

BLACK AMERICA IN WHITE SOUTH AFRICA:
CHURCH AND STATE REACTION TO THE A.M.E.
CHURCH IN CAPE COLONY AND TRANSVAAL,
1896-1910.

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CHAPTER IV

"THE COPPIN YEARS 1901-1904"

The Arrival

Bishop Levi J. Coppin arrived in Cape Town in February, 1901. The South Africa he entered was far different from the country his predecessor, Henry McNeal Turner had visited in 1898.

South Africa was convulsed by war prompted in part by the desire of the British Crown to forge the "weakest link" in the "imperial chain," into a strong one. One of the methods used by Alfred Milner in this strengthening process was to systematize and organize the rather sluggish Boer bureaucratic structure. Part of this systematization would affect the myriad "native laws" which had been regulated indifferently at best by the Afrikaners.

Paradoxically, the advent of undisputed British ~~suzer~~ainty in the former colonies which the AMEC, Coppin and the Africans had expected to usher in an enlightened era of Black/White relations only worsened those relations. The AMEC in Transvaal and Orange River Colony had basically been neglected and ignored during the years of Afrikaner

predominance. With the raising of the Union Jack over those territories, the progress of the AMEC became exceedingly difficult.

Coppin was met at the dock by representative AMEs and other interested groups. According to one account, the welcoming party also included F. Z. S. Peregrino and Harry Dean.¹ It would be useful at this point to give some information on both men because each was integrally connected with the early activities of the AMEC in South Africa.

Francis Zaccheus Santiago Peregrino, whose life Harry Dean described as "exciting a novel as you could wish," was born in the Gold Coast, West Africa. He moved to Britain in 1866 where he resided for the next 23 years. He married a Welshwoman, fathered several children and worked as a ware-house clerk and iron worker.² At the age of 39, Peregrino moved to the eastern United States where he published a paper called the Buffalo Spectator which was changed to the Albany Spectator when he moved to Albany, New York. In addition to his journalistic enterprise, he operated an employment agency for domestics who had migrated from the South.³

¹Dean, op. cit., p. 138.

²Neil Q. Parsons, "F. Z. S. Peregrino 1851-1919, An Early Pan-Africanist." Paper read before the University of Edinburgh Commonwealth and American History Seminar, 12 January 1970, p. 8.

³Bruce Grit, "A Noted African, He will Write the History of Africa Before Long," The Star of Zion, 16 March 1899.

Peregrino returned to Britain in 1900 for the Pan-African Conference. It is possible that he was invited to the Conference by the Chairman, Bishop Alexander Walters. Peregrino contributed several articles to Walters' A.M.E. Zion Church periodical, The Star of Zion.¹ In fact, The Star referred to Peregrino as THE African scholar then operating in the U.S.

After the Conference, Peregrino moved with his wife and two of their six children to South Africa as the Cape Town representative for Henry Sylvester Williams' Pan African Association.²

Peregrino arrived in the Colony in mid-November, 1900. Two weeks after his arrival, he began publishing

¹See especially Peregrino's "Be known as Negroes. Colored is Meaningless--Negro a Worthy Title," The Star of Zion, 19 January 1899. The article was written during the controversy among Black intellectuals over what term Black Americans should use to describe themselves.

²John Bruce "Grit" had written in 1899:

"Mr. Peregrino's ambition is to return to Africa at some time in the future with a view to making certain explanations and investigations into the interior of this country for the purpose of giving the outside world a peep into the 'Dark Continent' through the spectacles of a native of the soil." (The Star of Zion, 16 March 1899).

Bruce Grit formed along with Arthur Schombürg the Negro Society for Historical Research. The Society's membership included: King Lewanika of Barotseland; T. E. S. Scholes, Casely Hayford, Majola Agbebi, Matt Henson, W. E. B. DuBois and Marie Duchtellier. See William Ferris, The African Abroad, Vol. II (New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1968).

The South African Spectator, joining Imvo and Izwi Labantu as papers geared toward the non-European audience.¹

Harry Dean first became acquainted with Peregrino at the 1896 World's Fair in Chicago. They met again at the Paris Exposition of 1900 and the two became friends.² If their Paris meeting preceded the London Conference, it is possible that Dean may also have been present at the Conference.

Harry Dean, an African-American sea captain in search of an "Ethiopian Empire" for the "rehabilitation" of Africa, claimed descent from Paul Cuffee, also a sea captain whose plan to found an African-American colony in Sierra Leone was cut short by his untimely death in 1816. Cuffee has the distinction of being the only 19th century emigrationist to have a vehicle of transport at his disposal.³

Dean was born in Philadelphia, the home of Richard Allen, in 1864. He learned the rudiments of navigation from an uncle and at 15, he had gone around the world.⁴ Dean

¹SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, #3919-4042; interview with Francis Peregrino, Cape Town, May, 1976.

²Preliminary Manuscript of Umbala, DuSable Museum of African-American History, Chicago, Chapter XIII, p. 1.

³For more on Cuffee see, Hollis Lynch's "Pan Negro Nationalism in the New World Before 1862," Boston University Papers on Africa, Vol. II, 1966 and Sheldon Harris', Paul Cuffee: Black America and the African Return (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972).

⁴Dean, Umbala, op. cit., p. 66.

left the U.S. as an adult in 1890, listing his occupation as "student."¹ He landed in Cape Town when South Africa was "in the throes of the Boer War."²

Whether Dean and Peregrino took charge of Bishop Coppin's welcoming reception, albeit with Gow's aid, as Dean alleges,³ is questionable. Coppin makes no mention of either man in his letter describing his arrival though he does mention other people. In fact, in a notice of the arrival of the Bishop printed in The South African Spectator (SAS), J. Nogasa is listed as contact person for the welcoming committee. It is certain, though, that the three men knew of each other. All three had lived in the east coast and had travelled in the same circles. Coppin's wife was Dean's former teacher and was a friend of the family.⁴ Peregrino with his east coast journalistic ties and Coppin as editor of a prestigious literary journal and pastor of a leading Philadelphia church had almost certainly heard of each other though Peregrino denied before the South African Native Affairs Committee that he had met Coppin before the Bishop's

¹Passport Applications, op. cit. Dean also listed his home as Chicago. Peregrino acted as witness to the veracity of the statements contained in the application.

²Dean, Umbala, op. cit., p. 79.

³Ibid., p. 138.

⁴Ibid., p. 137.

arrival in South Africa.

Coppin's official welcoming ceremony was held in the "Friendly Hall," a building owned by a Coloured benevolent society which was rented out for public functions. In fact, the "Allen Chapel" AME Church services which were conducted by Mokone, were also held in the Friendly Hall.¹

Coppin's public welcoming reception was held in the city's Metropolitan Hall which was filled to overflowing. Chief among the Bishop's tasks in going to South Africa was to allay fears as to the Church's loyalty to the Government and to silence all talk of the Church's political bent. He had also gone to South Africa, according to the Voice of Missions, to identify himself with every interest that affected the welfare of his people.² It was this irreconcilable contradiction in purpose, this duality of purpose which made Coppin's task a virtually impossible one. Indeed the very initial public meeting at which the Bishop took part touched off a controversy given this contradictory task.

As chairman, Francis Gow opened the meeting with praise for the Wesleyan Church and a denial that the AMEC was color-conscious or sought to divide Blacks from Whites. He denied that the Church harbored rebels or political

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 33.

²Voice of Missions, 1 February 1901.

dissidents and so his remarks were meant to conciliate government and ecclesiastical opinion. However, Gow went on to say that he viewed the Imperial Government's refusal to permit non-whites to participate in the national conflict as combatants a denigration of the "manhood" of non-Europeans. Gow held up as an example, African-American participation in the Spanish-American War.¹

That Francis Gow would take such a pro-British position is not surprising in view of his background. He was born in St. Kitts and emigrated to San Francisco as a child. From the U.S. he moved to Scotland, eventually returning to the U.S. At some point along the way, he acquired the skills of a photographer and in 1880, Gow settled in South Africa. Gow practiced his trade in Cape Town, married a Coloured, fathered 11 children (two of whom were named after AME Bishops) and he became a respected and influential member of the Cape Coloured community.²

¹South African News Weekly Edition, 27 February 1901. Interestingly, the principal of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College in Texas wrote to Lord Salisbury suggesting that American Blacks should be recruited to fight as an arm of the British forces. His offer was declined. (Great Britain, Public Record Office, FO 2-393. E. L. Blackhsear to Lord Salisbury, 29 January 1900). On the whole, Black Americans were decidedly pro-British regarding the Anglo-Boer conflict. In part this was due to the representations made by South Africans in America. See Appendix II.

²Interview with Mrs. Ella Gow-Kleinsmith, Cape Town, May, 1976 and Levi J. Coppin Gow, Evaton, Transvaal, June 1976. Gow arrived in South Africa too early to be a part of the wave of "Sea Kaffirs" who settled in Cape Town in the 1890's.

That Gow would be solicitous toward the Wesleyan Church is predictable since, for a time, he was a member of the Wesleyan Forward Movement.¹ It will be recalled that this Movement was an outgrowth of the Wesleyan Christian Worker's Association. It was a separate and racially integrated group of Wesleyans who worshipped together and much of the evangelistic work of the movement was done by the laity.² Gow eventually cast his lot with the AME's in part because his wife and children had joined the AMEC through the instrumentality of Mokone. It will be recalled that Gow made several of the reception arrangements during Bishop Turner's visit and he was instrumental in forging the links between

The term "Sea Kaffir" was used to differentiate between "dark English speaking aliens and the local indigenous African," and it particularly referred to Black Americans (Manuel, op. cit., p. 33.) However, it is clear that the majority of the foreign Blacks in Cape Town were not Black Americans but were West Indians. Because they were English speaking and often claimed American citizenship, people mistook them for Americans. Gow was believed to have been an American as was Peregrino although the latter was especially incensed over the Cape Town West Indians who posed as African-Americans (The South African Spectator, 23 August 1902). Then, too, clearly every crime perpetrated by an English speaking Black man was attributed to an "American Negro" in the South African papers of the period. Peregrino maintained that since African-Americans were the *bête noire* of the hour, the reporters laid the blame for every imaginable crime on American Blacks in order to cast aspersions on the AMEC.

¹Interview with Mrs. J. M. Mokone, Cape Town, May 1976.

²Whiteside, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

the AMEC and the various Cape Coloured organizations such as the Coloured Men's Christian Association which was run by W. A. Roberts, another West Indian. Though a relative late-comer to the AMEC, Turner and Fitzpatrick called him the single most steady influence on the Church during the Dwane troubles.

Following Gow's remarks, Coppin gave a rather soothing address. He too denied that his church was racialist or that it was a proselytizing agency and he declared it was open to all who wanted to join.¹

Coppin's reception in the local press was guardedly neutral although Gow came in for a good deal of censure. The South African News, though an organ of the South African Party, had in the past given the AMEC its most favorable European press. However, its editor took issue with Gow's remarks which he found "ill-considered" particularly when, as the paper pointed out, the AMEC was asking for fairness and objectivity. The editor predicted that Gow's "political" remarks were destined to further incense South African conservatives.

Gow also came in for censure from his own church members not so much because of his statements about the war, though they were described as "disgraceful," but because

¹South African News Weekly Edition, 21 February 1901.

of his favorable comments about the Wesleyans. His remarks about the Wesleyans were interpreted as an attempt on his part to swing the AMEs back into the Wesleyan fold. These criticisms came from Allen's Chapel which was the African branch of the Cape Town Church, and was pastored by Mokone.

To be sure, there were a number of Africans who resented Gow because of his high rank within the church even though he was a relative newcomer to the movement. Certainly a contributing factor to his appointment as pastor of the Coloured branch of the AMEC was the fact that he was Coloured and had links with the moneyed section of the Coloured community. There was of course a social separation between Africans and Coloureds which Coppin early recognized and branded as foolish. And he viewed his Church as a instrument for breaking down some of the social barriers between the two groups.¹

If this initial controversy involving Gow were not enough with which to contend, Coppin shortly found himself and his church embroiled in another.

For a number of years, there had been talk around Cape Town of ridding the city of its African population which was composed primarily of workers from the Eastern districts and Transkeian Territories. There were the usual cries that Blacks lowered property values, bred crime and were an

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 28-31, 98, 104.

altogether unwholesome influence on the overall community.¹ With the outbreak of the war and the influx into Cape Town of people outside the Colony, the city's population was stretching at its seams.

The threatened outbreak of Bubonic plague gave the authorities the excuse needed to clear the city of its African population. Under the Public Health Amendment Act of 1897, the Minister was empowered to make any proclamation of any description to stay the outbreak or threatened outbreak of infectious diseases. The creation of the Uitvlucht or Ndabeni location was the result. Almost the whole of the African population was forcibly removed from Cape Town to the hastily erected, make-shift dwelling place.

Coupled with the removal which was marked by a military show of arms and extremely short eviction notices, were the travel restrictions on public conveyances and the compulsory inoculation order. Although "civilized" Africans were in theory exempt from the travel restrictions and eviction notices if a permit were granted, there was nothing to protect them from an over-zealous removal agent; there was nothing to protect them from being thrown off public transport.

Africans and Coloureds were incensed over the new laws and rallied round the issues. Coppin viewed the restrictions

¹The Cape Argus, 14 May 1898; South African News Weekly Edition, 1 November 1899.

as a valuable inducement for non-white solidarity for all non-whites were placed in one category. Coloureds were as vulnerable to arbitrary decisions as Africans.¹ Public protest meetings were dispersed by the police.² The Cape Town dock workers struck in protest as did their Port Elizabeth counterparts who were joined in their strike by female domestics.³

F. Z. S. Peregrino in his capacity as Secretary of the Coloured People's Vigilance Society led a delegation to the Colonial Secretary which included: W. A. Roberts, President of the Coloured YMCA and the Coloured Men's Political Protective Association as well as a charter member of the African Political Organization (APO); Henry Thomas, first Black candidate for the Legislative Assembly whose candidacy was openly endorsed by the AMEC;⁴ W. J. D. Williams, Chairman of the Coloured League of Wynberg;⁵ John Tobin, local businessman and founding member of the APO and the "Stone Meetings," and Francis Gow, representative of the AMEC.

The delegation met with the Colonial Secretary and the

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

²South African News Weekly Edition, 20 March 1901.

³Ibid., 19 June 1901.

⁴South African Spectator, 15 June 1901.

⁵Ibid., 24 August 1901.

Commissioner of Railways to complain about the treatment of Coloureds in the wake of the location removal and travel restrictions. Their grievances were not so much directed toward the emergency measures as they were directed against their application toward "respectable" Coloureds. The AME minister, Simon Sinamela was put forth as an example of an educated minister who had been "hustled about" and prevented from traveling on public transport. In fact, Coppin wrote to the Native Affairs Department in Sinamela's behalf pleading that he be exempted from removal to the location because he was "civilized," was married to a Coloured and lived the life of a Coloured.¹

The Colonial Secretary listened to their complaints and assured the delegation that it was not his Government's intention to discriminate against the "respectable" section of the Coloured Community.²

Rev. H. R. Ngcayiya and his delegation which had been deputed by the Cape Town African community to meet with the Colonial Secretary were not met so cordially.

Ngcayiya considered the location ordinance a form of class legislation to which he strenuously objected. That issue aside, he raised questions as to whether or not

¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Miscellaneous Letters Received July-December, 1901, NA 417. Coppin to SNA, 1 July 1901.

²South African News Weekly Edition, 27 March 1901.

the plots in the new location would be granted on individual title and whether or not the residents would have a voice in the management of the location. In short, Ngcayiya representing the location residents, wanted the location governed "as it would be if there were white people in it." They wanted free-hold title so that there would be no question of arbitrary removal at a later date and so that occupants could meet the property qualification for inclusion on the roll. For Ngcayiya it was a matter of being treated as a taxpayer and a citizen.¹

The Colonial Secretary refused to deal with the issues raised by Ngcayiya and insisted instead on emphasizing the necessity of the removal proclamation in retarding the spread of the plague. The meeting ended on an acrimonious note with Ngcayiya threatening a test case in the Supreme Court and the Colonial Secretary threatening to send every African, "civilized" or not, to the location if there were any further agitation.²

Although his ministers were directly involved in the controversy, Coppin maintained an essentially low profile. He deplored the abominable housing conditions for the Cape

¹Ngcayiya was Presiding Elder for the Queenstown Division which included the Peddie, Alice, Oukraal, and Kamastone districts, all of which were based on individual land tenure and had been since 1875 (SANAC Report, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 394). Thus, Ngcayiya was familiar with the individual tenure system and the possibilities, though limited, of the system.

²South African News Weekly Edition, 13, 20 March 1901 and 10 April 1901.

Town Africans and still more the profits being made by unscrupulous landlords and yet, he was not so sure that the location offered much of an improvement. He was appalled by the primitive condition in which the location residents lived--ramshackle, galvanized huts that were cold in winter and suffocating in summer; which were overcrowded and lacking in basic amenities. He wrote back to the Church in America after visiting the location that there had to be a better way of living.¹

In spite of the controversy in which his church was involved, Bishop Coppin's first priority was to get government recognition for his church. It will be recalled that Fitzpatrick was unsuccessful in his attempt but was told by Schreiner that once the General Conference had elected a resident supervisor for the South African work and if his educational qualifications and authority were vouched for by U.S. Government officials, the government would be prepared to entertain the question of recognition.

On 12 March, Coppin deposited with the Colonial Office: (1) a certified letter from the Bishops' Council attesting to Coppin's appointment as South African Bishop; (2) a certificate from the Governor of Pennsylvania attesting to the AMEC's incorporation under the laws of his state; and

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 98.

(3) a similar letter from the U.S. Secretary of State. The Colonial Office accepted the documents as fulfilling the stipulations set forth by Schreiner and Coppin was told that his church was recognized as a "church" within the meaning of the Marriage Order in Council of 1838. Coppin was told that from the date of his visit, 12 March, his church was so recognized but all prior ordinations of marriage officers were void. Coppin was instructed to report all new ordinations to the Colonial Secretary's office.¹

Thus, the AMEC became a valid church but only Coppin was qualified to ordain ministers. All other AME ministers who had acted as marriage officers could no longer do so. In effect, the only AME minister with any power as of 1901, was L. J. Coppin.

Interestingly, there was no real difference in the documents submitted by Coppin and those of Fitzpatrick. The only difference seems to be the fact that Coppin unlike Fitzpatrick would remain in South Africa. The Superintendent-General of Education was duly notified of the Church's recognition and so the way was open for the AMEC to theoretically receive government grants-in-aid for its schools.²

¹Noel Janisch, Under Colonial Secretary for the Colonial Secretary to Coppin, 26 March 1901, CO 48-559 #16363.

²Dale to the Superintendent of Education, 28 March 1901, NA 498.

The Struggle for Sites

Although Coppin was the only recognized marriage officer in the Cape Colony, marriages by AME ministers continued. A local Congregational minister in Hackney, John Pledger, wrote to the Under Colonial Secretary complaining about three services which were officiated by Isaiah Sishuba and were conducted at the Tsitsikama location. Pledger received his information about Sishuba's activities from several informants whom he had planted in the audience. It will be recalled that Tsitsikama was the focal point of Ngcayiya's fight for a church and school sites.

Pledger produced the names of one couple but he could not ascertain the names of the others since his informants did not want to arouse suspicion by appearing too curious. Pledger told the Colonial Secretary that he was informing him of the Sishuba activities out of a sense of duty because the minister's activities had caused a good deal of "talk and bad feeling" in the district. Pledger suspected that Sishuba was acting without authority because he had not been informed by the Colonial Secretary's office of any new marriage officers being assigned to his district. He expressed the wish that if in fact Sishuba's actions were "irregular" the Colonial Secretary would put a stop to them.¹

¹Pledger to Under-Colonial Secretary, 17 April 1901, NA 498.

Dale instructed the Native Affairs Department to have its local Inspector of Locations, F. J. Evans, investigate Pledger's complaint. He suggested to the Secretary of Native Affairs that Sishuba, knowing that marriage forms would have been refused him, must have come by them surreptitiously and had failed to file them with the Registry Office for fear of implicating himself.¹

The Superintendent of Native Locations had a guest at the ceremonies sign an affidavit stating that Sishuba had conducted the alleged ceremonies. Though he did see some type of form being signed, the witness was unable to say exactly what sort of contract it was.² The Inspector's subsequent investigations did not reveal what documents were actually signed.

In his report to the Secretary of Native Affairs, the Chief Magistrate of Queenstown suggested to the Secretary that Sishuba must have refused to allow Evans to inspect the documents in question.³ However, Evans makes no such allegation in his report and it is unlikely that he would have let a show of defiance on Sishuba's part go unreported. Thus the Chief Magistrate cast Sishuba in the role of a rebel

¹Ibid., Dale to Secretary of Native Affairs, 21 April 1901.

²Ibid., Testimony of Solani Ngoma, 30 May 1901.

³Ibid., F. J. Evans to Chief Inspector, Queenstown, 3 June 1901.

far in excess of his actual behavior.

Stanford sent a memo to Sprigg describing the Sishuba affair and stating that his actions were "calculated to do much harm among the Natives." As far as Stanford was concerned, the most important aspect of the whole issue was the fact that the rites were illegal and therefore any children ensuing from the "irregular" unions forged by Sishuba would have their "status and rights . . . gravely prejudiced" (this in view of the fact that before the "irregular unions, the couples had produced children). Stanford went on,

In order to safe guard the interests of our Native population it is imperative that some check should be devised to prevent men like Shishuba from arrogating functions which they have no recognized authority to exercise.

Stanford's solution was to approach the Colonial Secretary's Office for suggestions as to potential legislative deterrents.¹

Sprigg concurred with Stanford's view that the marriage rite had to be protected. Accordingly, the Under Secretary to the Secretary of Native Affairs, wrote to the Under Colonial Secretary suggesting that an Act be promulgated,

Which would fully recognize the orders and privileges of all old established churches and provide with penalties that outside these churches marriages before a Civil Officer must precede any ecclesiastic ceremony.²

¹Ibid., Stanford to the Prime Minister, 26 June 1901.

²Ibid., Under Secretary of Native Affairs to Under Colonial Secretary, July, 1901.

Such an act would of course place the burden of paying two fees on anyone wishing to be married in an African church, a condition which was not calculated to make him seek out either a civil or a church ceremony.¹

Stanford asked for a further investigation of the case because Pledger in yet another communication alleged that Sishuba had been paid a fee for performing an "irregular" ceremony though Pledger had no proof that money had crossed hands. If Sishuba had been paid a fee he could be charged with fraud because his ceremony was illegal. The Attorney General was given the facts of the case and he suggested that a local agent of the Native Affairs Department would be in a better position than anyone else to investigate whether Sishuba had been paid for his services. Only when there was proof in hand, said the Attorney General, could his Department move on the case.²

The Inspector of Native Locations for Tsitsikama could ascertain no definite proof that Sishuba had processed marriage forms or had accepted a fee from the contracting parties. Neither of the people involved would meet with the Inspector.³ In the course of his investigations, he did

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 55.

²Dale to Stanford, 24 July 1901, NA 498.

³The failure to get people to testify against the AMEC plagued the government in its attempts to suppress the Church

uncover evidence suggesting that Ngcayiya had been involved in a similar situation a year previous. He was able to produce signed affidavits from two men claiming that Ngcayiya had issued them with marriage certificates in March, 1900 and was paid a sum of money for doing so.¹

In the subsequent conversation, the Acting Attorney General suggested that government might begin tackling the problem with a general proclamation throughout the Territories stating that the recognized churches could continue to solemnize marriages and that after a predetermined date, every new minister had to be registered prior to performing the marriage rite. He suggested that any false claimant of ordination or any non-registered minister performing marriages would be penalized and that a register of ordained ministers should be maintained in the Registry Office.² Such a proclamation would of course maintain the predominance of the established, i.e. European churches because it would only effect the ministers of the newly formed African churches. Such a proclamation would also make any African minister contemplating

through the courts. The most laughable example of this problem is the case of the African agent who was hired to attend AME meetings for the purpose of reporting on the "seditious" statements made at the meetings. The agent joined the church and resolutely refused to divulge any information on meetings.

¹Inspector of Native Locations, Kimberley, 24 August 1901 with enclosed affidavits dated 12 August 1901, NA 498.

²Ibid., Dale to Secretary of Native Affairs, 4 September 1901.

secession somewhat hesitant about it if he intended to hold onto any vestiges of power. However, given the 12 March recognition, the AMEC via Coppin could still solemnize marriages. But, he was the only minister within the Church who could do so.

As if Coppin did not have enough problems with his ministers over the validity of their marriage ceremonies, the issue of church sites hit an even more strident note.

In the Bizana district, Tantsi had applied through one of the Manundu location residents, Josiah Msalela, for permission to build a school in Msalela's kraal. Msalela had at one time been a Wesleyan preacher and a supporter of a Wesleyan school which was operated about 500 yards away from his residence. Msalela and most of the congregation of the Wesleyan Church joined the AMEC and so he applied for permission to set up an AME school. The headman and Msalela were interviewed by a local government official. The latter claimed that he wanted to build the school solely for the use of his children. The headman was noncommittal saying it was Msalela's property and he could do as he wished.¹ The Resident Magistrate who called the meeting

¹It should be recalled that the headmen were appointed by the magistrates and could be removed by them. It was not a situation calculated to give the headmen much independence of action. And yet, the headmen lived among the location residents and so were caught between two often opposing forces. Their best tactic was to straddle the fence.

interpreted the headman's true desire as one of not wanting AMEs in his location even though Msalela clearly stated that the site would not be used for church purposes. The Resident Magistrate said it was obvious to him that the site would be used for church purposes by the "Ethiopians" and he therefore thought it inadvisable to grant the application. Moreover, he said, the location had always been the seat of Wesleyan activity.¹ The application was denied because the headman subsequently allegedly said he did not want the AMEC to have a school or church in his location because he already had a sufficient number of schools operating in his domain. This allegation is interesting given the fact that headmen generally went to great lengths to obtain schools for their locations. It should be taken into account that the allegation that such a statement was made by the headman was put forth by a magistrate who was decidedly hostile to the idea.²

Tantsi then applied for another site in the same location asserting that the proposed site was 6 miles distant from the government-aided Wesleyan school. His application was supported by a majority of the location residents, thus meeting a criterion Stanford earlier made concerning site

¹Resident Magistrate to H. Sprigg, Acting Chief Magistrate, 23 April 1900, NA 498.

²Ibid., H. Sprigg to the Chief Magistrate, Umtata, 23 April 1900.

consideration. However, the Chief Magistrate, H. C. Elliot had earlier taken the view that an additional school in the location was "unnecessary."¹ The application was denied.

In January, 1901, H. R. Ngcayiya applied for a church and school site in the Peddie district justifying his application on the fact that his members, who had been holding services in the homes of various members, were ratepayers and as such deserved consideration. He stated that the proposed site was 3 1/2 miles away from the Wesleyan school and that he had a sizeable number of residents in his congregation.²

A. W. Preston, Acting Civil Commissioner for Peddie, forwarded the application to the Native Affairs Department with the comment that he was not prepared to recommend its approval though he gave no reason.³ The Native Affairs Department notified Ngcayiya of its decision not to approve his application citing as its reasons the Civil Commissioner's refusal to recommend it and the Department's inability to make a decision pending the recognition of his church.

In reply, Ngcayiya wrote the Department stating that his church had been recognized as of 12 March 1901. He also mentioned the fact that he had abided by earlier instructions

¹Ibid., Elliot to Secretary of Native Affairs, 4 February 1901.

²Ibid., Ngcayiya to the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, 23 January 1901.

³Ibid., Preston to the Civil Commissioner, 25 January 1901.

to send his application through the local government officials only to find Preston "doing the same trouble" he had done at Herschel. Ngcayiya asked the Department to reconsider its decision in light of the new developments regarding his church's recognition. He also requested the Department to make some decision on his Tsitsikama site application.

Ngcayiya received no response to his letter and so he tried three times to meet with the Prime Minister, all to no avail. He eventually got routed to the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, W. G. Cummings. No record has been found of what transpired at the meeting. Apparently it was not satisfactory for Ngcayiya wrote a joint letter addressed to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of Native Affairs telling them that he wanted to personally interview them both on the subject of his applications for sites at Tsitsikama, Oxkraal and Kamastone. He reminded them of Headman Duda's petition and of the Waste Lands Committee decision to route the matter through the regular government channels. He alleged that Stanford had made it clear to him that the final decision rested with the Prime Minister and he informed the Prime Minister that his applications were stalled in the Secretary for Agriculture's office and Stanford's office and had been there for sometime. He reminded the officials that much money had been paid by his church in paying his travel expenses back and forth to Cape Town for the purpose of airing the

grievances of its members.¹

Ngcayiya also made representations on Sishuba's behalf for the three sites in the Herschel Division which had been denied because the headman was said to have objected. Ngcayiya pointed out that the Church had many adherents in the locations and in a very shrewd move, he asked why a headman's viewpoint was allowed to carry weight in that particular case when in an earlier 1898 case involving an amenable headman and Inspector of Locations, their opinions had carried no weight at all. In fact, said Ngcayiya, their willingness to grant the site was overruled. Ngcayiya stressed that almost all of his adherents were ratepayers and government's negative position on their site requests "forfeits their privilege as government subjects and rate payers." Further, he implied that the Secretary of Native Affairs was being deliberately obstructionist.²

In another letter written the following day, this time to the Prime Minister alone, Ngcayiya bemoaned the fact that his attempts to personally place his case before him were unsuccessful and he emphasized the point that his applications for church sites had been pending for over a year.³

¹Ibid., Ngcayiya to Secretary of Native Affairs and Prime Minister, 1 March 1901.

²Ibid., 19 March 1901.

³Ibid., Ngcayiya to Prime Minister, 20 March 1901.

Ngcayiya's letters were responded to by W. G. Cummings. Ngcayiya was told that his applications required "careful consideration." Cummings reminded him that the Waste Lands Committee had turned the problem over to the usual channels and he reminded him that the question of extending recognition to the AMEC had been turned over to the government for inquiry and report. This statement is unclear. Coppin was told that his church was recognized as a "church" from 12 March 1901. Either Cummings was ignorant of this recent development (which is unlikely) or it was a deliberate attempt to stall Ngcayiya. Till the report on the "broader issues" had been written, said Cummings, a decision on all AMEC site applications would be deferred. He reminded Ngcayiya that the Prime Minister's immediate concerns were the war and the plague outbreak in the Colony. Without committing himself to a date, Cummings assured him that the Prime Minister would deal with the matter as soon as possible. Cummings conveyed the Prime Minister's regret at any inconvenience he may have caused and he suggested that in future, Ngcayiya should address all his communications to the local government officials.¹

In his usual persistent manner, Ngcayiya wrote another letter inquiring about his applications made in May 1901. He was told that all applications for sites were to be submitted through Coppin as recognized head of his

¹Ibid., Cummings to Ngcayiya, 22 March 1901.

denomination.¹

Enraged over the delay which he perceived as deliberate, Ngcayiya wrote a letter of complaint to the South African News. He reminded the Legislative Representative for Victoria East that the AMEs in his district were taxpayers and voters. As such, they expected some action from him in their behalf.²

In addition to the above contretemps, Ngcayiya found himself involved in yet another. In 1899, an AME minister, Mpulwawana, had applied for a site at Cisira in the Fort Peddie Division. The application was denied because the site was thought to be too close to a Wesleyan church and school. The AMEs then built a school on a private lot occupied by one of their members. Two years later, the Acting Civil Commissioner, A. W. Preston, inquired into the matter. It is not clear how he found out about the school but it would seem that someone had complained about it. Ngcayiya was asked for a document which authorized the establishment of the school.³ Preston had earlier written to the Native Affairs Department to see if it had any record of authorization.⁴

¹Ibid., 19 March 1901.

²Ibid., Ngcayiya to Prime Minister, 29 March 1901.

³Ibid., Cummings to Ngcayiya, 22 March 1901.

⁴Ibid., Secretary of Native Affairs to Ngcayiya, 1 June 1901.

In reply, Ngcayiya stated he would make an investigation and would report on his findings in "due course."¹ The Inspector then threatened to report the matter to higher authorities unless Ngcayiya sent him an immediate report.² Ngcayiya wrote back telling the Inspector that he was "surprised at the strain of your letter and that you have threatened us with a bad step." He explained that the minister in charge of the school was away and as soon as he could be reached and an explanation had been given, he would convey his findings to the Inspector.³

In response to the Native Affairs Department's request for more information, Inspector Hill filed a confidential report on the character of Ngcayiya. Given Hill's communications with Ngcayiya, it is predictable that his report was unfavorable. Hill described Ngcayiya as a parasite, who lived at the expense of location residents. He was further described as a man who went about the locations, arm-twisting people to leave their churches and to join his. "I think," said Hill, "that he is likely to do more harm than good."⁴

¹Ibid., Ngcayiya to Inspector of Native Locations, 21 July 1901.

²Ibid., Inspector of Native Locations to Ngcayiya, 25 July 1901.

³Ibid. Ngcayiya to Inspector of Native Locations, 26 July 1901.

⁴Ibid., Hill to the Civil Commissioner, 30 July 1901.

In his report to the Secretary of Native Affairs, Preston distorted the Hill report to make Ngcayiya look even more unsavory. He told the Secretary:

It would appear that Ngcayiya is simply a loafer,¹ and lives on the people and endeavours to do mischief and I should say tries to force his way by sheer brass.

Preston also told the Secretary that Ngcayiya had a public notice published in Imvo in 22 July 1901, announcing the opening of a church on the site under dispute.²

W. G. Cummings drafted a memorandum to Sprigg outlining the facts of the case and suggesting that a letter be sent to Ngcayiya telling him that his church was in violation of government regulations and that the government would not recognize his right to be there. Cummings thought a similar note should be sent to the local headman who should also be questioned as to why he did not insist on seeing Ngcayiya's authorization to be in the location. Cummings further suggested that Coppin be informed of the facts of the case. In the meantime, Cummings suggested that the Resident Magistrate make a further report on the matter giving facts and figures regarding the adherents of the AMEC in the location. Sprigg approved the suggestions.³

¹"Is simply a loafer" was later changed to "has no fixed abode."

²Preston to Secretary of Native Affairs, 30 July 1901, NA 498.

³Ibid., Schedule #536, 31 July 1901.

Ngcayiya was instructed to vacate the premises.¹ The Native Affairs Department then informed Coppin that a church had been erected by a minister claiming connection with the AMEC; he was told the local representative of the church (Ngcayiya) had been asked to produce his authorization for constructing the building but that he had failed to do so and had ignored the government. Coppin was told that the government was contemplating what steps to take and so he was being informed of the situation "in order that there may be no misapprehension as to the steps taken by Government." Coppin was told that he must curb the activities of those claiming to represent his church.²

In reply Coppin thanked the Native Affairs Department for its information and he professed ignorance of any AME minister at Peddie. He promised to talk to Ngcayiya who was the presiding elder for the Peddie District, and if he discovered that Ngcayiya were guilty of violating government orders, he would demand his credentials. He expressed the hope that there would be "no recurrence of so reprehensible a matter."³

In a subsequent letter, Coppin was sent copies of

¹Ibid., Preston to Ngcayiya, 1 August 1901.

²Ibid., Cummings to Coppin, 1 August 1901.

³Ibid., Coppin to Native Affairs Department, 1 August 1901.

the flurry of letters Ngcayiya had sent to various people on the subject of the disputed site, a copy of the Ngcayiya announcement published in Imvo and a copy of the government's 1899 letter denying the AMEs permission to build a church. Coppin was also informed of Ngcayiya's alleged propensity for inducing people to leave their churches therefore making him a disruptive force in the district.¹

Coppin replied assuring Cummings that:

No act of insubordination to the Government by any of our missionaries will go unpunished as the A.M.E. Church will not under any consideration sanction such.

He told Cummings that he had initiated an investigation and he admitted that he suspected Ngcayiya was somehow involved.²

In a subsequent letter to Coppin, Cummings told the Bishop that the Government appreciated "the good spirit" with which he approached the matter especially since the government really could not sanction the presence of the AMEC in the location because the site selected was too close to existing churches.³

In the requested further report on the facts and figures of AMEs in the location, Preston told the Native Affairs Department that there were about 60 people, including

¹Ibid., Cummings to Coppin, August 1901.

²Ibid., Coppin to Cummings, 9 September 1901.

³Cummings to Coppin, 14 August 1901.

the children of polygamous marriages, who could be said to belong to the AMEC. He reported that the Wesleyans had a church and government aided school within two miles of the AME one and that the Anglicans had a mission within one mile of it. Preston theorized that the fact that the location had no headman could have been a major contributing factor to all the trouble. He assured the Department that he would try to select a new headman as soon as possible.¹

In the meantime, Ngcayiya had the AMEs in the location draft^{ed} a petition to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of Native Affairs. The petitioners stated that when their original 1899 application had been denied, they had established a temporary school in a hut belonging to a location resident, James Conjwaya. The petitioners stressed that no violation of government regulations was intended and as proof of innocence, they stated that upon hearing that they may have been in violation, they closed down the school on 1 August.

The petitioners pointed out that they were taxpayers; they referred to certain sections of an act regulating the occupation of huts situated on Crown Land which gave them certain rights and they told the Prime Minister that their legal rights as taxpayers were abridged when the property

¹ Ibid., Preston to Secretary of Native Affairs, 3 August 1901.

on which taxes were paid could be so easily wrested from their control. They pointed out that the school was located on property where government permission was not required to erect a building. Therefore, to the question of by whose authority were they in the location, the answer was by the permission of a private taxpayer, John Conjwaya.

The petitioners pointed out that they had other site applications on file in the Native Affairs Department, all of which were still pending, therefore they had done nothing which could be interpreted as devious. They went on:

May you further note that four churches Wesleyan and Anglican, were erected and must have been lately submitted, to Government's approval, but were never disgracefully seized by Government and rate payers so seriously insulted with no reasonable time to vindicate for themselves or give proper information of the present building.

The petitioners requested "fair consideration" and asked that the government take into account the hardship under which they labored in having their applications held up and in having their own school in the location arbitrarily closed.¹ In a cover letter to the petition, Ngcayiya asked if he and Mokone could interview the Prime Minister.

