, only four are from Tsheziland. There are also thirteen members at the Maphuzi outstation among the Tshezi, and one Tshezi member at Talemof. Of the total of fifty-six members connected with Zithulele mission and outstations, therefore, only eighteen are Tshezi. Adding these to the forty-six connected with Mount Packard mission, we get a total of sixty-four Tshezi church members out of a tribe of 6,879.² There are no other missions established among them; though, here and there, there may be individual Tshezi who have joined some sect, when they were away working on the gold mines or in the cities of the Republic. I never saw or heard of any separatist sects in Tsheziland; though there is at least one in Tshomaneland, near Ngcwanguba.

Although few Tshezi have joined a church, there is

2. This does not mean that this is the total of School people living in Tsheziland. All School people are not members of the church, and a few have been brought in from tribes outside, e.g. to serve as waiters at the Lagoon Hotel at Coffee Bay, and may be members of churches where they come from. But the great majority of Tshezi are Reds.

evidence of widespread understanding of Christian principles. In conversation at a certain homestead I heard an exposition of Christian teaching by a Red man that was sound and thorough. I was no less surprised one day to hear a Red woman criticising a School man and his friends for their alleged low morals, and contrasting such morals with the requirements of the religion they professed, of which she exhibited a thorough knowledge. So, in Tsheziland as elsewhere, "the worst man in the world knows more truth than the best man in the world practises."³

Lest it be thought that what I have written is too pessimistic, let me cite an African, the Rev. John Tau, Director of the Division of Christian Education of the South African Council of Churches.

"Finally, whether you share the viewpoint that Christianity has had little impact on the lives of Africans or not, I do not know. However, in my estimation, the observation is not without justification. To probe the matter a little further, a few years ago, Professor P. Mayer, Professor of Anthropology at Rhodes, told a meeting of the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans in Grahamstown that the pagan religion of the Xhosa which is essentially the cult of the ancestral spirits, is still unmistakably flourishing. Some of them, he declared 'Dabbled in Christianity without any intention of being converted'. In no way have these people abandoned the old life; they are still bound and governed by regulations which belong to the cult of the elemental spirits.

"Again, during my tour of the Eastern Cape recently, I picked up a Methodist Women's Manyano⁴ District Convention programme and one of the subjects for discussion was: 'Fighting heathenism within the Manyano'. To my mind this tends to lend support to Professor Mayer's findings that our people, in spite of being in the church, have in no way abandoned the old life. By and large, they are still bound and governed by regulations which belong to the cult of the elemental spirits. How we explain this unfortunate situation, I do not know. Suffice it to say, to be sure, this does not speak well of the Church's Christian Education efforts among Africans."⁵

3. Remembered sentence from an address by the late Rev. Charles L. Goodell of the National Council of Churches, New York, about 1930.

4. "Manyano", an organisation of African women in the Methodist Church of South Africa.

5. Christian Education News-Letter, No. 7 (July 1967), 3. Published by the Christian Council of South Africa, Johannesburg.

The introduction of Christianity among the Xhosa-speaking tribes, including the Tshezi, was by missionaries whose attitude towards their beliefs and institutions was iconoclastic. There were exceptions, but for the most part they considered "the political and religious governments of the Kafir tribes ... one vast system of paganism, which must be entirely overthrown before any extensive good can be effected amongst them"

(Warner in Maclean 1858: 110). These words are not those of some transient visitor, nor of some armchair philosopher who viewed things from afar. The Rev. J.C. Warner, who wrote them, lived so long with one of the tribes, first as a missionary for twenty-three years and then as British Resident, that he came to be spoken of as the "uncrowned king of the Thembu" (Whiteside 1906: 190, 218). However it would have been surprising had he written otherwise, because throughout the nineteenth century it was assumed that true light belonged only to the Christians of the West. Others were, in the words of a famous missionary hymn of the period written by an Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, "men benighted", who in their heathen blindness, "bowed down to wood and stone".⁶

Naturally this approach met with only a modicum of success. Warner himself wrote in 1856: "What is the present state of these people? The gospel has been preached to them for the last fifty years, and some attempts have been made towards civilising them; but the Kafirs nationally considered, remain just as they ever were; no visible difference can be discerned. They are perfectly heathen now, as they were in the days of Van der Kemp. It is true that individual Kafirs have been converted to Christianity and to a limited extent civilised - nothing more" (Maclean 1858: 110-111).

One might have hoped that this would suggest a change in missionary tactics. Instead it prompted a renewed appeal

6. From Reginald Heber's hymn beginning "From Greenland's icy mountains".

for the total destruction by force of the religious and political system of the people: "the sword must first - not exterminate them, but - break them up as tribes, and destroy their political existence, after which, when thus set free from the shackles by which they are bound, civilisation and Christianity will no doubt make progress among them; for they are a noble race", etc. (Maclean 1858: 112).

Happily this policy was never officially adopted. Not a little of the apparent obduracy of the tribes may have been due to the confusion in their minds created by such suggestions, as they overheard them, and by the dual or successive roles of some men as missionaries and Government agents. "The native chiefs viewed the Christian religion as a department of statecraft, and the missionary as an important State agent; conversions were few, and mostly of the poorer members of the tribe". (Whiteside 1906:218).

It might have been better to approach the religious institutions of the people in a friendly rather than a hostile manner, constructively rather than destructively. This is not the defeatism that suggests, in popular phraseology, "if you can't beat them, join them". Rather it is the wisdom of Saint Paul, who said:

I am a free man and own no master; but I have made myself every man's servant, to win over as many as possible. To Jews I became like a Jew to win Jews; as they are subject to the Law of Moses, I put myself under that law to win them although I am not myself subject to it. To win Gentiles, who are outside the Law, I made myself like one of them ... I have become everything in turn to men of every sort, so that in one way or another I may save some. (I Cor. 9: 19-22, New English Bible translation).

When Saint Paul himself stood on Mars Hill, surrounded by altars of pagan deities, he did not condemn the men of Athens out of hand. On the contrary he complimented them for being "very religious"⁷ so that they included even an altar

7. The Authorised Version has, "I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious" (Acts 17:22), but the Revised Standard Version renders δεισιδαιμονεστέρους by "very religious".

inscribed "To the Unknown God". He proposed now to expound this God to them, and even in doing that he cited their own poets. Yet the apostle did not compromise or dilute his faith. On another occasion, when pagans would have worshipped him and a companion of his as gods come down in the likeness of men, he restrained them, saying: "We also are men of like passions with you". (Acts 14:11-18).

In other words it is possible, without compromising Christianity, to present it to a people like the Tshezi as it were from within, as something which comes to illuminate and purify and fulfil all that is best in their own beliefs, as Christ himself said of his relation to Judaism: "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil". (Mathew 5:17). This involves what Americans call "empathy", which Webster's Dictionary defines as "the capacity for participating in, or a vicarious experiencing of another's feelings, volitions or ideas". Missionaries need to get inside the religious systems of other people and from there lead them on to Christianity as the fulfilment of what they already know and aspire after. They should go to another country, not so much to "bring Christ" to another people as to find out what Christ has already been doing there as the universal Logos or Word, and to march on side by side with the people from that position. To do this it may be necessary first to realise that the interpretation of Christianity in which missionaries have been brought up in the West is in fact "Western", and need not be the only one, or the final one: that Christ is ready to come to other peoples in their thought-forms and along the lines of their customs and traditions. Modern missionary books are being written in illustration of this, like Jones's The Christ of the Indian Road, and Cragg's The Call of the Minaret and Sandals at the Mosque, and Taylor's The Primal Vision; and really it is outrageous to go on speaking of the leaders in other countries, including men like Mahatma Ghandi, Tagore and Nehru, as "men benighted" - it only brings deserved

ridicule upon the one who so speaks.

It may be said that this is all very well in relation to the higher religions of the East, but can the same line be taken with the religious institutions of "primitives"? Surely the difference between them is one only of degree. Can it be believed that until the first Christian missionary came to Tsheziland in 1897, the Tshezi were without one ray of light at all throughout the previous seventy years (or more) that they had lived there, and before that in Pondoland, and before that in Zululand and Swaziland, and that the same condition of total destitution of truth prevailed among their ancestors the Bomvana and the Ngwana and so on back through untold centuries? Surely not! Saint Paul says definitely that "all that may be known of God by men lies plain before their eyes ... His invisible attributes, that is to say his everlasting power and deity, have been visible, ever since the world began, to the eye of reason, in the things he has made". (Rom. 1: 19-20, New English Bible translation). It is true that he goes on to accuse the nations of the Graeco-Roman world of having perverted this knowledge into the worship of images of men and of animals, but the Tshezi have never worshipped images.

It is true too that some expressions in the New Testament seem to point in the direction of an exclusivism on the part of Christianity. Here the words of an American theologian are pertinent:-

The early Christians did put forth the claim that 'There is no other name given under heaven for the salvation of men'. That the early Christians may have been overzealous in stating it in this way is a possibility the Christian must live with. For such a claim is subject neither to historical proof nor disproof ... For the Christian, the decisive act of God is seen in the person and work of Jesus Christ. But believing this in faith does not rule out entertaining the possibility that this decisive act may point to that which has been experienced as reality in other modes and under other names. A faith experience cannot justify a particular concept or interpretation of that experience. (Ross in Andersen 1961: 219).

If space permitted, many examples might be adduced of the way in which early Christianity absorbed ideas and

practices from its environment. Notable is the term Logos, which was adopted from Greek philosophy. The expression is as old as Heraclitus (c. 500 B.C.), who conceived of it as of a universal **Enlightenment**, or Reason, permeating the world. Through the Stoics and Plato it spread, and developed from an immanent power to an intermediary agent between the divine and the mundane. Through Philo of Alexandria, who connected it with the "Spirit of God" that moved on the waters at creation (Gen. 1:3), it came to the Jews and the Hellenic world and thence found its way into the Prologue of the Gospel of John, where this universal Word (as the term Logos is there translated). or Light which "lightens every man", is said also to have become incarnated in the person of Jesus Christ (John 1: 1-9, 14).

If Christianity could adopt and adapt so much from the Hellenism of the Mediterranean world and from Judaism (which in turn had received so much from Babylonia and Egypt), why must it make such a clean sweep of all other manifestations of the universal religious spirit? Why should it not find in at least some Tshezi religion a platform on which to build, and say to chief and diviner: "I have come not to destroy but to fulfil"?

The Tshezi have strong ideas about property rights and the rights of the individual, but the individual is always seen, and is expected to see himself, in community, and should never advance his own interests at the expense of any of the groups in an ascending series to which he belongs - family, lineage, clan, tribe.⁸ He should respect his chief as the head of the largest of these groups, the "Great One" of all his people.

Religion is communal too. The spirits are those of

8. Parker notes that even in an exchange of greetings among the Zulu, the courtesies are "always collective in their application. The whole family greets the family of the strangers; the individual is not raised above his people" (Barker 1961: 30).

one's people - of one's own family or of the chief's family, of one's own clan or of the whole tribe - through the ramifications of kinship or by political incorporation. Some of the rituals (now obsolete) were performed by the chief on behalf of the tribe, others (as still) by senior members on behalf of clans or families. The invocation of ancestors was one important factor consolidating the people in social segments and giving them continuity with their own past.

It seems unnecessary and unwise to brush all this aside with one sweep of the missionary arm, and to tell such people to sever all links with the past, to renounce kinship ties, and (in religious matters at least) to step out into a position of complete separation and isolation from one's own people. There may be items against which it may be necessary to take a stand, but this is different from a root-and-branch hostility to all that is involved in the indigenous religion. It is difficult to imagine the horror with which such an invitation to "come out" must have been heard by people like the Tshezi. It sounded to them like a call to lawlessness and sacrilege. For all sanctions were conceived as stemming ultimately from the ancestral spirits, back of whom was God himself. It was the ancestors who created clan and tribe (when they were here on earth) by human procreation. It was the ancestors who acquired the land and developed the rituals and customs and handed all these on to the people. It is in the people and their chief that the ancestors live again here on earth. Consequently there was nothing more reprehensible to their minds than disloyalty to one's own lineage and disobedience to one's chief. To this day the people speak disparagingly of an évolué who goes away to the labour centres of the Republic and forswears all connection with his home folk and their ways. Utshiphile, they say, "he has made himself cheap, he has proved worthless, he has deserted", i.e. he has renounced the land and the people given him by his own ancestral spirits.

No one offers a solitary sacrifice. He associates himself with the other members of his lineage or clan, and they invite even neighbours and friends to partake with them of meat and beer.

Most Protestant missionaries have condemned all beer-drinking as sinful and have condemned too the meat of ritually sacrificed beasts. Yet the Tshezi are not idolators. They regard such rituals as promoting solidarity of the living relatives with one another and with those of their kin who have preceded them beyond the grave.

One must be careful of the term "ancestor-worship" so often met with in books. It is almost certain that the Tshezi do not worship their ancestors in any strict sense such as would involve adoration, else how could they, in common with other African tribes, sometimes expostulate with them and even reprimand them? (Schapera 1937: 257). Even an expression such as a Tshezi man once used to me of the ancestral spirits, "these are our gods", is to be understood in a limited sense, as it sometimes is even in the Bible, for instance in John 10: 31-36 where men are called "gods". The Tshezi are monotheists recognising one Supreme Being whom, however, they regard as remote and almost unknowable, so they approach him not directly but through the ancestral spirits whom they revere rather than worship. (Cf. Soga 1931: 149-150; Junod, II, 1962: 424-427). It might be better to use some such term as ancestor-invocation, or ancestor-propitiation, rather than ancestor-worship.

A good adaptation by missionaries is their use of the Xhosa word umtendeleko^h for the Eucharist. Umtendeleko^h is "a family or social feast on any special occasion where victuals or refreshments are spread for every one" (Kropf-Godfrey 1915: in loc.).

Tshezi religion is practical and may be said to be "not a mystical response to the numinous; [but] frankly self-regarding and utilitarian" (Taylor 1963: 107). It has

to do with banishing sickness, with promoting good harvests, with rites of passage through the successive stages from birth to death, with warding off evils like sorcery, and in general with promoting the wellbeing of chief and people. It would seem that some presentations of Christianity, therefore, including that to the Tshezi, err on the side of too great an emphasis on the mystical: personal communion with God, withdrawal, secret meditation, and the like.⁹ With these, there should be more emphasis on the practical and social aspects of the Christian ethic. The church should interest itself in social justice, for instance helping to guide chief and councillors in their dealings with people in the tribal court. It should interest itself also in racial relationships, master and servant relationships, in the dealings between traders and tribesmen, in learning and conforming to what a people like the Tshezi regard as good manners - which are often so different from those of Whites on the surface, though similar in essence. The Tshezi value ubuntu, which means "human-ness" - human value, humanity, human dignity. This reinforces all that side of Christian ethics which emphasises that man is made in the image of the divine, that he is of infinite worth, and that anyone who tramples on the rights of his fellow man "disregards not man but God" (1 Thess. 4:8). In a word, the church should be characterised more by involvement than withdrawal.

It may be thought that what is advocated in this chapter tends in the direction of lowering the standards of the Church, and is too latitudinarian. It is true that in New Testament times the Church aimed at containing only completely-committed experimental Christians. It could not do other-

9. A friend comments: "I have always felt that Christianity errs on the side of the social and fails to appreciate the meditative." Such a remark shows what a shift there has been in Christian emphasis in the twentieth century! But in conservative circles the emphasis is still as I have described it.

wise when the Founder of Christianity Himself said, "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple" (Lu. 14:33). But total commitment should be made to essential, true Christianity, rather than to forms and ceremonies brought from another culture, European or Palestinian. It must be Christ's religion of love: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart ... and thy neighbour as thyself - on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Mt. 23: 37-40). An Old Testament prophet cut across the labyrinthine rituals of both pagan and Jewish religion when he said that all that God really required of man was "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6: 6-8). Similarly when Christianity was almost stifled in its cradle by Judaizers, who wanted to insist that all the laws and regulations of the Jews should be foisted upon the Gentiles when they became Christians, it was Paul who insisted on Gentiles being allowed to accept Christ for themselves, without having to conform to all the Jewish background as well. To Paul neither Judaism nor Hellenism was anything without essential Christian humanism - which, after all, is an ennobling and a universalising of the Tshezi concept of ubuntu. "Though I ... understand all mysteries and all knowledge [Judaistic and Hellenistic] ... and have not love, I am nothing" (I Cor. 13:2).