Coppin was informed of the above petition and the interview which took place between Mokone, Ngcayiya and Cummings. He was offered the opportunity of perusing the

¹Petition, 15 August 1901, NA 497.

relevant communications on the subject and the Bishop was told that Ngcayiya and Mokone justified the establishment of the school/church by saying it was a private school though they could not to Cummings' satisfaction explain why they had published a public announcement of the opening of the church. In any case, said Cummings, whether private or public, the school/church was located on Crown Land which had not been authorized for that purpose.¹

In reply to the Mokone/Ngcayiya request to meet with the Prime Minister, the two men were told to make all future representations to government through Coppin,² a suggestion which Cummings had made to the Prime Minister³ and approved by him. Just as government had earlier made Coppin responsible for selecting candidates as marriage officers so also he was appointed the sole conduit for communication with government officials. It was a move calculated to stifle local opposition and to make him responsible for a myriad of ministers who had previously acted autonomously. It was also a move guaranteed to cause dissension within the AME ranks.

¹Ibid., Cummings to Coppin, August 1901.

²Ibid., Native Affairs Department to Ngcayiya, August 1901.

³Ibid., Schedule #598, 26 August 1901.

Coppin duly investigated the matter and was told by Ngcayiya that he had immediately closed down the church after receiving notice from government to vacate the premises. Coppin instructed Ngcayiya to sever his connection with the society at Peddie and to discontinue his frequent communications to the government. Coppin theorized that much of the trouble at Peddie had been caused by "Ethiopians" who had joined the AMEC and then withdrawn. He said the Ethiopian Church had left a number of ministers and fragmented societies which harmed his work. What Coppin failed to take into consideration is that one of his own ministers, H. R. Ngcayiya, was the ringleader of those "making trouble." Coppin asked for the government's continued patience and indulgence until matters could be fully rectified.¹ With good reason Coppin took the conciliatory approach because the very existence of his church in South Africa was in great jeopardy. He had been sent to South Africa to maintain its existence by giving the AMEC a new image and that one fact colored every action Coppin was to take in South Africa. That Coppin would shrewdly place the blame on the "Ethiopians" is understandable for he constantly made a distinction between his AMEC and the Ethiopian Church. It was a distinction European churchmen and most government officials failed to make.

¹Ibid., Coppin to Cummings, 18 September 1901.

In his capacity as Presiding Elder, I. G. Sishuba applied for a site in the Herschel Division. He assured the Civil Commissioner:

Our aim, teaching and policy, is to Christianize our people, to teach them to obey their Magistrates, Inspectors, as well as their bodily masters, also to work and to be loyal to all the laws of the Country.

If this weren't enough to allay fears, Sishuba pointed out to the Civil Commissioner that his church operated in Cape Colony, Basutoland, Orange River Colony, Transvaal and Bechuanaland and that it had been granted sites in various locations in the Cape Colony and "elsewhere."¹

The usual inquiries were made as to numbers of supporters and detractors, the location of the site, etc., and while they were being made, the headman of the site in question wrote to the local Wesleyan missionary, V. J. Letcher, asking his opinion of what he should do about Sishuba's request.

Letcher reminded the headman that the Wesleyans had been operating in the area for years and that it was uncustomary to grant land to one church if another church were already operating in the area (which was patently untrue. Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Anglicans, often worked in the same locations). He told the headman that Sishuba's church taught "no supervision by whites" thus pitting Black

¹Ibid., Sishuba to Deputy and Administrator's Office, 1 May 1902.

against White which only resulted in disturbances and dissension. Then in a move calculated to settle the headman's mind if it were wavering, he said:

I know that in the location referred to, your nephew who is a prime mover in the matter, has expressed his intention long ago of establishing a church and school in opposition to what he considers your church and school. . . . I believe family quarrels are at the bottom of this.

Letcher assured the headman that if he had any complaint of neglect on the part of the Wesleyan evangelist in the location, all he had to do was to inform him and he would see to it that the situation was "remedied."¹ Not surprisingly, after calling a meeting of his residents as well as those of an adjoining location, the headman determined that it was "unnecessary" to have another church in his location. In his letter to the Inspector of Native Locations, the headman enclosed a list of 250 signatures from people in four locations, all opposed to Sishuba's application being granted. The Inspector told the Civil Commissioner that although the site asked for by Sishuba was available, he had little support in the district (as opposed to the location).²

The Civil Commissioner refused to endorse the

¹Ibid., Letcher to Headman Methlomakulu, 3 June 1902.

²Ibid., Inspector to the Civil Commissioner, 19 July 1902.

application because the majority of the people in the location allegedly did not support it. Even though Sishuba was an ordained minister and was in fact recognized as a marriage officer, the Native Affairs Department refused to countenance the request because of Spriggs' ruling that site applications could only be submitted by the "recognized head" of the church. Cummings informed the Prime Minister that even had the application been submitted by Coppin, it still would have been denied because the residents of the location did not support it.¹

Hearing that Coppin had applied to lease some land in an African location and barring that, to lease a government vacant stand which had been set aside for such purposes and which was subject to the approval of the Bulawayo Town Council, representatives from the Anglican, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Wesleyan Churches drafted a strong appeal to the Bulawayo Mayor and his Councillors, imploring them not to grant the site.

They accused the AMEs of recently arriving in Bulawayo without the recommendations of any established churchmen and had shown by their actions that they belonged to the Ethiopian Church whether they called themselves that or not. The petitioners said the "sect" had originated in the Southern United States "where the race feeling is very

¹Ibid., Cummings Schedule #1/115, 25 August 1902.

bitter," and it operated its own colleges and schools. They maintained that "many" Africans from South Africa had been educated in those schools and had returned with "a strong race feeling of antipathy to the White man who dominate America, and, though they recognize that he is supreme there, they teach and preach Africa for the Ethiopians."

They alleged that the AMEs claimed connection with the American MEC¹ which, said the petitioners, was untrue since the Bishop of the MEC, Hartzell, had been in Bulawayo fairly recently and had "expressly warned us against those men as mischief makers."² The petitioners said that the AMEs had sent a "secret agent" into Bulawayo who had agitated among the African members of the Dutch Reformed Church and when the AME agents had arrived, half the congregation went over to them. The churchmen predicted that if given a site, the AMEs would preach "no one knows what. . . . The outcome of this influence upon the boys working in Town we need not predict." They did predict that a "secret society" would ensue much like the one then existing in Cape Town (Ethiopia Lodge #1, see below). They described the Lodge as "a society

¹On the contrary it was the European missionaries and government officials who made this assumption. The South Africans were very knowledgeable about the Church's history in the US. and indeed, the separation of the AMEs from the mainstream Methodist body in America was part of South African AME folklore.

²This perhaps gives credence to Rideout's assertion that the Bishop of the MEC took every opportunity to "stab" the AMEC.

at bottom fiercely political, stirring up the blacks against the whites"; a particularly dangerous situation given the fact that "the Matabele have not yet forgotten that recently they were lords of the country." The petitioners suggested to the Council that it pass a resolution never to grant a church site to any denomination without European supervision.¹

The City Council debated the AMEC request for a site but because it was not supervised by or attached to a European denomination and in view of the feelings of the European churchmen in the town, the application was denied.²

Although the Methodist Churchman had called The South African Spectator an instrument of the AMEC, which Peregrino strenuously denied,³ the Church did receive excellent though certainly not uncritical coverage from the paper. Because it was, in Peregrino's words, a friend of the race, he duly paid notice to the AMEC activities. The South African Spectator announced the arrival of Coppin and gave a short biography of the "people's Bishop,"⁴ and it announced the

¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Pretoria, Secretary of Native Affairs Correspondence Files, 1902 SNA 19. H. Oswald Brigg et al., to the Mayor of Bulawayo, 24 July 1902.

²J. Macdonald to the Acting Civil Commissioner, 7 October 1902, CO 417-354 #48431.

³South African Spectator, 9 February 1901.

⁴Ibid., 19 March 1901.

formal recognition by government of the AMEC as a church.¹ The Christian Express, which had become the organ for "combatting . . . the propaganda of the AMEC"² was unusually quiet concerning the Church. Taking advantage of this lull, as it were, Coppin set about tending to church and flock.

The Bishop spoke at Cape Town's Metropolitan Hall on the subject "From Bondage to Freedom," which outlined the social history of Blacks in America. Peregrino called it an address that would serve as an inspiration to nonwhites in South Africa for it showed "that which is possible to the American Negro is equally so here."³ The Bishop also lectured at a meeting of W. J. D. William's Coloured League of Wynberg as well as Peregrino's Coloured People's Vigilance Society.⁴ In addition to his local speaking engagements, Coppin made forays into Kimberley where he was welcomed by the Coloured Citizens of the Diamond Fields. Kimberley's "leading colored, commercial political and sporting men," gathered for a dinner in his honor.⁵ He also travelled to Kalk Bay where he urged

¹Ibid., 6 April 1901.

²SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 674.

³South African Spectator, 18 May 1901.

⁴Ibid., 10 August 1901.

⁵Ibid., 1 September 1901.

the people to hold on to the land they possessed because "the man who owns the ground will rule the realm."¹ He inspected the day and Sunday Schools being operated by C. J. Roberts with the assistance of two English soldiers in Rondebosch,² and he dedicated a new church building at Arensdale, Green River; the first church building erected by the Church in Cape Colony. The other churches referred to in the paper were essentially wattle and daub constructions. He also held a mass wedding ceremony in the new church. Out of 29 couples whose banns were published, 11 were at the ceremony. The others had been unable to reach Green River because of the travel restrictions.³

On the social level, Coppin and the other Black Americans in Cape Town held a 4th of July celebration to which W. J. D. Williams, Charles de Jager (Candidate for the City Council) Henry Tobin (local businessman) and other illustrious Coloureds as well as Peregrino were invited.⁴ Coppin also organized a lodge of Freemasons called "Ethiopia Lodge #1." Its members included a sprinkling of Africans but the bulk of its membership was composed of

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 54-55.

³Ibid., pp. 59-60, 105.

⁴South African Spectator, 13 July 1901.

activist Coloureds.¹

¹Ibid., 23 October 1901.

The Accusations Begin

However, this seeming tranquility was shortlived. The April, 1901 edition of The Christian Express reprinted a report from the Paris Evangelical Missionary, Francis Coillard, on his work in Barotseland. Coillard talked about how difficult and exasperating his work was and he went on to explain how his activities were complicated by the dissension within his station caused by Ethiopianism which was on the march to "supplant" him. He accused one of the Paris Evangelical Mission's former catechists, whom he left unnamed, of writing confidential letters to the "weak, changeable," Paramount Chief, Lewanika. Coillard alleged that the catechist told the Parmount Chief about his alliance with the Ethiopians and his intention to return to Barotseland to open "day, boarding and industrial schools" which would be manned by Blacks who would teach everything from theology to trades. The catechist also stated that one of the teachers would act as Lewanika's secretary and interpreter. Lewanika, said Coillard, would welcome such "tools" at his command.

Indeed, Coppin had written to his church in America stating that he had received a letter telling him that Lewanika as "owner" of the country beyond the Zambesi, desired the

AMEC "to spread its wings toward his country."¹ Coppin had also received similar letters from Basutoland, Zululand, Mashonaland and Griqualand.²

Aside from Coillard's accusation of pilfering, the AMEC was threatened by another more pernicious accusation. In a garbled and erroneous telegram from a "Thompson" in Pietermaritzburg to The Times in Cape Town, Thompson said that for some time there had been rumors of an African seditious organization, but as the leaders were ministers who had broken away from European missionaries, people had tended to dismiss the rumors as the grumblings of jealous missionaries. But, said Thompson, in the course of an interview with the Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, he had discovered that the rumors had a firm foundation in fact. Thompson alleged that the Africans had an organization resembling the Africander Bond. The leaders of the organization were rebel African ministers who owed no allegiance to anyone and who preached that the African was the "proper owner" of Africa and should thus throw off the control of Europeans. Thompson alleged that the Native Affairs Department had refused to interfere with the preachers for fear of popularizing their

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 131.

²Ibid., p. 129.

cause because interference would make them into martyrs.

He said there were three branches of the movement:

"Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Church Native Races."

The organization was said to have its own newspaper, "the title of which means the paper of the race," (Imvo) and he claimed the articles contained in the paper were seditious, "frequently ending time has arrived for Natives to use and claim their rights." It should be recalled that martial law had been extended to the press in January, 1901¹ and because of Jabavu's connection with the Bond through Sauer, his paper was forced to temporarily cease publication.²

The D.A.A.G. Intelligence Office in Cape Town forwarded the telegram to the Military Secretary of Government House, Cape Town, suggesting "the whole thing should be stopped." Also enclosed was a short report from a Field Intelligence Officer, a Captain Hyde, who was stationed in Cala.

Hyde said that he had heard nothing of the sort of allegation made by Thompson viz the African was the "proper owner" of Africa. He said that a new "sect" had been

¹W. Basil Worsfold, Lord Milner's Work in South Africa From the Commencement in 1897 to the Peace in Vereeniging in 1902 (London: John Murray, 1902), p. 478.

²See Roux, op. cit., pp. 57-68, for a description of his dilemma.

organized in Cape Colony recently, presided over by an "American Ordained 'Bishop'" and that the movement was being watched by the Native Affairs Department. Hyde did characterize the church as one whose aims "under disguise of religion has been established for political ends." He admitted that the Boers had been trying to enlist the aid of Africans and had been partially successful as the pages of Imvo proved. And, he claimed that Jabavu was "under the influence of that political school of which Messrs. Sauer and Merriman are the Domini." But, said Hyde, he had no indications that there was any seditious organization anywhere existing with the aim of usurping the power of the white man.¹

In point of fact, the AMEC was decidedly pro-British. The AME Review carried a one-sided view of the causes of the War;² Marshal Maxeke, a South African student at Wilberforce wrote articles for the New York Independent and The Star of Zion both dealing with the barbaric treatment of Africans by the Boers;³ the General Conference of 1900 passed some anti-Boer resolutions and The Christian Recorder

¹Major N. Cuthbertson, D.A.A.G. Intelligence to Military Secretary, 13 April 1901, NA 498.

²The A.M.E. Review, July 1900.

³The Star of Zion, 9 November 1899.

called for a speedy victory by the British.¹ Aside from the Church's pro-British stance, Jabavu was rabidly opposed to the establishment of African independent churches because he was a die-hard Wesleyan and because he resented any threat to his position as the spokesman for the "Native." Imvo in 1899 carried the following:

We have long held that 'Ethiopianism' is not compatible with loyalty and peace, as it preaches that the natives should have nothing to do with the whites in church, state and everything.²

Thus, it augured ill for the AMEC that in the year when Coppin entered South Africa, in the year when the government really began to take notice of the allegations made against the Church, it was suggested that there was a connection between the Church and Jabavu; that the Church harbored seditious elements within its ranks and that it was a portent for African armed rebellion.

In his dual role as Governor of Natal and Cape Colony, Walter Hely-Hutchinson sent a copy of the Thompson telegram to Government House, Natal, requesting comment on the allegations made by Thompson.³

Natal's Secretary of Native Affairs took the view

¹The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 29 March 1902.
See Appendix II.

²CO 48-559 #16363.

³Ibid., Hely-Hutchinson to M. H. Gallway, 16 April 1901.

that Thompson's statements were somewhat "inaccurate and exaggerated." He admitted that there were preachers and teachers in his Colony who "make use of their calling for political ends," but the Secretary was sure of the loyalty of the majority of the Chiefs and tribes. However, he would insist that the propagandists and anti-European teachers should be kept under government surveillance.¹ Natal's Agent General in London queried the Colonial Office about the alleged seditious African organizations,² and he was assured that the organizations in no way influenced the bulk of the African population.³

Cape Colony's Secretary of Native Affairs, W. E. Stanford, also adopted the essentially unperturbed reaction of his counterpart in Natal. He was not at all convinced that "active sedition" had anywhere been preached. He took the view that Africans had been for years imbibing the Christian doctrine of equality and it was predictable that the "logically-minded Natives endeavour to secure on earth a foretaste of the privileges he is quite assured of getting in Heaven."

¹Under Secretary of Native Affairs to Minister of Lands and Works, 6 May 1901, NA 498.

²Ibid., Telegram to the Colonial Secretary, 13 April 1901.

³Ibid., Colonial Secretary to Agent General, 6 May 1901.

As Stanford viewed it, "new aspirations" were at work and tribal divisions were being closed. He said that before Bishop Coppin's arrival, effective central control of the movement was lacking and therefore a number of unsuitable men were placed in offices for which they had no qualification. The marriage rite had to be protected and he suggested the enactment of a law authorizing only established church ministers to perform the rites. The new churches would be required to hold a civil service first. Stanford said that much depended on Coppin:

If he proves to be a good man and safeguards be taken against solemnisation of marriages by uneducated incompetent men, I see no reason to doubt that this Church will quietly find its own place.¹

We earlier demonstrated that the primary motive behind Mokone's initial overtures to the AMEC for merger was one of education: access to AME schools and the establishment of a South African college operated by Black men.

The 1900 General Conference did not lose sight of that goal nor had Bishop Coppin for he readily acknowledged the fact that Africans were not interested in churches without schools.² After his arrival in South Africa, the

¹Walter Stanford Memorandum on "Reported Seditious Organisation Amongst Natives of South Africa," 22 May 1901, CO 48-550 #16363.

²Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 92.

Bishop requested from the Missions Department and received \$4,000 with which he closed a deal for a 12 room, two story building which he converted into a chapel and primary/high school.¹

Although there had been much talk about a college, Coppin decided to initiate AME educational efforts with a high school, out of which would emerge the college. This change in plan was prompted by two very practical considerations: (1) the lack of finance; (b) the educational background of the students.

Coppin was well aware of the fact that at best government interest in "native" education was indifferent, if for no other reason than government could not determine along what lines the education should be conducted, the upper limits to which it should extend. The Bishop was also aware that the educational opportunities afforded to non-whites were made available solely through European missions and the type of education provided was not calculated to place the African on the intellectual par with Europeans. Nonetheless Coppin openly acknowledged the debt owed to the early European missionaries for their activities in behalf of African education. However, the Bishop took the position that in twentieth century South Africa, missions should educate

¹Voice of Missions, September 1901.

people to enable them to "share in the positions and emoluments which they themselves have made possible."¹

The educational goal of Coppin and his church was one of intellectual attainment coupled with economic self-sufficiency. "Self-help," said Coppin, "what better inheritance can we hand down to our children?"²

It was the failure of European missionaries to educate their charges to positions of economic self-sufficiency which most galled Coppin. Certainly people like him, Parks and Turner, agreed with their European analogues that European civilization was preferable to indigenous African civilization though they were more open to recognizing a certain value to it.³ But unlike the bulk of their European contemporaries, they believed that the African was capable of taking his place within "civilized" society on equal terms with Europeans within the foreseeable future if they were sufficiently educated to do so. They viewed their own past and present attainments as proof that it could be done. It should be added that this was a position held by many Africans as well.

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 96.

²Coppin to Peregrino, n.d., The South African Spectator, 31 May 1902.

³On this point of inherent superiority of European civilization, see St. Clair Drake's "Negro Americans and the Africa Interest," The American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966), pp. 662-63. And, Harold Issac's "The American Negro and Africa: Some Notes," Phylon, Vol. XX, No. 3 (1959).

Coppin repeatedly stressed the "three-fold power" of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of cultivating the head, heart and hand. Coppin saw this three-fold power as the means to combat poverty which he viewed as the key to the equalization of Black with White. Toward this end, it was AMEC policy to have connected with its mission work some type of industrial enterprise.¹

To be sure there was a fundamental difference between Coppin's definition of industrial education and that of the South African colonists and missionaries. Whereas Coppin was willing to concede to temporary European political ascendancy, he envisioned equality of economic opportunity in South Africa during his lifetime. Thus he advocated a meaningful "practical" education which would enable Africans to compete for skilled and semi-skilled jobs.²

The colonial opinion on the question of education devoid of frills like an industrial component, was split between those who believed that Africans should not be educated at all and those liberals who believed in educating Africans, particularly if it took the form of "suitable" industrial training for the masses and perhaps apprenticeships for the few. Those who did not favor any type of education

¹South African Native Affairs Report, op. cit.,
Vol. II, p. 216.

²Ibid.

for Africans feared that school instruction would make them "insolent," "swaggering," and more important, disinclined to undertake tasks no white man would ever consider. Those who supported "suitable" industrial training defined it as instruction in the correct method of handling a hoe or scythe. In short, the most liberal element in South Africa advocated, as Dudley Kidd put it, book-learning on a reduced scale supplemented by methods used for the "feeble-minded" in the U.S. and Europe.¹

Thus, there was a real fear on the part of the colonists that the industrial education of the sort advocated by Coppin and his church would create havoc within the South African labour system; that it would disrupt the flow of unskilled, essentially pack-animal labour required on the farms and in the mines. There was also the basic fear that any industrial education which resulted in real skills would lead

¹Dudley Kidd, Kaffir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), p. 174. Certainly an integral part of Milner's reconstruction program was the expansion of schools among whites with English medium instruction (Worsfold, op. cit., p. 50) but state supported education for Africans continued to take a backseat principally because the government was unwilling to spend the money and because no consensus could be reached as to what direction African education should take. The Cape Legislative Council's Committee on Education best summed up the liberal view. Its 1896 report stated that state supported education should be "purely" elementary and that the thrust should be toward agricultural labor (C. T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native [London: Longmans, 1917], p. 51).

to direct competition with European tradesmen. It was a fear which was repeatedly expressed before the South African Native Affairs Commission throughout the Colonies.

Of the 14 institutions then operating in Cape Colony which offered to Africans more than the simple elementary courses, the United Free Church of Scotland's Lovedale and its principal, James Stewart, represented the most liberal educational views then operating in South Africa.

The most forward looking missionaries were willing to concede that Africans were entitled to a Standard IV education. Lovedale offered classes up to Standard VI. Besides the elementary reading, writing and arithmetic, instruction included courses in teacher training, crafts, and theology. To the charges that industrial education would lead to competition with whites, Lovedale's position was that Africans would always require supervision by a European because of their innate lack of ingenuity and inventiveness.¹

James Stewart was proud of Lovedale and his association with it. The institution had been the first to offer a teacher-training course to Africans. It had begun in 1841 with a mixed student body though the races ate and slept separately.²

Stewart joined Lovedale at a particularly crucial

¹SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 804, 1911.

²R. H. W. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa 1841-1914 (Cape Province: Lovedale Press, 1941), p. 98.

point in its history. The Board in Scotland had instructed that the institution begin emphasizing a tiered type of instruction. The instruction was to be geared toward training the masses of African students in varying degrees of usefulness for conducting mission work as class leaders, exhorters, etc., who were to be given the most elementary education. A select group was to be trained as preachers and teachers. On receiving the directive, the Superintendent of Lovedale resigned in protest over what he considered a lowering of standards. Stewart was his successor.¹

Under Stewart's tutelage, The Kaffir Express, later The Christian Express, was created and it launched Jabavu on his journalistic career. During Stewart's administration, the likes of Mpambani Mzimba, Elijah Makiwane, John Knox Bokwe, passed through the doors of Lovedale. Countless African clerks, interpreters, messengers, as well as many of those government officials who controlled their lives, including at least one Secretary of Native Affairs, were alumni of Lovedale.

Stewart believed that his institution should involve itself in the social lives of its African students as well as their academic lives. Because he believed he "knew" the African intimately, Stewart believed that he could interpret his desires and wishes, and could articulate his grievances

¹Ibid., pp. 152-167.

to the controlling forces in South Africa. This he did through The Christian Express. As a result, within government and mission circles, Stewart was considered an authority on the "Native mind."

It was Lovedale's position as the source of higher education for Africans and his activities in behalf of Africans which caused Stewart to view the AMEC and its stated education aims as a threat to himself and to his institution. From the time Coppin arrived in South Africa till the middle of the year, The Christian Express has been unusually quite concerning the AMEC. The silence was shattered because of the activities of Mzimba.

It will be recalled that Mzimba broke with the United Free Church in 1898 during Bishop Turner's visit for reasons which in many ways paralleled those of Dwane and his secession from the Wesleyans. He too had gone to Europe, raised funds and on his return, was forced to turn them over to the general treasury. In the late 1880's, Mzimba had been a rather conservative man who cautioned Cape Africans who had access to the vote to remain apolitical and to concentrate on education.¹ Nonetheless, his conservatism took its toll psychologically. A contemporary of Mzimba's, Elijah Makiwane, poignantly described how Mzimba could neither eat nor sleep

¹C. C. Saunders, "The New African Elite," op. cit., p. 46.

after Lovedale's Educational Board meetings because of the condescension to which he had been subjected.¹ In any case, when Mzimba left South Africa for the U.S. with his ten students who were to be enrolled at Lincoln College and Tusekegee Institute, the editor of Izwi Labantu wrote that he hoped more Africans would follow suit to seek the education which was denied them in South Africa.²

The Izwi statement incensed the editor of The Christian Express and launched a controversy which was aired in several of the Cape papers. The Christian Express called the Izwi writer either a victim of ignorance or a liar. The Izwi statement was a "perversion of truth", i.e., Africans did have access to higher education if they could pay for it, and it had nullified the activities of those whose lives had been devoted to the interest of African education.³

In the meantime, Jabavu's son had been refused admission to a local college because the trustees feared his admission would lead to other such applications. In rebuttal to The Christian Express attack, Izwi seized on the Jabavu issue and used it as an example of the essential

¹Shepherd, op. cit., pp. 246-47.

²Izwi Labantu, 27 August 1901.

³The Christian Express, 2 September 1901.

"rotteness of the European position." Izwi pointed out that Africans had always paid for their education stressing that what Lovedale offered could hardly be classified as higher education. Izwi stated that Africans were grateful for the contributions made by missionaries in the past but they could not be grateful forever. Present day missionaries offered the Bible with one hand and suppressed "legitimate aspirations" with the other.¹ In any case, stated Izwi, if the churches would not combine to erect non-denominational colleges or if the state would not support the higher education of Africans, then Africans should look to America.²

The Cape Mercury joined The Christian Express in censuring Izwi. It castigated its editor for his "deplorable" language and attitude and raised the issue of sinister political motives for Mzimba's forays into the African-American colleges. In reply, Izwi announced that it resented the fact that all legitimate requests by Africans for reform were branded with sinister motives. The editor poured more fuel into the fire by calling attention to the progress of Blacks in America. The Izwi editor described how they had risen from slaves to positions of professionals and property owners. Izwi stressed that they were the descendants of Africans and when given

¹Izwi Labantu, 10 September 1901.

²Ibid., 17 September 1901.

the chance, i.e., when properly educated, they had performed admirably. Why then could not South Africans? Izwi admitted that its praise would be construed as an attempt to usher into South Africa hordes of American Blacks but denied any such motive.¹

The Christian Express countered with a scurrilous article detailing the academic failures of the 10 men who had been "compelled" to go to the U.S. The Express pointed out that Lovedale had always promoted higher education in spite of which "very few" Africans took advantage of Lovedale's higher classes. The Express alleged that in the last 10 years only 18 Africans had entered the Matric preparatory classes and only 75 had enrolled in the school higher classes. Therefore, Africans had no legitimate complaint and certainly no need to cross the Atlantic.²

It is open to question as to exactly how educated the products of places like Lovedale and Healdtown really were. In fact one colonial admitted, "Kafirs are in no adequate sense educated . . . we call them 'educated' in a complimentary sense and out of courtesy. . . ." ³

Certainly, Lovedale, which was the best, had a poor

¹Ibid., 24 September 1901.

²The Christian Express, 1 October 1901.

³Kidd, op. cit., p. 167.

track record so far as passing the European exams was concerned. And, clearly there were complaints from Africans over the type of industrial education offered.¹

In addition to the quality of education, which the Africans perceived as a rationale for seeking opportunities abroad, was the fact that independents like Mokone and Mzimba had, through their secessions from the established bodies, effectively cut themselves off from the few sources of education which had been available to them. They had little choice but to look outside South Africa until they were in the position to create an institution of their own.

In the meanwhile, James Stewart, who could hardly be called an objective observer, added fuel to the fire. He had been requested by the military authorities to report on the "political tendencies" of the "Dwane-Mzimba" movement. He described the movement as "Anti-White or Anti-European." He said the movement could not be termed religious because there was no "spiritual element" involved; it was a movement seeking to create autonomous, corporate churches as distinct from congregations of Africans under African control. Stewart said that it was a "social" movement seeking "equality and freedom from white direction." The leaders of the movement had come into collision with Imperial views because they were fraternizing with pro-Boer people. He offered Jabavu as a case in point. He admitted that Jabavu had not supported

¹See particularly Benjamin Kumalo's testimony before the South African Native Affairs Commission, SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 373.

Mzimba in his court fight with the United Free Church but he accused Dwane, Mzimba and Jabavu of heading distinct organizations which united on the question of anti-Europeanism. He pointed out that Mzimba had sent ten students to an American college which was all Black. He said that they had been sent to the U.S. because they believed higher education was denied them in their own country, and he mentioned Dwane's importation of a "Negro Bishop" to organize the work in South Africa. He went on:

The American connection specially should be watched. We don't want nor need American Negroes [sic] in this Colony, and there is a party of these Negroes, evidently desirous of gaining a footing in this country and exploit--as far as they are able for the benefit of the Negroes of the South. Then Black would someday all vote together.¹

Stewart suggested that the movement be carefully scrutinized and he claimed European unanimity in its condemnation of the independents. He volunteered the opinion that the government's recognition of some of the "Ethiopian" ministers as marriage officers was a blunder.²

Stewart's report was forwarded to Hely-Hutchinson.

¹ Stewart's statement is in direct contrast to a speech he made before the Hampton Institute student body in 1893. At that time, he told his audience that Africa had a great future and some of them should go to Africa to aid in the "uplift" of their people. (Southern Workmen, January, 1894).

² Stewart to Colonel Hutchinson, 10 September 1901, NA 497.

From there it was routed to Sprigg who asked the Native Affairs Department for a report on any new developments. Cummings could only refer him to Stanford's rather optimistic memo of 22 May 1901. Cummings assured the Prime Minister that as Martial Law prevailed in the Colony, it was unlikely that the propagandists were of any real danger since they were prohibited from inter-colony travel without a special permit.

The Native Affairs Department sent out a confidential letter on September 30 to the Special Magistrate in Kingwilliamstown, R. J. Dick, enclosing all the correspondence received by the Department on seditious activity among Africans. Dick was asked to report on the effects of the articles contained in Izwi Labantu on the "native mind." He was also asked how successful were Dwane and Mzimba in publicizing their ideas. The Chief Magistrate was told that the report would be sent to the Prime Minister. Dick reported that there was absolutely no foundation for suspecting that there was any "Native Unrest" in his district. Dick admitted that there was a "somewhat ambitious spirit manifested" by a few of the "more advanced Natives" on the issues of education and religion as borne out by the controversy then raging in Izwi, and the frequent schisms in the various churches for the purpose of establishing purely African ones. But, said Dick, there was no danger in the two movements nor were

malevolent tactics being employed. It was difficult for Dick to see how the establishment of African churches endangered the security of the State in that the new churches were based on the same tenets as the established ones. He went on:

Of course European Missionaries view with considerable jealousy, and strong disapprobation the intrusion of these 'religious rebels' amongst their flocks, and are using all the legitimate means in their power to check and oppose them . . . but in my opinion it is extremely undesirable that the Government should be mixed up in these religious controversies.¹

With the approval of Sprigg, the Native Affairs Department sent out a letter of inquiry to the Episcopalians, Wesleyans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists requesting information on the effectiveness of the independents in their centres of operation. The only reply uncovered by this researcher was from the Wesleyans. It was written by the missionary C. S. Lucas, working out of the Transkeian Territories whose church had been touched by the secessionist activity.

Lucas parroted Stewart's claim that the movement was anti-white and designed to "shake off" all control and guidance of the European missionaries. He accused the leaders of the movement of promising people that all monies donated by them would be spent on the donors rather than on bolstering

¹Dick to Acting Secretary for the Secretary of Native Affairs, 11 October 11, 1901, NA 498.

the lifestyle of some European missionary. Lucas claimed that the bulk of the secessionist leaders had been expelled from their old churches or had been on the verge of expulsion.

He said the strength of the movement had been somewhat diluted by the government's refusal to recognize them as marriage officers and by Dwane's ambivalence and instability in joining one denomination after the other. Unfortunately, said Lucas, the movement was taking on a new dimension. "The cry of 'Africa for the Africans'" was in the air. Lucas contended, "the association with the movement of these American Negroes will tend I fear to develop an ill-feeling which will by no means be confined to Church life and work." He feared the seriousness of the movement from a social rather than an ecclesiastical point of view because of the importation into the movement of "the loud and big talk of these American Negroes--whose statements will not bear the least examination . . . and yet would appeal to the uneducated and ignorant Native people." He suggested that the way to neutralize the movement was for government to continue in its refusal to recognize AMEs as marriage officers and to continue in its refusal to grant church and school sites.¹

¹Lucas to the President of the Wesleyan Conference, 10 December 1901, NA 497.

Hely-Hutchinson requested the Native Affairs Department to supply him with a report on "the rise and progress of the 'Episcopal Methodist' Native Church in South Africa, and of the 'Ethiopian movement'". The Governor was already informed about Dwane's association with the Anglicans but he wanted to know about Turner, Coppin and Mzimba; he wanted to know if Jabavu were connected with the movement. He ordered that any and all inquiries were to be conducted unobtrusively.¹ Hely-Hutchinson's request for a report was prompted by the fact that Mzimba had stopped at the Colonial Office en route to the U.S. He complained about the fact that his ministers were not permitted to solemnize marriages, whereupon, Chamberlain asked his Governor for a report.

To help chart the "rise and progress" of the AMEC, the Department of Education submitted to the Governor a memo written by Thomas Logie, Acting Inspector of Schools.

Logie admitted that documentary evidence on the movement was almost non-existent and so he was using as informants, missionaries, African teachers and white traders. Given the sources, it is not surprising that Logie's report was filled with some rather strange and contradictory "facts."

Logie alleged that Dwane had been at various times a Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Ethiopian and Anglican and that his

¹H. W. B. Robinson, Private Secretary to the Governor to the Acting Secretary of Native Affairs, 14 October 1901, NA 498.

leadership of the overall movement was being challenged by Mzimba. He accused the Ethiopians of sending envoys into the locations in order to weaken the influence of the European missionaries. The "emissaries" captured the allegiance of the unwary by promising that polygamy would be permitted, that they could manage and control their own schools and churches and administer justice through their traditional leaders. Logie claimed that the blueprint for their activities had been fully explained in Imvo, a copy of which Logie promised to send. Logie alleged that members of the sect were told to withdraw their children from the government supported schools because they were supervised by whites and were told to put their children in Ethiopian schools where it was intended that they should apply for the government grants which had gone to the mission schools. Those parents who were reluctant to do so had themselves and their children threatened with physical violence.

Logie then related a number of incidents in various locations where the independents had "emptied" established schools, had organized new ones and then had rather audaciously applied for a grant-in-aid. He told of the abusive manner in which the Congregationalist minister, Pledger (see above) had been threatened with violence by an irate "Ethiopian." It seems that Pledger had fired some teachers belonging to the independent churches and the people

were dissatisfied with the replacements. He described a confrontation he personally had had with the Ethiopians at Hackney Mission Station during which he was told by the Ethiopians that their children belonged to them, and therefore they insisted on having some influence over who taught them.

Logie stated that in no case had the independents ever established a school where a government supported school did not already exist. He said that all his missionary informants had assured him that the secessionists operated from a purely political conviction which was "to get rid of superintendence by the white man." The real danger, said Logie, was that the movement would become strong enough to hold the balance of power between Boer and Briton.

Logie could not say for sure that a relationship existed between the Boers and the Ethiopians but he had been assured by several missionaries that the two acted in concert and he pointed to the rather expensive buildings some of the dissidents had erected with money he was sure could not have come from the pockets of the Africans. Logie was reluctant to say what the relationship was between Dwane and Mzimba but Dwane was in Logie's words, too "chameleon-like" to be trusted. Mzimba's object he said was destruction and as such government should under no circumstances give aid to his

school or his church.¹

The Education Department also solicited information from Elijah Makiwane. Given his background and the fact that earlier in the year, Lovedale had appointed him Acting Moderator of its African congregation² in order to counter the accusations of racism made by the secessionists, Makiwane could hardly be considered a disinterested recorder of the facts.

Makiwane had earlier written a letter to Izwi Labantu asserting that Mzimba and Dwane represented the same movement. He too described the movement as "intensely anti-white", as disloyal to the British Crown.

Makiwane told the Education Department that those who had tried to recruit him to join the movement based their argument on the idea that Africa belonged to Africans though it was in the hands of Europeans; that Africa held the promise for producing a great people and that it was time to realize the promise. He said that he had talked to people who had attended Ethiopian services where the African was symbolized

¹Thomas Logie, "Memorandum on the Ethiopian Movement in the Divisions of Queenstown and Victoria East," 26 October 1901, NA 498. Of the four schools then supported by the government which were associated with African churches, only Goduka is recognizable. The others have no denomination listed.

²The Christian Express, 1 February 1901.

as Esau and the European as Jacob, who by trickery and connivance stole the inheritance of Esau. The trick used by the European was to pit tribe against tribe, to introduce myriad denominations into South Africa. Therefore, said Makiwane, this was the reason Dwane and Mzimba welcomed all, no matter the denomination. Those who refused to join the movement were derisively labelled "'Mlungu' (white man)" and Makiwane said that he had been so named. Makiwane stated that he had met many elderly people on both sides of the argument--those who felt Dwane and Mzimba would show the African "the way to the Bush, i.e., the way to fight the white man," and those who congratulated him for not joining the movement.

Makiwane also referred to the coercion used by the independents, to the point of supposedly stoning the loyalists out of their churches. He talked about the strong-arm tactics used by several headmen to force people to join the movement, an assertion he had made earlier (see above). Makiwane explained that he used the names of Dwane and Mzimba in concert because the Africans viewed their respective organizations as being connected.¹

Dwane went to great lengths to combat the allegations that he and Mzimba were connected. Someone in the Anglican

¹
Makiwane to the Department of Education,
12 November 1901, NA 498.

Church sent Hely-Hutchinson an excerpt from a letter he had received from Dwane stating that attempts had been made to induce him to journey to Cape Town with Mzimba but he declined for he was "suspicious" that Mzimba was mixed up with politicians and he wanted no part of the scheme. Dwane enclosed copies of letters from Mzimba in which he stated that the representative for Griqualand East wished to meet with him and Dwane to discuss "several matters." The representative offered to pay their expenses to Cape Town and Mzimba asked Dwane's opinion on whether they should go. Mzimba told Dwane that it was strange that the two of them had never met and perhaps it was providential that the invitation had been extended. It would afford them the opportunity to meet.¹

With the various reports sent to him, Prime Minister Sprigg was finally able to submit a comprehensive report to Governor Hely-Hutchinson.