That many of the Tshezi, who were unattracted by Christianity in institutionalized form, were moved and impressed by it when it appeared to them as the embodiment of disinterested love, I am certain. At a beer-drink one day an old Red woman sought me out to speak to me of my father. She came to tell me that he had saved her life. When she was so ill as a girl that all the diviners failed and her people gave her up for lost, the white missionary had cured her. (For my father had been a dispenser in the British Army before he became a missionary and built the only dispensary in Tsheziland; and every Monday to Friday forenoon he attended

to the ill of fifty to a hundred people, giving them, free of any cost, medicines supplied for over thirty years by British Christians). But what astonished me was that on the day before I left Tsheziland at the end of my field work, a couple of months later, this old lady turned up at my camp. Well over seventy, wasted and shrunken, she had trudged for miles over the hills in the hot mid-summer sunshine to arrive exhausted at the camp a kindly trader had lent me. There she rested, legs outstretched and her aged back leaning against the wall of the house. "What made you do this?" I asked. She waited till she had recovered from her breathlessness. Then she said: "I heard you would be leaving tomorrow. I could not let you go without coming to say good-bye to the son of the man who was so kind to me and saved my life." We talked the afternoon away. I regretted that I could not take her back to her home in my car, but her route lay over wild terrain where no car could possibly go. "It is nothing," she said. "I feel better now", and she took her departure. (And some Whites say, "Africans have no sense of gratitude"!)

Rabbi Hillel, the Hebrew sage, said: "What is hateful to you, do not to your neighbour. That is the whole law, while the rest is the commentary thereof." (Shabb. 31a in Epstein 1938: 140).

When that Tshezi missionary gave of himself unstintingly to his people in the ministrations of his dispensary; when, in the dreaded "Spanish Influenza" epidemic that killed so many in 1918, the sick lay in huts on his station, and he attended even to the most intimate ministrations of their sickbeds with his own hands; when he and his wife received children of families in want and reared them as if they were their own, one of whom grew to head the school - this was true Christianity and is not forgotten. Most else was "ex-position", like the assertion that baptism was only for those of riper years and to be performed by total immersion, which was reversed by succeeding missionaries of the same

mission, who, happening to be Congregational and Church of England, taught the sprinkling of infants!

Theology today is in a ferment as to what Christianity is essentially. Bultmann advocates a "demythologising" of it, by which it should be stripped of such dogmas as Virgin Birth, Incarnation, Resurrection, Ascension and the Second Coming of Christ and become simply the redemptive act of God in Christ, whereby man is delivered from "inauthentic existence" (Bartsch 1953, I, 1-44; Bultmann 1952: 1-183). Tillich refers to the "innumerable laws" under which Christians labour and declares that Christ "rescues us from religion" (Tillich 1949: 104). Bonhoeffer advocates "non-religious interpretation of theological concepts" (Bonhoeffer 1953: 148). I mention these ideas not to argue for or against any of them, but simply to illustrate the uncertainty as to what Christianity really is.

Having preached to the Tshezi the essential Christianity of redemptive love, it would seem that it might have been better to have woven around it institutional forms growing out of their own life and customs. Why, for instance, may not circumcision have been retained, without any pagan or Judaistic concomitants, but simply as a healthful operation in connection with the assumption of responsibilities by Christian youths and their dedication of themselves to the service of God and men? It is true that Saint Paul condemns circumcision, but only as a symbol of Jewish exclusivism and bondage to Jewish law and ritual, which have nothing to do with the Tshezi. And why could not the Lord's Supper have been made more like a feast, as it originally was (I Cor. 5:8; Lu. 22: 7-20) - more like the agape feasts, though without the excesses these gave rise to at one time in one church (I Cor. 11: 20-34)? That way it would much more have resembled an umtendeleko, an expression of fellowship and communion, than the formality of eating a tiny bread-cube (or a wafer) and drinking a sip of wine.

If there could be Judaistic Christianity and Hellenistic

Christianity, to be succeeded in turn by Roman, Byzantine, and Protestant forms of Christianity, why may there not be African Christianity - Tshezi Christianity?

The missionaries set a very high standard of moral conduct for their converts. They themselves mostly lived lives of blameless purity, in which they were examples not only to their flocks but to many of the European traders, civil servants and others with whom they came in contact. But perhaps they tended to be too ascetic at times and not to make sufficient allowance for the weaknesses of fledgling Christians. The church has never been perfect on its human side. If sometimes it has moved "like a mighty army", it has also often had to remain in camp training raw recruits, or has been a hospital base for the care of invalids. A missionary who worked near Tsheziland told of being so incensed at discovering sin in the lives of his church members that one Sunday morning he tore up the membership roll in the midst of his sermon and threw the bits over the heads of his astonished congregation. "There!" he declared. "There is no longer a church here." The people duly registered repentance, with appropriate tears. Out of the "revival" that ensued the missionary compiled a new membership list but, doubtless, only to find in time that it developed imperfections too! Even under the preaching of the apostles there were deceivers in the Church like Aranas and Sapphira (Acts 5: 1-11), and the frequent rebukes in St. Paul's letters to churches in the Hellenic world would not be there if they had been inapposite.

As time went on, there even arose a tendency in the early church to recognise two levels of Christian attainment. The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles, a second-century church manual, says: "For if you can bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect; but if you cannot, do what you can" (Didache 6: 2, Goodspeed 1950:14). As Christianity advanced westward across Europe, whole tribes of people embraced the faith with but very little understanding of it. They came

into the Church for political reasons, or on the command of their chiefs. Yet "often second and even first generation converts became noted exemplars of the faith" (Latourette 1954: 352) and once "in", this mass was more rapidly and more easily permeated with the Gospel in succeeding generations. Perhaps some such approach might have been justifiable for the Bantu-speaking tribes too. It might have been better to cast the net of the church's fellowship wider and "gather of every kind", leaving the sorting out of good from bad to the future, as in Christ's parable of the Drag-net (Matt. 13: 47-49), rather than to cast it so narrowly (in an attempt to get a perfect Church) as hardly to gather anything at all.

The many parallels between Judaeo-Christian and Tshezi religion illustrate the theme of this chapter: that Christianity should encounter other religions not in head-on collision, but rather as promise and fulfilment, type and anti-type.

The parallels are not offered to prove that Tshezi religion arose from contact with Semites in some remote past - social anthropologists have learnt from experience to be wary of such assumed historical derivations based on coincidence. They are offered simply to show that there are affinities between Christian and Tshezi religion, which should be exploited to the full.

Both religions believe in one God, the Tshezi calling him u(m)Dali or uThixo, who made all things, including man. To the Tshezi, as to the Athenians, he is "The Unknown God".

Following are more parallels between Tshezi and Biblical religion:

TSHEZI

1. Circumcision of youths, at 16-25, to initiate them as men into the councils of the tribe.

BIBLE

1. Circumcision of male infants of eight days old to initiate them as members into the tribe (Israel) of God. (Gen. 17:12).

TSHEZI

2. The tribe is the political unit, presided over by the chief.
3. Sin is deviation from the laws of the tribe and disobedience to the chief.
4. Sin is expiated by sacrifice.
5. The cattle-kraal is the sanctuary in which all sacrifices of cattle must be offered.
6. The blood is caught in a basin and reserved for special purposes.
7. The fat is separated from the intestines.
8. The right shoulder is the umshwamo reserved for him for whom the sacrifice is made and for his relatives, including the officiator.
9. Roasted meats are eaten the first day, boiled meats the second, and all must be finished by the third day. The bones are preserved and burnt subsequent to the ceremony.
10. The Tshezi once had a ceremony of firstfruits.

BIBLE

2. Israel, the tribe, is presided over by God, ruling through Moses and, later, judges and kings.
3. Sin is disloyalty to the laws of Israel and disobedience to God, or to the laws of the Church (the New Israel) and to its head, Christ.
4. Christ came "to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (Heb. 9:26).
5. Tabernacle and Temple were the sanctuaries for the sacrifices of Israel. Christ as sacrifice is said to have taken his blood into the sanctuary of heaven for us. (Heb. 9:1-14).
6. "The life is in the blood ... it is the blood that maketh an atonement" (Lev. 17:11).
7. "He shall offer ... the fat that covereth the inwards" (Lev. 3:3).
8. At the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood "the right shoulder" for them (Ex. 29: 22, 27). "He ... that offereth ... shall have the right shoulder for his part" (Lev. 7:33).
9. "The sacrifice ... shall be eaten on the day that he offers the sacrifice, and on the morrow what remains shall be eaten, but what remains on the third day shall be burned with fire" (Lev. 7: 16-17).
10. "The feast of firstfruits" (Lev. 23: 9-14).

TSHEZI

BIBLE

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| <p>11. Conventionalised lamentation for the dead occurs.</p> <p>12. Association with the dead brings ritual impurity (<u>umlaza</u>).</p> | <p>11. "They shall call ... such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing" (Amos 5:16).</p> <p>12. "Whosoever is defiled by the dead" (Numb. 5:2) "And they shall come at no dead person to defile themselves" (Ezek. 44:25).</p> |
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Many more such affinities might be instanced. Unless we are to believe that the Deity, having produced all the myriads of mankind, is content with the enlightenment and deliverance of a minority while all the rest are "cast as rubbish to the void", (Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, LIV. ii), we must believe that to these vast multitudes too some enlightenment has been given and that the function of Christianity is to bring that light to the full, not to snuff it out in a general condemnation.

Let the words of the veteran missionary-anthropologist Henri Junod be used in support (even if he did insist that ukulobola must go):-

If the positivist sees in the origin and development of primitive religion a purely natural process, this is not the case with the thinker who believes in God. He takes the view that all through, God was striving to draw the human race to himself. Naturism, family relations, causalism, euhemerism have been His avenues of approach to the spirit of man, and in these rudimentary forms of religion I see a kind of revelation, very uncomplete indeed, but corresponding to the low stage of intellectual and moral development of primitive humanity, a progressive revelation on which further revelations, contributed by all the prophets of mankind, have since been grafted, until God has become fully known to us as Light, Holiness and Love. And for this reason I do not despise the childish rites of Animism nor the absurd representations of Naturism. In them I see not only an attempt on the part of man to know God, but an attempt on the part of God to make Himself known to man. (Junod II, 1962: 596).

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Tshezi have likewise been slow to embrace opportunities for education.

They have five schools. There is a School Committee appointed by the Tshezi Tribal Authority in consultation with the Secretary of the Department of Education of the Transkei

Government (Transkei Gazette 1965: Vol 2, No. 29). Its members are nominated to represent (a) the tribal authority, (b) religious interests, and (c) the parents. The committee is responsible for school functions and the care of buildings.

All schools are under the Department of Education (Transkei Education Act 1966: No. 9), which pays all teachers' salaries. There are also subsidies for buildings. Temporary structures of primary schools are subsidised at R60 per class room, and of post-primary schools at R200 per class room; but conventional buildings, approved by the Department of Public Works, receive R1,600 per class room. In primary schools all Readers up to Standard VI are supplied free, but other books and stationery have to be paid for by parents. There is also a non-compulsory charge of ten cents per pupil per quarter to Standard II, and then 20 cents per pupil per quarter to Standard VI, to provide a school fund for the purchase of such things as library books and other equipment, or for travel expenses to inter-school activities. In post-primary schools no books are supplied free, and there is a compulsory charge of R1-00 per pupil per quarter. School uniforms are entirely optional, depending on whether a principal decides that his school should have them or not; and where required they are usually limited to the girls.

In 1964-5 the Transkei Legislative Assembly conducted a referendum among the parents of the children in the Transkei to decide whether the medium of instruction after Standard II, should be English or Afrikaans. The referendum was done through tribal authorities and School committees. The majority voted for English - "something like 99.99%" one parliamentarian told me. The reason as stated by educated Africans was "that English is an international language". "If I go to Johannesburg, I can communicate with my Sotho friends in English; otherwise I should be lost, for I cannot speak their language." So school instruction is in the Xhosa language up to Standard II. Above that it is in

English. A directive from the Bantu Education Department as reported in the press (Daily Dispatch, East London, December 5, 1968) states that from 1970 instruction in African schools in the Republic is to be parallel-medium, in both Afrikaans and English, but is not to apply to the self-governing Transkei.

The principal school is at Mount Packard, providing classes up to Standard IV. The records for six months (April - September) in 1968 show that the school had three teachers, an enrolment of 165 pupils, and an average attendance of 82.7%. There are four other schools each meeting in a single hut or rondavel under one teacher and giving instruction up to Standard II. They are:-

Zinkawu, with 90 pupils on roll and 73.7% average attendance;

Mpako, with 67 on roll and 55% average attendance;

Madakeni, 64 on roll and 45.8% average attendance;

Lower Mpako, with 25 on roll and 23% average attendance.¹⁰

This gives a total enrolment at all five schools of 411 pupils. It is obvious, therefore, that in this tribe of nearly seven thousand people, most children never go to school. One continually comes upon them in school-hours in the trading stores, at the homesteads, or out on the veld herding cattle.

One of the school-teachers was elderly and had spent many years in Tsheziland. I had known the country in the years prior to his arrival. Between us we tried to enumerate the Tshezi who had passed through their own schools and then gone on to further education elsewhere. For they can go on to Standard VI at Ngcwanguba, nine miles away, and then to Secondary and High School at Lutubeni, 22 miles away, and to Umtata, and so eventually to Fort Hare University. But we could not recollect more than four, who had ever gone further

10. Information from Department of Education, Umtata, and from Mr. H.Z. Mbiya, teacher at Madakeni. One of these figures, "25", enrolment at Lower Mpako, is problematical owing to poor legibility.

than Standard IV, and none of these had got as far as the university level. Compulsory education is one of the great needs of the Transkei; but it is opposed by pagan parents, who do not want to lose their hold on their children, and by illiterate chiefs, who do not want to lose their hold on their subjects. And again such reasons as those mentioned in accounting for the poor response of the Tshezi to improved methods of agriculture come into play.

The greatest single influence in bringing about cultural changes among the Tshezi is probably that of migrant labour. Year after year, as we have seen, great numbers of men go to the mines for periods of six or nine months, or even longer, until a spell on the mines has become a qualification of manhood almost as important as passage through the circumcision rites. And as travel broadens the outlook of people elsewhere, so it does for the Tshezi youth too. They are not so ready, when they return, to be put back again into the strait-jacket of traditional ways enforced by parental authority.¹¹ Then their seniors complain: "We are a dying people, and all the old things are passing away."

I prefer to think the Tshezi tribe is a living organism, sloughing off old tissue, and I hope that its future may be as bright as the dawns that break in rosy colours over the sea at Coffee Bay.

11. It is true that Tshezi have been going to the mines for a couple of generations now, but it takes time for change to come about.

CHAPTER XVIII

LAND AND TSHEZIHOOD

Though there are some cultural practices in which the Tshezi differ from their neighbours (such as their completion of ukulobola at or near the time of marriage as the Mfengu do, instead of prolonging it indefinitely as the Xhosa do, and their flinging of a sacrificial animal down on its left side instead of on its right, as the Mpondo are reported to do), the bonds that unite them in conscious distinction from others are social rather than cultural.