Sprigg stated that it was not so much the question of color which prohibited his government from recognizing African clergymen as marriage officers as it was a question of educational qualifications. Moreover, those agitating for the right to recognition as marriage officers were also engaged in racial doctrines "detrimental to the best interests

¹Mzimba to Dwane, 27 August 1900, CO 48-559 #16363.

and welfare of the Natives" and therefore "calculated to be subversive of good government and the smooth administration of Native Affairs." As a result, his government was disinclined to entertain their claims for recognition.¹

Hely-Hutchinson reminded Sprigg of the letter from the Colonial Secretary's Office to Coppin of 12 March 1901, telling him that his church was recognized as a "church" which in effect meant that AMEC ministers could solemnize marriages. Hely-Hutchinson asked for clarification.²

Sprigg explained to the Governor that his communication of 15 March, did not apply to the ministers of the AMEC who had the necessary educational qualifications for marriage officers but applied to those African ministers of non-recognized religious denominations like the Native Presbyterian Church.³

¹J. Gordon Sprigg Minute No. 1/93, 15 March 1902, CO 48-559 #16363.

²Ibid., Hely-Hutchinson to Sprigg, 17 March 1902.

³Yet, when Samuel James Brander, who was operating out of Pretoria, applied for recognition as a marriage officer, he was refused based on the fact that the Colonial Secretary's office in Cape Town had supplied the Native Affairs Department to conclude that the AMEC was not recognized anywhere in the country. Brander had also applied for exemption papers based on his being a minister and partially Black-American. This too was refused. (For more on exemption attempts, see Chapter V). (Brander to the Acting Secretary to the Transvaal Administration, 17 May 1902; W. E. Davidson to Secretary of Native Affairs, 15 May 1902; Secretary of Native Affairs Department to Assistant Secretary to Transvaal Administration, 4 June 1902,

Sprigg outlined the history of the Church in South Africa. He told of Mokone's break with the Wesleyans, Turner's visit to South Africa, Dwane's secession from the AMEC, Fitzpatrick's overtures to the government and Coppin's rapprochement with the Imperial authorities. The Prime Minister listed other similar churches connected with the movement which she described as a "reflex" of the Blacks in America: Goduka's "African Church," Mzimba's "Native Presbyterian," and Jackson's "Negro Missionary Society." He listed the only ministers allowed to serve as marriage officers: Coppin, Dwane and Jackson though he told the Governor there was reason to believe that other ministers married people illegally. Sprigg believed that although the movement "fomented race antagonism" and "engendered a spirit of restlessness amongst the Natives," there was nothing approaching a menace to public peace, the report of James Stewart notwithstanding.¹ The Prime Minister later noted:

The leaders of the AMEC disclaim connection with the Ethiopian movement although many of the clergy as well as laymen have in the past been associated with and may still to some extent be interested in that movement. Bishop Coppin has personally expressed himself as having no sympathy with the work done and dissension caused by the Ethiopians.²

SNA 8, Correspondence Files (hereafter referred to as CF), 1902.

¹Sprigg Minute No. 1/411, 2 December 1901, CO 48-553 #16363.

²Ibid., Sprigg Minute No. 1/111, 25 March 1902.

Eventually Hely-Hutchinson drafted a confidential despatch to Joseph Chamberlain telling the Secretary that there was "an uneasy feeling" about the independent African churches in his Colony and in Natal and he said given the various reports he had been receiving, he felt justified in his feelings of "uneasiness." There seems reason," he said

To believe that these organizations, or some of them, are being used for a political purpose; the purpose of getting rid of white interference and of eventually organizing the black races in antagonism to the white.

To buttress his contention, the Governor enclosed copies of Dr. Stewart's letter of 10 September, School Inspector Logie's report, Makiwane's report, the Sprigg Minute of 2 December 1901, the Colonial Secretary's Memo of 22 November 1901 and the R. J. Dick special report. Using these reports as guides, Hely-Hutchinson constructed a short history of the AMEC in South Africa. Hely-Hutchinson told Chamberlain that out of the 5 "Native Churches,"-- the AMEC, Mzimba, Dwane, Goduka's groups and Jackson's Baptists--only Coppin and 12 of his clergymen, Dwane and Jackson were recognized as marriage officers.¹ The Governor

¹Coppin had submitted the names of the 12 people in January, 1902 and they were accepted on his responsibility. Of the 12, Dale said: "The representatives of the A.M.E. Church quite understand that the persons so accepted stand in jeopardy of forfeiting the privilege of receiving Marriage Register Forms, if they show--in spite of

admitted that he had no accurate count of the number of independents in the Colony but he believed them to be in the thousands. He agreed with Prime Minister Sprigg and R. J. Dick that there was not enough "unrest" in the Colonies to present a danger to the State or that government should become entangled in the religious controversies arising out of the movement.¹

It would appear that at this point the government made a distinction between the AMEs and the "Ethiopians" i.e., those belonging to the "Ethiopian Churches": the followers of Dwane (who chose the unfortunate title "Ethiopian" for his Order), Mzimba and Goduka. However, they were all lumped together in the category of independent African churches and thus components of the overall "Ethiopian Movement." Unfortunate for the AMEC though was the fact that it was unanimously believed that American Blacks were the inspiration for the "Ethiopians" and as such, were suspect. So, try as the AMEs might, they were irrevocably linked to the "Ethiopians." Though Hely-Hutchinson claimed to make a distinction, clearly the majority of officials did not.

In addition, other testimonials from irate Africans

instructions--lack of ability to complete said forms according to law. Each case stands on its own merits. (Dale to the Assistant SNAD, 21 March 1902, CO 48-569 #16363).

¹Ibid., Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 8 April 1902.

were transmitted to various government officials, all critical of the "Ethiopians." For example, a headman, Veldtman Bikitsha¹ and eight others wrote to the Magistrate in Willowvale protesting against the emissaries of the new sects who roamed about causing confusion and hostility. They saw no rationality in severing their ties from their "parent religion, especially in the manner adopted by this new sect."² The letter was forwarded by H. C. Elliot to the Native Affairs Department and Elliot said in his cover letter:

Prior to the advent of Members of this sect in this country, I observed in the American papers that certain educated negroes in America were widely preaching the advocacy of acquiring large tracts of country in central South Africa for the purpose of establishing a Black Nation to be governed exclusively by men of that colour; also that the whole of South Africa . . . belong(ed) to the Native races, and that they were entitled to possess the country and govern it according to their own views. Soon after, I read of the move to which I refer in the United States, Members of the Ethiopian Church were heard of in several parts of the Native Territories, attention being particularly directed to Pondoland.³

Elliot recommended that all foreign agitators be deported.⁴

¹Bikitsha was a Fingo, loyal to the British government during the crucial 1850-53 war for which he was rewarded with an audience with Queen Victoria. Bikitsha was a leading member of the Transkeian General Council and a Wesleyan class leader. As with Makiwane, he had much for which to be loyal. (Whiteside, op. cit., p. 287; Skoka, op. cit., p. 8).

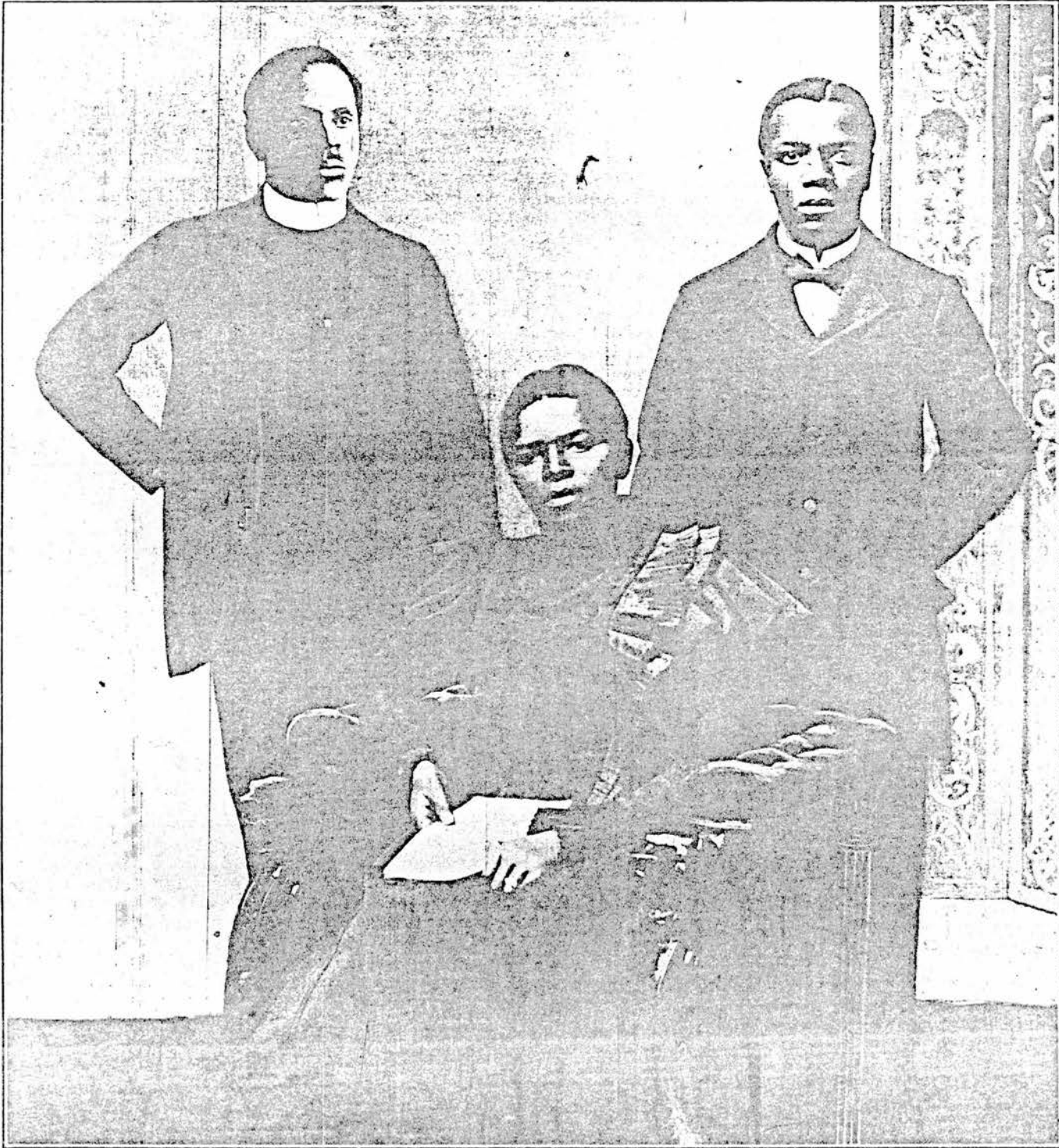
²Bikitsha et al., to Magistrate, Willowvale, 16 December 1901, NA 498.

³It will be recalled that Elliot had received adverse reports about Rideout and his influence on King Sigcau.

⁴Elliot to the Secretary of Native Affairs, 24 December 1901, NA 498.

Very possibly Elliot was referring to Bishop Turner's new paper, Voice of the People which began publication in February, 1901.¹ He may also have been referring to an article which appeared in Voice of Missions in the March, 1900 edition. The article which was captioned "The Negro Must Have a Nation," was decidedly militaristic in tone. It described a scheme for emigration to Central Africa for the purpose of establishing "The Republic of Ethiopia." The exodus of Black Americans to the proposed Republic never took place but two more African-Americans did venture into South Africa to work for the AMEC.

¹This new paper, the title of which may have been inspired by Rubusana's Izwi Labantu, to which Turner subscribed, was a purely secular paper. It was the official organ of the Colored National Emigration Association of which Turner was president. The paper's emblem was that of a ship headed toward Africa from the U.S. with the rather ominous slogan, "Emigration or Extermination awaits the Black Man."



REV. A. HENRY ATTAWAY.

MISS CHARLOTTE MANVE.

REV. H. C. MSIKINVA.

OUR NEW MISSIONARIES TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Attaway Enters South Africa

In September, 1901, the Cape Town AME community was expanded with the arrival of Rev. and Mrs. Allen Henry Attaway and the newly graduated Charlotte Manye and H. C. Msikinya. At Coppin's special request, the Missionary Department had sent out Attaway to serve as principal of the still-to-be-opened Bethel Institute. Manye and Msikinya were to serve as the core teaching staff.¹

Allen Henry Attaway was the son of a Georgia AME minister. Indeed, his father had worked with Bishop Turner in his post-civil war expansion of the Church in that state.²

Attaway attended primary school in Georgia and Florida. He studied four years at Florida State Normal and Industrial College, two years at Wilberforce and one year at Kansas State University.³ Attaway also spent time at Grunton's Institute of Economics and Sociology in New York and served for a year as President of the AMEC's Edward College.⁴ His educational and administrative credentials

¹Voice of the People, September 1901.

²Josephous Coan, untitled manuscript on Black American Missionaries in Africa, Chapter IV, p. 56.

³Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Churches Various, 53/9/2/5. A. Henry Attaway to H. C. Sloley, 13 October 1907.

⁴Coan, untitled manuscript, op. cit., p. 57.

were credible.

A formal welcoming reception was held in Cape Town's Metropolitan Hall at which the new arrivals delivered speeches. Manye talked of her desire to help her people and she called for an end to tribal dissension and the acknowledgement that all groups belonged to the African nation. Attaway stood before the audience and told them that his visit to South Africa was the fulfillment of a childhood dream in that he was the descendant of a paramount chief. He denied that Blacks were in any inherent sense inferior to Europeans and he told his listeners that if they lived virtuous lives they could command the respect they deserved. He told them that the AMEC stood for the brotherhood of man and in order for them to be men, they needed "the hand to labour, the brain to think and the heart to learn." The resources of Africa were unlimited, said Attaway, and he expressed the hope that in his capacity as an educator, he could instill in African youths the virtue of leading honest, hard-working lives.¹

Immediately after his arrival, Attaway delivered a series of lectures around Cape Town in order to put forth his views on education. In a speech delivered at Metropolitan Hall, he implored his audience to educate their minds because Africa had brawn enough. A combination of brains and

¹South African News Weekly Edition, 18 September 1901.

brawn, he said, would enable the African to develop his country's resources for home consumption and export.

Attaway stressed that education was the key to African advancement and he attributed the progress made by American Blacks to the proliferation of schools during the post-Civil War period. He told his audience that they too could produce academicians and other professionals if they properly educated themselves.

Attaway told his listeners that as for their social and political status, they need not worry. Their preoccupation should be elsewhere. Natural selection would take care of the former and "the grand old English spirit of fair play" would take care of the latter. "Let morbid minded agitators," he said, "cease to terrify the people with idle tales of political ghosts."¹

As Attaway viewed the situation, the African had to perform the country's manual labor for the next century (a view in keeping with that of white South Africans)²

¹The South African Spectator, 9 November 1901.

²It is difficult to know whether Attaway was speaking his true views or whether he was speaking for the benefit of Europeans. Given the extremely vulnerable position of the Church in South Africa, it is possible that he was saying what the Europeans wanted to hear. However, there is no doubt that Attaway shared the same opinion about Africans as most African-Americans; they needed to be "uplifted" and "redeemed," preferably by Western Blacks. See his testimony before the SANAC. (SANAC Report, Vol. II).

and to perform an effective job, he had to be educated. Education, said Attaway, would lead to self-reliance. A trade coupled with agricultural and general knowledge would save the African from pauperism. However, Attaway differed from the colonists who advocated industrial training in one important respect. In his words:

The sources of this country being as yet under-developed, there being too few whites to undertake the necessary labor the native races must be taught to realize the necessity of accepting a degree of responsibility, and of working without constant supervision. (underlinings mine)

In the meanwhile, Bishop Coppin set about preparing for the official opening of Bethel Institute now that he had a nucleus staff. He also made preparations for a public reception which he planned for the African leaders who would gather to meet the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York then on a goodwill tour of the Empire.

In an attempt to expand the ranks of AME marriage officers, he submitted the names of Francis Gow and A. Henry Attaway to the Secretary of Native Affairs. After some correspondence over the definition of terms, description of qualifications and duties, the names were forwarded to the Colonial Secretary's office.

Noel Janisch felt that both men should be recognized as ministers and therefore competent to perform marriages. A. C. Dale was willing to accept Attaway but he was uncertain

¹Voice of Missions, September 1903.

of Gow's qualifications. Gow had no theological training nor had he taken any private courses. Dale told the Colonial Secretary:

Every A.M.E. Church case requires most careful scrutiny. Bishop Coppin makes numerous mistakes, despite constant advice and showing.¹

Possibly the most important social and political event of the year for the AMEs was its summit meeting of indigenous leaders who had gathered in Cape Town to welcome the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. Gow and Mokone convened the meeting, surely a first in the history of South Africa.

Harry Dean claims the idea for the meeting was his and he struck upon the ideas as a precursor to a "Kaffir Union"; a federation which could effectively negotiate with the British Government in the new British South Africa. Dean says that he approached Peregrino about the idea and he in turn approached Coppin.

The Bishop held his reception for what he called the "sons of the soil, first possessors of the land, kings and rulers from birth," on 20 August 1901. It was held in a public hall which was filled to capacity with Africans, Coloureds and a sprinkling of Europeans.

Coppin found it particularly fitting that the reception was held in the very month in which the first slaveship pulled

¹Dale to the Colonial Secretary, 14 October 1901, NA 498. It is unclear to what Dale is referring.

into Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. He took this subject as the theme of his address before the gathering. He greeted his guests in the name of all African-Americans and he told them that more than 200 years had passed since their initial separation from one another. He told them that Providence had allowed a branch from the African tree to be transplanted in America. The branch had grown into another great tree which had at last spread its foliage across the Atlantic. "I am," said Coppin,

Among you to preach the doctrine of peace, industry and education. Peace in our relations to the government and to our fellow man. . . . There are among us many tribes, but we are all brethren. . . . If we are divided, we are weak; if we are united, we are strong. . . . God has given us broad acres of land, and He wants us to till the ground, build houses, and make happy homes. . . . We want churches and school houses, that our children may be prepared to take their place among the nations of the earth. We have the protection of the English flag, and the English nation is the greatest political power upon the face of the earth. But England does not want us to remain children always. She wants us to grow into full manhood like her white subjects . . . let us resolve that we shall not be the least among her subjects.¹

Among those listening to the address were: Dinizulu, Khama and Dalindyebo. According to Dean, every important African leader with the exceptions of Sigcau and Lerotholi was present at the reception. The British had not invited Sigcau to Cape Town to greet the royal couple and Lerotholi

¹ Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 186-192.

had been invited to attend a private government reception which took place at the same time as the AME gathering. Lerotholi did however send his brother to represent Basutoland.¹

After the various speeches and appropriate replies, the reception ended with the assembled guests holding hands and singing a hymn specially composed for the occasion by Coppin, titled "Ethiopia, Stretch Forth Thy Hands."

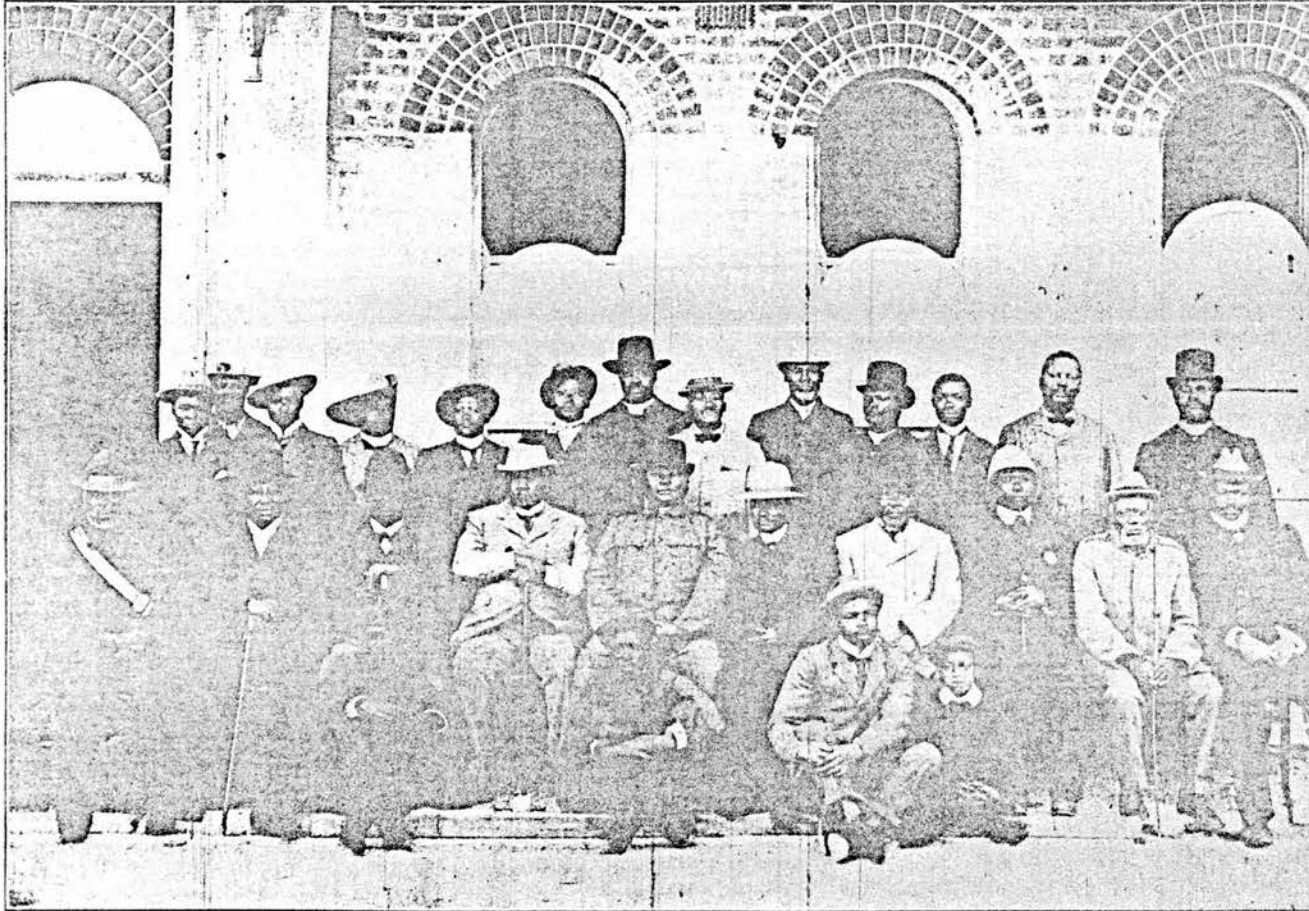
¹Dean, Umbala, op. cit., p. 245.

Bishop Coppin, D.D., Pleads with Chiefs and Leaders of Various Tribes in South Africa

A GREAT GATHERING OF NATIVE CHIEFS AND HEADMEN AT CAPE TOWN RECEPTION TENDERED BY COLORED CITIZENS

Tuesday, August 20th, 1901, was a memorable day in Cape Town, South Africa, not alone because their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York were visiting the metropolis, but because

century to afford the occasion for such a meeting at one and the same city and for the A. M. E. Church to bring them together to break bread at the same table. Committees were appointed in



NATIVE MINISTERS ASSEMBLED IN CAPE TOWN, S. A., TO WHOM AN ADDRESS WAS DELIVERED BY BISHOP L. J. COPPIN, D.D.

LERO MODELE MOSHUESHUE
ALEX. MAAMA MOSHUESHUE
J. A. MOLEAPO
N. KUTHE MOSHUESHUE
MODYELA MOSHUESHUE

LESHOBORO MOSHUESHUE
SEISO MOSHUESHUE
MITCHELL LESAGANE
MAHLELE MOSHUESHUE
GRIFFITH L. MOSHUESHUE

GEORGE MOSHUESHUE
THEBE MASUPHA MOSHUESHUE
KHAMA
THEKO
WESSELS

BAMHOENG
LENTSHE
SECHUPE
DALINDYEBE
MOKAULA
MOKAULA

among those who gathered there to do them honor were twenty-five of South Africa's chiefs and headmen—sons of the soil, first possessors of the land, kings and rulers from birth.

The history of the past is a record of the fact that in their uncivilized state the various tribes have ceased not to war against each other. Hence a meeting of the chiefs of different tribes upon friendly terms was simply out of the question. It remained for the new

Bethel and Allen Chapels, Rev. F. M. Gow representing the former and Rev. M. M. Mokone the latter. The notice was short, but ladies who had charge of the management were equal to the task. The hall was literally packed by colored citizens, representing every tribe, shade and variety, such as only Cape Town can produce, with also a sprinkling of whites. Never before was such a sight witnessed. The first hymn to be sung and the only hymn to be sung

Rideout in Basutoland

That Lerotholi would have "stretched forth his hand" to Coppin by sending a representative to the reception is predictable in light of the fact that earlier in the year he had held several meetings with Conrad Rideout.

Izwi had reported a few weeks prior to the reception that Mokone and Rideout had just returned from Basutoland, having gone to further the educational and religious interests of the Church.¹ And indeed they had.

Lerotholi sent a letter to the Resident Magistrate at Maseru, H. C. Sloley, telling him of his American visitor from Cape Town, with whom he had been corresponding for some time. Said the Chief:

He has come here saying that he has a wish to obtain a site on which to erect an industrial school and I find it proper to inform you of this visitor.²

Six days later Rideout, accompanied by Mokone and several of Lerotholi's emissaries, visited Maseru bearing a note from the Chief giving more details on Rideout's visit. Lerotholi said that he was volunteering the information so that the Resident Magistrate would not think he was acting

¹Izwi Labantu, 23 July 1901.

²Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Secretariat In Letters Native, S/7/3/17. Lerotholi to the Resident Magistrate, 1 March 1901.

surreptitiously. The Chief told the Resident Magistrate:

I have asked Mr. Rideout to be my adviser¹ and the adviser for the Basuto in matters relating to the manner in which Government is preserving me so that it may remain unchanged. As I have seen in the paper King Edward's speech when opening Parliament that he said there will be equal rights to all Europeans, and that natives will only be cared and protected for--And I have chosen him to go and intercede for me with the High Commissioner for me to be preserved as Europeans will be preserved.

Lerotholi requested that his delegation be allowed to visit the High Commissioner.²

In his reply, Sloley told the Chief that he would under no circumstances recognize Rideout as a mediator because the Chief had a sufficient number. The Resident Commissioner pointed out that he was accessible and if anything were troubling the Chief, he should bring the problem directly to him. He told Lerotholi not to be alarmed by King Edward's speech, that there would be no change in the status of Basutoland "as long as the Basuto continue to behave well and to remain loyal people of the King." As

¹ Dean claims to have met Rideout whom he had known in Mississippi while on a visit to Basutoland. He described Rideout as idiosyncratic but an "excellent man and a clever lawyer." He said Rideout had "organized a Parliamentary form of government in Basutoland, and occupied an important post in that Government." (Dean, Umbala, op. cit., pp. 205-06). For more on Dean's contention that Rideout occupied a post in the Basutoland Government, see below.

² Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Correspondence With the High Commissioner, 1901, S5/22. Lerotholi to the Resident Magistrate, n.d.

for the Mokone-Rideout educational scheme,¹ the Resident Commissioner said if the Chief were amenable, he would permit the men to activate their plans. Sloley went on:

I will not oppose it. But do not give yourself up altogether to a new thing. You have been well served by the Missionaries in the country do not let anything be done in opposition to them.²

The Resident Commissioner immediately sent off telegrams of inquiry about Rideout. The American Consulate at Johannesburg could furnish no information.³ The Resident Commissioner also wrote to the Imperial Secretary in Cape Town telling him that Rideout was a Black American in Basutoland, representing himself as a member of the "Methodist Episcopal Mission Society," and "interesting himself in politics." The Resident Commissioner requested that an inquiry into his character be made at the American Consulate in Cape Town.⁴ The Imperial Secretary informed Sloley that Milner had seen

¹It should be recalled that Mokone was Sotho speaking. In addition to the ethnic consideration, it is interesting to speculate on whether Mokone was involved in the negotiations because of an attempt on the part of the Transvaal and Orange Free State AMEs to gain parity with the Cape Colony AMEs. The Cape members were about to open an institute. The thrust of the Church did seem to be in the Colony and it did seem that the Transvaalers and Free Staters were being ignored in so far as tangibles were concerned. For more on this theme, see below.

²Resident Commissioner to Lerotholi, 9 March 1901, S5/22.

³Ibid., Secretary to the Transvaal Administrator to the Acting Resident Magistrate, 12 March 1901.

³Ibid., Resident Commissioner to the Imperial Secretary, 12 March 1901.

Rideout in Cape Town and had received a letter since their meeting but he knew nothing about him. The Imperial Secretary asked Sloley for a report on Rideout's Basutoland activities.

In his formal report, Sloley reviewed the central events of the meeting which transpired between himself, Rideout and Mokone. The Resident Commissioner theorized that Rideout had suggested to Lerotholi that he (Rideout) should lead a delegation to speak to the High Commissioner about the matter, that the delegation idea was not Lerotholi's. The Resident Commissioner said that at their meeting, Rideout had questioned him about the Basutoland National Council,¹ at which point, in Sloley's words,

I at once in the clearest terms informed him that I could not discuss politics with him and that it was quite unnecessary for the Paramount Chief to employ any agent in his communications to me, and that no such agent would be acknowledged.²

¹It will be recalled that the Basuto had been lobbying for the organization of a National Council since the 1880s. Lerotholi's conception of the Council was that it would operate along the lines of the British Parliament. The Council was finally inaugurated in 1903. Its function, as perceived by the Imperial Government fell far short of Lerotholi's expectations. It was a purely deliberative and powerless body.

²Cf., with government reaction to Peregrino's association with the Barotse. See below. Contrast the attitude toward Rideout and Peregrino with that of the government regarding Moshoeshoe and Cassalis, Moffat and Mzilikazi, or, Lewanika and Coillard. L. H. Gann said of the Barotse: ". . . the missionary as an adviser of the Council, became an accepted part of the state organization

The Resident Commissioner said he had discussed the situation with the English and French churchmen all of whom regarded the turn of events with trepidation, seeing in the developments "an attempt to throw off European control not only in matters of church government but in both Ecclesiastical and Secular affairs." The Resident Commissioner went on to say that Rideout was at Matsieng (the Royal Residence) and was still anxious to lead a deputation to the High Commissioner.

He went on:

It is hardly necessary however for me to depreciate the attempt made by Lerotholi to obtain recognition of Mr. Rideout as an agent in political matters between himself and the Resident Commissioner. I do not think the scheme would have occurred to him without suggestion, nor was it hardily supported by him.

This is not the first time that Basuto Chiefs have tried to utilize the services of agents in political matters but such interference has never been permitted and in the present instance appears to be un-necessary and particularly open to suggestion.¹

and was thus able to take an important part in the subsequent negotiations between the Barotse and the British South Africa Company which were to place the Territory under British rule." (The Birth of a Plural Society. The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 24. Peter Sanders said of the Basuto: ". . . the missionaries' most vital contribution to policy making was in the chiefs' dealings with the Afrikaners and the British. They were interpreters of custom and politics as well as language. It was they who explained European concepts of land tenure to him (Moshoeshoe), put him on his guard against Afrikaners' encroachments, and suggested that he should seek an alliance with the British. Moreover Casalis, through his correspondence and his reading of colonial newspapers, was able to keep him well informed about South African affairs in general (Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho [London: Heinemann, 1975], p. 136).

¹Sloley to the High Commissioner, 30 March, 1901,

Back in Cape Town, the opening of Bethel Institute and Bethel AME Church took place simultaneously because they were both operated out of the same 12 roomed building. Symbolically, the AMEs chose as their date of dedication the 67th Anniversary of the Emancipation of Cape Colony slaves and it was the theme of the opening day's services.

The two-day occasion (1-2 December) was marked by the blaring of a marching band, the voices of a children's choir led by Edward Gow, and a crowded congregation of Africans, Malays, Europeans, Indians and Syrians. Marcus Gabashane, well over 70 years of age, and his son, Abel, managed to travel down from the Transvaal for the festivities.

The first day of the service was a dedicatory one. Attaway preached, 27 people joined the Church and \$400 was collected. The following day an ecumenical "citizen's meeting" was held, presided over by a local businessman, Harris Growman, whose address though written in Hebrew was read in English. Growman alone contributed \$24 and other contributions came from Coloureds, Greeks, Chinese, Portuguese. From various activities held during the week, Bethel Church raised almost \$1500.¹

Coppin convened the 5th Session of the South African

S5/22; Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Despatches to the High Commissioner, 1895-1901, HC/11.1901. Sloley to the High Commissioner, 30 March 1901.

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 193-199.
The South African Spectator, 27 December 1901.

Annual Conference held jointly with the Transvaal Annual Conference in Bethel Institute on 9-15 December. Issac C. Adriaanse and John Zimri were ordained deacons; Attaway was appointed presiding elder of the Cape District and an Episcopal Residence was purchased.

The Mayor of Cape Town and the U.S. Consul General attended the opening services and the Mayor told his audience that there was 'room for more such Agencies' as the AMEC. The statement moved Peregrino to say, "down in the bottom of the heart of the true Englishman there lodges the love of fair play and the determination to see to it that it is applied to the underdog" (italicized).¹

Later in the evening, Peregrino delivered a paper on "The Mission of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa."² Peregrino believed the mission of the Church was to set an example of teetotalism.³

Unfortunately, the festive occasion was marred by the appearance of the December issue of The Christian Express. The paper's condemnation of the AMEC was more strident than usual. The editor began with a general deprecation of the "Ethiopian Movement," pointing out the problems Coillard was having in Barotseland and those the Presbyterian Church

¹The South African Spectator, 29 December 1901.

²The Cape Argus, 18 December 1901.

³The Cape Times Weekly Edition, 24 December 1901.

was having with Mzimba. The editor said the "irrepressible agitators," (American Blacks) were making more difficult the dilemma facing Boer, Brit~~an~~ and Blacks in the reconstruction process.

In another column titled, "What the American Negro Proposes," the editor added yet another item to the AMEC's considerable list of ulterior motives for being in South Africa. The Express reprinted an excerpt from a Voice of Missions article in which Parks called for an international conference of missions. The purpose of the conference was to parcel out the heathen field among the various denominations. Parks said that it was a new age and there was no longer time for denominational squabbling. The AMEC wanted Africa because it was the agency best fitted to operate in that continent and Parks suggested that all monies expended in Africa by the various denominations should be channeled through one body: the AMEC.

Parks viewed the establishment of the AME South African college as the solution to the problem which had perplexed the European missionary boards of the past. Unlike the other bodies which had failed 'to reach the heart of the people,' the South African College, operated by their own people, would inculcate the African with "correct ideas of civilization and Christianity."

Bishop Turner called for a new order along the same lines as Parks. He believed the time had come to replace

European missionaries with their antiquated methods and superannuated principles 'with a doctrine which was 'more suited to the African awakening.' Turner went a step further: 'Africa is a new land, a new world,' he said,

She needs new men and we are the new men she needs. Arise Africa, for Ethiopia is holding out her hands, not as a supplicant, as the white men call her, but to incite us to throw our arms like boxers, seize the enemy, shuck him out and conquer the first place among our people.¹

The editor of The Express interpreted Parks' editorial as a bid to eject all Europeans from the African continent. He criticized the AMEC for its audacity in making such a suggestion and he said it was typical of the sneaky, pilfering mentality of the Church's agents. The editor accused the AMEC and its agents of sowing seeds of discord between Blacks and Whites and of disrupting the "harmony" and "mutual confidence" which had always characterized race relations in South Africa. Another source of the "evil" said The Express editor was those Africans who had gone to the U.S. to study in Black American colleges. They had returned home "indoctrinated" with the "dangerous poison" of race hatred, a poison which they spread to their gullible and uneducated brethren.²

¹Walton Johnson, "The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Africa With Particular Reference to Zambia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1971), p. 353.

²When Mzimba arrived back in South Africa, he was astounded to hear the rumors that he had gone to the US. for the purpose of "introducing the American element" into South Africa. (Izwi Labantu, 10, 24 December, 1901).

The Express called on the Education Department to create facilities for ambitious Africans so that there would be no need to leave the country.¹ "A sober, liberal education" was the panacea for education abroad. In any case, said the editor, if the AMEC were really interested in the land of their ancestors, it should transfer its activities to West Africa, particularly Liberia.

Unsatisfied with these swipes, The Express questioned the quality of American education, particularly the type offered in Black institutions. American education was said to be poor enough but Black institutions were but comic and weak imitations. The Express ridiculed the journalistic style of Bishop Turner and related how at one meeting, which was addressed by Charlotte Manye, she had misquoted a scripture. The Express viewed her blunder as a reflection on the degree she had received at Wilberforce, even though it should be recalled that she had received her basic education at Lovedale. It was a particularly galling situation for The Express since

¹Jabavu found himself in yet another compromising position when he advocated that Africans remain in South Africa and continue to rely on the European missionaries for education. He held this opinion even though he sent his son to Europe when he was denied admission to Dale College. Dwane was in agreement with Jabavu (Izwi Labantu, 18 February 1902). Ironically, one of the factors motivating the AMEC to build Bethel Institute and the proposed college was the belief of Coppin, Parks, Mokone and others that Africans should remain in their country so that they would never lose touch with their roots. It was also expected that a local college would save Africans and the Church money.

American Blacks considered that their educated men were superior to any in the world, a view shared by South Africans who had been educated in the U.S.

In spite of the uncharitable attitude of the Lovedale people, Bishop Coppin could nonetheless look back on his first year in South Africa with a certain feeling of accomplishment. Through his representations, the Church was recognized though the degree to which it was recognized is open to question. He had bought certain properties in the Colony and his Bethel Institute had been officially dedicated. There was then reason to proceed with a certain degree of cautious optimism. The problem became one of raising funds with which to pay for his development and expansion schemes. It is toward this end that Coppin left South Africa for the United States in December, 1901. He was absent eleven months and during this period A. Henry Attaway took charge. It is for an investigation of those crucial eleven months that we now turn.

Attaway at the Helm

After a farewell reception given by the Peregrinos, Bishop Coppin left for the United States on 26 December, in order to publicize the work in South Africa and to raise funds for its continuance.

In his report to the Bishops' Council, Coppin described the difficulties confronting him in South Africa: the misrepresentations levelled against the church by European missionaries and government officials; the necessity of appointing capable and dedicated men to the field, a task which was made difficult by his inability to speak the local languages; the need for money to pay off Bethel Institute's debt of \$18,000 and with which to pay for solid church buildings to replace the mud structures currently serving the needs of his people.