They and they alone are the lineal descendants of the great and now half-mythical hero-chief, Tshezi. Almost nothing is known of him any more - they are not even sure where he was buried - but that he existed they have no doubt, and proudly point to themselves as evidence of that. "We are Tshezi", they assert - amaTshezi! Scarcely less honoured are others peculiar to their ancestral tree, like great Jalamba and that ancestress whom they have invested with an almost mystic aura, the famous one-breasted woman from over the sea. "That people are the product of a nobler ancestry than we?" they seem to say.

Coupled with these glories of "blood", there are those of state. There is their long and honourable history, for example, whose beginnings are lost in the mists of time among those hills and uplands that are now the regions of Swaziland and Zululand. It links them with the mighty Tshaka, who promoted great waves of migration one of which swept them south into Pondolan. There they established themselves by the Kukaphi, by whose banks at least one of their chiefs is buried, and which ever afterwards became for them the sacred stream or pool at which they sacrificed their river-cattle (oNdongolo). Then they fought with and

vanquished the Mpondo at the Dangwana battle, even killing the Mpondo paramount chief Ngqungqushe. Even when they moved and settled south-west of the Umtata river they and their Jalamba brethren continued to be successful in repelling the attacks of his son, the renowned Faku (cf. Soga 1930: 371-2).

Most wonderful of all, the Tshezi, though originally but the righthand house of the Bomvana succeeded in so elevating themselves above the great house of amaNkumba (which further impoverished itself by joining in the disastrous Cattle-killing delusion of 1857, which the Tshezi refused to do) that they, the Tshezi, became the reigning house over all the coastal people between the Umtata and the Bashee. The great house of the Tshezi (the house of Tyingana) reigns over the Mqanduli Tshezi between the Umtata and the Mncwasa, and a lesser house (that of Jalamba) over the Bomvana between the Mncwasa and the Bashee. And since both the Mqanduli Tshezi and the Bomvana have seats in the Transkei Legislative Assembly, that means there are two Tshezi chiefs who are members of that body.

Then there is the pride of a people in having a country of their own. Sixty-seven square miles may not seem to us a very large territory, but the Red Tshezi express little consciousness and concern about the extent of countries other than their own. There it is, its rolling hills and lush valleys, between its two river boundaries and the sea. It is theirs, won by diplomacy, owned and occupied for almost a century and a half, and recognised by their neighbours.

Finally, there is the pride of these people in what they love to call their "Tsheziness" (ubuTshezi). This is their whole way of life: their habits as individuals,

their traditional behaviour toward one another as families and lineage groups, their religious beliefs and rituals, their clan and tribal loyalties. To this Tshezi traditional way of life the people are profoundly loyal.

Yet for them too the "winds of change", which once fanned as zephyrs, are beginning to be felt blowing with gale force. The impact of colonial government has made great inroads upon their chieftainship and their judicial system; hospitals and medical doctors have shaken their faith in divination and herbalism, though, if the hospital medication fails to help they are quick to fall back on their own doctors, often with the sad observation that those of today have not the powers of those of former times; much of Christian thinking has been absorbed from the missions by a process of osmosis rather than by complete conversion; schools have made them aware of a world of knowledge to which they are strangers; and the world of commerce presses on them through a cash economy, the trading stores, and the great urban centres of the Republic to which they are lured by the promise of higher wages.

It is no wonder that under such pressures the Tsehzis have changed. Their men folk have returned to them as travelled men, full of the lore of distant towns and the sophistication of European culture. They have regaled them night after night by their firesides with the sights of modern cities, of the wonderful gold-mines, of farms on which agriculture and animal husbandry are carried on by methods that produce results far in advance of any the Tshezi ever knew. Their children parade the lore of schools to the admiration and often the bewilderment, of their elders.

The real wonder is that after three-quarters of a

century of these influences the Tshezi have changed so little. Reverence for their ancestors has made them exceedingly loth to adopt practices the latter never knew and might not countenance. Fear of witchcraft and sorcery, which is a basic fear in all their thinking has made them suspicious of new things not understood. Patriotism, tribal loyalty, a love of old and simple ways in preference to ways that are complex and disturbing - these all bind them to the past. Yet, despite this profound conservatism, the new has made its entry, "precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little, and there a little",¹ until today "Tshezi-ism" finds itself poised between two worlds, like one of their own homesteads high on a ridge between two valleys, "the old world dead, the new unready to be born".

Comparing the importance of Tshezihood to the Tshezi with the lack of cultural features which distinguish them, we are forced to only one conclusion. Pride in being Tshezi is rooted in pride in the land which the Tshezi occupy. Pride in their chiefs arises from the circumstance that these are masters of the land, with the right to allocate sites in it to their subjects. I cannot forget the awe with which a woman gazed on Chief Danisile and one of his brothers, standing a short distance off, nor the way she said to me under her breath: Uhlaba ngowabo! "The land is theirs!" The Tshezi concern with their ancestry and that of their rulers is an expression of their right to the land, and their pride in being Tshezi is in a sense a stated determination to defend their right to the land.

As I have shown, it would be wrong to think of their identity as something rooted in the uniqueness of their culture. Tshezi identity was rooted in a social system

1. Isaiah 28: 10, 13.

in which a ruling group guaranteed security of tenure and the benefits of usufruct over a certain area of territory. Continuation of the social system meant continuity of land tenure. A Tshezi was interested in being a Tshezi chiefly because it conferred on him certain rights over land (See pp. 204-205).

Under White rule the allocation of land became vested in the "Native" Commissioner, i.e. the magistrate. This is still true under the Transkei Government. The Transkei Authorities Act allows a tribal authority to "consider and make recommendations to the competent authority in connection with applications for arable and other allotments." (Transkei Authorities Act 1965: 4 (1) (d)). This brings out clearly that the chief-in-council is no longer "competent" to allocate land. He can only recommend its allocation. Each recommendation is subject to magisterial approval. Very wisely, magistrates depend largely on the advice of chiefs under them in this matter and probably in most, if not all, cases approve their recommendations.

Wisely too, the Administration does not force on people the Rehabilitation Scheme (p.230), whereby large-scale re-allocations of land are made in the interests of its better usage, but waits till the people of a tribal authority themselves ask for it to be applied to their area, because they have seen its value elsewhere and want it.

Nevertheless, it cannot but be obvious to all concerned that the power and meaning of the Tshezi rulers has been undermined, and the whole point of being Tshezi has begun to lose its meaning. When Tshezi tribesmen see that their chief is not only subordinate to the Thembu paramount as before, but also to the magistrate in Mqanduli, who may summon him before him, closely instruct him, or even, if

he chooses, countermand his orders, while the chief must continually go to him or others for stipend and emoluments, and may even be imprisoned by the authorities (p.24) it is impossible to think of such a chief as much more than a paid employee of the White administration. "And what sort of 'master of the land' is that?" the people may well ask.

So long, therefore, as the small-scale development of the people is considered to make the retention of the chieftainship a necessity, it would seem to be advisable to interfere as little as possible with the rights of chiefs, especially as to their land. Yet so long as many chiefs remain "primitive" and illiterate, it cannot be expected of any civilised government that it can look on with indifference while people are oppressed or suffer the horrors of witchcraft or internecine strife. This is always the dilemma of more "advanced" nations in an unequal world: how, on the one hand, to respect the independence of others, and how, on the other hand, to heed the cry of the weak against the strong. Anyone who reads the history of the eastern Cape frontier and the Transkei fairly must realise that there was at least some truth in the words that Major Elliot spoke at the taking over of the Tshezi in 1886: "Government does not want you, it never wanted any native tribe provided it would refrain from stealing, and live at peace with its neighbours, but this it found to be utterly impossible and it was obliged to take over the Government of the native tribes" (See Appendix Note A:356).

This is not to say that White government has not had its faults. If the Tshezi in 1968 appeared to be particularly aggressive about their identity, it may perhaps have been a public expression of the frustration that they feel at being deprived of their rights. It is not unlike the aggressive pride of the Afrikaners who felt themselves threatened by the

Uitlanders. This too was not so much a real pride in cultural identity (for the cultural differences were, and still are, negligible) as a way of expressing their claim to the land which was essential for their livelihood.