Coppin told of his dealings with the Colonial Government for the purpose of attaining official recognition of his church and notwithstanding the allegations made against his church, he was optimistic about the British "spirit of fair play" prevailing.¹

In his report to the Board of Missions, Coppin stated that all his ministers with the exception of Attaway were

¹The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 3 July 1902.

self-supporting "at great personal expense." He asked the Board for \$10,000 which was needed as maintenance and mortgage money for the Bethel property.¹

In addition to lecturing, Bishop Coppin solicited support for the South African work by placing circulars in The Christian Recorder and the Voice of Missions, requesting that collections be taken up after the regular services. In addition, he advertised for pictures of houses and business establishments belonging to prominent Blacks which he planned to take back to South Africa as demonstrations of "the advancement of our Church and race in this country." The photos were to serve as examples to the South African brethren of what was possible and attainable.²

While the Bishop was campaigning for funds in the U.S., Attaway officially opened Bethel Institute to the public. More than 300 persons enrolled in the first month (the school could accommodate 400) and a Muslim was the first student to be accepted. Coppin later pointed with pride to the fact that the Institute entered the names of Chinese, Jewish, African, Coloured, Muslim and European students on its rolls.³ Bethel

¹A.M.E. Missionary Board Records, 1901, A.M.E. Department of Missions, New York.

²The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 3 July 1902.

³Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 32.

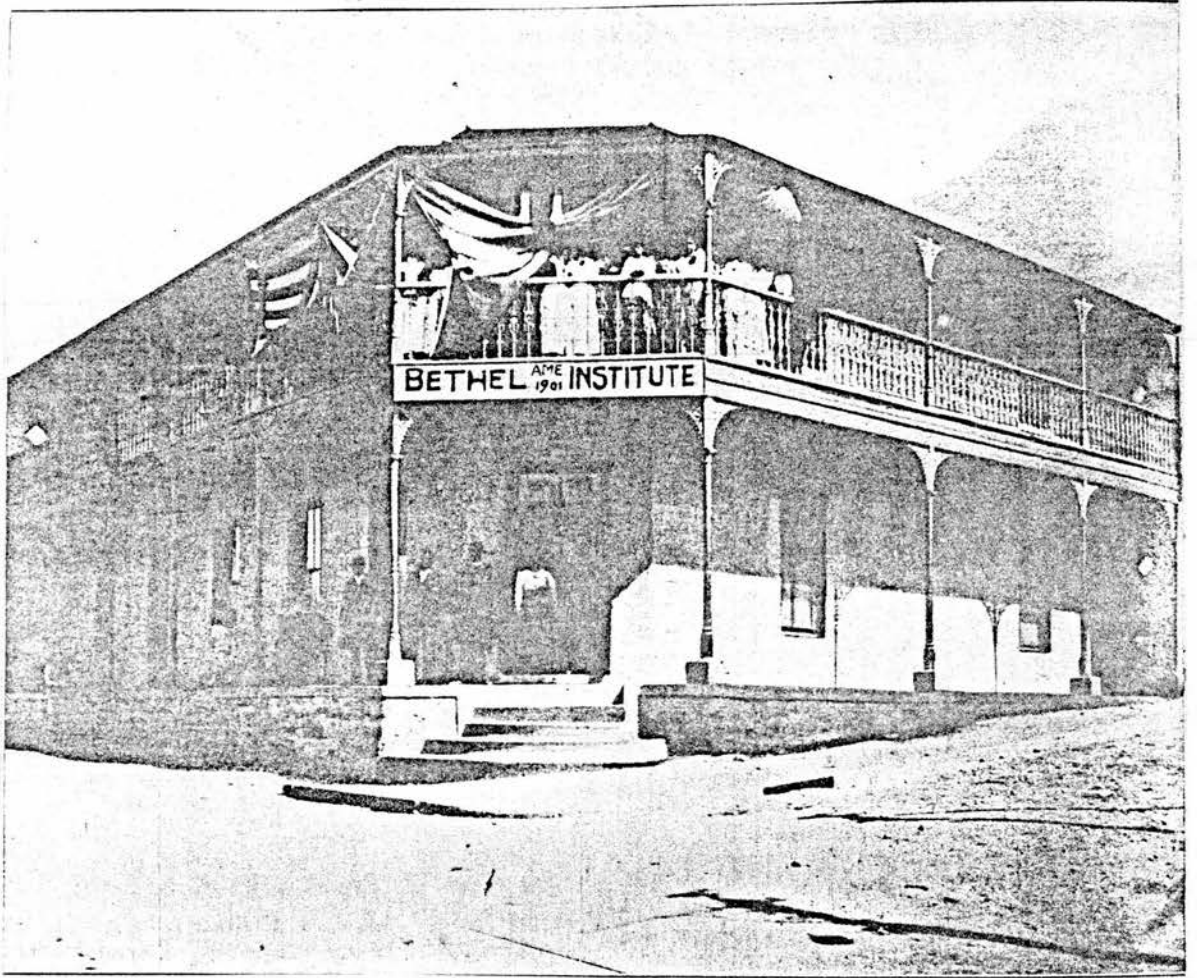
also included among its students several sons of interior chiefs. The school placed a number of its students in private homes as domestics which helped defray their expenses.

The South African Spectator carried a large advertisement for the school listing the Attaways, Mskinya, John A. Gregg and Mrs. E. R. Ingram as faculty members.¹ Day and night classes were held at the Institute in the hope that more adults would take advantage of the opportunities. The courses initially offered were on the primary, high school, and collegiate level. Some theological and music classes were offered as well. Theological students were admitted tuition-free. Children and widows of ministers were admitted at half-tuition.

Future expansion plans for the Institute included the purchase of 200 acres outside Cape Town for the purpose of erecting an industrial college and community. Attaway envisioned expanding the industrial courses to include carpentry, mechanical engineering, brickmaking, tanning, bootmaking, tailoring, etc., etc. Clearly Attaway's dream was to make the new college the Tuskegee of Africa. In keeping with his vision of Bethel, he lectured at Friendly Hall on the subject, "The Native, a Laborer."²

¹The South African Spectator, 22 February 1902. Gregg later became Bishop for South Africa. Charlotte Manye had been reassigned to Pretoria to establish another school. See below.

²The South African Spectator, 26 April 1902.



12 March, for the year 1902, was set aside as a special collection day for the educational programs of the Church. It will be recalled that it was on 12 March 1901, that the AMEC was formally recognized by the Cape Colony Government. Attaway had a special pamphlet printed in Xhosa and English with a front page picture of Bishop Coppin.

In his address to the Church, Attaway emphasized the fact that the March date was a milestone in the history of the Church in South Africa. He reiterated how the AMEC had been invited to South Africa and he detailed how the Church in America had prospered in the face of adversity. He also made what had become a familiar disclaimer of any mischievous intent on the part of the Church.

We are not adventurers in South Africa. We are not dreamers, neither are we theorists or a disturbing element coming to South Africa. There is no political danger in our presence here. . . . We are not politicians, our policy has been everywhere to gracefully adjust ourselves to the prevailing political, economic and social exigencies [sic].

In a nonsurprising move, Attaway announced that The South African Spectator had been "adopted" as the official organ of the AMEC in South Africa. Because the paper had been ever ready to defend the Church against all manner of misrepresentation, Attaway said it was the obligation of all ministers and members to support the paper and to extend its circulation.¹

¹CO 48-559-#16363. Though Peregrino considered himself

In the meanwhile, the South African newspapers began publishing a series of articles on the "Ethiopian Movement." The Prime Minister of Natal, Albert Hime, who was then in London, described the Black American preachers operating in the Cape Colony as a "grave menace" to State security because they allegedly taught the African that South Africa belonged to the Black man.¹ Hime had already approached the Colonial Office to determine how stringent his government could make the legislation aimed at restraining the independent churches among the Zulu.

The Governor of Natal, H. E. McCallum, had earlier informed Chamberlain that his Ministers wanted only European missionaries residing among their African population. As a result, he refused entry to some Free Methodist Church of North America missionaries because he mistakenly believed they were non-white. McCallum went on:

You think my suggestions drastic; I am afraid they are but the community, Anglican and nonconformist are determined that these American agitators shall not play the deuce with our natives under the disguise of religion and we cannot get at them by ordinary machinery.²

an Episcopalian, he nonetheless attended AME Church services and his children were educated at Bethel. (SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 326; Interview with Mrs. Ann Scott, Cape Town, May, 1976).

¹Daily Chronicle, 16 May 1902. Clipping in CO 48-559 #16363.

²McCallum to Chamberlain, 23 April 1902, CO 179-224-#52408. The Natal Attorney-General maintained that the independent church movement among the Zulu had originated in

That the cries of "sedition" and "State menace," as propounded by Hime should so forcefully emanate from Natal is not surprising. Though fears of a "native uprising" were always rife in the settler dominated areas of colonial Africa, as Shula Marks has so cogently demonstrated, Natal presented a special case of a community inundated with "Rumours and Red Herrings" given its tiny white population. The Zulu Wars fell within recent memory of the Natalians and they were haunted by the spectre of a rejuvenated House of Chaka.¹

A Cape Daily Telegraph editorial congratulated Prime Minister Hime for having "foreseen the dangers of an insidious movement," initiated by the "American Ethiopian Missionaries" who came to South Africa for mischievous purposes. They had come "preaching a doctrine which cannot be tolerated in a country swarming with savages in various stages of development." Their doctrine, which the paper stated was that of "Africa for the African" should be condemned even more vigorously than open disloyalty. The editor pointed out:

The white man is here and intends to stay. He . . . has certainly not the faintest intention of giving it up to please American Ethiopians.

The editors said that it was all right for the American

the US among Blacks and was introduced into South Africa by them. (Attorney General to the SNA, 13 May 1902, CO 170-224 #52404.)

¹Shula Marks, Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-08 Disturbances in Natal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Chaps. I, VI.

Ethiopians to agitate in the U.S. where they were far outnumbered but in South Africa, their activities had to be restrained. The Telegraph suggested that not only did Chamberlain and the Imperial Cabinet have to be alerted to the danger but the British Public as well.¹

Gow and Adriaanse addressed a letter to Chamberlain defending the AMEC against the charges of sedition which they said was inspired by European churchmen who erroneously viewed the AMEC as a menace to their vested interests. The two men suggested that the fact that their African adherents seceded pointed out some deficiency in the European churches. They said that Hime was an "innocent victim of misrepresentation," that he was "misinformed" as to the true tenets and principles of the AMEC. The two men referred the Secretary of State to the history of the AMEC in America where no such charges of sedition had ever been laid against it. And, the two men ended with a profession of loyalty to the King.² Gow and Adriaanse were informed that Hime had laid no charges of sedition against the AMEC before Chamberlain.³

Attaway wrote a letter to The Cape Times refuting the charges made by the "powerful enemy" of the AMEC which

¹The Cape Daily Telegraph, 30 May 1902.

²Gow and J. C. Adriaanse to Chamberlain, 28 May 1902, NA 497.

³Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Minutes to Ministers, GH 32/47. Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, 29 August 1902.

he left unnamed. The enemy's motive, said Attaway, was to array public and government opinion against the Church by preaching that the AMEs were "social equality teachers."

Attaway pointed out that Coppin would never stand for sedition in his church nor had any case of sedition on the part of an AME minister ever been brought to his attention. No proof of sedition, in spite of the censor and CID attempts to find it, had ever been produced. He said that Himes had been misled into thinking that AMEs were active in Natal, that in actuality there was only one AME minister in Natal and he was immobilized by the martial law restrictions. His influence was nil.

Attaway said once again that the AMEC was apolitical and was absolutely loyal to the British Empire because it saw in British rule, "the ultimate salvation" of Blacks in Africa. He viewed British rule as the only one which had demonstrated its ability to be of ultimate good and benefit to "alien races." He said that it was his belief that Africa's future wars would be fought in the field of commercial and industrial competition and because Africans were educationally unprepared "to take their respective places as essential and positive factors, notwithstanding their very survival depends upon this," British rule would be of benefit.¹

¹The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 7 August 1902.

In the meantime, The Christian Express printed an excerpt from a 1 November 1901 letter in the Voice of Missions written by Marie Duchtellier, a Haitian domestic living in Panama. She had been a frequent contributor to the Voice during Bishop Turner's editorship. The Express reprinted the missive in rebuttal to Attaway's disclaimers in The Cape Times, and to refute The South African Spectator and Izwi Labantu's defense of the Church.

The letter in question was written in response to a meeting of the Women's Emigration Association for South Africa, which convened in London. It was stated at the meeting that the British people were determined to maintain South Africa as a white man's country. The portion of Duchtellier's letter which The Christian Express zeroed in on was the following:

The Boers may have been dwelling in South Africa for the period of one hundred million years instead of a few centuries--they will still be exotics, and the worst species too, for no African took them there. They obtruded and the English will do well to whip them until they get back to their fatherland; and when our descendants shall be grown strong as they were in the great centuries of yore . . . they will, if the British be still extant in Africa, whip them until they reach the banks of the Thames--whip the British as the Afro-Haytians whipped the proud and bellicose French.¹

¹The Christian Express, 1 August 1902. See Appendix III. Duchtellier was an uncompromising "race" woman. Though prone to a labyrinthine style of writing, it did not obscure her rather sophisticated grasp of the international events which touched African people. The fact that she lived in Panama and worked as a domestic makes her accomplishments all the more remarkable. Duchtellier later corresponded with Duse Mohammad and eventually she

Clearly, The Christian Express reprint was most damaging to the credibility of the AMEC's protestations of political non-involvement. The reprint had been lifted from the Church's official mission's organ and the implication was that the views expressed by Duchtellier had official AME approval.

It would not be unfair to say that The Christian Express's decision to publish the excerpt was a deliberate one, designed to nullify Attaway's letter to The Cape Times. Before the Duchtellier letter appeared, the public was not inspired with much confidence in the motives of the AMEC. It was still jittery over the possibility of a "native rising." Both the British and the Dutch feared such a revolt during their recent conflict though it did not materialize. And so, there were many who looked on the AMEC as a precursor to such a rising. Duchtellier's sentiments only reinforced that fear.

As a result of the Duchtellier excerpt, a rash of condemnatory editorials appeared in several of the daily papers and these in turn sparked a controversy between the European and the non-white press.

The Cape Times editor pointed out how there were a number of South African students in the United States who would return to South Africa tainted by the doctrines of the

became an officer in the Garvey movement. (My thanks to Robert Hill, Northwestern University, for the Garvey reference.)

AMEC and ready to disseminate them among their people. To compound the danger, said the editors, was the fact that Bishop Turner had organized an emigration society whose purpose was to raise money with which to purchase ships and transport Black Americans back to Africa. The editor called for an official inquiry into the "Ethiopian Church Movement" and the proscription of any organization supporting the views like those expressed by Duchtellier.¹

The Eastern Province Herald viewed the Duchtellier letter as another manifestation of the plan afoot among African-Americans to seize control of the African continent. Africans were to become the dominant race in South Africa which meant an overthrow of the existing government.²

Theophilis Schreiner deplored the statements made by Duchtellier, whom he believed was white. However he emphasized that it would be unfair to associate the country's "civilized" and loyal African and Coloured people with the "wicked vapourings of religious or political firebrands in or from America." He expressed the hope that the statements would in no way reflect badly on the independent African church which he felt was a predictable and natural development. As for an impending uprising among Africans, it was sheer

¹The Cape Times Weekly Edition, 13 August 1902.

²The Eastern Province Herald, 13 August 1902.

"bunkum."¹

To be sure, Duchtellier came in for censure by non-whites as well. Peregrino thought her sentiments "vicious . . . grossly indecent," and said they should never have been printed. Resolutions were passed by the Church in Cape Town condemning the statements.²

However, Izwi Labantu was less apologetic. It viewed The Christian Express's publication of the letter as one more act in that paper's self-appointed role as the protector of the British Government and persecutor of the AMEC.

Izwi explained that the letter was written in response to a racist remark made in Britain; that it was not specifically directed toward South Africans but was meant for circulation in the West Indies, America and Britain.³ The paper pointed out that no editor should be held responsible for the statements of its correspondents unless he specifically endorsed them. Izwi vowed that Africans would remain loyal to the British Government as well as extend their hands "to their expatriated kinsmen" who came to South Africa. The editor asked why The Christian Express had not reprinted

¹T. Schreiner to The Cape Times, n.d., The Cape Times Weekly Edition, 19 August 1902.

²The South African Spectator, 23 August 1902.

³The paper did reach the West Indies and in fact, Duchtellier was criticized for her "sheer ignorance" of what the world's races owed the British. This critique came from a British Guiana paper, The People (Voice of Missions, 1 January 1902).

the article (contained in the same issue of the Voice of Missions as the Duchtellier letter) which congratulated the British on their victory over the Boers.¹

Aside from the fact that The Christian Express' decision to reprint the Duchtellier letter was particularly ill-timed for the AMEC, it was badly timed in terms of the overall activity within the non-white community at that juncture.

There was much agitation within the African and Coloured community over the issue of Clause 8 in the Peace Agreement which left the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony free to continue to withhold the franchise from non-whites. It was Milner's tradeoff for control of the political and cultural reconstruction of the newly conquered colonies.

The South African Native Congress had just petitioned the Colonial Secretary to extend the franchise to the two former republics, thus, the Duchtellier letter only lent credence to those colonists who warned of the danger in extending the franchise to Africans. The sentiments contained in the letter were used by people who agreed with Himes that the English and the Dutch must never permit political equality between Blacks and Whites.

Theo Schreiner suggested that in view of the fact that

¹
Izwi Labantu, 19 August 1902.

all Africans would be accused of holding the views expressed by Duchtellier, it was best that the educated of the race should abstain from "foolish and boastful vapourings" about present or future superiority. They should take pains to exhibit unswerving loyalty to the Crown and to go about the faithful discharge of whatever was expected of them within whatever sphere they operated. He advised that if the responsible of the race were conservative in their speech and action, they would receive a better reception for their claims of political rights and privileges due to British citizens.¹

¹Ibid., 26 August 1902.

The Official Inquiry is Launched

Given the controversy generated by the Duchtellier letter, and in anticipation of a Parliamentary inquiry, the Native Affairs Department sent a telegram to 27 District Magistrates in Cape Colony asking for a report on the "Ethiopian Movement" in their respective districts. They were asked for information on: the number of preachers and teachers connected with the movement, distinguishing between those of the AMEC and the Goduka, Dwane, Mzimba and Jackson groups; the names of the locations in which they operated; the number of adherents and whether their thrust was toward the heathen or the converted and, the "character and tendency" of their tenets. A similar telegram was sent to the Superintendents of Native Locations.¹ An identical communication was sent to the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories.²

The informants on which the Resident Magistrate's relied for their reports were either white missionaries or traders, and Africans who belonged to rival, established

¹ Snookes of the Native Affairs Department, Telegram #49, NA 498.

² Ibid., Native Affairs Department to the Chief Magistrate, 21 August 1902.

denominations and so it is not surprising that the bulk of the reports was unfavorable. Though the Native Affairs Department asked for specifics, the reports were primarily filled with generalities. In few cases was there any attempt to distinguish between the various denominations comprising the Ethiopian Church though several Resident Magistrates sought to make a case for membership in a particular body based on ethnic considerations. The AMEs were said to attract Fingos and Xhosas.¹ And at least one Resident Magistrate made a case for the stiff competition between the Order of Ethiopia members and the AMEs.²

It is clear that some magistrates were greatly confused over what group was run by whom. The Order of Ethiopia was said to have been administered by the American Baptist Church.³ Nor did the magistrates give many concrete figures, the majority of them relying instead on such vague terms as "a large number" or, "very few." The magistrates most commonly characterized the movement as political and social and very much doubted its religious value.

¹ Ibid., Resident Magistrates for Mafeking and Bedford to Native Affairs Department, 23 August and 3 September 1902.

² Ibid., Resident Magistrate, Vryburg to Native Affairs Department, 3 September 1902.

³ Ibid., Resident Magistrate, Alexandria to Native Affairs Department, 25 August 1902.

Though we are specifically concerned with the AMEC in this paper, because the magistrates rarely made a distinction between it and the other bodies, it is difficult therefore to know when precisely they were referring to the AMEC. In any case, though all the members and preachers were described as "Ethiopians," there were certain themes prevailing throughout the reports one of which specifically reflected on the AMEC. There was the theme of Black Supremacy. The Resident Magistrate of Libode said of the Ethiopians:

In time they will be the Church in South Africa, educating their sons to take the places of the white man and their daughters to take the places of the white girls: in fact they are to take the place of the white man and the white man theirs.¹

The Resident Missionary on whom the Acting Resident Magistrate of Stutterheim depended for his report, belonged to the United Free Church. He accused the Ethiopians of going among his parishioners telling them, "Come out from among these white-people, these people with hair like horse's tails. Come out from the people who count you as nothing." The missionary claimed that similar statements were a regular part of the open-air services of the Ethiopians and that the young people particularly were being infused with this racialism.²

¹Resident Magistrate, Libode, to Native Affairs Department, 29 August 1902, NA 497.

²Missionary to the Resident Magistrate, Stutterheim, 30 August 1902, NA 498.

There was the theme of African Unity, a unity which transcended ethnic differences. The Acting Resident Magistrate of Vryburg reported:

They work among the heathen blacks, for all blacks are welcomed whatever their nationality or race, but natives from other recognised religious bodies are accepted on production of certificates of removal. I understand they do not go to places where other religious bodies are established except on receiving a call.¹

It should be recalled that one of the major criticisms levelled against the AMEC was that it was a proselytizing church. The Resident Magistrate's report seems to buttress Coppin's assertion that it was AMEC policy never to enter an occupied field without a summons and even then, the summons was not answered until the Church was satisfied that the circumstances warranted it.² Coppin recognized his dilemma of on the one hand being labelled a pilferer and on the other, of being approached by congregations which had legitimate grievances. It bothered him greatly but he was determined that if called, he would answer.

There was the theme of Location Divisions and Inter-Family Rivalry which coalesced around the issue of religious allegiance. The Chief Magistrate of Queenstown noted that there was more dissension in the locations where the Ethiopians

¹Ibid., Resident Magistrate to Native Affairs Department, 3 September 1902.

²Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 112.

operated and as a result the locations were difficult to administer.¹ The Resident Magistrates for Bizana and Wodehouse reported that the Ethiopians had acquired influence over the headman or his relatives. The Bizana Resident Magistrate said that his headman had become inclined to pit his authority against that of government. The Resident Magistrate of Wodehouse said that the headman's son had begun associating with the Ethiopians, a situation which he believed would ultimately lead to location unrest because of what he viewed as essentially inter-family rivalry.²

In an opposing view, the Resident Magistrate for Butterworth, who relied on a Wesleyan missionary, T. R. Curnick, for his information, reported that if a local headman refused to give the Ethiopians his permission to conduct their meetings in his location, the Ethiopians would accuse him of being on the side of the whites and would then go directly to the people, totally disregarding the authority of the headman and thus setting a dangerous precedent.

Curnick also alleged that the Ethiopians had attempted to organize an African "Co-operative Trade Company" in the Transkei for the purpose of bypassing the European trader.³

¹Chief Magistrate, Queenstown, to Native Affairs Department, 23 August 1902, NA 498.

²Resident Magistrate, Bizana, to Native Affairs Department, 10 September 1902, NA 497; Resident Magistrate, Wodehouse, to Native Affairs Department, 3 September 1902, NA 498.

³This co-operative may have been connected with the

This was proof to the missionary that the motives of the Ethiopians were political. He alleged that those most prone to support the Ethiopians were the better educated young men of the Transkei whose aim was to gain control of the District Councils, and thereby gain control of the Council funds.

Curnick went on to introduce yet another theme evident in the various reports--that of African-American Influence. In his view,

We have to thank the American negroes for much of the trouble we are having now . . . our Native problem will become greater and more difficult because of the American negro notions of liberty education, equality, and self-government. These phrases in their teaching prove to us that it is not so much a religious movement, but a political one.¹

In a similar vein, the Resident Magistrate for Bedford said of the alleged African-American influence:

The fact of its being engineered from America leaves much to be desired, and I hold strongly the opinion that Government should guard these Natives from foreign political agitation in the guise of religion and anything that tends to diminish or bring into disrepute the authority of the white man is certainly subversive of discipline. . . . I also hear that arrangements are being made for sending Natives intended for the priesthood to the American Colleges for education and as the tendency there must necessarily be 'Democracy' which is the worst possible teaching for them, as being only children they are not fit to govern themselves either in Church or State.²

stores advertised in The South African Spectator as shops with "no Middlemen to pay." (The South African Spectator, 27 September 1902).

¹Curnick to the Resident Magistrate, Butterworth, 1 September 1902, NA 497.

²Resident Magistrate, Bedford, to Native Affairs Department, 1 September 1902, NA 498.

The Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories took up the theme of the New Educated Elite which he said was a class apart from the "Red" African. This new class had no real loyalty to their traditional rulers nor were they prepared to readily obey the dictates of government which the older generation of Christian Africans had. This new class was said to be the driving force behind the various "Vigilance" societies springing up in the Transkei. The aim of these new societies allegedly was to alter the membership qualifications of the District Councils so as to include a broader selection of opinion than just that of the largely illiterate and therefore more easily manipulated headmen.

The Chief Magistrate predicted that the presence of Black American missionaries in South Africa and the enthusiasm with which Africans embraced American education were likely to lead to political unrest in the future. However, he could see some positive aspects in the situation. "The cry of Africa for the black African" would more than anything else bring closer together Boer and Briton.¹

While the Native Affairs Department was trying to synthesize the various reports it received, Milner sent out a confidential despatch to his Governors in the Cape and Natal telling them that his attention had increasingly been drawn to the AMEC because of its attempts to gain recognition

¹Chief Magistrate, Umtata, to Secretary of the Native Affairs Department, 23 October 1902. NA 497.

in the Transvaal and Basutoland. He wanted to know if the same overtures had been made in the Cape and Natal. He told the Governors:

In these circumstances it seems desirable that before the various South African Governments define their attitude towards a movement which may possibly turn out to be persistent and far-reaching, there should be some sort of consultation and agreement between them.¹

In his reply, Sprigg attached a copy of his Minutes of 15 March and 25 March 1902 which Sprigg stated should answer all the High Commissioner's questions. He reminded the High Commissioner that the AMEC had been officially recognized by his government as had the Church's ordained ministers if they had the necessary educational qualifications.²

Governor McCallum, sent Milner a copy of a memo written by his Secretary for Native Affairs (which dealt with the independent churches of Natal--primarily Zulu--which were nonetheless attributed to the influence of Black Americans) and he informed the High Commissioner that his government had received no application for recognition from the AMEC and if it had, his government would have denied it. He concurred with Milner's suggestion that some sort of consultation for a common government policy was in order.³

¹Milner Despatch, 8 November, 1902, CO 179-224 #52408.

²Sprigg to Milner, 22 November 1902, NA 497.

³McCallum to Milner, 27 November 1902, CO 179-224 #52408.

Milner's attention had also perhaps been drawn to the AMEC because of an approach made to him by A. Henry Attaway.

Attaway, Mokone and Sinamela had been in Pretoria bearing gifts for the High Commissioner and trying to obtain an interview with him. The subject of the proposed interview was Transvaal and Orange River Colony recognition of the Church and its ordained ministers as marriage officers. It was hoped that through the interview the High Commissioner would get a clearer understanding of the motives of the AMEC in view of the stories emanating from Natal. In his letter of request, Attaway assured Milner that although American in origin, the AMEC in South Africa would be essentially British. He pledged AME support for the High Commissioner's plans for a reconstructed "British" South Africa.¹

Attaway was informed that the High Commissioner was unavailable for an interview and that he should address his representations to Godfrey Lagden, his Transvaal Commissioner to Native Affairs.

Bishop J. C. Hartzell of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) was informed by someone in Cape Town that his church had been implicated in the Ethiopian Movement. Because

¹Attaway to the Secretary of the High Commissioner, 28 June 1902, SNA 11 CF 1902.

the MEC was of American origin, people were prone to think this church was connected with the AMEC. In fact, on several occasions various officials called the AMEC, the "American Methodist Episcopal Church," or the "Ethiopian American Methodist Episcopal Church."

In his letter to Prime Minister Sprigg, Hartzell said he thought some statement from him on the histories and the relationship between the two distinct bodies was in order.

Hartzell explained to Sprigg how the two bodies had been once united but that the black members had withdrawn and formed their own distinct organization because of what they perceived as racialism. He told Sprigg that the church had its own preachers, bishops, schools, etc., and that the AMEC taught,

the best way for the negro to develop in character and independence, is to be entirely distinct from the white man in their organization and work and naturally their leaders among them should emphasize the statement that they are victims of racial caste and hatred and that their safety lies in organized aggressive work among their own people, independent of and sometimes in antagonism to white organizations, controlled by white men.

Hartzell went on to say that his church made no such distinctions between language, race or color. However, he admitted that it did encourage everyone to have separate churches, schools, teachers, etc., if they wished. He denied that his church was connected with the AMEC in any way¹ or that his church had spheres of influence in South Africa.

¹During Dwane's troubles with the Colony Government

He did admit to activity in Rhodesia, and West Africa. He informed Sprigg that in his many lectures on South Africa's commercial and emigration possibilities, he had discovered that "thoughtful Americans" were very much concerned about the progress being made toward uniting the European people for a "prosperous South Africa."¹

The Wesleyan Church held a Conference in Kimberley at which it was determined that at a future conference the Church would clarify its position toward the churches comprising the "Ethiopian Movement." Before doing so, the church addressed a communication to Milner asking what was government's attitude toward the churches, whether all the independent churches were recognized or just some and if so, which ones, and, whether the churches were subject to the same privileges as the European ones.²

Milner had copies of the above letter sent to his Commissioner of Native Affairs in Johannesburg, to his Prime Minister in Cape Colony, and to his Resident Commissioners

over his Vicar-Bishop ordination, Hartzell was touring Southern Africa and Dwane was given the suggestion by a government official that perhaps he could approach Hartzell for a testimonial as to its validity, the official believing the two were connected. (Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, "Ethiopian Movement and Episcopal Methodist Native Church of South Africa 1901-1904." GH 35/84, Stanford to the Prime Minister, 5 September 1899.)

¹Ibid., Hartzell to Sprigg, 14 November 1902.

²James Robb to the High Commissioner, 18 September 1902, NA 497.

in Mafeking, Maseru and Salisbury asking for their views.¹

A. C. Dale replied setting forth the Cape Colony position. He listed five sects operating out of the Cape Colony, and not one of them was recognized. The Order of Ethiopia he said occupied "a unique position" and the Archbishop of Cape Town could best explain its position viz the English Church. As for the AMEC, Dale said that it had complied with all the conditions laid down by the Schreiner Government for recognition and Coppin's ordination of ministers preceded their recognition as marriage officers. He attached a list of of AME marriage officers approved by the Colonial Secretary's office.²

The list included: Coppin, Attaway, Gow, Msikinya, A. A. Morrison, Mokone, B. Booyse, G. H. Sinamela, I. Z. Tantsi, A. B. Gabashane and D. K. Gabashane, E. Jonas, N. R. Ngcayiya, J. G. Sishuba, P. J. Kuze and B. Kumalo, the latter two having left the Colony. Dale pointed out that the list did not encompass all the AME ordained ministers but only those "whom we deem most qualified to conserve the best interests of the Government. . . ." ³

¹Milner to the Prime Minister of Cape Colony et al., 29 September 1902, CO 417-354 #48431.

²Dale to the Secretary of Native Affairs, 1 October 1902, NA 497.

³Ibid., Dale to the Secretary of Native Affairs, 1 October 1902.

Godfrey Lagden wrote Milner describing the Transvaal's position. His view was that the AMEC was pernicious in its influence on the "native mind." It was his personal policy never to meet with any AMEs because of what he perceived as their propensity to distort conversations. He suggested that an inter-colonial conference be convened with a view to arriving at a common policy toward the independent churches.¹

The Resident Commissioner at Mafeking believed that all religious sects should be given a free hand so long as their teachings were loyal to government. He admitted having no real information on the Ethiopian Church but he said, if he found that its teachings were disloyal, he would not hesitate to counteract it. If on the other hand, they were loyal, it would receive the same treatment as the other religious bodies in his territory.²

The Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, H. C. Sloley, took a less alarmist view in his description of the AMEC than he had taken earlier. He said the Church was represented in his territory by one minister, B. Kumalo and 5 teachers with a pupil load of 183. The Church had applied for government recognition and inspection thus paving the way

¹Lagden to the Private Secretary to the High Commissioner, 11 October 1902, SNA 43 CF 1904.

²Ralph Williams to the High Commissioner, 2 October 1902, CO 417-354 #48431.

for a possible government grant but no decision on the applications had been made. Sloley had consulted with several African ministers, and all had disclaimed any connection with politics. He said Rideout was still in Basutoland and had "interested himself in politics," but not in a damaging way.

The Resident Commissioner predicted that the independents would have a hard time usurping the position of the Paris Evangelical Mission missionaries because the French had always permitted a degree of self-control in church matters which "provided an outlet for native ambitions . . ." In any case, said the Resident Commissioner, the Paris Evangelical Mission missionaries were viewed as essentially apolitical and disinterested observers, since they were French and had no connection with either the Boers or the British.¹

The Resident Commissioner for Salisbury had no personal knowledge of the Ethiopian Church but he did enclose a copy of a petition he had received from several churches requesting that the AMEC be refused a church site in Bulawayo. In addition he had received a report from his Administrator, W. H. Milton in Matebeland. Milton said that his locality had several ministers holding certificates to preach

¹Sloley to Milner, 1 November 1902,
CO 417-354 #48421.

from the AMEC and that it was their stated intention to live and to establish an AMEC mission in Matebeleland.¹

Having the rather inconclusive reports in hand, the only reply Milner could give to James Robb's query about the government's attitude toward the AMEC was that the Church was recognized in neither Transvaal nor the Transkeian Territories.²

In the meantime, Attaway continued supervising church activities. He invited Cummings to the dedicatory ceremony at Allen Chapel in the Maitland Location, but the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs did not attend.

Attaway asked Cummings for an interview so that he could discuss exempting Bethel's African students from the location's compulsory residency requirements. The Native Affairs Department expressed a willingness to consider exempting the students provided certain requirements were met concerning their places of residence in Cape Town. So far as Bethel's African church members were concerned, he claimed no decision could be made until Parliament had debated on the Native Reserve Location Bill.³

¹Ibid., Milton to M. Clarke, 29 October 1902.

²Milner to Robb, 3 November 1902, CO 417-354 #48421.

³Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Letters Despatched September-November 1902 NA 881. Cummings to Attaway, 7 October 1902.

Francis Gow and W. A. Roberts led a delegation to the Prime Minister to call his attention to the hardship faced by the Coloured refugees.¹ To be sure, very little of the slated £ 18 1/2 millions for resettlement and repatriation went to those non-whites who had incurred great financial loss because of the war.²

The Peregrino-Attaway alliance continued to remain strong. The two men took it upon themselves to represent "The Afro-American Citizens of Cape Town South Africa" in a petition to the U.S. Government urging an increase in the salary of the Cape Town Consul General.³ In many respects, the move was a diplomatic one. The American Consul General had proven in the past to be accessible, and on occasion, helpful to Black Americans in South Africa who understandably were faced with peculiar problems. For example, there was the case of a bar-room brawl involving a Black Texan, Ernest Gardener. Gardener was arrested and he subsequently charged the police with unwarranted brutality. Peregrino, Attaway and Harry Dean took a special interest in the case

¹The South African Spectator, 31 May 1902.

²Leonard Thompson, The Unification of South Africa, 1902-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 12-13.

³United States Government Archives, Washington, Miscellaneous Correspondence Received January-June, 1902 C.8.9. Peregrino to Colonel Bingham, 20 March 1902.

and approached the Consul General for aid. The Consul General in turn approached the Colonial Secretary's Office and an official investigation of the case was made.¹ The Jubilee Singers had on occasion used the services of the Consul General during their tours, and Peregrino was moved to say that one of the reasons Cape Town West Indians pretended to be Black Americans was because they were entitled to the protection on the Consul-General should they encounter difficulty.² There was another AME/American Consul connection in that Attaway acted as courier for the Consul General's messages to the peripatetic Harry Foster Dean.³

¹Ibid., Peregrino to Stowe, 18 June 1902.
See also Dean, Umbala, op. cit., pp. 84-5, 116-118.

²The South African Spectator, 23 August 1902.

³Attaway to Bingham, 22 March 1902,
Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, C.8.9, op. cit.

Harry Dean in Pondoland

By 1902, Dean had become an unofficial emissary of the AMEC. In August, 1902, Dean applied for a permit to enter Johannesburg saying that he wished to go to the Transvaal to begin teaching at an AME school.¹

According to Dean, shortly after Coppin's arrival, the Bishop approached him about going to Pondoland to work with Sigcau. Sigcau had written to the Bishop asking for aid in the construction of churches and schools. Dean said that although he was inclined toward Buddhism and therefore was not interested in joining the AMEC, he was committed to helping his race and so, he set off for Pondoland guided by Sigcau's representative, "Emtinso."²

It will be recalled that Tantsi and Rideout had already approached Sigcau about educational and perhaps commercial possibilities for Pondoland and the government had reacted unfavorably to Rideout's presence in the country. Mtintso had been denied a church and school site.

Dean arrived in Pondoland and with Mtintso as translator, he had several consultative sessions with Sigcau

¹Ibid., Dean to Bingham, 6 August 1902.

²Dean, Umbala, op. cit., pp. 141-2.

at which they discussed Pondoland's favorable commercial prospects. Sigcau narrated for Dean how Cecil Rhodes and the British had wrested his country from his control, how his people were impoverished because of the "crushing taxation," and how he had been humiliatingly imprisoned. Excited by the King's narrative, Mtintso vowed revenge. As a result of the talks, Dean was appointed one of Sigcau's counsellors and was given 3,000 acres of land for AME school and church purposes.¹

In reply to the Native Affairs Department circular of 21 August, the Resident Magistrate of Lusikisini reported that Dean, whom he described as "a light-coloured half caste American negro,"² had come to his office with a letter from Sigcau. The letter introduced Dean as a representative of the education department of the AMEC and stated that the King had given him a site at Mateko. The letter expressed Sigcau's wish that the Resident Magistrate would do all in his power to help forward the AMEC program as Sigcau was "anxious to encourage the civilization of the Pondos."

One of the methods by which the Resident Magistrate could aid the program was by giving Dean permission to cut down some trees for building purposes. The Resident Magistrate

¹Ibid., 157-164, 175-78; Umbala manuscript, op. cit., Chapter 19.

²Cf., with Dean's statement, "I am an African, and proud of it. There is not a drop of white blood in my veins." (Umbala, p. 20).

said that Dean explained to him the aims and objectives of the AMEC which the Resident Magistrate characterized as being aims to elevate the Pondos "to a strong political power, which is to be dominant in South Africa." The Resident Magistrate suggested to Dean that he put his request for building materials in writing because he had no power to officially countenance his activities. Dean told him that Bishop Coppin had already made representations to the government about his programs and the Church had been recognized. Therefore, he could not understand the need for further communications. The Resident Magistrate told Dean that he had not been informed about the church recognition whereupon Dean "protested against what he called my opposition to the sacred work," and informed him that he had already converted members of Sigcau's family to AMEism and looked forward shortly to the King becoming a member of the Church.

After Dean left, the Resident Magistrate wrote to Sigcau telling him that he (Sigcau) was in no position to grant sites unless he had government permission. He advised him not to support the AMEC until it had government recognition.¹

Before the project could get underway, Dean had to leave Pondoland because of urgent business considerations

¹Resident Magistrate to Chief Magistrate, Pondoland, 27 August 1902, NA 497.

in Cape Town but he left with Sigcau promising to continue with the project.¹

The Resident Magistrate reported meeting Dean on his way out of Pondoland en route, Dean said, back to the U.S. The Resident Magistrate alleged that Dean expressed disappointment with his reception by the Pondos and said that he was severing all ties with them. After Dean left, Attaway appointed Mtintso as Dean's successor.

The Resident Magistrate said earlier in his report that he had been unsuccessful in gathering precise information on the movement and so, his report only contained his personal suspicions. He alleged that Mtintso was preaching at the Royal Kraal and had been designated the Royal Chaplain. The Resident Magistrate had been unable to determine what were the real teachings of Mtintso. He had been told that Mtintso was preaching that the AMEC believed that included in the curriculum of its schools should be courses in "converting the minerals of the country into arms and ammunition." The AMEC believed that people should be educated to govern themselves without the aid of white men.

The Resident Magistrate had also been told that the Pondos believed that Dean had left their country for the U.S. from which he would bring back shiploads of materials and

¹Dean, Umbala, op. cit., pp. 192-3.

people to help in the construction of schools and churches.¹ Thus it would seem that Dean left on good terms with the Pondos which calls into question the truth of his alleged assertion to the Resident Magistrate that he was disappointed with Sigcau's people.

The Resident Magistrate included in his report on the Pondos the signed affidavit of an Anglican teacher and preacher, Simeon Gule, who swore that he had met Mtirtso in 1900. In a conversation with him, Mtirtso had told Gule that he was going to hire eleven teachers who would establish a college at Mateko and that they would teach the Pondos how to make guns and gunpowder thus placing them in a position to establish their own government.

Mtirtso was also said to have told Gule about how American Blacks had been seized from Africa and enslaved but they were now sending teachers to South Africa. Gule ended his affidavit:

I have heard from the Natives that Mtirtso does not preach the usual Christian doctrines but advises the accumulation of knowledge for the purpose of gaining power.²

Mtirtso proceeded to build a mission station on the site at Mateko. He had been given permission to build a temporary shelter for Attaway and another unnamed person who

¹Resident Magistrate to Chief Magistrate, Pondoland, 27 August 1902 NA 497.

²Ibid., Simeon Gule Affidavit, 27 August 1902.

were expected to visit Pondoland but at the time he was given permission he was told that no church or school would be countenanced without authority from the Native Affairs Department. Mtintso proceeded to build permanent structures on the site in spite of government protests. Mtintso insisted that he was building on Attaway's authorization. Attaway was requested to "take immediate steps" to halt the construction operations.¹

While the Mtintso activities were transpiring in Pondoland, Rideout was still living and working in Basutoland and according to the authorities, he was still dabbling in "politics."

As early as 1886, the Resident Commissioner at Maseru had proposed to the then Paramount Chief, Letsie, that there should be established in Basutoland a National Council to include representatives from each of the Sons of the Royal House. These representatives were to be nominated by the Paramount Chief; the government was to nominate representatives from various other sources.² Theoretically the Council was to be a consultative and advisory body but in actuality it was to be an agency through which government policy was

¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Miscellaneous Letters Received, 15 November-27 December 1902, NA 882. Cummings to Attaway, 1 December 1902.

²Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Basutoland Council Papers, Vol. I, 1893. Resident Commissioner to Letsie, 16 April 1886.

to be promulgated and implemented. For various reasons-- change in the Resident Commissioner, death of Letsie, government stalling, the Anglo Boer War--the question of the National Council had been held in abeyance.

However, in 1901, Lerotholi began to press the government for resumption of talks on finalizing the plans for the Council. The Resident Commissioner said of this renewed interest on Lerotholi's part:

It is not quite easy to discern all the reasons for his revival of interest in the project at the present time but I understand the advice of Mr. Rideout who is at Matsieng has to a considerable extent influenced Lerotholi. It may have occurred to the Chiefs, or may have been suggested to them, that they will strengthen their position and attract sympathy by availing themselves of the council as a form of representating [sic] the nation approximating in appearance at least, to European ideas of a constitutional assembly. . . .¹

Certainly one of the reasons Lerotholi may have been so insistent about the Council was because he felt that the British would be more inclined to give it to him in view of his pro-British position concerning the recent conflict.

Milner told the Resident Commissioner to be in "no hurry" to push through the idea of the Council.² Whether the allegation about Rideout is true is uncertain but it will be recalled that Dean saw Rideout in Basutoland and said

¹Ibid., Acting Resident Commissioner to the High Commissioner, 13 April 1901.

²Ibid., 30 April 1901.

that Rideout was advising the King on certain government matters.

It is certain that Rideout was still living in Basutoland in 1902. Using a Maseru postal address, he had complained to the U.S. Consul General in Cape Town that his mail had been intercepted. He told the Consul that he was in Basutoland establishing "Normal and Industrial Schools." He reminded him that the U.S. was neutral, that it was on friendly relations with the British and therefore the Imperial Government had no right to withhold his mail.¹

Later in the year, Rideout wrote a letter to the Voice of Missions dated 4 March, telling the readers that he had been invited to Basutoland by the Paramount Chief for the purpose of establishing industrial schools. Toward this end the Basuto had raised £ 4,400 with which to begin construction.² He said that as soon as the unsettled

¹Rideout to Bingham, 22 February 1902, Miscellaneous Correspondence Received C.8.9, op. cit.

²The Paris Evangelical Mission and Catholic Churches operated trade schools of sorts in Quthing, Roma and Morija but nothing of the sophisticated type Lerotholi wanted. In addition, the Basuto learned "trades" at places like Lovedale and Zonnebloem in Cape Colony but they were of negligible value in a backwater place like Basutoland.

On the subject of the money raised by Lerotholi, The Christian Express editor stated that one of his "well informed" sources told him that Rideout had tried to get his hands on the money in 1901 but had met with little success. (The Christian Express, 1 October 1902).

conditions caused by the war were stabilized, he could complete the school which would then be placed under the auspices of the AMEC.¹

It is a fact that Lerotholi had through subscriptions from the Basuto nation collected a sum of £ 3184 in 1895 for the purpose of establishing an industrial school.² At a Pitso held in May, 1899, there was discussion between the Resident Commissioner and Lerotholi on the location for the school and the types of subjects to be taught. It is clear from the discussions that the Resident Commissioner had no concrete plans for the school nor was he particularly anxious to get the project underway.³ The Paramount Chief was very much committed to the idea of education, especially in the area of skilled trades. As he so poignantly put it in his 1902 meeting with Milner:

I want Basuto to learn in an Industrial School. We old ones know nothing. I say that those that come after us old ones should learn trades I say please arrange a school with the RC. I had no education and here I am. Look at me!⁴

Milner admitted that the money for the school was

¹Voice of Missions, 1 May 1902.

²Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Basutoland, Colonial Report 1896-97, p. 55.

³Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Pitsos 9 May 1899-16 August 1915 S11/6.

⁴Ibid., "Notes of Meeting held at Ladybrand between Milner and Lerotholi," 4 December 1902.

in Lerotholi's hands, it did exist but the War had caused a postponement of the plans. The problem confronting the scheme in 1902 was Milner's alleged difficulty in finding qualified teachers to staff the school.

In his 4 March 1902 letter to the Voice of Missions, Rideout also said that Chief Khama of Bechuanaland had made a similar offer, to the AMEC. Khama allegedly told Rideout that he would allow the Church to establish an industrial school the difference being that some London Missionary Society buildings had been abandoned and he was offering them for immediate use. The offer of the abandoned buildings was said to have been made by John S. Morolong to Coppin at the December, 1901 Annual Conference at Cape Town.

Possibly because Coppin was about to leave for the U.S. on a fund-raising tour or for whatever reason--the Bishop did not respond to the offer thus it was relayed to Rideout. Rideout promised Khama that he would attend to the matter as soon as possible. He told the readers of the Voice that because of his deep interest in education, he had "single-handed and alone" "taken advanced steps" in Basutoland. Rideout viewed education as the solution to the race problem in Southern Africa. As he put it: "The future is in our hands . . . we need wait no longer for help, we help ourselves."

On reading the Rideout letter in The Christian Express,

a London Missionary Society missionary in Bechuanaland assigned to Khama's Camp, W. C. Willoughby, approached the Chief about the statements attributed to him. Khama's initial reaction was to treat the whole thing as a joke. When told by Willoughby that very serious repercussions could ensue whether the statements were true or not, that the article could "alienate his best friends," Khama denied all that Rideout had said. He denied having any dealings at all with anyone from the "Ethiopian Church." Either Khama forgot his 1901 meeting with Coppin or he chose to forget.

Willoughby convinced Khama to refute the Rideout allegations as explicitly as possible. Toward this end, Khama dictated a letter of denial to Willoughby who wrote it in Setswana. Willoughby claimed that the content of the letter was solely Khama's, that he had made it a point not to contribute to the wording of it as he usually did to the Chief's correspondence. Khama told the editor of The Christian Express:

I cause you to know that I have seen a newspaper from you and that the words which you have heard are lies. . . . And I say that I have not yet spoken with anyone of any other Church or even seen a person of any other Church. I have not spoken with him and I have not sought anyone or any other Church than the Church of L.M.S. I have no complaint against the Church to which I belong, and the Missionary I am just living nicely with him. If anyone seeks a Missionary it must be those who haven't Missionaries and they who say they have seen a letter from me let them produce it that all people may see it.

Willoughby thought Khama's disclaimer was factual in that he had never made the promises which Rideout attributed to him. However, Willoughby was aware that the letter still left some questions unanswered. The missionary reiterated his belief in Khama's version of the story though he conceded that the Rideout letter was not a total untruth. Given the fact that Rideout knew about the vacant London Missionary Society buildings, Willoughby theorized that Rideout must have had an informant in Bechuanaland. Willoughby theorized that someone close to Khama and without his permission, had sent Rideout the invitation to come to Bechuanaland. Willoughby expressed the hope that Rideout would meet Khama's challenge and publish his invitation to Bechuanaland whereby they could discover who was the culprit in the Khama Camp.

Willoughby went on to say that based on the second-hand information he had gathered, it appeared that the Ethiopian Church was not a true religious organization but one which was geared toward exploiting the tribes with its pernicious propaganda. This perniciousness was evident by the changes which he said had occurred in the young men who returned from Bulawayo having been in contact with the Ethiopians. Given the Ethiopian Church's anti-British and "revolutionary" doctrines, it made him shudder to think of the consequences should the Church gain power in the Protectorates. In Willoughby's opinion,

The native of the Protectorate is at heart a slave, and a slave is the same thing as a despot with the other end upwards. And yet this very quality is a safeguard against any serious attempt to establish a black republic unless they get hold of one of those strong native leaders who are born among these tribes every century or so. The American black man will never establish anything of this kind in this Territory, though he may cause a lot of trouble to the tribes, the native churches and the Government.¹

In reply to the Willoughby communication, Williams said that he was pleased that Khama had disavowed all connection with the Rideout activities for it would be unwise of Khama to do anything to disrupt his good relations with government. However, Williams did express the wish that Khama's denial had been a bit stronger.²

A copy of the Willoughby letter was sent to Milner who in turn forwarded it to Sprigg. The High Commissioner wanted detailed information on Rideout. Milner was given the details on Rideout's background--he was a Black American, a lawyer, etc.,--and the High Commissioner was told how Rideout had gone to Pondoland to establish mission stations and schools.

Though Sigcau was said to have encouraged Rideout in his activities, he fell short of giving Rideout any concrete financial support. This forced Rideout to leave Pondoland. Sprigg described Rideout's influence on the

¹ Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Pitsos 9 May 1899-16 August 1915 S11/6.

² Ibid., Williams to Willoughby, 26 September 1902.

Pondos as one of pitting Africans against Europeans. He enclosed copies of the 1899 letters from Rideout and Mokone which the Prime Minister noted had been reprinted in The Christian Express for the purpose of "illustrating the ways of these people."¹

In the midst of the developments regarding the AMEC and the alleged malevolent effects of Black Americans on the "native mind," Joseph Booth decided not only to return to Central Africa but to return accompanied by a group of Black American 7th Day Adventists. Booth previously had been ejected from Central Africa and he had just returned from a fund-raising tour of the U.S. Armed with a letter of introduction from Bishop Coppin, he had stayed with Bishop Turner during his stay in Atlanta.²

Alexander Hetherwick wrote to the Resident Commissioner in Blantyre, Mr. Sharpe, warning him that the return of Booth and his friends meant a beginning of the Ethiopian trouble then brewing in Natal and Cape Colony. Moreover, said Hetherwick, "it was these American natives who began the movement in the South African colonies. . . ."³

Sharpe telegraphed Milner telling him that he was

¹ Sprigg to the High Commissioner, 9 December 1902, CO 879-79 #2388.

² Voice of the People, December 1901.

³ Hetherwick to the Resident Commissioner, 26 July 1902, CO 417-359 #45634.

inclined to bar the Booth party's entrance into his territory but he wanted the High Commissioner's views before doing so. He particularly wanted to know if the Ethiopians had caused mischief in the South African colonies.¹ Milner replied that he knew nothing of the Ethiopian Church personally but his Commissioner for Native Affairs, Godfrey Lagden, regarded it unfavourably and he was certain that the Cape Colony missionaries were not too highly esteemed either.² Though attacked from all sides in the year 1902, the AMEC had a number of supporters, one of whom was highly placed.

The editors of Izwi Labantu met with Prime Minister Sprigg to discuss among other things the "Ethiopian Church Movement." They informed the Prime Minister that the majority of the African population were loyal to the government and to the established churches but there was a small group which had left the established churches to form its own. As a result of their independence, they were persecuted for belonging to an association which had been erroneously styled "Ethiopian."

The editors told Sprigg that the term "Ethiopianism" was a word coined by the European missionaries and press and

¹ Ibid., 29 July 1902.

² Ibid., Milner to Sharpe, 11 August 1902.

it was perjorative. They voiced their displeasure at the government's subjective view of the movement and they singled out Mzimba as a man who had been the victim of arbitrary and high-handed treatment simply because of his race.¹

Sir Alfred Maloney wrote a complimentary letter to Chamberlain telling him that in his experience in West Africa with the AMEC, he had found the Church to be an asset to the countries in which it operated. He had never found cause to question its loyalty to or respect for government. He had found the Church to be "practical in their mode and methods of promoting native interests." He had found the Church's agricultural programs laudable for its aim at inculcating notions of self-sufficiency and independence. He told Chamberlain that the AMEC deserved not condemnation but "encouragement, sympathy and support."²

¹Izwi Labantu, 9 December 1902.

²Sir Alfred Maloney to Chamberlain, 12 August 1902, CO 417-369 #33221.

Coppin Returns and Relinquishes the Bishopric

Bishop Coppin arrived back in Cape Town in December, 1902. He was accompanied by his wife and the Rev. C. M. Tanner, brother of the eminent African-American artist, Henry O. Tanner.

The Bishop had been absent from the South African field for nearly a year, and it had been a rather crucial year. Rideout and Dean, as well as the remainder of the representatives of the Church, had operated more or less free of all supervision. Attaway had been restricted to Cape Colony and the Duchtellier letter had been blown all out of proportion.

Whether the Bishop liked it or not, his church was linked to the real or imagined political aspirations of South Africans. What's more, during his absence, a new political organization had been formed, some of whose members played prominent roles in his church or had various ties with it.

The African Political Organization (APO) was founded for the purpose of unifying all the Coloured races of South Africa; to obtain higher education for their children; to defend the political, social and civil rights of the Coloured people and to enroll all the qualified Coloured voters on the Parliamentary Voter's Roll.¹

¹Richard van der Ross, "A Political and Social

In any case, shortly after his arrival, the Bishop convened the sixth session of the South African Annual Conference in Port Elizabeth. The conference took place from 21 through 27 January.

During the conference, a committee was formed to gather information on the origins of the Church in South Africa from which it was to write a short history. A resolution was passed calling for the establishment of The South African Christian Recorder. The purpose of this new paper was to disseminate information on the Church and its activities and to combat the misrepresentations made against it. It was further resolved that a printing plant be established to produce the paper and to engage in outside printing orders. C. M. Tanner was appointed manager-editor of the paper and its future facilities.

New presiding elders were appointed: C. M. Tanner for Cape Town; I. G. Sishuba for Queenstown and H. R. Ngcayiya for Grahamstown. Mokone and Sinamela were transferred to the Transvaal. There was still some discussion on the proposed South African college. The delegates believed that the need for one still existed and toward this end, a committee was appointed to generate funds for the project.¹

History of the Cape Coloured People 1880-1970" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape Town, n.d.), p. 38.

¹Journal of Proceedings of the 6th Session of the South African Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Cape Town: Recorder Press, 1903), passim.

Mrs. Coppin chaired a session which was devoted solely to women's activities. This special session was in keeping with the Bishop's philosophy that women should be major participants in the development of missions.¹

The Bishop brought with him good news from America: he had raised sufficient money in the States to pay off Bethel's second mortgage; to pay for several other chapels in and around Cape Colony, and to pay for the renovation of the building used as the dormitory for Bethel students. The South African college was still uppermost in his mind and central to the AME program in Southern Africa. He expressed a degree of optimism about the Black man's place in the new British South Africa and he told the delegates that it was their duty as preachers and teachers to prepare their people for the new political conditions.²

Before leaving for the Port Elizabeth Conference, the Bishop applied to the authorities in Johannesburg through the American Consul for an entry permit to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Coppin left to convene the Port Elizabeth Conference before receiving a reply. From Port Elizabeth he wrote Prime Minister Sprigg asking for permission to enter the two colonies. He reminded him that he

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

²Journal of Proceedings, op. cit., pp. 62-68.



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and the Native Affairs Department had no reason to doubt his assertion that his teaching was purely religious. Cummings submitted a draft minute to Hely-Hutchinson informing him that he supported Coppin's request in view of the fact the AMEC was recognized in his Colony and recommending that the High Commissioner approve the request.¹

Prior to the Bloemfontein Conference, the Orange River Colony, Transvaal and Basutoland delegates held a pre-conference session in Johannesburg at which time Xaba led a delegation to meet with William Grant, described as a "recognized authority . . . on matters pertaining to the native."² Grant found Xaba to be intelligent and a "remarkably" coherent speaker. The delegates told him that they wished to meet with the Commissioner of Native Affairs, Godfrey Lagden, although they had made no application to do so nor had they reported to the Native Affairs Department on their arrival in the city. When asked by Grant why they had not reported, they allegedly said that they had not reported because they would have only been shunted off to one of Lagden's subordinates. At some earlier point it seems that Mokone and several others had written to Lagden requesting an interview to discuss church recognition, land tenure, education, pass exemption, etc. They were told

¹ Sprigg Minute, 19 February 1903, NA 497.

² No information on Grant has been uncovered.

that Lagden was chairing the South African Inter-Colonial Commission for Native Affairs (see below) and as such was unable and unwilling to discuss any issues which would be brought before his Commission.

Grant alleged that the AMEs were "sore" and felt "disregarded and insulted" by the reply. He quoted Xaba as having said of Lagden:

This gentleman . . . is placed at the head of native affairs. We are told by the Government to recognize him as our father, and to go to see him for advice but he declines to see us. He does not know what we think and we do not know what he thinks.¹

Lagden's failure to meet with the AMEs was brought to the attention of the Legislative Council meeting of 11 July 1904. The Commissioner was asked if it were true that he had refused to receive a delegation of AMEs and if so, what were his reasons. Lagden replied that it was true and that he had refused because he did not consider the "agents" of the AMEC "representative" of the Africans of South Africa nor did he think it advisable to discuss with them matters relating to the "political attitude" of the Colonial Government or its laws. He also thought it inadvisable to meet with them because he was in the midst of his SANAC hearings.²

¹The Rand Daily News, 9 July 1904.

²SNA 43 CF 1904.

After holding the reconvened session of the Transvaal Annual Conference in Burghersdorp, the Bishop returned to Cape Town in expectation of receiving a travel permit. In the meantime, he wrote a letter to Bishop Turner telling him that the 'American Colony' was well and working diligently. He told Turner that his intention from the start was to penetrate the neighboring areas of the Cape Colony because his theory was the Church "should be planted firmly in the country and the soil." Toward that end he was awaiting a permit to enter the other colonies. He told the Bishop that while waiting for his permit, he had arranged a visit to Bulawayo and Bechuanaland. And, he ended his letter with the following: "That race question! Alas! it is here also."¹

Sometime in April, the Bishop and Mrs. Coppin travelled to Bulawayo via Kimberley and Bechuanaland. In his description of this trip,² the Bishop is exceedingly vague about his activities and contacts in Rhodesia and Bechuanaland. We do know that his Bulawayo visit was most certainly looked upon with suspicion by the European churchmen for we have already seen how they sabotaged the AMEC attempts to procure a church site (see below.) Spies were planted in the audiences before which he spoke who reported to the authorities all that had

¹Voice of the People, June 1903.

²Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 67-103, passim.

transpired at the church meetings.¹

The Coppins were given a welcoming reception in a Masonic temple located in Mafeking. A number of Muslims were present in a delegation led by a local merchant and community leader, Hadje Ben Hassen. Hassen stressed the fact that although it was not the custom for Christians and Muslims to worship together, the presence of Coppin warranted an ecumenical gathering to honor a member of the non-white race.² It is unlikely that Coppin met with King Khama given the latter's attempt to maintain a distance between himself and the Ethiopian Church. It does seem that he met with Solomon Plaatje whose paper, Koranta ea Becoana (Bechuana Gazette) had been critical of certain AME ministers though it had not been particularly critical of the Church itself. Plaatje claims to have discussed the conduct of AME ministers with the Bishop during his visit.³

Bishop Coppin gave a far more detailed account of his November, 1903 visit to Basutoland. En route to meet Lerotholi, he stopped at the home of one of his ministers and found a copy of Edward Johnson's School History of the Negro Race in America on his book-shelves. The Bishop had tea with the Assistant Resident Magistrate at Mafeteng and dedicated a

¹Fannie Jackson Coppin, Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1913), p. 127.

²Ibid., p. 132.

³SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 268.

chapel at a ceremony attended by 1500-2000 people. Before meeting the Paramount Chief, he paid a visit to his heir apparent, Letsie. The Paramount Chief gave him 50 acres for a Normal Industrial School for which Coppin engaged a stone-cutter to begin preparing the building materials.¹

Following his visit to Basutoland, the Bishop held a final joint conference of the Transvaal and South African Conferences at Aliwal North. At that conference, the many strains on AME unity which had been present since the Dwane defection, and which had surfaced during the Port Elizabeth Conference, finally gave way.

The Orange River Colony and Transvaal brethren expressed their extreme dissatisfaction over the fact that Bethel Institute had been established in Cape Town where, they said, several educational facilities were already available to the Colony people. The Orange River Colony and Transvaal Colony had no such facilities available to them.²

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., pp. 136-184.

²It appears that even when Orange River Colony and Transvaal students were sent down to Bethel Institute they were refused admission unless their fees were guaranteed in advance (SNAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 522). S. J. Brander who was extremely critical of this state of affairs, left the AMEC in 1904 to form the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion. He gave as his reason the facts that Americans took the plum positions within the church and they refused to send money for the church's debts. He further accused the AMEC of renegeing on its promise to educate the Africans so that they would be equal to Europeans (Ibid., p. 523).

Certainly a correlated sore point for the Transvaal people is the fact that the Ethiopian Church had begun in the Transvaal, the earlier pioneering work had been done by them and yet it appeared that all the benefits were given to the Cape Colony people. However, it should be recalled that it was Dwane who first deflected attention from the Transvaal to the Cape Colony, the Colony being his home base.

Coppin, Attaway and Tanner accused the Transvaal Conference people of fostering division within the church. The Bishop expressed his general dissatisfaction with the Transvaal Conference members and declared his intention to appoint Tanner as their General Superintendent.

The Transvaal delegates refused to accept Tanner telling the Bishop that an American Bishop was one thing, but that an American General Superintendent was quite another. They requested that the Church in America not send out any more Americans with the exception of the Bishop.¹ They said that if more Americans were to come to South Africa in future, they would come at their own expense.

The Transvaal people instructed their delegates to the 1904 Conference to make their wishes known to the General Body. The Transvaalers said that it was not so much that they did not want Americans, as it was that they wanted Americans of a particular type. There was

¹An exception was also made of Attaway because he was considered integral to the administration of Bethel Institute. It should be mentioned that Attaway's salary was paid by South Africans.

the problem of language and custom which often presented more difficulties than were necessary. The Americans were said to have had "a broader view . . . a broader mind" than the South Africans.¹

Clearly there were two issues involved: First, the issue of American supervision which the Africans resented on philosophical grounds as well as financial ones. Presumably the salary for the General Superintendent would have to come from their pockets. If a salary had to be paid, they reasoned, it should be paid to a local person. The South Africans viewed the actions of the Black Americans as no different from those of Europeans. Secondly, an American supervisor would be a handicap if he did not know the language, if he could not or would not appreciate the customs and traditions of the people among whom he worked. The Transvaalers saw no reason why Mokone or Kumalo could not be appointed General Superintendent. In any case, the question of American supervision in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony was a moot point in that Black Americans would not be given entry permits into the colonies.

While Coppin was tending to the activities of his last year in office, F. Z. S. Peregrino wrote an extremely damaging letter to Godfrey Lagden accusing the AMEC of having instituted the Ethiopia Lodge for the purpose of creating a

¹SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 203-204, 375.

stronger bond between the church and its members; a bond to be used as an "offensive . . . defensive" weapon with which "to repel any attacks on the part of one (who) is supposed to be the common enemy." Peregrino accused the Church of having transferred Mokone from Cape Town to Pretoria, presumably to establish a branch of the Lodge in Transvaal, Mokone being so transferred because of his influence among the Africans.¹ Peregrino said that "Sinamela" (no first name given) was in a similar position. Peregrino told Lagden that he was informing government of the AME plans out of a sense of "duty" and because he was familiar with the "plausibility" of the AMEs. He realized that they might be accorded recognition only to abuse it.²

It is ironic that Peregrino attributed such sinister motives to the Ethiopia Lodge when he had been so intimately connected with it. Several members of his Coloured People's Vigilance Society belonged to the Lodge as did prominent members of other Coloured associations. During Coppin's 1902 visit to the U.S. he had written Peregrino asking him to convey his greetings to the Lodge members.³ His December, 1901 edition of The South African Spectator

¹Mokone was transferred for two reasons: the Transvaal was his home and Coppin needed a dependable and trustworthy person in charge of the work since he was prohibited from entering the colony. There is also the possibility that he was transferred out of "Coloured" Cape Town to an African area where his leadership would have been more acceptable.

²Peregrino to Lagden, 7 May 1903, SNA 28 CF 1903.

³Coppin to Peregrino, n.d., CO 48-539 #16363.

carried a photograph of the Lodge members as well as a highly complimentary article on the formation of the Lodge which Peregrino called an "historic" occasion.

As to why Peregrino would actually write such a letter is not precisely clear though one can speculate. As early as January, 1902, Peregrino had begun taking swipes at the AMEC or rather at its ministers. For example, he accused Paul Sinamela, operating out of Pretoria, and acting as subscription agent for his paper, of pocketing the subscription money rather than forwarding it to him. He fired Sinamela and warned all subscribers to send their fees directly to him.¹ Peregrino took to task another AME minister for allegedly trying to defraud him.²

Peregrino had also begun attacking the AMEC for its lack of support for some of his social activities pointing out that he had stood alone in defending the Church from its detractors, his stand being even more admirable given the fact that he was not a member of the Church.³ He complained that The A.M.E. Christian Recorder never mentioned the contributions he had made to the struggle of the Church in South Africa.⁴ "The oversight, if oversight it be,"

¹ The South African Spectator, 25 January 1902.

² Ibid., 8 March 1902.

³ Ibid., 14 June 1902.

⁴ The A.M.E. Christian Recorder did however reprint articles gleaned from The South African Spectator.

he wrote, "does not extend to others, whose efforts . . . should be regarded as a matter of course. . . . I am human enough to believe in Honor to whom due."¹

In addition, Peregrino published a number of critical articles, giving no names but giving enough information so that one had a fair idea of who they were. As a result of these blind items, in an article titled "Base Ingratitude", Peregrino wrote that he had heard there was a boycott of his paper among the African AMEs because of his relentless criticism of them and the tales about them he allegedly carried to Attaway.²

Peregrino testified before the SANAC that he had changed his mind about the AMEC because of some communications he had received from people in Canada and the U.S. telling him that the AMEC was not what it pretended, i.e., it was not a purely religious organization.³ His informants allegedly told him that the Church coerced the U.S. Government into giving a number of political appointments to Blacks by threatening to withhold its votes from the Republican Party.

¹ The South African Spectator, 11 November 1902.

² Ibid., 19 July 1902.

³ Peregrino's Canadian connection is unclear. Doubtless he had made contacts with the Canadian Black community while he was operating in upstate New York. In any case, at last one Canadian Wesleyan minister wrote to Lyttelton telling him that the AMEC had been a disruptive force in Canada. He suggested that the Secretary should ban the Church. (Rev. J. Morris to Lyttelton, 15 March 1905, CO 417-421 #?.)

When pressed by the Commissioners, Peregrino said that in his opinion, the Church was indeed "desirous of getting power," though he demurred at the adjective "political." He accused Attaway of seeking political power--though he did not say in what way or toward what end--a charge which he said was made to him by Africans and Coloured sources and a charge which he placed before Coppin. Interestingly, Peregrino was not critical of the Bishop as such. He left the impression that Coppin was an honorable man although he expressed disappointment that the Bishop did not act upon the information he passed on to him about the people in his church who made wild, anti-colonial statements.¹

Possibly the most important factor in the Peregrino/AMEC breach was the fact that the Church increasingly had become a source of competition with Peregrino's various business enterprises. The AMEC operated Bethel Institute as well as several colleges and universities in the U.S. while Peregrino acted as agent for the William McKinley Normal and Industrial School in Alexandria, Virginia. Though his South African Spectator had been adopted as the official organ of the AMEC, Coppin had brought C. M. Tanner to South Africa solely for the purpose of editing The South African Christian Recorder. Theoretically, it meant that Peregrino's AME subscribers owed their first allegiance to the AME

¹SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 317-27, passim.

paper. The Attaway/Peregrino friendship of earlier years had become strained principally because Attaway had become as ardent a businessman as Peregrino (see below). There was also the fact that Peregrino's Coloured People's Vigilance Society (CPVS) had been placed in the shadows by the formation in 1902 of the more politically assertive African Political Organization. Many of the CPVS people joined the APO, several of whom were members of Gow's Bethel Church, or were frequent worshippers there. The APO's first president, William Collins, was Superintendent of Bethel's Sunday School and, several members of the APO belonged to Coppin's Ethiopia Lodge.

Moreover, by 1903, Peregrino had become a "middle-aged, Cape Liberal, comfortable in circumstances, accommodationist and anti-revolutionary in attitude."¹

One can also say that he had become isolated from the wider Cape Coloured Society. As a West African, the Coloureds resented his self-appointed role as spokesman in their affairs and his self-appointed role as guardian of their morals.² Because he viewed himself as a "civilized," British subject who believed West African civilization predated that of the South Africans,³ he was isolated from

¹Parsons, op. cit., p. 8.

²Interview with Richard Van der Ross, Cape Town, May 1976.

³SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 325.

wider African community as well.

As a result of the Peregrino communication, a confidential enquiry was made into the activities of Sinamela. Sinamela was related to the illustrious Gabashane family. Several of the Gabashane sons were AME ministers stationed in Bechuanaland, Orange River Colony and Transvaal. A younger member of the family was in the U.S. studying medicine at Meharry College in Tennessee. The family was described as well-educated and plausible but totally untrustworthy.¹

Simon Hoffa Sinamela was described as a "show-off." Having been in Middleburg to collect funds for the AMEC, he was said to have "made rather an objectionable and ostentatious display of blessing each one of the gathering who had come to see him off." He was said to have been ejected from the Wesleyan Church for seducing one of his students. Nonetheless, this same Sinamela was used in a Williams Pink Pills for Pale People advertisement which held him up as a pillar of the community.²

Sinamela was said to have been wearing a badge of the AME Freemasonry, (the Ethiopia Lodge) and he was said to have talked about the lodge though it was unclear whether

¹Harold G. Falwasser to the Controller of Passports, 3 June 1903, SNA 28 CF 1903.

²The South African Spectator, 26 April 1902. Several prominent Africans were used in these advertisements. It seems that the company procured the names from the Native Affairs Department. Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Jan.-June 1901, NA 416. Manager, Dr. Williams Medicine Co., to Superintendent of Native Affairs Department, 21 March 1901.

he formed a branch in Potchefstroom. Sinamela was described as a man capable of tremendous influence over the class of African who would join the AMEC.¹

On receiving the information about Sinamela, the Native Commissioner of the Western Division, Transvaal, made arrangements to be secretly informed of any developments concerning the organization of the Lodge in Pretoria.

This preoccupation with the alleged sinister activities of the Ethiopia Lodge, which S. O. Samuelson described as the "secret society" of Africans,² was but another manifestation of the colonial fear of a "native uprising." And again there was the fear that this uprising would be precipitated by the contact of Africans with African-Americans.

In his field Intelligence Report for 1903, Capt. C. B. Simonds stated that the problems confronting the Cape Colony were three: (1) the influx of Southern American Blacks into South Africa; (2) the radicalization of Colony politics due to Black American influence on the dock workers and the African press;³ (3) the advanced

¹? to the Native Commissioner, Western Division Rustenburg, 18 July 1903, SNA 28 CF 1903.

²SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 205.

³The dockworkers to whom Simonds was referring were primarily West Indians. As we have demonstrated, any Black man whose sole language was English was believed to be an American. Simonds was not too far off the mark when he stated that Americans held great sway over the dock workers. It seems that a Mr. Brownbill, a West Indian, was indeed

education offered in America to the South Africans by the Black Americans; all of which, he said, fostered notions of "COMBINATION AND CO-OPERATION" among the disparate ethnic groups. Simonds called attention to the "Summit" meeting of Chiefs convened by the AMEC in 1901 and he alleged that the Chiefs were inducted into the Ethiopian Lodge.¹

In addition, the Resident Commissioner of Maseru was informed that Dinizulu maintained a number of Ethiopians at his Royal Kraal² and that the "Ethiopian Mission" "kept a steamship mysteriously plying between the Northern Coast of Zululand and Mozambique."³

This steamship reference cropped up in several communications. It was reported that the "Ethiopian Society" was operating two small steamers between Beira and Mombasa. One of the society's "ambitions" was said to be that of elevating its members to the point where they would be in the position to employ white men.⁴

the leader of the dock workers and was said to have been a very powerful man. (Interview with Kenneth Roberts, Cape Town, May, 1976).

¹C. B. Simonds, "Report on Native Movements South Africa End of 1903," December 1903. CO 48-578 #2314.

²No AMEs were ever implicated in the Bambata Rebellion although Dinizulu had attended the Conference of Chiefs in 1901. He was also something of a folk hero in the US. The February 1898 issue of Voice of Missions carried a huge photograph of him and an accompanying article titled: "Black Napoleon on Isle of St. Helene. He Slew the Prince Imperial."

³The High Commissioner to the Resident Commissioner, n.d., S5/25.

⁴The Rand Daily Mail, 10 June 1904.

These reports may have been referring to the activities of Harry Dean. Aside from transporting contract laborers between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, East London and Port Saint Johns,¹ Dean also chartered his boat for freight transport between Cape Town and Delagoa Bay.² He went whaling and sealing in the Straits of Mozambique and en route, he transported passengers and freight. More to the point, his shipping agent provided him with two whaling boats.³

It was in this climate of paranoia and suspicion that Bishop Coppin left South Africa in December, 1903, never to return. Out of a four year term, he had only spent about 23 months inside South Africa.

Coppin and his wife returned to the United States via England. On his arrival, he spoke to the British press. He emphasized the fact that not only had the Colonial Government refused him entry to the new colonies to supervise his churchmen, but the government would give him no explanation for the refusal. He complained that the authorities held him responsible for the utterances and actions of his ministers and yet denied him control over their activities. (Coppin had made these same complaints before the SANAC). He attributed the rumors of sedition circulating about his church to the jealousy of the established missions.⁴

¹Dean, Umbala, op. cit., p. 90.

²Ibid., p. 109.

³Ibid., p. 125.

⁴South African News Weekly Edition, 10 February 1904.

While the Coppins were in England, they encountered Bishop W. E. Derrick. Derrick had been sent by the House of Bishops to consult with the Colonial Office about the grievances of the Church in South Africa. It was Derrick's second visit to the Colonial Office for he had made a prior visit in 1902.

At the time of his initial visit, Derrick had submitted a letter from the House of Bishops authorizing him to "refute the slanderous intimations made by persons unknown to us, that the presence of the AMEC in South Africa is in any way, shape or form a menace to the government." The Bishops pointed out in the letter that the AMEC operated in several British colonies, and had at all times taught its adherents to respect and obey the authorities under which they lived. Derrick was told that a copy of the document would be forwarded to the Governments of Natal and Cape Colony for the information of its ministers.¹

That Derrick would have been specially sent to represent the Church before the British Government was in part prompted by the fact that he was West Indian.² In any case,

¹Document dated 19 June 1902, CO 417-368 #28418.
See Appendix IV.