A P P E N D I X

NOTE A

ADDRESS BY MAJOR ELLIOT AT A MEETING
WITH THE CHIEF PHALI NEAR COFFEE BAY.

MAY 30, 1886.

Phali, I may preface what I have to say by telling you that I am not here for the purpose of discussing or arguing points. My duty is plain and very simple. I have come to deliver to you the commands of Government. It will be within your recollection that I visited you four years ago, and told you that I had been sent by Government to take you over as its subjects or require you to leave British territory. I then ordered you to either register yourself and people at Mqanduli Office, or to cross the Umtata River into Pondoland - you had only one choice - you asked for time to consider and consult your people. I consented to allow you reasonable time. I am not an impatient man, but I do consider four years an unreasonable time for the consideration of so simple a matter. During that time much has occurred to annoy the Government, constant complaints have been made to me of crimes committed by your people. The Pondos have frequently asked permission to come through the Umtata, and punish you for offences committed against them. I invariably refused to grant the permission asked, fearing that other tribes would suffer, and said "wait till Government deals with these people." Other tribes around you have been loud in their complaints against your people, they have said "Why should Phali and his people be allowed to commit crimes with impunity, let us punish them." Not long ago Kreli complained that nine innocent people of his had been cruelly burned to death upon a ridiculous charge of witchcraft, and said "Let me punish these people, I will squeeze them as small as my little finger." I said, "No, leave them to Government." Kreli sat still, but said it was hard. Recently Dalasile reported that a man of his had been

killed and Nqeketo that seven horses had been stolen from his kraal (a foal's throat cut close to it) that he traced these horses to your own kraal and that one of them was sold by you to a trader in this territory. I again said "Wait", It is not my intention to rake up all the offences imputed to you and your people extending over a number of years. I know you say, "We are not British subjects." When the Tembus came under Government, they said, "The country in which Phali lives is ours." Phali said, "No, we are Bomvanas." When the Bomvanas came under Government, Phali said, "We don't go with them, we are not Bomvanas." There is no doubt about your living in British Territory. The whole country is under Government. Government does not want you, it never wanted any native tribe provided it would refrain from stealing, and live at peace with its neighbours, but this it found to be utterly impossible and it was obliged to take over the Government of the native tribes.

From today we must have an entirely new state of affairs. I usually move about my territory accompanied by a single policeman, and would have come to you so attended today had you not taken four years to consider what ought to have been decided in as many days. I am now come to enforce the commands of Government, and to let you see that I am in earnest. My commands to you today are that you assist the officers whom I shall leave amongst you in making a full and complete register of your people and huts.

I told you that I would not rake up all past offences, but two matters must be tried. It does not follow that punishment must be inflicted, because upon investigation facts may not be what they were represented. The man who is accused of killing a man of Dalasile's tribe must be handed to Mr Blakeway for trial, and you, Phali, must enter in person, or by one of your sons, answer to the charge of theft of

horses from Nqeketo. You Phali will tomorrow supply me with some responsible person and two or three Councillors to assist in the registration, these men will be paid for their labours. The officers whom I shall leave will represent me. Major Grant will remain with his patrol till the registration is completed, and my instructions carried out; after that they will return to Umtata. You will pay hut tax the same as other tribes.

I find that an idea prevails that "hut tax" is a "wife tax". It is no such thing. Government only acknowledges one wife, although it does not interfere with your social customs. Hut tax is leviable upon every hut that is occupied by any human being excepting poor widows. They are the only exemption. I don't want to be hard upon you, and as the present year is nearly expired, you will commence paying from the 1st July next, upon which day the tax becomes due.

Taking over a tribe has nothing to do with the disposition of lands, and I will not allow any man to be displaced. You Phali have for a long time been standing with one foot upon the other side. You can't be a Pondic and a British subject. Henceforth you will have nothing to do with people living in Pondoland.

I am sorry to hear that a great deal of "smelling out" has been going on amongst your people. Ignorant men have been made the tools of designing scoundrels and the means for destroying innocent life. The life of everyone is alike in the eyes of Government and is equally entitled to protection. The same applies to the property of the meanest individual. It has been represented to me that witch doctors can't help their calling, that it comes upon them like a disease. I have a certain cure for that disease. It is not a pleasant one for the patient, but it never fails.

I have now instructed you fully in the words of the Government. The councillors who are to accompany the Officers of Government must be here tomorrow. I don't want to use force, not even a stick, against you, but if it is necessary I will come again.

I have delivered my message.

- Umtata Herald, August 17,
September 21, 1886.

NOTE B

CHILDREN'S GAMES

Ceya is played by two boys, one of whom is dubbed iphamba and the other ihlanga. The iphamba is the leader. Each child has a small stone, which he rolls around in his clasped hands. They suddenly separate their hands and hold their closed fists before them, fingers upward; neither boy knowing in which of his opponent's fists his pebble lies. The iphamba first opens his hand - the one that does not hold the stone. The ihlanga boy then does the same. If the two empty hands are opposite each other, the ihlanga has won and takes a turn at being iphamba. But if they are diagonally across from each other, the iphamba has won and continues for another round.

Ukugantisa is a girls' game. They sit in a circle round a pile of pebbles. Each girl has one pebble in her hand. One of the players starts by tossing her pebble in the air, picking up a stone from the pile, and catching the other as it comes down. She must use only one hand, and in picking up a stone from the pile must not touch or move any of the others. If successful, she puts her second stone down and has another throw. She may succeed in removing the whole pile. If she fails, another has a turn and so on. When all the stones have been picked up, the last player requests the others to put their stones back in the pile, and the game continues, till one player has got all the stones.

UNgcaka is played by two boys grasping an upright stick, hand over hand, in turn to the top. When one boy can no longer find a place for his hand, he loses. This is often used by two herdboys to decide who shall go after wandering stock.

There is another game also called uNgcaka. Two boys stand or sit opposite each other, each with his hands clasped together, the fingers intertwined and folded back. One of

them is iphamba, the other ihlanga. The iphamba boy raises his clasped hands and brings them down with the fingers of one hand jutting out. Simultaneously the other boy does the same. If he puts forth the fingers of the same hand as iphamba (e.g. they both put out their right hand fingers) the iphamba wins. But if he puts out those of the opposite hand (i.e. his left hand opposite iphamba's right hand) he wins and becomes iphamba.

NOTE C

TALE OF THE FIELD AND THE ANIMALS

It is said that a long time ago all the animals called a meeting to discuss the possibility of ploughing a field of their own, because they were tired of being chased by the people from their fields. The meeting was a success and the field was ploughed.

After the seeds had germinated, another gathering was held to decide who should be appointed to guard the field. The polecat was appointed. When the meeting was over, all the animals went to their homes and left the polecat on guard.

As soon as it had been left behind, the polecat began to cook meat for itself and beer. There drew near an inkalmevana,¹ which said to the polecat: "Let us play the game of sleeping in turns." To this the polecat agreed, on condition that it should sleep first. The inkalmevana was willing and so the polecat slept. While it was asleep the inkalmevana gobbled up first the polecat's meat and beer and then also the plants in the field of all the animals.

The polecat awoke to find the inkalmevana gone and the crops of the animals destroyed. He was very worried, because the agreement had been, that if he failed to look after the crops, the death sentence was to be imposed upon him.

In due time the animals came to see what was happening in their field. While they were approaching, the inkalmevana called out to them in a disguised sing-song voice, as if he were the polecat: "All the food of the animals is destroyed." "What is that?" replied the animals. "We cannot hear for the wind." So he repeated louder: "All the food of the animals has been eaten by inkalmevana. I fell into a heavy daytime slumber. The whole field is destroyed. Come and see." So the animals

1. A legendary creature.

came, and, being very angry, they killed the polecat.

This time they appointed a hare to guard the field. Again that crafty inkalmevana came and tried to practise his deception. But the hare was very clever. He did not sleep at all, but only pretended. Again inkalmevana fell on the meat and beer; but, while he was enjoying it, the swift hare ran and told the animals what was really happening, but without inkalmevana knowing what he was doing. Then all the animals came quickly and killed the inkalmevana.