²The next three Bishops assigned to South Africa were colonial born: C. S. Smith, 1904-1905 (Canadian); W. B. Derrick 1906-1908 (West Indian); J. Albert Johnson, 1908-1916 (Canadian).

he was back in London in 1903 armed with a letter from the U.S. State Department attesting to the good standing of his Church in America. Derrick and Coppin approached the American Embassy and the Embassy arranged for an interview for the two men with the Duke of Marlborough.¹ The Duke promised to place their complaints before the Secretary of State for the Colonies and he requested Derrick to put them in writing after which Lyttelton would consider the question of communicating with Milner about the issues raised.²

Derrick addressed a communication to Lyttelton telling him that his church had been subject to the same privileges in the Transvaal and Orange Free State as the other denominations but since British rule, his Bishop was prohibited entry into the two colonies. As a result, he said, his church was placed in a critical position.

His people in the two new colonies were without a supervisor and so the Church in South Africa was subject to the chaos inherent in a leaderless organization. He told Lyttelton that his church had invested \$25,000 in South Africa over the last year and that it operated a well attended school in Cape Town. He assured the Secretary of State:

¹Joseph Choate to Duke of Marlborough, 22, 28 December 1903, CO 291-65 #46538.

²Ibid., T. C. McNaghten to Derrick, 29 December 1903.

The class of instruction which we are trying to inculcate will in no way incite nor disturb the peace and success of His Majesty's Government, as the four cardinal points which are taught by us in the home, school and church are moral excellence, business integrity, obedience to government, religious intelligence.¹

No immediate action was taken on the communication and so Derrick and Coppin sailed to the U.S. together.

On his arrival, Derrick mailed a newsclipping from the Ohio State Journal for 7 May 1900, which gave details of an AMEC meeting. Prompted by Derrick, resolutions were passed supporting the Anglo side of the Boer War. Derrick suggested that the clipping be sent to Milner as further proof of AMEC loyalty to the British Government.² The Duke promised to forward the clipping to Lyttelton who would in turn forward it to Milner.³

As a result of Derrick's overtures, Secretary Lyttelton approached Milner about the affair and Lagden eventually withdrew his objection to granting an entry permit. Since there was no Bishop in Cape Town, only Attaway could take advantage of this thaw in government/AMEC relations. Milner concurred with Lagden's change-of-mind, but with reservations. He said of Derrick's request:

¹Ibid., Derrick to Lyttelton, 30 December 1903.

²Derrick to the Duke of Marlborough, 26 January 1904, CO 291-78 #4458.

³Ibid., Duke of Marlborough to Derrick, 11 February 1904. See Appendix II.

It appears to me that it is only fair to give him the chance he asks for, although I confess to a doubt whether the AMEC is likely, under any guidance, to be a very desirable factor in the religious and social life of the Colony.¹

Yet, within two months Lagden rescinded his decision. He ordered his Secretary of Native Affairs to instruct the Permits Officer not to grant any more entry permits to members of the AMEC. Lagden justified his decision on the grounds that rumors concerning the "mischievous actions" of the AMEC had reached his Native Affairs Department.²

Certainly some of the rumors of unrest and mischievous actions had been spread by the spate of articles which had begun to appear in the Transvaal press with unfailing regularity. Articles were published with provocative titles like: "The Ethiopian Movement, Its Import and Peril," "Black Vote: White Peril"; "Native Unrest"; "The Ethiopian Combination"; "Ethiopian Movement: Mr. Shepstone's Warning," etc.

More important, Lagden's decision was clearly influenced by the fact that he had been chairing the Native Affairs Commission since October 1903. He had been listening to the testimony of European missionaries, civil servants, traders, farmers, etc., as well as some African news editors like Peregrino and Jabavu, few of whom had anything good to

¹ Milner to Lyttelton, 14 March 1904, CO 291-69 #11746.

² Windham to Permits Officer, 10 June 1904, SNA 45 CF 1904.

say about the independent churches. Thus Legden's already dim view of the AMEC was reinforced by the testimony he heard.

It will be recalled that in anticipation of an eventual South African federation, the 1903 Inter-Colonial Customs Conference held at Bloemfontein passed an unanimous resolution which inspired the creation of the SANAC. The object of the Commission was to make some attempt at formulating a uniform "Native" policy.¹ As we have seen, the AMEC was often victimized by the erratic and frequently contradictory "native" policies of the four colonies.

According to Milner the representatives at the Bloemfontein Conference agreed not to extend recognition to the AMEC until they had agreed on a unified policy of action in dealing with all independent churches.² The High Commissioner appointed Godfrey Lagden chairman of the Commission and the governments of the four colonies as well as Rhodesia and Basutoland nominated representatives. The SANAC was authorized to call and to accept volunteer witnesses from among politicians, educationalists, traders, farmers, etc. Subjects of enquiry included: land tenure, African law and custom, franchise, labor, education, religion and taxation.

¹Thompson, op. cit., p. 17.

²Milner to Lyttelton, 14 March 1904, SNA 43 CF 1904.

In any case, when the Permits Office pointed out to Windham the difficulty of halting AME traffic into Transvaal in light of the fact that several of them had been given permits on Lagden's authorization, Windham quickly assured the office that he did not mean for permits to be cancelled; he simply wanted the office to cease issuing them.¹

In any case, the Natal Government had taken issue with Lagden in his initial decision to grant the AMEs, i.e., the Americans, access to the Transvaal Colony. Natal officials viewed the concession as "an initiatory step towards the rapid spread of Ethiopianism throughout the entire country." Lagden's action, the Natal ministers felt, had "foredoomed to failure" Natal's efforts to check the spread of the movement.² It was at this juncture that the First General Missionary Conference of South Africa convened in Johannesburg, 13-20 July. One hundred delegates attended representing 25 established missionary societies.

According to the Presidential Address delivered by James Stewart, the conference had been organized because of the need for unity in a common cause.³ In effect, Stewart

¹Windham to Permits Office, 16 June 1904, SNA 45 CF 1904.

²Henry Bale to the High Commissioner, 15 June 1904, LTG 7 14/71.

³Report of Proceedings, First General Missionary Conference for South Africa. Johannesburg, 1904 (Johannesburg: Argus, 1904), p. 13.

meant unity in the face of the growing mood and pressure for church independency among African churchmen. Significantly, Godfrey Lagden sent a letter to the Conference delegates expressing his sympathy with the aims of the Conference.¹

Three papers were delivered which touched on the Ethiopian Movement: Those of J. S. Morris (Wesleyan Church); Rev. E. Jacottet (PEM) and Fred B. Bridgeman (American Board Mission).

Morris called the movement an "evil" which had befallen mission work. He said that the Ethiopians had "infused a spirit of distrust and disloyalty," toward him.²

Jacottet on the other hand, viewed an eventual African Church as inevitable and in keeping with "the true aim and end of missionary work."³ He believed that the Ethiopian Movement was in earnest in professing to work toward the establishment of an indigenous church. However, he believed the Ethiopians were premature in their efforts to establish an authentic African Church.⁴ There was also the problem of fit and proper men. As far as he could see, the church they had created was a virtual "Cave of Adullam."⁵ Jacottet called on all European missionaries

¹The Christian Express, 1 August 1904.

²Report of Proceedings, op. cit., pp. 40, 179.

³Ibid., p. 108.

⁴Ibid., p. 119.

⁵Ibid., p. 111.

to be "Africans to the African," to found an African Church "with him and for him." The solution was total co-option:

Let us take what is good in the programme of Ethiopianism, and be truer to it than the Ethiopians themselves. The Christian native will see that we want him to be his own master in his own church, (*italics*) and not to be, as he would in the Ethiopian Church, governed and lorded over by the American negroes.¹

Bridgeman gave a short history of the AMEC in South Africa and levelled the usual charges of pilfering and racialism, schism and immorality. He incorporated information on C. S. Morris and the Black Baptists, Mzimba, Joseph Booth and the Zulu Congregational Church.² Bridgeman had particular cause to be concerned with Booth and the Zulu Congregational Church. It will be recalled that it was Booth's Natal based African Christian Union of 1896 which helped to create the social climate which generated the independence movement among Zulu churchmen. During the latter part of '96, Simungu Shibe seceded from the American Zulu Mission station at Table Mountain and in December 1897, Shibe joined forces with another American Zulu Mission secessionist in Johannesburg. Together they formed the Zulu Congregationalist Church.

The Conference passed a resolution stating that the Ethiopian Movement was a "mis-directed use" of "new-born

¹Ibid., p. 130.

²Ibid., pp. 163-177.

energy" among Africans who had been in contact with the civilizing influence of Europeans; a movement which required careful channelling rather than repression. The Conference particularly deplored the proselytising, the lowering of Christian standards and morals and the emphasis on color which was characteristic of the movement but it conceded that its political importance was grossly exaggerated.

The Conference resolved, in the interest of "Christian Charity," to alert the Black American Churches to the fact that by entering fields already occupied,¹ by accepting church dissidents and by ordaining unfit and immoral people, they were injuring the cause of Christ.²

In the meantime, Attaway applied for an entry permit to attend the Conference. The permit was denied and so he telegraphed the delegates assuring them of the loyalty of the AMEC to the British Government and of his intention to continue to discourage proselytism. He requested the delegates to accept the aid of the AMEC in the work which confronted them all.

The delegates replied that they were gratified by

¹But as Coan has correctly pointed out, other white missions entered the South African field as late or later than the AMEC and yet there was no uproar over their presence. The Salvation Army entered in 1890; the Hephzebah Faith Missionary Association in 1896; and The Brethren of Christ Mission entered in 1898. (Coan, Expansion, op. cit., pp. 392-94).

²Report of Proceedings, op. cit., p. 182.

his assurances of loyalty to the government and his commitment to the idea of comity but they called his attention to Willie Mokqlapa's forays into Francois Coillard's territory which they described as a "flagrant contradiction" to the sentiments expressed in his telegram. The delegates told Attaway that until he took some action in the Mokqlapa affair, they would continue to view with suspicion the motives of his church.¹

It would be useful at this point to discuss the AMEC connection with Barotseland because it offers yet another example of a Southern African indigenous leader who was attracted to the AMEC to further his own ends.

¹The Rand Daily Mail, 21 July 1904. Coillard had sent a "touching" letter to the Conference explaining that he could not attend because of the trouble with Mokolapa in Barotseland. (The Christian Express, 1 August 1904).

The AMEC and Lewanika of Barotseland

By any standard, Francois Coillard was the sacred cow within ecclesiastical as well as some secular circles. He had been in Southern Africa since 1857 on behalf of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society (PEM). Lobengula had forbidden him to establish missions in either Mashonaland or Matabeleland. Thus, the mission Coillard and his Basuto evangelists established among the Lozi in 1880 was purely by default.¹

The "Ethiopian Episode in Barotseland" occurred at a time when Coillard was an old and sick man. Tensions which led to the Ethiopian contretemps had been present at least since 1890 when Lewanika signed the Lochner treaty at Coillard's insistence and against Willie Mokdlapa's advice.

Lewanika was at loggerheads with both the PEM and the British South Africa Company (BSA Company). He was disillusioned with the PEM's educational program which was designed to mould good Christians rather than skilled Lozi. Lewanika wanted a program which would turn out skilled craftsmen with which he could modernize his state. Moreover,

¹Gervas Clay, Your Friend Lewanika: The Life and Times of Lubosi Lewanika Litunga of Barotseland 1842-1916 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1968), pp. 40-41.

he was antagonistic toward the BSA Company, because it was unalterably exploitative.

It would appear that the situation between the PEM and its Lozi critics had worsened to the breaking point by the turn of the century because in a progress report on his activities in Barotseland, Coillard complained of how "Ethiopianism" was on the march to "supplant him."¹

This move to "supplant" him was led by two of his Basuto assistants. One was Willie Mokolapa who continued his connection with the PEM and the other severed his ties with the PEM and was hired by Lewanika to act as his secretary.² Unfortunately, the latter died shortly afterward.

In any case, Mokolapa went to Basutoland on furlough, ostensibly still on good terms with the PEM people for he took with him letters of introduction to the PEM stations in Basutoland. It appears that while Mokolapa was communicating with Coillard's assistant, Adolph Jalla, he was also in secret communication with his King. He kept Lewanika informed of the progress being made on their

¹Coillard to The Christian Express, 15 December 1900, The Christian Express, 1 April 1901.

²Terrence Ranger quotes Gann as saying that by 1900, Barotseland had a small coterie of literate people so that the Barotse aristocracy became increasingly independent of the PEM for secretarial help. (T. Ranger, "Nationality and Nationalism: The Case of Barotseland," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria IV, 2 (June, 1968), 229.

proposed new school which was to have English medium instruction and he promised the King that he would return with a corps of African teachers, scholars and artisans. He warned Lewanika to be wary of the PEM people.

Clearly then, Lewanika knew in advance Mokolapa's intentions because he had in fact dispatched Mokolapa to Cape Town to renew contact with the AMEs. In mid-1901, Lewanika had requested Coppin's assistance in Barotseland.¹ It was a well known fact that Lewanika had grown impatient with the PEM's failure to teach the sorts of skills he desired. And, he had in fact upbraided Coillard, telling him that he was weary of the PEM monopoly in his country and that he was looking for "industrial Missionaries."²

Either wittingly or unwittingly, Lewanika gave Mokolapa's letter to Jalla for translation. Jalla immediately wrote Mokolapa for an explanation and it was at this point that Mokolapa made an official break with the PEM by joining the AMEC at Cape Town where he was ordained by Coppin. Coillard discussed Mokolapa's "ugly, underhand work" with the King and reproached him for his deceit. Lewanika denied any prior knowledge of Mokolapa's activities.

The King and Mokolapa continued in their correspondence

¹Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 131.

²Clay, op. cit., p. 94.

and according to Coillard, "a bad spirit" became evident among the older students in the PEM schools. They felt the curriculum offered was largely irrelevant because it was lacking in English and meaningful trade instruction.¹ The atmosphere in the schools was tense.

Coillard made a tour through the colonies and crossed paths with Mokolapa. The two men had a talk, at which Coillard "affectionately" implored Mokolapa not to do anything to endanger the mission work in Barotseland, and the two parted as friends. Coillard returned to Lealui four months later to discover that Mokolapa had also returned and had brought back with him three of his AME Basuto colleagues who had travelled to Lealui at Lewanika's expense.² The men set themselves on an alleged course of "aggressive hostility" toward the PEM. Coillard said he spoke to Lewanika about the situation and requested the King not to eject them from Barotseland but to reassign them to one of two back country places where no missionaries had yet reached. Coillard said that the AMEs took both.

Coillard broke his 3 year silence on Mokolapa's activities (interestingly at about the time of the Johannesburg Conference) because of the wavering of his PEM staff. Some of

¹The irrelevance of the so-called industrial education classes in the mission schools was a complaint frequently voiced by the Africans who appeared before the SANAC.

²Terrence Ranger, "The 'Ethiopian' Episode in Barotseland, 1900-1905," Rhodes Livingstone Journal, XXXVII (1965), 34.

its members were Mokolapa's friends. They threatened to join the AMEC en masse unless Coillard changed the curriculum to include more math^{ematics} and English and less scripture.¹ Coillard begged them not to defect and they agreed to stay.² Coillard also broke his silence because of an assertive letter written to him by Mokolapa. The letter, which rankled Coillard and every other European who read it reprinted in The Christian Express, was written in reply to a letter Coillard had sent Mokolapa.

In his letter to Mokolapa, Coillard described him as the PEM's "child," in which he asked him not to "kick" those who "brought him up," or to disparage the PEM in the eyes of the heathen. He told Mokolapa that he wanted to remain friends, that they could remain friends so long as he confined his religious activities to virgin fields. He told him that Barotseland was big enough for the both of them.³

In reply, Mokolapa described Coillard's letter as "insulting." He told the missionary that he was not in Barotseland to "snatch" PEM members but his door was open

¹This insistence on learning English was viewed by some as a "sinister" indication that the Ethiopians were attempting to dismantle the "artificial barriers" of language which had so long precluded unity of action, an argument with an element of truth. See the article by Frank Blake, The Rand Daily Mail, 6 July 1904.

²E. Shillito, Francois Coillard A Wayfaring Man, pp. 228-29.

³Coillard to Mokolapa, 8 October 1903, The Christian Express, 1 April 1904.

to anyone who wanted to join. He asked him to refrain from his "insolence" or he would be forced to return in kind. Mokolapa told Coillard that even though he had received ill-treatment at the hands of the PEM, he still honored him as a "father," and he expected the same respect as a "son." He told Coillard that there was no dispute between them, that they should work in harmony. He reminded Coillard:

God did not send you here that you may claim the country and prevent other Christian denominations to come into this country. . . . I have heard that you are going about speaking evil against me and my church, if you don't want to be in trouble, please stop it, my church is loyal you can't charge it with disloyalty.¹

In the midst of these developments, the Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia R. T. Coryndon addressed a communication to Milner telling him how Mokolapa had come under the influence of the Ethiopian Church, had severed his ties with the PEM and was wreaking havoc within the PEM,

¹ Ibid., Sol Plaatje's paper, The Bechuana Gazette, condemned Mokolapa for his, "high-handed . . . unceremonious . . . audacious" letter to Coillard. The paper called on the AMEC to vindicate itself against the charge that it "countenanced impropriety" among its members by taking action against Mokolapa (The Christian Express, 2 May 1904).

The Christian Express carried the Mokolapa/Coillard correspondence in full and resurrected the old Duchtellier letter as well. At the time these references to the Barotseland affair appeared, The South African Christian Recorder was disclaiming any connection with the proselytizers, and was complaining about the hostile attitude manifested toward the AMEC by the European mission societies. The editor of The Christian Express countered Tanner's complaints by asking him what course of action the AMEC was going to take regarding Mokolapa.

splitting its membership in half. Coryndon said that included in Mokalapa's following was a nephew of Lewanika, who had recently returned from Lovedale, and numerous minor chiefs and indunas whose children attended Mokalapa's schools. He accused Lewanika of giving indirect support to the Ethiopian Church even though he had not withdrawn from the PEM. He told the High Commissioner that he had heard of all the trouble caused by the Ethiopians in the other colonies and territories and he dreaded to think that their influence would be on an "underdeveloped" but "awakening" tribe like the Barotse.

The Administrator asked the High Commissioner's advice on ejecting Mokalapa and his cohorts under a newly promulgated proclamation dealing with the admission and residence of "alien" Africans in North Western Rhodesia; an act which was promulgated at his request for the purpose of ridding his territory of undesirables such as the AMEs.¹

Milner replied that he was aware of the rumors about the Ethiopian Church's seditious propaganda, that permits to enter the Transvaal had been denied to some of its ministers but he had discovered on enquiry that reports of sedition by the church were grossly exaggerated and they were

¹R. T. Coryndon to Milner, 24 October 1904, CO 879-86 #4574.

unsubstantiated. He told the Administrator he was willing to leave the matter to his discretion but he would be uneasy of mind if Mokolapa were expelled. He explained:

The fact that he has been a long time in the country, and Lewanika and other leading chiefs are attracted to him, makes his expulsion awkward if it can be avoided.

The High Commissioner told Coryndon that in future the Administrator should exclude, and if that proved impossible, should expel any other ministers of the Ethiopian Church. He felt that a warning to Mokolapa and his associates to the effect that if they proved to be an adverse influence on their countrymen they would be expelled was preferable to ejecting them at that point.¹

Coryndon still had his reservations about the kind of influence Mokolapa would likely have on the Barotse but he reluctantly allowed him and two or three of his co-workers to continue their work at Lealui under observation. However, he did exclude all subsequent AMEs.²

In spite of Coryndon's concession to Milner's line of reasoning, he nonetheless made it extremely difficult for those AMEs already in Barotseland by his constant harassment. Soon after his 24 October 1904 letter to the High Commissioner, Coryndon used the 1904 proclamation regarding aliens to order

¹Ibid., Milner to Coryndon, 14 November 1904.

²Coryndon to Milner, 4 January 1905, CO 417-421 #7576.

the Secretary of the District Conference J. G. H. Johnson, to produce his pass within three days to the local District Commissioner.¹

In the meantime, Lewanika wrote directly to Secretary Lyttelton informing him that he had personally invited the AMEs to Barotseland. He reminded Lyttelton that the missionaries had been allowed to enter his country by the Cape Government and the officials in Barotseland. He accused the French missionaries of having advised the government to eject the AMEs and of having negatively influenced the local officials. Lewanika told Lyttelton:

. . . I should like my people to be taught as other countries, also I want every church to be in this country.²

The Colonial Office was extremely annoyed that Lewanika had written directly to Lyttelton, by-passing Milner. It was viewed as a bad precedent.

Lewanika wrote another letter to Coryndon reminding him that one of the terms of the Lochner treaty was that every church granted permission by the King could enter his territory. (Lewanika made this statement on several occasions but the government officials denied that it had ever been a clause in the treaty). He told the Administrator that he had personally sent for Mokolapa and that he had

¹Ibid., F. Atkens to Johnson, 3 November 1904.

²Lewanika to Lyttelton, 23 November 1904,
CO 417-406 #?.

heard Coryndon was planning to refuse him entry. He asked Coryndon not to deny Mokalapa entry because he "badly" wanted him in the territory and he told him that the PEM's disparaging reports on the AMEC were the result of jealousy.¹

The Lewanika letters notwithstanding, it would appear that the AMEs were expelled or were threatened with expulsion. J. G. H. Johnson, the Secretary of the Barotse-land District Conference, wrote to the U.S. Consul in Cape Town, W. R. Bingham, on 16 November 1904, telling him that the BSA Company had "pressed" them to leave the country by 1 December, while on the other hand, Lewanika had refused them permission to leave. He told Bingham that they had been summoned by the King in 1899 but had only arrived in 1903. He accused the PEM of poisoning the minds of the government officials and he asked Bingham's assistance. He justified his request on the grounds that the church he represented had been founded by Black Americans.²

The pressure to halt the expulsion of the AMEs from Barotseland was heightened by a petition sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by Henry Sylvester Williams.

¹Lewanika to Coryndon, n.d., CO 417-421 #7576.

²J. G. H. Johnson to Col. Bingham, n.d., Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, C.18.9, op. cit.

It will be recalled that Williams had gone to South Africa in mid-1903 to practice law at the Cape. In a very real sense, it was Williams' contact with a South African woman who lectured on the malevolence of the compound system in Southern Africa which spurred him to form his Pan-African Association in 1897.¹

It is clear from the 1900 Pan-African Conference petition to Queen Victoria that it was the amelioration of the labor system in Kimberly and Rhodesia which had Conference priority.² And, on his trip to the West Indies in 1901, he spoke to the issues of the compound system in Kimberley, the pass laws and the disfranchisement of Africans.³ In addition, Williams had volunteered to fight for the British in their recent conflict with the Boers⁴ and so, his interest in South Africa had been a long standing one.

As with the other West Indians and perhaps because he was West Indian, Williams established firm contacts with the Cape Town Coloured community. This in turn led him to the AMEC in his capacity, as Hooker describes it, as platform-speaker, delegation-organizer and representative of the non-white population to various and sundry government agencies.

¹J. R. Hooker, Henry Sylvester Williams: Imperial Pan-Africanist (London: Rex Collings, 1975), pp. 22-23.

²Ibid., p. 35. ³Ibid., pp. 41-42. ⁴Ibid., p. 60.

Williams was acquainted with Peregrino and with W. Collins, Superintendent of the Bethel Sunday School and president of the APO.¹ He was involved in the establishment of a Coloured School in Cape Town, run by a staff of West Indians, one of whom was a former teacher at Bethel Institute.²

On at least one occasion, Williams spoke before an AME congregation at the invitation of Edward Gow, son of Francis, and a political activist in his own right. Williams spoke to the congregation about securing and safeguarding their rights as British citizens and he attacked the publication of a racist article which had been recently published in a British journal.³

¹ Ibid., p. 67.

² Ibid., p. 73.

³ South African News Weekly Edition, 15 June 1904. The article to which Williams responded was titled "The Black Peril in South Africa," which was published in the May, 1904 edition of The 19th Century and After. It was written by a British settler in South Africa, Roderick Jones. Jones warned against the "dangerous policy" of Cape Liberalism and held up the Southern U.S. as an example of the disaster sure to follow if non-whites were enfranchised. He pointed to the AMEC as the type of organization South Africa did not need. The Rand Daily Mail lauded the Roderick article and went a step further by asserting that the AMEC exercised power at the elections by holding the balance between the Bond and the Progressive parties. The AMEC was said to have supported a newspaper which pledged to 'boss' the European. Clearly the article, "Black Vote: White Peril" was designed to play on the public's fear of the possibility of extending the Cape Colony franchise to the other 3 colonies in the proposed federation. (The Rand Daily Mail, 6 June 1904).

Thus when Williams left South Africa in 1904 as The Cape Telegraph put it, "to represent the coloured people of the Empire, and generally to espouse their cause with members of the British Parliament,"¹ it is predictable that he would have been the AME contact in London and would have forwarded the Barotseland petition to Secretary Lyttelton.

In their petition to the Secretary, the Barotseland members stressed the fact that the AMEC had been invited to Barotseland by their king and that the Church had been met with jealousy and envy from the PEM. They denied that the Church was disloyal and reminded him that not once had a charge of sedition ever been proved.

They petitioned the government for religious freedom and equality; for a rescission of the District Commissioner's expulsion order; for the exemption of AME ministers, deacons, teachers from the pass laws; and for Mokalapa's entry into Barotseland.²

Although the Colonial Office sent Williams a non-committal reply, i.e., that the Secretary would have his High Commissioner conduct enquiries, the Office had already decided that the petition requests would not be honored.³

At any rate, the whole Barotseland issue had been

¹The Cape Telegraph, 20 July 1904.

²Petition, CO 417-421 #7576.

³Ibid.

brought to public light by the Johannesburg Missionary Conference. The AMEs convened a counter-conference to refute the accusations made by the delegates at the Johannesburg Conference. This counter-conference was convened by Mokone in Pretoria. Twelve delegates from the Orange River Colony and Transvaal were present.

Simon Sinamela praised the sentiments expressed by Jacottet but had little good to say about the remainder of the participants. He said it was they, not the AMEC, which practiced racism; that he had invited representatives from three different European denominations to a church dedication service and not one of them had bothered to appear or to even acknowledge his invitation.

J. Z. Tantsi said that the AMEC was not disloyal to the British Government, that the 1900 South African delegation to the General Conference went to great lengths in the US to publicly defend the British side of the conflict. Bridgeman particularly came in for a blistering attack by Tantsi and he asked why was it that if a Black man preferred to pray in a church of his own, he was automatically labelled racist while Bridgeman and people like him encouraged separatism by not allowing Blacks inside their churches and yet they were not branded racists. He pointed out that it was Europeans who initiated the custom of placing placards on their church doors prohibiting the entry of dogs or Africans.

S. J. Mabote was grateful for the arrival of the AMEC because, he said, it was instrumental in forging unity among South Africans and among Europeans as the Johannesburg Conference had demonstrated.

M. Mokone denied that whites were excluded from the AMEC. On the contrary, he said, the AMEs would welcome whites into their midst and he counted a white man, A. A. Willemse, as one of the Church's earliest supporters. He denied that the AMEC presented a danger to the State, and he viewed the cries of whites that the AMEC was seditious as a sinister plot to arm themselves and to do with the African as they wished. Mokone accused James Stewart of having become desensitized to the needs of Africans, of having begun to "curse" those he had once "blessed."

The delegates denied that the AMEC was in any way connected with the "Transvaal Native Vigilance Association" or its newspaper, The Native Eye.¹ The delegates also denied

¹ The Association was said to represent almost all the Transvaal "tribes." According to its secretary and editor of The Native Eye, E.J.E. Mogale Khomo. The objects for which its members agitated were the franchise and the right to hold land (Rand Daily Mail, 23 June 1904). In April, 1904, Khomo wrote a letter to the SNA, Windham, which was an indictment against the NAD, the High Commissioner, the SANAC and the Transvaal Legislative Council for their ill-treatment and lack of protection for the "raw" Africans and their denial of equal rights for the "civilised" ones. Khomo said that the African was the "true Transvaaler" and yet he had no influence on the basic decisions affecting his life (letter to Windham reprinted in The Rand Daily Mail, 23 June 1904). Theophilus Shepstone who had raised the false alarm of an uprising

that the AMEC lowered Christian morals or encouraged schisms. They wryly noted that the Johannesburg Conference had been composed of groups with "conflicting doctrines and disciplines." As to the charge that they accepted men of questionable character and capability into the ministry, they pointed out that the white churches had in the past accepted illiterate men into their ministry, some of whom were still active.

Finally, the delegates said with the exception of Jacottet and a few others, the Johannesburg Conference proved to be "in letter and spirit" the cause of "animosity and prejudice" toward the development of Black men, an attitude at variance with true missionary enterprise. A resolution was passed which stated that the AMEC viewed,

With mistrust and has lost confidence in the case represented by the majority of the members of that conference, who have exhibited so much of foreign element revolting against the principles of true Christianity.¹

A copy of the resolution and the complimentary things said about Jacottet were sent to him. Jacottet in turn published an "open letter" to the Pretoria delegates assuring them that his views were shared "on the whole" by all those

among the Africans of Lydenburg (Marks, op. cit., p. 209) asserted that the TNVA and the "Ethiopian Society" were rivals even though their aims were the same (Rand Daily Mail 28 June 1904). The AMEC was however connected with the Native Vigilance Association of the ORC in that one of its ministers, Benjamin Kumalo, testified before the SANAC not as an AME minister but as the spokesman of Vigilance Association's delegation (SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 368).

¹The Transvaal Advertiser, 24 August 1904.
Clipping in SNA 47 CF 1904.

present at the Johannesburg Conference. He told them that he could take no joy in their vote of confidence in him when people like Stewart and Bridgeman were attacked and he criticized their attempt to divorce him from his colleagues. He chided them for the behavior demonstrated at their conference, i.e., for their alleged reckless statements and the general tone of their conference. He then attempted to answer the charges they had laid against the European missionaries.¹

Influenced by the sentiments expressed at the Johannesburg Conference, the views of the Natal Government and of his own Commissioner for Native Affairs in Transvaal, Milner wired Lyttelton, telling him that he had abrogated his earlier order and was continuing to refuse Attaway a travel permit to the Transvaal. Milner said he based his decision on the "very strong and unanimous feeling of white inhabitants of South Africa as to disturbing effects of the AMEC."² In a later communication to Lyttelton, Milner enclosed an account of the proceedings of the General Missionary Conference.³

Sensitive to the change in attitude of the Transvaal Government and the spirit of the Johannesburg Missionary Conference, Mokone sent a circular distributed by Attaway

¹E. Jacottet, "The Ethiopian Church and the Missionary Conference of Johannesburg, An Open Letter," (Moriya: Moriya Printing Office, 1904).

²Telegram 22 July 1904, CO 291-71 #25889.

³Milner to Lyttelton, 25 July 1904, SNA 49 CF 1904.

to the Pretoria Legislative Council for the purpose of shedding more "light" on the aims and objectives of the AMEC.

The circular was addressed to the 14th Episcopal District and it announced the election of C. S. Smith by the 1904 General Conference as the successor to Bishop Coppin. Attaway informed the South African church members

The Bishop deeply regrets the bitter attacks made upon his Church by a section of the secular Press--the attempt to identify this Denomination, which, for more than a century has proven a moral and a religious force for good in the civilized world, with what is termed 'Ethiopian Propaganda,' native movement, etc. The Church, notwithstanding its operations in the United States of America, Canada, West Indies, etc., has never been accused of disloyalty, sedition, colorphobia, or any of those retrogressive tendencies, with which it is sought in South Africa to identify it.

Attaway vowed that should any AME be accused of seditious statements, he would be immediately suspended and if found guilty, expelled from the Church. He urged his ministers to:

- (1) maintain contact with all government officials, particularly the local ones, and to aid them in the administration and maintenance of law and order;
- (2) to discourage proselytism;
- (3) to contract no church or personal debts unless they could pay them;
- (4) to cultivate a fraternal relationship with the European denominations; and
- (5) to inspire in their members the virtues of hard work, "sober living, and honourable citizenship."¹ For his pains, Mokone was

¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Pretoria, Transvaal Legislative Council, 1904, LC 145.

told that the circular could not be presented to the Council in the form submitted, that he would have to convert it to petition-form.¹

¹ Ibid., Clerk of the Legislative Council to Mokone, 29 July 1904.

CHAPTER V

"THE STRUGGLE IN TRANSVAAL"

Letters of Exemption

As we have seen, the struggle in Transvaal for church recognition after the war was particularly difficult. Moreover, church recognition was the key to several options open to Africans which would have given them a bit more maneuverability in the Colony's rigidly closed system.

Recognition of the AMEC by the Imperial Government was virtually impossible to obtain because Milner had assumed the High Commissionership with the overall intention to placate the Boers in any way short of sabotaging his reconstruction program. "Native" administration was an area in which he was willing to make many concessions.

Milner had recruited Godfrey Lagden to take the position as his Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Transvaal. It was important to Milner that the Native Affairs Department be reorganized and administered with some semblance of efficiency. For after all, his vision for post-war South Africa was, ". . . a self-governing white Community, supported by well-treated and justly governed black labour from Cape Town

to Zambesi."¹ The linchpin of his reconstruction plan was a regular flow of labor into the Rand mines and to insure this flow, his Native Affairs Department needed to be reorganized.

Godfrey Lagden was an experienced administrator in the affairs of Africans and he had been in Southern Africa since 1877. His first position in Southern Africa was with the British Transvaal Administration where he worked till the restoration of the South African Republic. He had worked in Basutoland between 1884 and 1901 and had eventually become Resident Commissioner. He had also served in Egypt and West Africa.²

Given his long contact with Africans and perhaps because he had lived so long within the colonial context, Lagden was a hardliner concerning non-whites and he was certainly sympathetic to the problems of the newly defeated Boers.

Chief among Lagden's perception of his initial tasks on undertaking the office of Native Commissioner was to disabuse Africans of the notion that they would be placed on equal footing with Europeans. Certainly during the war, promises had been made that on British victory, non-whites

¹L. E. Neame, The History of Apartheid (New York: London House & Maxwell, 1962), p. 94.

²Godfrey Lagden, The Basutos: The Mountaineers and Their Country (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1909).

in the Republics would be treated as they were in the Cape.¹ In spite of these promises, Lagden was in total agreement with his High Commissioner who said that immediately following the war,

It was above all things necessary to prevent the Boers thinking that the British were going to put them on the same level as the natives or coloured people.²

Moreover, Milner believed that equality between whites and non-whites in South Africa was impracticable as well as fundamentally incorrect.³ Lagden believed that the familiarity of the British soldiers with Africans during the conflict had caused the Africans to become "insolent and overbearing." They had adopted this stance, he said, because they were under the impression that when the Boers were defeated, Boer farms would be confiscated and redistributed to them.⁴

It was important to Lagden that the Africans "settle down" after the war, that they reestablish "sound relations" with the Boers. He ordered all his sub-commissioners to see to it that "good and useful relations" between Blacks and Whites were maintained because they were necessary for the

¹Neame, op. cit., p. 29.

²Nicholas Mansergh, The Price of Magnanimity (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1962), p. 67.

³Neame, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴Transvaal Administration Reports for 1902 (Native Affairs Department), CO 293-6.

future prosperity of the Dominion.¹ The Native Commissioner was extremely concerned about the fact that the Blacks were not so "amenable" or "respectful" as they had been prior to the war. And he was equally concerned that the masses of them were susceptible to the glib talk of their more educated brethren. He feared that they would easily "be led astray by mischievous people." And, the Commissioner included AMEs among these "mischievous people."²

Lagden's opinion of the AMEs was surely colored by the reports he received from his sub-commissioners. Given the fact that his subordinates often had strong ties with the established missions--they were relatives, or they were used as the government's unofficial eyes and ears, etc.--it is expected that the attitude of these sub-commissioners would be negative. Independent ministers were referred to as "native quack(s) garbed in clerical robes."³

In another report, Lagden was informed that the Transvaal Africans in spite of their poverty had managed to organize a number of little, unaided schools, free of all European supervision and thus were ready forums for political

¹Native Affairs Department Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 1906, CO 293-35.

²Transvaal Administration Reports for 1904, Native Affairs Dept. Annual Report for Year Ended 30 June 1904, CO 293-19.

³Sub-Native Commissioner, Potgietersrust, Report to Lagden, CO 293-35.

organizations "of a pernicious nature." For the most part, these AME independent schools offered instruction in the three R's, English, Sesuto, Zulu, Geography, German, Music and Religion.¹

Certainly Africans did expect a better life under the Union Jack and this is borne out by the fact that almost to the man, Africans were pro-British during the conflict. However, under British rule, their lives were often made more difficult, particularly in the Transvaal. The various "native laws" promulgated by the South African Republic were maintained almost in their entirety under the British. And if anything, they were more stringently applied. Perhaps the President of the Indian National Congress best summed up the situation when he said, ". . . where he (Kruger) had whips they (the British) have chastised with scorpions."²

Nonetheless, Lagden and his Native Affairs Department were fond of extolling the virtues of Exemption Proclamation #35. The proclamation, which went into effect in 1901, in theory gave the holder of an exemption certificate freedom from the onerous "native laws" even though the holder had to produce his exemption letter on demand. This proclamation was one of Milner's 'white privileges,' his reward for non-white "good behavior."³

¹
Ibid., Sub-Native Commissioner, Potchefstroom.

²
Neame, op. cit., p. 29.

³
Ibid., 30



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and any other allowances available to ministers of the gospel were effectively blocked.¹

The Native Affairs Department became so obstructionist about granting or renewing registration certificates, that the AMEs engaged a Johannesburg law firm to investigate the reasons why AMEs were discriminated against. It should be recalled that prior to the war, AME ministers were exempt from carrying passes which cost a considerable sum.² Because they were recognized as ministers, AMEs could also take advantage of the cheaper rail fares available to members of the clergy. With the advent of British rule and Godfrey Lagden as Native Affairs Commissioner, all that changed.

Although Lagden claimed that there would be no proscriptions placed on any religious denomination and that an applicant who was an AME should not have that held against him,³ membership in the AMEC was a distinct disadvantage.

Marshall Maxeke, who was a graduate of Wilberforce University and was teaching with Charlotte Manye (whom

¹Presumably the Cape Colony AMEs had a less difficult time of it because any registered voter, elementary school teacher or the holder of a Standard IV or higher certificate as well as any minister of any Christian Church was eligible for exemption.

²Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 54.

³Windham to the Pass Commissioner, 6 January 1903, SNA 39 CF 1903.

he later married) in Pretoria, approached Milner about his exemption difficulties.¹ It would certainly appear that Maxeke could meet the educational qualification for exemption and yet he was denied the certificate. Lagden deemed him an undesirable candidate because he had been in the US. for seven years attending an African-American college. This coupled with the fact that he belonged to the AMEC, an organization which Lagden believed was seditious, made Maxeke's character suspect.²

Though Milner agreed with Lagden's view that the AMEs were an undesirable lot, he was unsure of the Commissioner's legality in summarily refusing letters of exemption to all AMEs, solely because they were members of that particular church. He requested some sort of legal support for Lagden's position but in the meantime, Maxeke was sent a non-committal reply.³

¹ Maxeke to Milner, 7 March 1904, SNA 43 CF 1904.

² Ibid., Windham to G. Geoffrey Robinson, 12 April 1904.

³ Ibid., Robinson to the Lieutenant Governor, 14 April 1904. Maxeke could have been kept waiting for a decision indefinitely. Lagden was particularly insensitive to African grievances and used any excuse to deny letters of exemption. David Welsh states in his book that a Natal letter of exemption took from 18 months to two years to be processed if processed. Varying delaying tactics were used by the government in granting the certificates and the government was reluctant to give would-be applicants instructions on how to apply for them. (David Welsh, The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal 1845-1910 [London: Oxford University Press, 1971], pp. 237, 239, 245).

Railway Concession Tickets

As ministers of a fledgling church and one that was constantly harassed by Church and State alike, it was important that the AMEs maintain contact with their scattered members and that they maintain their visibility. The railway obviously was the most effective method of bridging distances.

Mokone and Brander applied for concession rail tickets for some of their ministers who were traveling between Johannesburg and points in the Transvaal as well as the Cape Colony. Lagden refused the applications on the grounds that the AMEC was not a recognized religious body and as such its ministers were not "ministers."¹ Again, it is important to bear in mind that under the Kruger Government, AMEs were allowed rail concession tickets because they were recognized as "ministers," and as ministers, they could solemnize marriages.²

¹Windham to the Native Commissioner, Central Division, 25 January 1904, SNA 31 CF 1903.

²Coppin, Observations, op. cit., p. 54.

In spite of Lagden's obstructionism, AME ministers persisted in their attempts to take advantage of the reduced fares for ministers and, to ride in second class rail cars.

P.S. Kuze led a delegation to meet with the officials of the Central South African Railways (CSAR). The Chief Traffic Manager (CTM) agreed that African ministers no longer needed their ordination certificates to be endorsed by a white minister or magistrate.¹ So long as they could produce a certificate of ordination to the ticket agent, African ministers could travel at reduced rates. He also promised that proper first and second class coaches, waiting rooms and refreshment stands for Africans would be constructed as soon as funds permitted.²

Nonetheless, even these futuristic promises were attacked. The Native Affairs Department viewed the CTM's promise to allow AME ministers rail concessions as an act "calculated to stultify" government's decision not to recognize them as ministers. Cheaper rates would also allow them considerable

1

A stipulation Coppin said to which "No self-respecting Native man" wished to be subjected. (Coppin, Observations, p 54). It would appear that AME ministers had been told that since they were not recognized as ministers they would need the endorsement of a white minister or magistrate before a concession was granted. Obviously AMEs would refuse to ask a white man for endorsement and moreover, he was unlikely to get it from a magistrate or European churchman.

2

Chief Traffic Manager to Kuze, 30 March 1904,
SNA 49 CF 1904.

movement throughout the colonies by which to spread their
 propa¹ganda. The editor of the Transvaal Leader viewed
 the long range effects of the promise of proper waiting rooms
 and refreshment stands as tending to "increase the aboriginal's
 opinion of his own importance, if not indeed lead him to assume
 equality with Europeans," a view shared by the Acting Secretary
 of Native Affairs.²

Several months after his meeting with the CTM, a
 ticket agent refused to issue Kuze a second class rail ticket.
 Kuze complained to the Native Commissioner and he was told to
 direct his complaint to the CTM. The CTM explained to Kuze
 that the agent had only been following company instructions;
 that no African was to be sold a first or second class ticket
 unless he could produce letters of exemption.³ Kuze had no
 exemption papers and was unlikely to get any because as we
 have seen, it was Transvaal policy to categorically deny such
 letters to AMEs and if they had been issued, to refuse to
 renew them on expiry.

Prompted by the number of complaints it received from
 African and Coloured passengers, i.e., that they had been
 refused first and second class tickets, the Native Affairs
 Department sent a letter of enquiry to the CSAR.⁴

¹
 Ibid., Acting Secretary of Native Affairs to Acting
 Commissioner for Native Affairs, 14 October 1904.

²
 Ibid., Transvaal Leader, 24 October 1904.

³
 Ibid., CTM to Secretary of Native Affairs, 11 October 1904.

⁴
 Ibid., NAD to CTM, 26 October 1904.

The Department was told that the new rule had been made because of the various complaints the Railway had received from irate white passengers who resented riding in the same compartments as Blacks and Coloureds, whether they were exempted or not. The Department was assured that the rule did not apply to Asiatics.¹

Indeed, there had been complaints about the integrated rail compartments. "The Rand Pioneers" had led the fight against them in the Transvaal saying that they did not wish to ride with Africans even if they were exempted; nor were they amenable to sharing the same compartments with Asiatics. As a result of the Pioneers' campaign, the Railway issued a circular prohibiting the sale of first or second class tickets to all but exempted Africans. The rule did not apply to Indians or Asiatics. Nonetheless, exempted Africans were separated from the whites as far as was practicable.²

In Pretoria, Mokone led a delegation on 4 November 1904, to meet with the Lieutenant-Governor. The circumstances of the meeting are unclear but it seems that the Lieutenant-Governor requested as a follow-up to the meeting that the delegates voice their grievances in petition-form.

Mokone drafted a petition, stating in its leading paragraphs that he was "confident" that the Lieutenant-

¹Ibid., Chief Traffic Manager to NAD, 31 October 1904.

²Ibid., Transvaal Leader, 24 October 1904.

Governor was unaware of the injustice done to his people by the Lieutenant-Governor's subordinates and expressing the hope that once the Lieutenant-Governor saw the grievances first-hand, as Edward's representative, to whom the AMEC was entirely loyal, he would redress them.¹

Mokone gave some background history on the Church in South Africa. He enclosed a copy of church polity and its constitution and he enclosed copies of certificates issued to him by the Kruger Government giving his Ethiopian Church permission to hold meetings, which Mokone viewed as recognition. Mokone pointed out that before the Anglo-Boer War his church enjoyed all the privileges of other churches but under the British Government his church had been "differentiated against" and had been subjected to nothing

¹Like a number of his colonial contemporaries throughout Africa, Mokone had a great deal of faith in the efficacy of petitions and basic fairness of the British system. Like a number of his contemporaries he believed that the colonial officials with the real power were often unaware of the difficulties under which the African labored, that the local officials hid his grievances from his superiors, and in some cases, this latter belief was true. Thus, Mokone's tactic was to bypass the local officials altogether, to go straight to the superiors which only increased the local officials' dislike and distrust and confirmed their suspicion that the AMEs were "uppity" and did not "know their place." As to the essential fairness of the British way-of-life Mokone was moved to say after a visit to England: "Never mind what kind of color you have got on your skin, the English never think much of it--the man is a man. No jim-crow there. Every man is free. As long as you do good you are just as good as the Prince of Wales. . . . God bless our queen (*italics mine*). (Mokone to Turner, 18 September 1900, Voice of Missions, November 1900).

but "disabilities." Mokone defined those disabilities as: (1) the prohibition of AME ministers to ride in first and second class coaches; (2) government's refusal to give them letters of exemption and to allocate grants-in-aid to their schools when other denominations could take advantage of the privilege; (3) yearly registration certificates were granted to AME ministers "only with evident reluctance and after great exertion" on their part. Mokone ended his communication:

The acts of injustice we feel confident your Excellency as representative of our Great King will not allow to continue in regard to a Body which even the government of the late South African Republic recognized as worthy labourers in the cause of Christianity and that it will not be necessary to send a deputation to the Colonial Office in London to lay our greivances at the feet of our Sovereign (underlinings mine).¹

Mokone's petition is the first indication that the South African AMEs were contemplating taking their grievances all the way to London. Had they done so, they would have preceded the Schreiner delegation by 5 years. The American Church had earlier approached the Colonial Office but this seems to be a threat, if you will, totally divorced from the American action.

The Native Affairs Department queried the Pass Commissioner and the Registrar of Licenses about Mokone's allegations. The Registrar of Licenses reported that since

¹Mokone to Lieutenant Governor, 7 November 1904, SNA 50 CF 1904.

the AMEC was not a "recognised Christian denomination," its applications for letters of exemption based on the fact that they were ministers were automatically denied. The Registrar pointed out that the same held for other "so-called 'churches'" and so the AMEs had no cause for complaint.¹ The Pass Commissioner explained that his office exercised rigid scrutiny when granting yearly registration certificates. Thus it took a great deal of time to check the applicants' "bona fides and qualifications," the thoroughness of which must have led the AMEs to believe the certificates were only granted with 'evident reluctance.'" He too pointed out that the AMEs could not complain of differential treatment since all African ministers of similar denominations were subjected to the same rigorous examination.²

Windham reported to the Lieutenant-Governor in a confidential despatch of 16 January 1905. He denied any knowledge of the AME ministers being "specially" excluded from travelling 2nd class in rail cars, (strange in view of the correspondence between his office and the CSAR) or that they were victims of "differential" treatment. He did however admit to being aware of the circular issued by the CSAR prohibiting the sale of 2nd class rail tickets to

¹ Ibid., Registrar of Licenses to NAD, 5 December 1904.

² Ibid., Pass Commissioner to NAD, 10 January 1905.

non-exempted Africans. Windham said in view of the fact that AME ministers were not "ministers" so far as his government was concerned, their applications for exemption were denied.

Windham reasoned that the AMEs had no grounds for complaint since they were treated as any other Africans in their position. So far as grants-in-aid were concerned, they were only given to schools superintended by Europeans. The Secretary of Native Affairs took the line of his Pass Commissioner, that each case had to be decided on its merits so far as yearly registration certificates were concerned. He told the Lieutenant-Governor that each case had to be carefully weighed and he again stressed the fact that the AMEs were treated no differently than any other applicants, that they could not expect to be given special consideration. So far as the alleged recognition of Mokone's church by the late government, his Department was guided by a list of recognized denominations and the AMEC was not on it; besides which, he had found no evidence that the Boer Native Affairs Department had authorized the AMEs to solemnize marriages.¹ Therefore, said Windham, Mokone's assertion that

¹This assertion is untrue. AMEs were allowed to solemnize marriages under the Republican Government. The Imperial Government's insistence that a civil service preceded an AME religious one caused many people to remain unmarried. An onerous fee was charged for the civil ceremony (Coppin, Observations, p. 55) and presumably a fee was spent for the religious one as well. Thus it was cheaper to "live in sin."

his church had enjoyed the same privileges as other denominations under the late government was "unsupportable."¹

The final version of the above report was censored by Lagden and the expurgated version was sent by the Lieutenant-Governor's Office to a law firm representing Mokone and the other petitioners. Lagden deleted Windham's statement that the AMEC was treated no differently from any other African church or that all African ministers were subject to the same restrictions, rules which were put forth by Lagden as Commissioner of Native Affairs. The deletions were made by Lagden because, as he put it, "The less said to these people the better. . . ."²

In any case, all African ministers in the independent churches, no matter the denomination, were lumped together by government. Thus, on at least one occasion representatives from the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, the AMEC, African Baptists, Bapedi Lutheran Church and the Church of Africa, collectively met with Selborne to complain about their common grievances. Their chief concerns were: the solemnization of marriages; exemption certificates; school grants-in-aid and railway concession tickets. The meeting is significant in that it demonstrates an ecumenical unity among the independents in the Transvaal.

¹Windham to the Private Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, 16 January 1905, LTG 144.

²Ibid., Lagden to the Lieutenant-Governor, 27 February 1905.

Predictably the meeting was unsuccessful. Selborne told the delegates that he felt it inadvisable to recognize any church not under the control of a recognized church or one not clearly recognized by the Christian world. The AMEC did not fall into this category. Yet, members of the Church participated in numerous international religious conferences and Bishop Derrick had even conducted services at Canterbury Cathedral. However, Selborne took none of this into account. All the delegates belonged to churches which for Selborne did not meet the criteria for recognition thus their appeal to solemnize marriages was not met. In terms of their requests for grants-in-aid to their schools, they were told that no educational program for Africans was yet formulated therefore no grants could be given.

Selborne did assure the delegates that general character, and/or advanced education were also criteria for exemption certificate consideration thus leading them to believe that membership in an independent church was not necessarily detrimental to their interest.¹ However, Selborne confessed to Lagden that an African whose credentials were good but who belonged to an independent church certainly had it weigh against him. He told Lagden that in his personal opinion, members of the AMEC and other non-European churches

¹Private Secretary to the High Commissioner to Brander, n.d., SNA 56 CF 1905.

were by "their general attitude not desirable candidates." The High Commissioner was anxious that the most rigorous standards should be set so that exemption would be "regarded as a coveted honour to hold." He told his Commissioner that he wanted the certificate only granted to "sound" men.¹

The Gabashane family in the Transvaal was the type of people that the High Commissioner was most anxious to prohibit acquiring exemption certificates. In no sense did they meet his definition of "sound" men.

At the time the AMEs were pushing for exemption letters, Marcus Gabashane was allegedly preaching to Transvaalers that Blacks were going to drive out all Europeans from South Africa. After the Europeans were ejected, they would then establish a new kingdom under a king who was descended from Solomon and Sheba and who would be the king of all Blacks.² Gabashane was said to have been telling people that the AMEs were going to erect a school in the Transvaal which would train Africans as lawyers, doctors, judges, etc.³

Several other members of the Gabashane family were said to have gone around dissuading people from paying their

¹Ibid., Selborne to Lagden, 3 December 1905.

²This is an obvious reference to the Abyssinian Kingdom. A possible explanation is that Gabashane was aware of Menelik's increasingly failing health and he assumed it was only a short time before a successor would be chosen.

³President Magistrate, Vryburg, to SNAD, 23 July 1906, NA 497.

poll tax and telling them that they should no longer take off their hats in the presence of Europeans. The Sub-Native Commissioners came in for particular attack and were described as "nobodys," as "dogs."¹

Henry Msikinya was described as the chief agitator opposing the removal of certain Boksburg residents to a new location. Because of his speeches, many of the residents refused to move voluntarily which caused the government officials to forcibly remove them.²

Nonetheless, the AMEs continued to press for their exemption certificates and railway concession passes. With the change to responsible government in 1906, the AMEs renewed their efforts thinking that a new administration would be more amenable.

The Manager of the Central South African Railways remained steady in his refusal to give them special ticket rates. His refusal was in part prompted by the Transvaal government which continued to believe that the Church was political.³

Even though the Native Affairs Department requested

¹ Sub-Native Commissioner, Potchefstroom, to Resident Magistrate, 9 August 1906, SNA 68 CF 1906.

² Secretary for the Mines, Pretoria, to SNAD, 7 March 1910, SNA 96 CF 1910.

³ Chief Traffic Manager to SNAD, 24 March 1908.

that the Traffic Manager reconsider the request in light of the fact that sedition had never been proved against the AMEC,¹ no reconsideration was given. Thus the whole issue was left to the Union Government for settlement.

¹Ibid., NAD to Central South African Railways, 27 March 1908.

BISHOPS ASSIGNED TO SOUTHERN AFRICA



BISHOP
L. C. COPPIN



BISHOP
C. S. SMITH



BISHOP
W. B. DERRIC



BISHOP
J. A. JOHNSON



BISHOP H. M. TURNER

CHAPTER VI

"THE SMITH-DERRICK-JOHNSON YEARS, 1904-1910"

The 'Thorn' Comes to Cape Town

Notwithstanding the pleas from the South African AMEs that Coppin be reassigned to the 14th District, the General Conference of 1904 replaced him with Charles Spencer Smith.¹ The Conference adopted a proposal to appropriate \$10,000 to the 14th District, which it renamed the 13th District, and the Education Department allocated an annual sum of \$500 to Bethel Institute.² Prior to leaving the US, Smith had mailed to Hely-Hutchinson a copy of a "Declaration" from the House of Bishops which was written soon after the 1904 General Conference.³

¹See especially the letters of H. C. Mskinya to Turner (Voice of the People, August 1903) where he asks for the re-assignment of Coppin not only because of his competence but because he had forged a tenuous relationship with the Cape Colony government. In addition, Bishop Coppin was on a friendly basis with various indigenous leaders. Their goodwill was mandatory if there were to be any real progress in church expansion.

²Coan, Expansion, op. cit., p. 396.

³See Appendix V.

The Declaration emphasized the facts that (1) the AMEC had been invited to South Africa; (2) the Church was committed to fostering and encouraging loyalty and obedience to lawfully constituted authority; (3) the Church sought fraternity and co-operation with other religious bodies; (4) the Church's attitude toward politics was one of non-involvement; and (5) its activities were directed toward "civilization, education and christianization." As proof of their assertions, the Bishops pointed to the AMEC's activities in the other British colonies in West Africa, the West Indies and Canada. The "Declaration" was signed by all 13 Church Bishops, including Bishop Turner, which prompted The Rand Daily Mail to note: ". . . It is signed by Bishop Turner, the notorious editor of 'The Voice of Missions,' a journal which contains language which shows that he at least finds nothing binding in the document."¹

Smith told Governor Hely-Hutchinson that the Declaration had been formulated to set forth the aims and policies of the AMEC in South Africa. He also informed the Governor that he would be coming to South Africa shortly and he assured him that he would "labor most faithfully" to execute the pledges contained in the Declaration.² In the same

¹The Rand Daily Mail, 10 August 1905.

²Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, "Ethiopian Movement and Episcopal Methodist Native Church of South Africa 1904-1910," GH 35/85. Smith to Hely-Hutchinson, 12 August 1904.

month that he sent the communication to Hely-Hutchinson, Smith also addressed a letter to the Natal Government, informing the officials that he had been appointed to South Africa and asking for permission to enter the Colony. He was told that the Natal Government would not sanction his visit and the emigration officials at Durban had been so alerted.¹

En route to Cape Town, Bishop Smith stopped off in London and attempted to procure an interview with a representative of the Colonial Office thus duplicating Bishop Derrick's talks with the Duke of Marlborough.

It is unclear to whom Smith talked while at the Colonial Office. He left a copy of his Declaration for Lyttelton which the Secretary of State later sent to Milner. The Secretary of State told Milner that Smith had already been informed by the Colonial Office that he would have to apply to the High Commissioner for a permit to enter Transvaal and Orange River Colony and that the High Commissioner had so far refused Attaway a permit. Lyttelton suggested to Milner that he weigh the advantages and disadvantages of centralizing the influence of the AMEC in the person of a Bishop.²

¹C. S. Smith, The Blue Book of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa (Cape Town, n.p., 1905), p. 12.

²Lyttelton to Milner, 24 September 1904, SNA 49
CF 1904.

At the same time that Smith was trying to talk with someone at the Colonial Office, two of the delegates to the General Conference, H. R. Ngcayiya and I. G. Sishuba were also trying to see Lyttelton. Having already met with Fox-Bourne of the Aborigines Protection Society and having discussed the situation of the Church in South Africa, particularly in the new colonies, the two men approached the Colonial Office with a letter of introduction from the President of the Aborigines Protection Society requesting that they be given an interview with the Secretary of State.¹ The Secretary was out of town and so the two men described by a government official as "not very ready of utterance" were unable to see him.

Almost from the moment Bishop Smith arrived in Cape Town, he was at odds with many of his ministers.

Charles Spencer Smith was a naturalized U.S. citizen, having been born and reared in Canada. He took a degree in medicine though he never practiced; he worked as a teacher with the Kentucky Freedman's Bureau and he was an alternate delegate to the 1884 National Republican Convention.²

Smith was largely a self-made man and he had all the conservatism and prejudices of the self-made man who has made it.

¹Fox-Bourne to Lyttelton, 1 October 1904, CO 291-78 #34308.

²R. R. Wright, Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church 1816-1916 (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1916), pp. 205-08.

His appointment originally had been opposed by the South African delegation because they believed him an "unfit" person to assume the office because of his alleged drunkenness and immorality.¹ It is true that in 1900 Smith had been accused of mismanaging Sunday School funds (Smith was secretary and treasurer of the Sunday School Union) but the charge was dropped for lack of proof. There was then, a quality of dubiousness about the Bishop. More important, unlike his predecessors, Turner and Coppin, Smith had no abiding respect for, sympathy or understanding of Africa or Africans. He held the same condescending and frequently hostile views about African life and culture as any European of his day.

His book, Glimpses of Africa, West and Southwest Coast, was published after his visit to West Africa and Angola in 1895. It received a number of unfavorable reviews. The Lagos Weekly Record account was particularly scathing. Smith was attacked not only for his "aggressive ignorance of things African,"² but his credentials as a Black man were questioned given his "large infusion of alien blood."³ In the opinion of the Record editor, Smith's book caused

¹Ngcayiya et al., to the Colonial Secretary, n.d., NA 497.

²The Lagos Weekly Record, 23 March 1895.

³Ibid., 20 April 1895.

incalculable harm to African/African-American relationships.¹

As a result of his visit, which took place primarily aboard his ship since he rarely ventured onshore, Smith became solidly anti-emigrationist. He became "a painful thorn in the flesh" of Bishop Turner.² In Smith's view, there was no reason for any "civilized" person to emigrate to Africa.³

In a conversation with one of his ministers, Benjamin Kumalo, who had extolled the virtues of Zulu civilization over that of Anglo-Saxons, Smith told him that before the arrival of the European in South Africa, there had been "nothing but wild barbarism, accentuated by the fierce growl of untamed beasts."⁴ In his testimony before the SANAC, the Bishop denounced the "intemperate and indiscreet" language used at the special conference called by Mokone to answer the charges

¹Among the book's American detractors were Theodore Holly (Voice of Missions, October, 1896) and Alfred Ridgel, author of Africa and African Methodism, and a man who had spent considerably more time in Africa than Smith's 80 days. Bishop Turner was placed in a particularly embarrassing position because he wrote the introduction to the book. He quickly dissociated himself from its contents by saying that the introduction was written without his reading Smith's manuscript (Voice of Missions, October, 1895).

²Redkey, op. cit., p. 207.

³Ibid., p. 205. See pp. 210-221 for a description of the incredible lengths to which Smith went to sabotage the 1895 trip of African-Americans to Liberia aboard the "Horsa."

⁴C. S. Smith, Blue Book, op. cit., p. 26.

of the Johannesburg Missionary Conference. And he described the Mokone, Tantsi and Mabote testimony before the SANAC as "presumptuous"; Kumalo's he termed "serious and dangerous"; and Brander's he called "distinctively misrepresenting."¹

In one of Smith's initial addresses to his Bethel congregation, he told his audience that he wanted to "dispel" them of the "illusion" that because they were connected with the AMEC, they would automatically be aided by Americans if they got into trouble with the colonial authorities. He told them that they should not expect Americans to assume the responsibilities which were solely their own; that Americans would neither fight their battles nor furnish them with leaders. He suggested that they send their "worthy sons" to British universities and the remainder to industrial schools. He told them that they should feel optimistic about their future status within South Africa because the British

¹Ibid., pp. 25-26. Bishop Smith was undoubtedly referring to: (a) Mokone/Tantsi/Mabote's statement that they did not want any more American ministers to come to South Africa unless they had certain qualifications; (b) Kumalo's testimony not as a representative of the AMEC, but as a representative of the Native Vigilance Association of Orange River Colony. As such, Kumalo addressed the issues of African land tenure, influence on local government, compulsory education. In addition, he said that he did not consider Christianity and literacy as criteria for determining whether a person was "civilized"; (c) Brander's statement that he founded the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion because the AMEC had failed to keep its promises and because of its propensity for sending people from the US without prior approval from the South Africans and placing them in the positions of leadership. (SANAC Report, Vol. IV, 473-476, passim; 368-379, passim, 519-524, passim).

had shown "greater tact and aptitude" in dealing with the dark races than any other imperial power. And in an amazing display of cultural chauvinism, he said of African-Americans:

Nowhere on the face of the earth are there to be found ten millions of Africans, or the descendants of Africa, so far advanced in civilisation; so well fed, housed and clothed; and so strongly equipped with industrial, religious, moral, intellectual, scientific, political, and economical acumen and energy, as the ten millions of the descendants of Africa in America. . . . American slavery was the greatest industrial school the world has ever known, and, despite itself, out of it, and from it, has developed and ripened the richest fruitage yet produced by the African stock.¹

Thus, Smith's prickly personality coupled with the feelings of discontent which surfaced during Coppin's final conference at Aliwal North made for a highly explosive situation.

We can trace the development of the real differences between Smith and his ministers beginning with the Bishop's testimony before the SANAC shortly after his arrival in South Africa. He told the Commission that he had no intention of maintaining official relations with AMEs outside Cape Colony. So far as he was concerned, the Church ceased to exist outside the Cape because he had been told while at the Colonial Office that the AMEC could no longer operate outside the Colony. This contention had been supported by Natal's refusal to allow him entry.

¹Excerpts from a sermon delivered in Bethel Institute Chapel, 21 May 1905, NA 497.

When asked about the correctness of his statement, i.e., that the Church could not operate in Orange River Colony, Transvaal, Basutoland, etc., he said that the Protectorates were administered by Milner and since the High Commissioner had barred him from the other Crown Colonies, he presumed the same held for Basutoland. He told the Commission that he would be no longer responsible for the activities or utterances of AME ministers outside Cape Colony, since he was debarred from traveling outside the Colony to supervise the men.

In effect, Smith told the Commission that government could do with the men whatever it wished. In a very real sense, he had abandoned his ministers.¹

Another source of friction between Smith and the South African AMEs was the fact that Bethel Institute and the Episcopal Residence were threatened with foreclosure. It seems that no mortgage payments were made on the \$14,000 debt between the time Coppin left in December, 1903 and Smith's arrival in October, 1904. The AMEs knew that \$10,000 had been appropriated to the 13th District by the recent General Conference and they expected Smith to pay the arrears on his arrival. As it turned out, Smith went to South Africa empty-handed or at least it appeared that

¹SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 957-966 passim.

way. When pressed about the bills, Smith told the AMES that he had not come to South Africa to pay Coppin's debts.¹ Given his past record in handling funds, the AMES could not be entirely sure that the Bishop had not pocketed the money.

Smith held a conference of presiding elders in Cape Town 15-21 November. He called their attention to the complaints he had received regarding their proselytism and their involvement in local politics. He particularly called their attention to their alleged proclivity for taking the side of chiefs deposed by government. And, presumably, he told them that he wanted such activities to cease.²

Given his stated intention to exercise greater control over his ministers, Smith wrote to Milner asking for permission to visit the Crown Colonies. He told the High Commissioner that he was seeking permission because when he testified before the SANAC that his church was debarred from areas outside the Cape, his contention had been called into question. His current application was for the purpose of setting the record straight.³

Milner's office approached Lagden about his views

¹Nontshinga-Citashe, op. cit., p. 26.

²SANAC Report, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 959-60.

³Smith, Blue Book, op. cit., p. 10.

on the advisability of admitting Smith to the Transvaal. Lagden was reminded that Natal had categorically refused him admittance and that the Orange River Colony would likely follow suit in which case a permit to Transvaal would be of little use to Smith. Lagden was told that given the opposition of the two other colonies, the High Commissioner could justifiably refuse Smith's latest request, though the High Commissioner would overcome the Natal and Orange River Colony objections if Lagden felt "strongly" that Smith should be given the chance to "control" his people.¹

Because Lagden was still in the midst of compiling his evidence for the Report of the SANAC, he waited till all the evidence was in before replying.² It was the view of his Commission that men of Attaway and Smith's position could not reasonably be held responsible for the action of their adherents if they were not permitted to control them nor could they be indefinitely prohibited entry into any colony. Therefore, Lagden approved of entry permits for Smith and Attaway. He was supported in his decision by the Natal and Orange River Colony representatives on the SANAC though of course they could not bind their governments to the approval until consultation with their ministers.³

¹G. Robinson to Lagden, 18 November 1904, SNA 49 CF 1904.

²Ibid., Lagden to Robinson, 22 November 1904.

³Ibid., Lagden to Robinson, 22 December 1904.

While awaiting an answer to his latest request to enter the two colonies, Smith became involved in one of his Church's ubiquitous site application squabbles.

It will be recalled that the AMEs had built an iron-roofed, wattle and daub structure in the Kaulela location in the Peddie Division. It had been built without official permission and had been subsequently forcibly abandoned. A few years later, Ngcayiya had attempted to reopen it only to have it forcibly closed again. In June, 1904, the building was reoccupied for church and school purposes by the Rev. Mazwi who had recently moved into the location.

On the order of the Inspector of Native Locations, Mazwi also abandoned the building, switching his meetings to private dwellings. The Inspector of Native Locations was still not satisfied for his aim was to rid the location of Mazwi. When asked by the Inspector for his authorization for being in the location, Mazwi told him that he would write to his superiors and the whole matter would be explained. Unwilling to wait for the information, the Inspector suggested to his Resident Magistrate that Mazwi be prosecuted for contravening the location residence laws.¹

Attaway was informed by the Native Affairs Department

¹ Inspector of Native Locations to the Resident Magistrate, 2 September 1904, NA 497.

of the unfavorable report it had received about Mazwi and he was summoned to the Department to discuss the matter.¹

Attaway of course informed Smith and the Bishop wrote to the Native Affairs Department suggesting that the Department eject Mazwi from the location.²

Smith was told that no charges against Mazwi's conduct or character had been made, nor had he resisted the Inspector's order to abandon the building. Under the circumstances, the Department would not "formally" request Mazwi to leave the location. However, the Department made it clear that it wished Smith to remove him. Smith was also told that the building would have to be dismantled, and if he wanted any of its materials, he should have them removed.³

Given the Native Affairs Department's reluctance to force Mazwi out of the location, Smith had no excuse for removing him. Thus, Mazwi continued preaching in the location until the March, 1905 Annual Conference when Smith "legitimately" changed Mazwi's pastorate as a matter of course. Smith explained his predicament to Stanford and he told him that his church laid no claim to the building materials.⁴

¹Ibid., Inspector of NL to Attaway, 19 October 1904.

²Ibid., Smith to the NAD, 3 November 1904.

³Ibid., Stanford to Smith, 22 November 1904.

⁴Ibid., Smith to Stanford, 3 December 1904.

On Smith's representation, the Civil Commissioner for Peddie was instructed to destroy or sell the Peddie building after the publication of notice and to desist from any further action concerning Mazwi.¹

When Smith told Stanford that his church laid no claim to the Peddie building, it is clear that he had not consulted the location residents before making the statement, for they later petitioned the Civil Commissioner to give them the saleable parts of the building before destroying it.² This was yet another indication of Smith's total disregard for the feelings of his African members.

After a two month appraisal of the situation, Smith sent a report to the Bishops' Council which contained some startling information.

He accused Attaway, Tanner and R. A. Jackson of having become "intoxicated" with the notion of "getting rich quick" via various land speculation schemes. He alleged that Attaway was bent on destroying Bethel in order to bolster his Chatsworth School (see below). He discussed the abortive business deal involving Mokalapa and Lewanika which was brokered by Attaway (see below) and he said that one AME minister had actually been imprisoned for obtaining money

¹Ibid., NAD to the Civil Commissioner, 24 December 1904.

²Ibid., James Conjwayo, et al., to Civil Commissioner, Peddie, 23 January 1905; NAD to the Civil Commissioner, 3 February 1905.

fraudulently.

The result of all this entrepreneurial activity, said Smith, was that the AMEC had become discredited and disgraced. The various speculation activities had all but "paralyzed" the AMEC's interests in Cape Town. He claimed that the Church's most vocal supporters had lost all interest and Bethel's membership had withered to a cipher of what it once had been. Smith told the Bishops:

The colored American preacher is now looked upon as a mere speculator and adventurer . . . the good name of the A.M.E. Church has been abased in these regions, and colored American preachers destined to be a stench in the nostrils of the people.¹

The situation was an embarrassing one for Smith and in either late December or early January, 1905, he made an abrupt and unannounced trip to the United States leaving Henry Msikinya as his deputy. Ostensibly Smith left to raise money for the South African work but in reality he left in order to personally apprise the Bishops' Council of the Church's critical state in South Africa.

Smith explained the situation to the Bishops' Council. Disregarding his objections, Bishops Derrick, Turner and Parks appealed to President Theodore Roosevelt to intervene with the British Government in their behalf. They asked the President to attest to the law-abiding character of the AMEC

¹United States Government Archives, Washington, Diplomatic Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Great Britain 1791-1906, Vol. 212, pp. 904-910. Smith to Bishops' Council, 14 December 1904, enclosure in Joseph H. Choate to Col. Hay, 13 May 1905.

since he was well acquainted with "the peaceful disposition of the MAN OF COLOR." They hoped that his personal endorsement would disabuse the Colonial Government's notion that the AMEC harbored a band of "incendiaries."¹

Roosevelt turned the matter over to his Secretary of State, John Hay. Hay took the position that the AMEs had a "just claim" to the same privileges in foreign lands that other American churches were granted. He directed his ambassador in London, Joseph Choate to approach the Foreign Office about the problem.²

Choate went through the motions of presenting the AME case to the Foreign Office but it is clear that he was not inclined to press the matter, as some official at the Foreign Office duly noted on the despatch. The reason that Choate was less than aggressive about pressing the Foreign Office was because Smith had contacted him when he stopped in London on his way back to Cape Town after addressing his Bishops.

¹United States Government Archives, Washington, Bishops to Roosevelt, 21 February 1905, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, RG 59, M179, roll 124.

²United States Government Archives, Washington, John Hay to Joseph Choate, 28 February 1905, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, RG 59, M77, roll 94.

Smith told Choate in confidence that the Colonial Government had cause to restrict the AMEs from the other colonies. The Bishop told him that he was opposed to any U.S. Government intervention to remove those restrictions. He confessed to Choate that he had opposed his fellow Bishops' decision to contact Roosevelt. He feared that if the U.S. Government pressed the matter, the behavior of his ministers about which he had written would be publicly exposed.

In light of his interview with Smith, Choate suggested to Hay that when they received a report from Smith telling them that conditions within the church hierarchy had changed, then the U.S. Government would have a stronger case with which to pressure the British Government.¹

Having sabotaged the efforts of his fellow Bishops, Smith returned to Cape Town only to be confronted by some old as well as new problems.

The Peddie people were once again petitioning government this time for reoccupation of their old church site. James Conjwayo and the Rev. Stephen Mdliva among others, wrote to the Civil Commissioner asking for permission to repair the ruins of the building which had been razed by

¹Joseph Choate to John Hay, 13 May 1905, Diplomatic Despatches, op. cit. I am indebted to Clement Tsehloane Keto for the diplomatic references cited in this section.

government order. The letter was endorsed by Bishop Smith.¹ Rev. Mdliva wrote a subsequent letter enclosing a sketch of the grounds showing that the site was three or more miles distant from the Wesleyan Chapel.²

However, by this time, Smith had withdrawn his endorsement of the application telling the Secretary of Native Affairs that he had forgotten that there had already been correspondence between them on the Kauela site.³ The Secretary of Native Affairs assured the Bishop that no further action would be taken on the issue without first consulting him.⁴ When the Bishop was approached on the matter later in the month,⁵ he stood by his refusal to endorse the Peddie request.⁶

On another front, H. A. Conjwayo wrote to the Resident Magistrate of Libode asking for permission to reside in the district for the purpose of ministering to his followers. He emphasized that he was not applying for a

¹Conjwayo, et al. to the Civil Commissioner, 20 June 1905, NA 497.

²Ibid., Mdliva to the Civil Commissioner, 10 July 1905.

³Ibid., Smith to the SNA, 8 July 1905.

⁴Ibid., SNA to Smith, 14 July 1905.

⁵Ibid., SNA to Smith, 25 July 1905.

⁶Ibid., Smith to SNA, 27 July 1905.

church site and that he was a duly appointed minister assigned by Smith to the district.¹

The Resident Magistrate told his Assistant Chief Magistrate, Umtata, that Conjwayo was a slippery sort of character; that he had been in the district during the administration of his predecessor and had left the district under questionable circumstances. Conjwayo allegedly returned after the death of the Resident Magistrate and did not report his re-entry.

When summoned to the new Resident Magistrate's office, the only documents Conjwayo had justifying his presence were those issued by Smith which the Resident Magistrate refused to recognize.² The Assistant Chief Magistrate forwarded Conjwayo's application to the Native Affairs Department with the added information that the local chief was averse to having the independents in his territory. The Assistant Chief Magistrate told the Secretary of Native Affairs that since the AMEC was as yet unrecognized in the Territories, he had no intention of endorsing the application.³

Ngcayiya, along with a delegation of AMEs, complained to the Native Affairs Department about Conjwajo's treatment.

¹Ibid., Conjwayo to the Resident Magistrate, Libode, 13 June 1905.

²Ibid., RM to Asst. CM, 14 June 1905.

³Ibid., Asst. CM to SNA, 23 June 1905.

They also requested that Sishuba be given credentials from the Department which would enable him to carry on the work in Pondoland free from the interference of local officials. The delegation was told that government would deal with AME church matters only through its recognized head, Bishop Smith.

The Department called Smith's attention to the Conjwayo application and he was informed of the chief's opposition to Conjwayo's presence as well as Conjwayo's dismissal from the local constabulary for alleged drunkenness, indecent behavior and gross neglect of duty. Stanford told Smith that he deplored the manner in which the "possibly irresponsible agents" of the AMEC had set about mission work in the Territories; a manner which was improper and unbearable. The Secretary invited Smith's close attention to government's disapproval.¹

A similar case to the Conjwayo affair was that of Rev. Luke Dlepu. Dlepu entered Matatiele District in East Griqualand as the resident AME minister armed with an introduction written by H. C. Msikinya. The local Resident Magistrate was averse to having Dlepu in the location because he said the Ethiopian influence was rather negligible in the district and he aimed to keep it that way. He therefore

¹Ibid., Stanford to Smith, 22 July 1905.

wanted to arrest Dlepu for pass violations and if he had a pass, to arrest him for entering the district without permission.¹

The Chief Magistrate instructed the Resident Magistrate to tell Dlepu that in order for him to legally reside in the district, he needed the permission of the Native Affairs Department. Since he did not have it, he would have to leave or face prosecution.²

Smith was asked if Dlepu were in fact an ordained minister³ and Smith admitted that he was although he denied knowing anything of Dlepu personally nor was he inclined to accept Msikinya's endorsement. He had discovered that his representative was "baselessly treacherous and wholly unreliable." He informed the Secretary that he was suspending operations in Pondoland because he did not have a qualified man to oversee the work. He assured the Secretary that he was determined to act along the lines recommended by the SANAC regarding the Church Separatist Movement.⁴

¹Ibid., RM to Asst. CM, Umtata, 20 June 1905.