So he suffered the just reward of his evil deeds.

NOTE D

INITIATION GROUPS OBSERVED AMONG THE TSHEZI
AND THE TSHOMANE IN 1968

Tribe	Locality	Owner of the Lodge	Chief of the Lodge ¹	No. of Novices	No. of Guardians
TSHEZI	emaGcalekeni	Badwale	Kholisile	3	2
"	"	Zweliphalele	Dingekhaya	6	3
"	"	Nombambatho	Dingibandla	6	3
"	eKohlo	Tywetywana	Bukweni	4	2
"	eNgqakayi	Zamunyaka	?	4	2
"	eNgqakayi	?	?	5	?
	Tshezi-Tshomane border	Kelenge	?	2	2
TSHOMANE	eJojweni	Xhumayo	Mwongozi ²	8	5
"	eQadini	Fanisile	Jongilizwe ³	1	1 ⁴
"	eMqaphini	Silavu	Ndlubu	3	2
"	eMalangeni	Ngweyathafa	Ngqosomngile	6	5
"	eSilahla	Rayise	Manyase	2 ⁵	2
"	eBusukeni	Zwelenkumbi	Zwelithobile	8	3

1. One of the novices themselves, related to the "owner" of the lodge.
2. A younger brother of Xhumayo.
3. Son of Fanisile's older brother, deceased.
4. Five had been appointed in anticipation of many more youths being circumcised.
5. Others awaited from the gold mines of the Republic.

NOTE E

Charge Delivered at a Male Initiation Ceremony

Today, my young men, you enter an anxious time. I am not going to admonish you. A man is admonished by his own heart to be a man, to be upright, to have no root of bitterness against any other man among these homesteads you are entering into today.

The way we live, life is hard. However, we have nothing against anyone on that account.

From today, you must no longer conduct yourselves in the manner of boys, as you formerly did, because today you are scattering, each of you to his own home. When you make complaint yonder, each of you will be alone, as you bring the complaint. When you have brought it forward, it will be taken under consideration by men - who no longer have anything to do with the foolishness of boyhood. It is desirable that you should conduct yourselves creditably. It will be said: "Those grandfathers who were admonishing you that day are not here today."

As for me, I am weary of admonishing you. The heart is that which admonishes a person. I could be deceiving you, saying I am admonishing you. You hear that, lad?

If you do not have a right spirit, you will be forsaken, so that I shall not even come near you, yet it will be the fault of your own spirit. It is to be desired, that you should do nothing evil to anyone.

A man scolding you is a power for evil, young man; if anything like that troubles you, go and report him in your locality.¹ When you leave, do not beat him. Go and prefer a charge against him in the court - against anyone who has troubled you. Because if you should strike someone

1. To the sub-headman and elders.

and his blood should flow, the Europeans will put you in jail up there.² If someone does fight with you, let it be evident that he started it. Fight for yourself then - then die if you must.

Be careful to indulge in no dark deed against someone, when you have imbibed from the beer-can - there is the thing that ruins. If you have drunk from the can and you see someone passing, do not demand to know where he is from. If he has not hailed you, pass on yourself.

It is difficult to have to admonish men as old as you. You are not of an age for admonition at all. Already your own maturity admonishes you.

Let us not hear of its being said, that you ever seized a man's wife and forced her to lie with you. As old as I am, I never did that. People respect me as a man today. I never seized someone and said, as I mounted on top of her, "I am wiping it away."³ There is a fine of a beast for doing that!

Honour your fathers, honour your younger brothers. Do not say, "He is a child, I cannot honour him."

A youngster, tall, slender and straight, makes for the city and rejoices to find it full of women.⁴

Do not walk into the chief's court smoking a pipe, stuck in your mouth. When you arrive among men, greet them - you are a man today!

Men, I have not laid hold of children.⁵ You, who sought this for yourselves, said, "we are going to be circumcised now, we are mature, we are old, we are even as you." And so

2. Put you esamenteni, lit. "in the cement" - most jails being built of it. "Up there" - at Mganduli or Umtata.
3. First sexual intercourse of a mkwetha, after the initiation seclusion is over, is described as ukosula, "to wipe away", i.e. to wipe away the white clay (ingceke) which he has worn all this time. But this should not be done with some one else's wife.
4. Implying that men should not be like that.
5. Referring to the fact that some boys have to be rounded up to be circumcised.

I consented. Starting from today, then, since you are returning to your own people, I want nothing bad.

[Addressing Gaqile, the youngest umkhwetha present, who had been given the name of Dalikhwezi, "Creator of the morning star", he proceeded]:- Look now my young man, you my grandson, you have been circumcised while very small, my child.⁶ You must be responsive to what I say. Today you must have done with the business of taking a stick and saying you are going to the other boys. You will be beaten by the boys.⁷ Rather take some small stick of yours, and take a hatchet, and go and fix something your father wants there at home. Another time you will see him toiling; then you take over from him, saying, "Father is working too hard at this - whatever it is - it is proper that I should take this job and do it." Then I want him to see that you have tackled the thing yourself. You see! then I too can point to you with pride - "this is my grandson" - if I see at your home something you have done.

Cherish your manhood. Manhood is authority. That it may be clear that you are a man, this name of yours pronounces you "Creator of the Morning Star". This is the one by which I shall greet you, when you enter my homestead yonder, saying, "A-a, Dalikhwezi, Creator of the Morning Star!" When you in turn have finished saying, "A-a, Vulusango!" I shall begin to inquire:

"Where were you Dalikhwezi?"

"Oh, I have come from home."

"What is it, my lad?"

"Well, I have something about which I have been sent from home by my father - it is thus and so."

6. The youth appeared to be about 17 years old.
7. Who will resent one from the age-set senior to theirs coming among them.

"Well, Dalikhwezi, your father is right, my son, it is like this and this."

That thing you will carry away with you, keeping it carefully in mind, until you arrive and communicate it in the form in which I expounded it to you.

Let me never again hear anyone say: "There he is, he was lying yonder." Do not have a lying tongue, now that you have entered the estate of manhood.

(Xhosa Original of the Above)

Namhlanje bafana bam ningene entluphekweni. Mna andiza kuniyala. Umntu uyalwa yintliziyo yakhe, ukuze abe ngumntu, alunge, angabi nanto ayicaphukela komnye umntu phakathi kwale mizi ningena kuyo namhlanje.

Sihleli nje, sihleli ngobunzima. Into ekuyo, asinanto sicaphukela yona emntwini.

Zenithi ke namhlanje ningaphinde nizophathe ngola hlobo benizophathe ngalo lobukhwenkwe; kuba namhlanje nichithekile ngo lowo ubheka kokwabo. Isikhalo somntu esihla phaya sakuvezwa ngumntu abe mnye. Ssa ku siveza loo mtu, sa kuthethwa ngamadoda, sengasena matha wasikhwenkwe. Kufuneka niziphathe kakuhle. Kuza kuthiwa: "Aba yihlo bakhulu babeniyala nga la mini abekho namhlanje."

Mna ndidiniwe kukuniyala. Yintliziyo le nto imyalayo umntu. Ngaba ndiyanixokisa ukuthi ndiganiyala. Uya yiva loo nto, kwedini? Ukuba awuna mphefumlo uya kuqabuka, ndingayi nakuwe phaya, kanti ngumphefumlo kuwe. Into embi akufuneki uyenze emntwini.

Umntu ngamandla mfana, ngamandla umntu okungxolisayo; nge-nto ekukhathaz' intloko yakho, usambe uye kumxela elalini yakho. Ukusuka epho, ungabethi. Uyokummangalela enkundleni, umntu uke wakukhathaza. Ngoba akungabetha umntu wamkhupha igazi, abeLungu bakufaka esamenteni phezulu pha. Uthi ukuba ngaba uyakubetha umntu kubonwe ke ukuba ukuqalile. Uzilwele ke, utsho

ufe ukuba uyafa.

Uyilumkele ukuyenza into emdaka emntwini xa uphuze le nto, le bhekile - nantsi le nto yonayo. Ukuba uphuze le nto, le bhekile, sukuthi umntu wakumbona egqitha apha kuwe umbuze ukuba umnguntu waphina. Xa angabulisanga, gqitha nawe. Imbi into yokuyalwa kwamadoda asengaka. Aniyo ntanga iyalwayo nina konke, tu! Se naziyalayo ngobudala obu benu.

Akufuneki sive kusithwa nikhe nabamba umfazi womntu namlala. Ndingaka nje, zange ndiyenze loo nto. Babona abantu ndiyindoda namhlanje. Ndingazange ndibambe umntu, ndithi ndiyosula, ndimbambe ndikhwele phezu kwakhe. Yinkomo loo nto.

Nihloniphe oyihlo, nihloniphe abaninawe benu. Ningathi ungumntwana, andinakumhlonipha.

Umntwana abambe, athi chwii, abheke edolophini, afike kugcwel' abafazi.

Ungangeni phakathi kwebandla utshaya inqawe, inqawe uyifake emlonyeni. Xa ufika phakathi kwamadoda, bulisa - uyindoda namhlanje!

Madoda, andibambanga abantwana. Nini enazifunelayo, nathi siyaluka ngoku, sigugile, sibadala, singangawe. Nda - tsho ndavuma. Ukuthathela namhlanje ka, nisiya kwamawenu, andifuni nto embi.

[Addressing Gqile, the youngest initiate present, who had been given the name of Dalikhwezi, "Creator of the Morning Star", he continued]:-

Bona ke, mfana wam, wena azukulwana, waluke umncinci kakhulu, mntwana wam. Uze uyisabele le nto ndiyithethayo. Namhlanje uze wahlukane nento yokuthi uthathe intonga uthi uya kwamanye amakhwenkwe. Uya kubethwa ngamakhwenkwe. Uze uthathe isagwetyana sakho, uthathe izembe, uye kulungisa into efunwa nguyihlo ekhay' apha. Ngelinye ixesha uyambona

uyasebenza, umthathele, uthi: "Utata usebenza nzima kule nto ithile. Kufanele ukuba ndiyithathe le nto ndiyisebenze". Ndifuna ke mfo wam abone sekukho into eyenziwe nguwe buqu. Uyabona ke nam ndiyakuthemba, ndithi ndinomzukulwana, ukuba ndikhe ndabona kukho into oyenzileyo kula mzi wakowenu.

Ugcine ubudoda. Ubudoda bubukhosi. Kucace ukuba uyindoda, eligama lakho lithi Dalikhwezi. Leli lizakuthi usakungena emzini phaya wam, ndithi "A-a, Dalikhwezi!" Wakugqiba ukuthi wena, "A-a, Vulusango!" ndiqale ndibuze:

"Ubuphi, Dalikhwezi?"

"Hayi, ndiphuma ekhaya."

"Yintoni, mfana wam?"

"Hayi, ndine nto endiyithunywe ngutata ekhaya - iloluhlobo, iloluhlobo."

"Hayi, Dalikhwezi, unyanisile uyihlo mtanam: loo nto inje, inje."

Loo nto usuke uyiphethe, uyifumbathile, ufike uyigalele ngolo hlobo bendiyichaze ngalo.

Ungaze uphinde ndive kusithwa ubani: "Nanko ebexoka phaya". Ungabi nolwimi, wakugqiba ukuba uyindoda.

NOTE F

TSHEZI SONGS

A. Umtshotsho Songs.¹

i. Andinamam', andinatata.

I have no mother, I have no father.

O! Yajik' igenge!

O! The gang turns! [i.e. the gang of dancing boys]

Yo! Into kamama!

Oh! my sweetheart! [lit. "child of my mother"]

Ngawuzidle, nonyongwane,

Delight yourself, Handsome One, [lit. "Well-hipped one"]

Mnta kaBawo!

My Darling! [lit. "child of my father"]

ii. Yeya kwabani, le ngane?

Whose is this child?²

Yeya kwabani?

Whose is it?

iii. Woza, madala!

Come, old fellows!

Zenimamele, kule minyaka, madoda!

You must listen, these years, you chaps!

Ye, noba ndiyahamba, ndiyakhala.

Alas, though I go along, I cry.

Wotya ni, nonkala, kule minyaka?

What will you eat, O crab, in these years?

Mamelani, madoda! Siyakhala!

Listen, you chaps! We are crying!

Wenyuka imbombela, madoda,

He climbed on the train, fellows,

1. Umtshotsho - Saturday night dances of boys and girls.
2. "Child" - pet-name for a pretty girl.
3. To the beer-drinks - where beer will be in short supply, because of the drought.

Sawugweb' amatyala.

He has gone to pay off his debts.⁴

B. Diviners' Songs.

iv. O, Mdlankomo, kodwa hayi, hayi-ayi!

Oh, Mdlankomo, but no, no-no!

Uthi, uMdlankomo, kodwa hayi, hayi-ayi!

UMdlankomo says - but no, no-no!

Uthi uMdlankomo, hambani, hayi, hayi-ayi!

UMdlankomo says, "Go away!" - no, no-no!

Ho! Kulil' obani? kodwa hayi, hayi-ayi!

Oh! Who are they who are crying? But no, no-no!

Sicela uMdlankomo sedwa, hayi, hayi-ayi!

We alone ask for uMdlankomo, no, no-no!

[UMdlankomo is a mythical bull that emerges from the river at night to cover the sacred oNdongolo cows, which came originally from the River Folk at Kukaphi in Pondoland. See pp. 265-275].

v. Nganixele le ndaba:

Tell this news:

Bayavuya kwaNgqanse.

They are rejoicing at Ngqanse's.

vi. Uyavuya.

He rejoices.

UNozilande makaseng' eyam!

Let Nozilande milk mine!

Uyavuya umntu onenkomo.

The one with a cow rejoices.

UNozilande makaseng' eyam!

Let Nozilande milk mine!

4. These last two lines refer to the singer's lover, who has got into hopeless debt during the drought, so that he has been obliged to contract through the Native Recruiting Corporation to go away and work on the gold-mines.

C. Other Songs.

vii. Igogogo lotywala!

A tin vessel full of beer!

Umenzelwe ngubani ungqenge?

Who made you that bead necklace?

NgamaBomvane otywala -

Beer is from the Bomvane -

Umenzelwe ngubani ungqenge?

[But] who made you the necklace?

viii. Ngenye imini sasinoThemba

One day we were with Themba

Kwelase Bhayi.

At Port Elizabeth.

UThemba waphukile kodwa

Themba is circumcised [waphukile, lit. "is broken"], but

Akafuni simbone.

He does not want us to see him.

Yiza naye simbone;

Bring him that we may see him;

Kodwa akafuni simbone

But he does not want us to see him.

ix. Wajikelez' umzi weny'indoda. Ngowakho?

You walk round another man's homestead.
Is it yours?

'Ngowakho,⁵ wawutshiya nobani, madala?

Your own [homestead], with whom did you leave
it - eh, old fellows?

x. Somagwaza!

Somagwaza! [man's name]

Dumelan' uMagwaza!

Sing praises to Magwaza!

Hole-le, ma! Ho - li - lo!

He-he, ma! Ho - he!

5. Ngowakho = your own one.

- xi. Sokolani! Sokolani! ma!
Toil on! Toil on! mother!
Sokolani! nadkusel' amanzi eMpako.
Toil on! I go to drink water at the Mpako river.
Ho! kuyaliwa, mntakadad' oBawo;
Oh! they are fighting, child of my father's
sister;
Ndiyahamba!
I am leaving!

- xii. Ho! Yaho-o, Khwebakhweba!
Oh! Yoho! Khwebakhweba! [proper name]
Ho! Yaho! Hihe! Yoho!
O! Minina, mta kaTat', ungajoyina?
Oh! why, child of my father, don't you join?⁶
Ho! Haho!
Minina, mtakaMama?
Why ever not, child of my mother?
Ho! Haho!

6. To "join" is to sign on for a term of service on the mines. "Child of my father", "child of my mother" are terms of affection from a girl to her sweetheart.

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