²Ibid., CM to RM, 3 July 1905.

³Ibid., NAD to Smith, 10 July 1905.

⁴Ibid., Smith to SNA, 11 July 1905. The Commission recommended "control" and "guidance" rather than repression of the independent churches; suggested that only those churches sufficiently organized and centralized to exercise control and discipline over its members and those churches with the moral leadership to ensure that only qualified men would be ordained as ministers should be the only ones

In the meantime, the Assistant Chief Magistrate of Umtata suggested to the Secretary of Native Affairs that in the future the head of the AMEC should obtain permission from government before assigning agents to the Territories as the admission of new sects, particularly those fostered by African-Americans, was to be deprecated.¹ Stanford replied to Smith's letter of 11 July informing him that Dlepu was in East Griqualand not Pondoland and that he had instructed his Resident Magistrate to inform Dlepu that his mission in the territory had been undertaken without Smith's sanction and as a result, it could not be countenanced. Dlepu also was to be informed that any future representations he had regarding the Church should be conveyed via his Bishop.²

Smith then wrote the Secretary of Native Affairs asking for a personal interview at which he would discuss the future movements of his church. He told the Secretary of Native Affairs that it was essential that government should aid him in rooting out the undesirables referred to in the SANAC Report.³

recognized by government. Presumably, Smith intended to exercise the moral leadership, discipline and control called for by the SANAC Report, (op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 63-65, passim).

¹Chief Magistrate Umtata to SNA, 18 July 1905, NA 497.

²Ibid., Stanford to Smith, 22 July 1905.

³Ibid., Smith to SNA, 22 July 1905.

After their meeting, the SNA informed the Assistant Chief Magistrate of Umtata that government would no longer recognize any representative of the AMEC who did not have credentials signed by Smith and that Smith had promised that before dispensing such credentials, he would consult with government. Thus Smith relinquished his right of ministerial appointment to the Native Affairs Department. In addition, Smith agreed that he should be the sole person to apply for church and school sites. Any other applications were to be ignored.¹

¹Ibid., NAD to Smith, 23 September 1905.

The Second Convulsion

Certainly one of the reasons Bishop Smith was so bent on ridding his church of its 'undesirables' was because they had sought to get rid of him. A 'Peace Committee' was formed by Tantsi, Ngcayiya, Sishuba and Mabote, headed by Kumalo, and on 19 June 1905, they suspended Smith as head of the Church.

He was charged with maladministration, negligence of duties (failure to visit his circuits and districts); extraordinary actions (transferring Basutoland from the Transvaal Annual Conference to the Cape Colony Annual Conference); exercising episcopal powers in districts he had not visited¹ (he removed Mokone as General Superintendent over the Transvaal without an investigation or a hearing and he suspended Ngcayiya without a hearing or a salary); failure to hold annual conferences; insolvency (he refused to "interest" himself in the debts of the Church and as a result, the committee members said, their creditors considered the Church a poor credit risk).²

¹In all fairness to Smith, it is a fact that he was not permitted to visit the districts in Transvaal and Orange River Colony. But contrary to his statements, he was permitted to go to the Protectorates. That he limited himself to Cape Town was in keeping with his previous record in West and Southwest Africa of daring not to venture into the "bush."

²"Specification of Charges," SNA 49 CF 1904.

The Committee informed the Colonial Secretary of its actions,¹ the Prime Minister and Secretary of Native Affairs in Cape Town, as well as the Resident Commissioner in Basutoland.² Each was requested not to take any notice of Smith's future correspondence. The Committee buttressed the validity of its action by citing Smith's declaration before the SANAC that he had severed all ties with the Church outside Cape Colony.

The Committee was deputed to go to Cape Town to summon Smith before church members at Bethel Institute to answer the charges. Ngcayiya was to chair the meeting. Francis Gow posted notice of the meeting but the Bishop did not appear. He informed Gow that no mere presiding elders had the power to summon a Bishop and he would therefore not meet with the committee. He stated his willingness to meet the brethren at some future date "in a brotherly and Christian spirit," presumably at his convenience, and if it were proved that he had erred he would do his best to amend matters.³

¹Committee to the Colonial Secretary, 20 June 1905, SNA 56 CF 1905.

²Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, Churches Various S3/9/2/5.

³Smith, Blue Book, op. cit., p. 31.

As a counter-measure to the 'Peace Committee' actions, Smith called a special conference to dissolve the 'Peace Committee' and to suspend its members from ministerial duties as well as any members who obeyed or acted at the behest of the committee.¹ The Bishop informed the SNA in Pretoria that Mabote and Tantsi were no longer entitled to use the name AME ministers or to use the Church's credentials. Smith told Windham that he was aware his church was not recognized in Transvaal but he was informing the Secretary nevertheless "in the interest of the sanctity of the Christian Ministry and moral discipline." He told Windham that the government would have to assume full responsibility for the subsequent actions of the two men.²

A similar communication was sent to the Government Secretary in Basutoland concerning Kumalo and Ngcayiya. Smith requested the Secretary to debar both from travelling freely in the country and to revoke Kumalo's recognition as a marriage officer. He informed the Secretary that he had replaced Kumalo as presiding elder.³

¹ Nontshinga-Citashe, op. cit., p. 27.

² Smith to Windham, 12 July 1905, SNA 56 CF 1905.

³ Smith to Government Secretary, 11 July 1905, S3/9/2/5.

When asked why the two men were suspended, Smith replied that the "would-be-usurpers" resented his attempts to follow the recommendations of the SANAC in ridding his church of its undesirables because they knew that he counted them among that group.¹ Smith also wrote to his "good friend" Chief Lerotholi telling him of the suspensions and characterizing Kumalo and Ngcayiya as "bad men", as "ministers of strife." He told the Chief that a Rev. Sebeta was the new presiding elder and that he would in future appoint only Basutos to preach to Basutos.²

Thus at the subsequent Cape Colony Annual Conference at Beaufort West, in November, 1905, Kumalo and Ngcayiya were expelled from the ministry for "rebellion, insubordination and malicious representation."³

In the meanwhile, Mabote called into the office of the Sub-Native Commissioner of Pretoria to apply for a registration certificate for one of his ministers. The Commissioner told him that given Smith's communication to the Native Affairs Department, he could not approve the application. Mabote tried to explain that Smith's suspension of the "Peace Committee" was invalid since the Committee had

¹Ibid., Smith to Government Secretary, 22 July 1905.

²Ibid., Smith to Lerotholi, 7 August 1905.

³Ibid., Smith to Government Secretary, Maseru, 20 November 1905.

relieved him of his episcopal powers. Mabote told the Commissioner that the Transvaal members would hold an extraordinary meeting in Pretoria to dispute Smith's power to suspend anyone under the circumstances.¹

In a subsequent communication to Windham, Smith requested a personal interview with the Secretary at which he planned to clearly impress upon him the future movement of the Church under his direction. He told him how integral was government's cooperation with him to clear his church of the incompetent and unreliable. He assured Windham:

I am not putting forward the idea of official recognition for my Church, but only the freedom of the Crown Colonies for such time as might enable me to correct the evil effects and undue action of the 'first emissaries of my Church' referred to by the SANAC re 'The Church Separatist Movement.'²

In the meantime Smith requested permission to enter Transvaal. Windham wrote to Stanford asking him if he thought it a good idea. He inquired into Smith's character and general outlook and admitted that he personally could see no harm in granting the Bishop an entry permit.³

Stanford replied that although his government was unsure of the real issues involved in the dispute between

¹Mabote to Native Commissioner, Central Division, 27 July 1905, SNA 56 CF 1905.

²Ibid., Smith to Windham, 24 July 1905.

³Windham to Stanford, 8 August 1905, SNA 49 CF 1904.

Smith and his ministers, Smith's seemed the "sounder view," and so his government was continuing to support him as the head of the Church till the issue was settled in the U.S. He said that he had found Smith at all times to be "loyal" and "straight." He said the Bishop had repudiated the errors of his predecessors in appointing incompetent people to positions of leadership and that the Bishop had always been willing to adhere to the government's suggestions in disciplining his ministers. He told Windham that he thought some good could come out of the Bishop's visit to Transvaal.¹

In spite of Stanford's support, Smith's request was denied on the grounds that a visit would be useless given the unsettled state of the Church. He was asked to postpone his visit until the issue had been settled by the Church in America.

In any case, Smith continued to wield the hatchet. He wrote to the Colonial Secretary recommending that Msikinya, Sishuba and Ngcayiya be removed from the Colony's list of recognized marriage officers, and their names were removed.² When Ngcayiya assumed his position as the new presiding elder for Basutoland (he replaced Kumalo who had been

¹Stanford to Windham, 15 August 1905, GH 35/85.

²Noel Janisch to Smith, 18 October 1905, NA 497.

transferred to Orange River Colony), he applied to the Resident Commissioner for recognition as a marriage officer, a position he held in Cape Colony. His application was denied because of his suspension by Smith.¹

Tantsi, Sishuba, Msikinya and Ngcayiya in turn petitioned the Colonial Secretary to review their case, to allow them an interview whereby they could refute Smith's "malicious" statements which caused them to be removed as marriage officers.²

By this time, the dispute had reached the press and so the mudslinging became public. The argument over who had the right to suspend whom was debated in The Cape Argus' letters-to-the-editor section. Fist fights erupted between the loyalists and the 'Peace Committee' supporters. In addition, litigation over the transfer of ministers took place.³

Given the communications sent by the South Africans to the Church in America, Smith was summoned to appear before the Bishops' Council. Before the Bishop had a chance to inform the authorities, Tantsi did so, telling the Acting Commissioner for Native Affairs that his people had written to the U.S. about Smith's high-handed action in suspending

¹Ngcayiya to Resident Commissioner, 4 October 1905; Resident Commissioner to Ngcayiya, 15 October 1905, S3/9/2/5.

²Petitioners to Crewe, n.d., NA 497.

³Nontshinga-Citashe, op. cit., p. 27.

the 'Peace Committee' and the American Church had upheld their decision by summoning Smith to explain his action.¹

Smith informed the Cape authorities that he was going to the U.S. to attend a meeting of his Bishops' Council and that he was leaving Francis Gow in charge. He requested that the authority to endorse all church and site applications should be maintained in his hands.² Thus Gow was placed in a powerless position. And it meant the already slow pace of site application processing would be slowed even more.

Bishop Smith left South Africa on 22 November 1905 never to return. At the Bishops' Council meeting held in January, 1906, the Bishops carefully sifted through the various letters received from South Africa and deliberated on the issues raised at the meeting for some 6 1/2 hours. Smith spoke in his own defense 1 1/2 hours at the end of which, the Bishops decided to reassign him to West Africa. The West African Bishop, W. B. Derrick, was reassigned to South Africa. Bishop Turner asked for the South African post but obviously it could not be given to him. He would have been totally unacceptable to the colonial authorities.³

¹Tantsi to Acting Commissioner for Native Affairs, 16 November 1905, SNA 43 CF 1904.

²Ibid., Smith to SNA, 20 November 1905.

³Lesotho Government Archives, Maseru, "Marriage Officers AME Church," S3/16/4/7, Turner to Mokone, 17 January 1906.

The Council also declared that both Smith and the 'Peace Committee' had behaved childishly. The Bishops threatened to send no more American Bishops unless the loyalists and the 'Peace Committee' members met together in a conciliation conference. Such a conference was held although Gow was not given majority support to preside over it. After a three day deliberation, a cease-fire, albeit a shaky one, was declared.¹

¹Nontshinga-Citashe, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

A. Henry Attaway and the Chatsworth Scheme

The Smith contretemps was not the only incident to reflect badly on the Americans representing the AMEC in South Africa. A. Henry Attaway found himself at the center of a storm.

In 1904, Mokalapa had approached Peregrino for assistance in purchasing some boats and carts for Lewanika's modernization program in Barotseland. Peregrino declined to get involved in the venture. Mokalapa then talked to Attaway about his plans and Attaway referred him to a firm, Herman & Company. The company was one in which Smith claimed that Attaway was a silent partner.¹

Following his discussion with Attaway, Mokalapa gave over £ 600 of state money to Herman & Company. The goods Mokalapa ordered never arrived. Mokalapa went back to Barotseland empty-handed and Lewanika ordered him to return to Cape Town for the goods or a refund. Mokalapa got neither because Herman and Co., filed bankruptcy.²

¹Smith to the Bishops' Council, 14 December 1904, op. cit.

²Lewanika later requested the Supreme Court to declare his claim a preferent one against the Herman & Co., estate ("Memorandum on the connection of the A.M.E. Church with the loss of Lewanika's boat and wagon money," GH 35/85). In spite of Attaway's connection with the affair,

Peregrino placed the matter before the CID. At the direction of the Executive of his Coloured People's Vigilance Society, he informed the Native Affairs Department of the scandal. He told Windham:

The contact and association of these people with the natives, I am now satisfied, has proven to be most disastrously evil, and without one redeeming feature.

Peregrino claimed that there was "a sort of co-partnership" between Attaway and the bankrupted company and he based this contention on the fact that Attaway had been involved in several land deals for the past two or three years about which he had received several negative reports.

He accused Attaway of using his ministerial position to "impose upon" or to "wrongly advise" the people under his sway. Peregrino characterized Attaway as especially "dangerous" because of his ability and education. Given Attaway's calumnious activities, Peregrino claimed that Smith had his (Attaway's) name stricken from the Colonial Secretary's list of marriage officers. Further, Peregrino accused Attaway of having swindled a young Abyssinian by borrowing money and inviting him to his bankruptcy proceedings. Peregrino suggested that government should

Mokalapa wrote to the Mother Church asking for financial assistance and in the course of his appeal, he thanked Attaway for his contributions to the Barotseland Church which took the form of medicines, books and a church bell. (Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., Appendix II.)

either imprison Attaway or expel him from the country providing evidence of wrongdoing could be produced.¹

A copy of the Peregrino letter was forwarded to the Administrator of Rhodesia. The Administrator reported that the Attaway deal coupled with Mokalapa's failure to keep his promise of teaching the Barotse English in a matter of months had made the Paramount Chief disenchanted with the AMEs,² all of which "pleased" Coryndon in view of his contention that the influence of the AMEC on the Barotse was contrary of their best interests.³

A copy of the Peregrino letter was also sent by the Transvaal Native Affairs Department to Stanford who instructed the police to investigate Peregrino's charges. The Acting Commissioner for the Urban Police reported that Attaway's sole role in the affair was to introduce Mokalapa to Herman & Co., personnel and that the CID could find no evidence of a partnership between Attaway and the company.⁴

On the basis of the Police Report, the Attorney General's office determined that no criminal proceedings

¹Peregrino to NAD, 10 February 1905, CO 879-86 #4574.

²Ibid., F. V. Worthington to R. T. Coryndon, 6 April 1905.

³Ibid., Coryndon to Milner, 7 April 1905.

⁴Police Department to Secretary of Law Department, 15 February 1905, SNA 43 CF 1904.

could be instituted against Attaway or the firm because there had been no false or fraudulent claims made to Mokalapa: a valid contract had been signed; the company had placed orders for the goods but due to financial difficulties, it could not pay for them. To the extent that anyone could be blamed the Attorney General determined, it would have to be Mokalapa for his "gross stupidity" in depositing so large a sum with a company without first checking its financial position.¹

One interesting theory put forth by the Acting Commissioner for the Police in rationalizing Peregrino's allegations against Attaway was that the latter had recently opened an "Agency Business . . . in opposition" to Peregrino's various business enterprises. There is something to be said for the theory. Peregrino did run a "House and Room Renting and Real Estate Agency" and Attaway operated "The Arcade Estates and Auctions Agency," said to be housed in the same building as Herman & Co.² Peregrino's agency was older but perhaps given Attaway's church involvement, his agency may have had the advantage.

Whatever the reason, Peregrino seems to have declared a vendetta against the AMEC and Black Americans

¹ Ibid., Assistant Law Adviser to SNA, 13 March 1905.

² "Memorandum on the Connection," op. cit.

in particular. He sent a tattling letter to Windham extolling the virtues of Bishop Smith for his support of the idea that Africans were not yet ready to assume control of their own church affairs; a position which he said was attacked by those under the Jabavu influence! He said that he had become suspicious of Mokone's motives; misgivings which had been strengthened by a letter he received from Mokone telling him that the people were dissatisfied with him (Peregrino) because of his friendship with Lagden.

Peregrino alleged that during Mokone's visit to Cape Town in the midst of the Smith furore he discovered that the minister was "mischief-bent" though Peregrino did not elaborate. He may have been referring to Mokone's role in the 'Peace Committee'. Peregrino told Windham that at one point, he had scoffed at the idea that the AMEC presented any sort of danger but,

Now I understand that while the heads of the Church may be and possibly are innocent of wrong-doing, and while the American Negro is by reason of his ancestry, language, etc., altogether harmless, and unambitious, yet there are among the Natives an element which may be described as possessing, unsophisticated independence, savage indifference to consequences and utterly untamed by the salutary lash of physical slavery.¹

¹There was a curious duality and ambivalence about Peregrino's relationship with Afro-America. On one level one gets the feeling that he badly wanted to be a part of it viz., his earlier insistence on associating himself with the so-called "American Colony" in Cape Town, indeed he was mistaken by the SANAC for an African-American, but on another level, Peregrino was extremely contemptuous of African-Americans as a group. See especially the articles which began appearing in The Spectator after mid-1902.

As Peregrino viewed it, the solution was to resort to harsh and extreme measures in dealing with the Church.¹

In another letter to Windham, Peregrino said that he had dissuaded a number of AMEs who had been advised by an advocate (whom he left unnamed but implicitly criticized) to petition the Imperial Government via a delegation to England.² Peregrino claimed to have removed the "silly notion" which the AMEs entertained that the imperial authorities in London would overrule any decisions made by the South African governments. The would-be petitioners left the petition with Peregrino for his personal perusal. He made copies, one of which he sent to Windham.

Peregrino promised to keep the Native Affairs Department abreast of the movements of the delegation's leader, Josiah Gumede, during his Cape Town visit. He said that Ngcayiya, Sishuba and Msikinya had been to him with their side of the Smith controversy and he promised to publish it in The Spectator in the interest of fairness. Peregrino went on:

On the whole, it would appear that the fewer there come here of the American Negro the better for the morals of the Natives and for their financial resources.

Peregrino also reported that he had informed Lewanika

¹Peregrino to Windham, 12 October 1905, LTG 144.

²The advocate may have been Henry Sylvester Williams who arrived in Cape Town in late 1903. The petition dealt with an Orange River Colony group which wanted its ancestral lands returned.

that the government was doing all in its power to retrieve the money lost in the Mokolapa/Herman & Co., transaction and he advised the King to avoid all dealings with the AMEs.¹ Peregrino was in fact credited with being instrumental in "break(ing) Lewanika's faith" in AME ministers.²

It will be recalled that at this point, Peregrino who was a friend of Lewanika's heir, offered to act as the conduit through which Africans could air their grievances to the imperial authorities.³ For a time, Peregrino acted as an advisor to Lew^anika and claimed to have his power of attorney.⁴ Indeed, his relationship with the King was similar to the one which existed between Rideout and Lerotholi and to which the imperial authorities reacted similarly. In neither case would they permit a Black man to act as intermediary between the Colonial Government and the traditional leaders.⁵

Though maligned, Attaway did manage to wrangle a

¹Peregrino to Windham, 18 November 1905, LTG 144.

²F. V. Worthington to the Acting Administrator, Kalomo, 13 July 1906, CO 879-91 #35731.

³T. Ranger, "Nationality and Nationalism," op. cit., p. 232.

⁴Worthington to F. J. Newton, 13 July 1906, CO 879-91 #35731.

⁵Ibid., Selborne to the Earl of Elgin, 11 November 1906.

14-day permit to travel in the new colonies though not on church business. The pass was given solely for the purpose of attending to his private business activities.¹

By 1905, Attaway had relinquished his association with Bethel Institute, to be succeeded as principal by H. C. Msikinya. With Attaway out of the religious picture, he began devoting more and more of his time to his myriad business concerns which seem to have revolved around real estate ventures, particularly a venture called "Chatsworth Industrial Estates."²

The Estates was a passel of land comprising some 10,000 acres located 40 miles outside Cape Town. The land was owned by a group calling itself the African Real Estate Company, Ltd.

Attaway was hired as an agent for the company because the plots of land were to be sold only to Africans and Coloureds. As of 1906, 200 plots had been sold for £ 6 to £ 14 per plot. There were 18 African and 92 Coloured men residing on the Estates but only two of the Africans and eight Coloureds actually owned the land. The remainder were purchasing by the installment plan.

¹Selborne to Hely-Hutchinson, 2 October 1905, GH 13/34.

²Attaway's involvement with his business schemes is one of the reasons he was not involved in the Smith affair and it is also the reason Msikinya was appointed as Smith's representative. With Smith and Attaway out of the picture, Francis Gow was once again left with the responsibility of piloting the Church until Derrick arrived which was not until 1907. (Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., p. 402).

As a selling point, Attaway established the Chatsworth Normal Mechanical and Industrial Institute around which the Estates was to revolve. The Institute had 35 pupils who could study up to Standard VI. Estate students were charged 2-6 shillings per month and the Colony students paid from £ 12 to £ 20 per annum for fees and board.¹ Attaway had sent for Rev. and Mrs. John A. Gregg early in 1903 to work at Bethel and eventually Gregg assumed the principalship of Chatsworth.²

Attaway travelled about the country selling his plots of land for a £ 1 deposit and monthly installments of 10/. The arrangement was forfeited if an installment was not paid within 30 days after the due-date--with no refunds. This no-refund policy meant that quite a number of people who fell behind in their payments lost their life's savings. One of the victims was the African-American widow of John Tule.³

Attaway was accompanied by another Black American named Marshall, who acted as his secretary and who remained in the locations recruiting students for the Institute long after Attaway had departed. Attaway's usual tactic

¹Chief Constable to the Resident Magistrate, Malmsburg, 20 November 1906, NA 497.

²Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., p. 410.

³Smith to Bishops' Council, 14 December 1904, op. cit.

was to arrange with a local headman to convene a location meeting at which time he explained his project. Needless to say, this itinerant "Ethiopian" travelling about, addressing groups of Africans, caused concern within government circles.

The Civil Commissioner for Herschel telegraphed the Native Affairs Department about Attaway's overtures to "ignorant Natives,"¹ but he was warned that if government interfered to prevent people from dealing with Attaway, it would only antagonize the very people it wished to save from Attaway's machinations. The best course was to let them "learn wisdom by experience," the hard way much as Lewanika had done.²

The government had no grounds for restricting Attaway's movements. Therefore its tactic in dealing with the peripathetic Attaway was to monitor his statements and movements in the hope of prosecuting him for fraud or sedition.³ It is possible that another reason government dared not interfere too blatantly with Attaway's movements was the fact that he worked for a European firm and if government advised people not to buy the plots, the company

¹Civil Commissioner to NAD, 3, 5 October 1905, NA 497.

²Ibid., Stanford to Col. Crewe, 10 June 1906.

³Ibid., Crewe to Stanford, 30 April 1905.

could resort to the courts.

It should be stressed however that Attaway in no way acted surreptitiously in his movements. He notified the various magistrates of his presence in each of the districts he visited and, on at least one occasion, he invited the local Resident Magistrate to chair one of his meetings.¹ He assured the Resident Magistrate that his institute was in no way connected with a religious body. Attaway explained to the Inspector of Sterkspruit that his Institute aimed at "solving the vexed Native Problem which looms so ominously upon the social and economic horizon of British South Africa," i.e., the shortage of African labor. His institute, he explained, would equip the African to "intelligently grapple" with labor problems. The Inspector assured Attaway that there would be no interference from his office so long as his meetings were apolitical.²

To be sure, Attaway's sales meetings were monitored. At one meeting Attaway allegedly told the people that they were being exploited by whites whose monthly salaries often exceeded their (the Africans') annual ones. The traders particularly came under fire for buying wool at a pittance

¹Ibid., Attaway to Inspector of Native Locations, 27 June 1906.

²Ibid., A. G. Turner to Attaway, 28 June 1906.

and selling it back in the form of clothing at exorbitant prices. He supposedly told them that their souls were no longer their own and if given a chance, his school would teach them how to become self-sufficient; they would learn how to turn their own wool into clothes and their cow hides into boots. Although Attaway's alleged statements sound like rather normal sales pitches, the Wesleyan missionary who reported them considered them pernicious. And within the context of South Africa, they were.

Attaway was also accused of having accepted payment for a Chatsworth plot without giving the purchaser a receipt. He was said to have depended entirely on the local people for his subsistence and to have accepted grain and stock as payment for the plots. More important for the missionary who wrote the report on Attaway, Attaway attempted to empty his school by wooing people to his institute. In the process, said the missionary, Attaway infected a usually "amiable" community with a "bad spirit."¹

More allegations reached the Civil Commissioner for Herschel. It was said that Attaway was in a particular location through which Colonel Crewe passed during his 1905 tour of the Colony and Attaway stayed indoors the whole time to avoid attention. It was also reported that none of

¹Ibid., M. J. Letcher to the Resident Magistrate, 5 October 1906.

Attaway's friends in the location put in an appearance at Crewe's meetings with the local residents. Attaway was also accused of having stolen a horse. As a result of the latter accusation the Inspector of Native Locations was prepared to issue a warrant for his arrest. As the Inspector saw it, the warrant would give the government an excuse for immobilizing Attaway, thus neutralizing his real crime of "disseminating the very worst form of Ethiopian doctrine." The Inspector described his Chatsworth Institute as a "nursery where the children and youths are taught to regard themselves as equal to Europeans and that when time is ripe they must drive all Whites out of Africa." He further accused Izwi Labantu of being a conduit through which Attaway funneled his ideas.¹

That Izwi would be supportive of the Chatsworth Institute is predictable. The editors of the paper, Walter Rubusana and A. Kirkland Soga,² were adamant in their opposition to Lovedale's push for the proposed Inter-State College which was to be housed on Lovedale grounds.

The editors of Izwi were opposed to the Lovedale

¹Ibid., Inspector of Native Locations to the Civil Commissioner, 10 October 1906.

²Harry Dean had put Soga in touch with the African-American press. Soga hoped to use the columns of the various papers to make Americans aware of the deplorable condition of non-whites in South Africa. (The Colored American Magazine, June, 1903).

scheme because it would have been mission-controlled, i.e., European controlled and specifically Lovedale controlled. Earlier in 1902, Izwi had heavily propogandized for a Queen Victoria Memorial (QVM) to be erected by non-whites. The memorial was to take the form of a college or university under the control of Africans.¹

The Inter-State College scheme which had Jabavu and Dwane as supporters, threatened to neutralize the QVM movement and it co-opted some of the QVM's African supporters.

Certainly the Chatsworth Institute and Estates had the potential for solving two problems facing the Cape Colony non-white community: (1) it presented an alternative to the hated location system and it gave Africans the opportunity to hold title to their land. In fact, a number of residents at the Ndabeni location relocated at Chatsworth;² (2) it presented an alternative to Lovedale's higher education offerings.

Attaway had two goals for the school: it would offer a comprehensive literary course of study following the guidelines of the Cape Colony Education Department and it would offer industrial training along Tuskegee lines.³

¹Izwi Labantu, 24 April 1906.

²Ibid., 4 September 1906.

³Ibid., 22 May 1906.

Attaway envisioned a council or board composed of Coloureds and sympathetic Europeans which would control the administration, curriculum development and faculty appointments for the school.¹

Given Attaway's stated aims, Soga and Rubusana viewed Chatsworth as an effective ally against the Lovedale scheme.

The AMEC officially entered into the dispute between the editors of Izwi, and the Inter-State College advocates, on the side of the newspaper. At a Queenstown church conference, the AMEs condemned the Lovedale plan as "suicidal to the native progress in education." They interpreted it as an attempt to limit their freedom to travel abroad, as an attempt to maintain European control over African education and as an attempt to block their own efforts such as the QVM.²

In any case, on the basis of the Inspector's report and that of the Wesleyan missionary, the Civil Commissioner requested authorization from the Native Affairs Department to eject Attaway and his staff from Herschel for contravening location residence laws.³ Stanford refused the authorization

¹ Ibid., 24 July 1906.

² The Queenstown Daily Representative and Free Press, 14 February 1906.

³ Resident Magistrate to SNA, 13 October, NA 497.

on the grounds that Attaway did not actually reside in any of the locations nor had he expressed his intention of doing so. The Civil Commissioner was told to simply maintain a watch on Attaway's activities and to report any new information.¹

At any rate, in spite of the Smith and Attaway capers, church business continued as usual for the year 1906. The quest for letters of exemption and railway concession fares as well as school and church sites continued unabated.

¹Ibid., Stanford to the Civil Commissioner, 15 November 1906.

The Second Hatchet Man: . W.B. Derrick

By 1907, things had quieted somewhat within and without the Church. Due to the Bishops' Council decision to transfer Smith to West Africa, his suspension of various "Peace Committee" members was invalidated. At a special "Reconciliation Conference" held in Bloemfontein in December, 1906, the men were reinstated and restored to their original positions.¹

Bishop Derrick arrived in South Africa in June, 1907, accompanied by a colleague from Wilberforce. They stayed just long enough to make a cursory inspection of the work in Cape Colony, particularly Bethel Institute, and they wholly supported the salvation of the Institute from bankruptcy. They left with a generally optimistic view of the possibilities in South Africa and they left in their wake an even larger rupture within the Church.

The Bishop held two joint conferences, one in Bloemfontein and one in Kimberley. It was at this Kimberley conference that the rather questionable united front forged at the Bloemfontein "Peace Conference" gave way.

When the Bishop took the chair, he let his delegates know in very clear terms that he would not stand for the

¹Gow to Lagden, 24 January 1907, SNA 73 CF 1907.

"insubordination" which his predecessor experienced. Each of the members of the "Peace Committee"--Kumalo, Ngcayiya, Tantsi, Sishuba and Msikinya--was transferred to "dry" circuits; circuits where there were few adherents and no amenities. They were "condemned to starvation and privation." To exacerbate matters, the transfer committee was dominated by Western Blacks: Derrick, Gow, Attaway and Gregg.¹

Annoyed with what they viewed as revenge on Derrick's part, the Rev. Joseph Spawn along with I. G. Sishuba H. R. Ngcayiya and several others, seceded from the AMEC and "re-established" the Ethiopian Church after receiving permission from Mokone to use the title.

The regenerated Ethiopian Church was not the first independent church to secede from the AMEC. It was preceded by the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion established in 1904 by James Brander and headquartered in Transvaal. There was also the African Cathedral Church founded in 1906 by Samuel Temba which was headquartered in Transvaal as well. Brander's group seceded because it resented the predominance of African-American leadership. Temba's group left the AMEC for doctrinal reasons.

Although Attaway was involved in the transfer committee his major energies were still confined to his various secular

¹Nontshinga-Citashe, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

activities. By mid-1907, he was ensconced in Basutoland applying to the Resident Magistrate for permission to build an industrial school. Attaway's association with the Chatsworth project had ceased early in the year.¹ The reasons for his dissociation are unclear but Coan theorized that some of the steam was taken out of the Chatsworth plan by the establishment of Wilberforce Institute in 1907.²

Certainly Attaway was in Basutoland with the permission of Letsie who wanted his father's dream of an industrial school fulfilled. In addition, the initial American contact in Basutoland, Conrad Rideout, had left South Africa in 1903 for the purpose of raising funds for his proposed industrial school.³ No more information has been found on Rideout so it is unclear whether he actually ever returned. There was then a vacuum and Attaway aimed to fill it.

In the communication detailing his scheme, Attaway told Sloyer that lest his plan be misinterpreted as mischievous and motivated by purely personal gain, he had the endorsement of Chief Letsie and the Basuto people, an endorsement which he had every reason to believe had been conveyed to the Resident Magistrate.

¹Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., p. 410.

²Voice of Missions, April, 1903.

Attaway told Sloley that he aimed to establish a "lib~~er~~ary, mechanical and industrial" school along the lines of Tuskegee but modified to meet the "educational regulations of the Basuto Government and South African environment." He assured Sloley that the Cape Colony syllabus would be used for the literary courses and he said his school would be equipped to offer post matriculation level courses. Heavy emphasis would be placed on the industrial courses with thorough training provided in the areas of agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts. Attaway said that his school would be non-denominational and he envisioned an ecumenical staff and student body. The nucleus of his faculty included himself and J. A. Gregg, his associate, a graduate of Kansas State University. Presumably Gregg's association with Chatsworth had also ceased. He was then in the U.S. on furlough. Attaway stated his intention to submit the qualifications of any future teachers to the Resident Magistrate for his personal approval.

Attaway predicted that if a site were given by government for the school¹ and if the financial aid which he

¹It will be recalled that Lerotholi gave Coppin some land on which to build an industrial school. Either Attaway chose to dissociate himself from this church property for political reasons, i.e., he felt he had a better chance with government by being non-denominational, i.e., non-Ethiopian,

had been promised by various American, European and South African sympathizers were forthcoming, his school would "prove a blessing to mankind."¹

The Government Secretary in Maseru wrote to Cape Town for a report on Attaway's character and past activities in view of his understanding that the Reverend had been prominent in the Cape Colony "Ethiopian movement."² Secretary of Native Affairs, Edward Dower, reported that Attaway had originally been summoned to South Africa by the AMEC to supervise its educational programs but he had subsequently become embroiled in personal property speculation. As a result, he had become insolvent. Dower also highlighted Attaway's activities in connection with the Chatsworth Estates and his dealings with Mokalapa and Lewanika. Dower told the Government Secretary that "shady" activities on the part of Attaway had been brought to his attention though in each case, Attaway had managed to avoid actual prosecution. Dower went on:

Attaway is a well educated man of pleasing address and of undoubted ability. But whatever may be his good qualities his propensity for private business speculations has led him to abuse a position of trust and in my own opinion stamps him as a most undesirable man to have in any Native area of this Colony.³

or the Church chose to dissociate itself from any of Attaway's property schemes because of his past record.

¹Attaway to Sloley, 13 October 1907, S3/9/2/5.

²Ibid., Government Secretary to SNA, 16 October 1907.

³Ibid., Dower to the Government Secretary, 23 April 1908.

It should be stressed that Dower depended in part on Peregrino for his information about Attaway. The Secretary of Native Affairs sent for Peregrino and asked him to do some unobtrusive checking on Attaway's activities. Peregrino's informants not only included local people but people from Basutoland as well.

Peregrino claimed that his Basutoland sources told him that Attaway had taken advantage of some disgruntled students in Basutoland, had "ingratiated" himself with them and a local chief, representing himself as "the great man from America who will teach the black man to be as clever as the white man." In this manner he had elicited their support for building a new school. Peregrino warned:

Any system of education acquired by the Basuto through this man's agency will be dearly bought. Crafty, insidious, plausible and urbane, he is just the sort of man who would sow such seed among an ambitious people--such as I am informed the Basutos are--which will bring some day, perhaps, a terrible harvest.

There is something to be said for Peregrino's contention that Attaway took advantage of the restive Basutoland students for he did enter at a time of crisis for the PEM schools. There was a strike at the PEM training college in Morija and there were student disturbances in Maseru as well. It was a general time of ferment in that the white miner's strike in Johannesburg had just ended and Ghandi was agitating in the Transvaal. It could be said that Attaway took advantage

of the unsettled situation and certainly he had a willing audience to listen to his plans for an African-controlled institution.

In any case, Peregrino sent a warning to Basutoland via his Basuto acquaintances in Transvaal and Mafeking suggesting that what happened to Lewanika could also happen to them if they continued their association with Attaway.¹ The warning may have been partly successful for the school was never actualized and Attaway left South Africa in 1908.

On the Church front, in addition to holding the two conferences, Derrick also met with the Governor of Orange River Colony and the High Commissioner, Lord Selborne.

Mokone, Tantsi and Mabote had petitioned the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria for an entry permit for the Bishop and it was provided.² Derrick discussed with the Orange River Colony Governor, Goold Adams, his policies as Bishop of the Church and his vision of the Church's aims and objectives in South Africa. Goold Adams told the Bishop that his government would pursue the same course toward the AMEC as that of the Transvaal Government; that is to say, the Church would not be recognized. Derrick was also informed

¹Peregrino to Windham, 13 November 1907, SNA 81 CF 1907.

²Petitioners to NAD, 17 July 1907, SNA 77 CF 1907.

that because responsible government had been instituted in June, 1907, he would have to begin anew his negotiations with another set of government ministers. It was back to square one for the AMEs in the Orange River Colony and presumably in the Transvaal as well.¹

Selborne was non-committal on the issue of church recognition although he did promise Derrick that he would discuss the issue with his ministers and he promised to place before his ministers Derrick's request to be allowed to visit Transvaal. Selborne was favorably impressed with the Bishop and he told his ministers that a visit by Derrick to the Transvaal at some later date might be to the government's advantage.²

As a result of the favorable impression Derrick made on the High Commissioner, the Bishop was informed that when he returned to South Africa, he should write to the Minister for Native Affairs, Johann Rissik, who would then give him an appointment to explain to him, as he had done to Selborne, his policies as Bishop of the Church.³ It is important to

¹Private Secretary to the Governor of Orange River Colony to Derrick, 16 November 1907, GOV 1096.

²Ibid., Selborne to Good Adams, 9 December 1907.

³Ibid., Selborne to Derrick, 19 December 1907.

note that Selborne did not promise Derrick that he would be given a permit to travel around Transvaal for the purpose of supervising his work; he only promised him an interview with the Minister of Native Affairs.

However, Derrick interpreted his temporary travel permit to meet the Governor of Orange River Colony and the High Commissioner, as well as the High Commissioner's letter of 19 December as a sign that the Transvaal Government was about to relax its stringent entry rule for American AMES. On his return to the U.S., he reported to the Bishops' Council that all "obstructions and hindrances" to the South African work had been removed.

Charles Spencer Smith wrote to the American Consul General in London¹ and to Jan Smuts for confirmation.² In light of his personal experiences in South Africa, Smith became a vigorous opponent to the mission work there and campaigned for its abandonment. He cited government obstruction, lack of money and qualified men, and an already occupied field as his three main reasons for opposing the AMEC presence in South Africa. This explains his continued interest in government policy toward the Church.

¹Smith to the American Consul General, 16 January 1908, GOV 1160.

²Smith to Jan Smuts, 16 January 1908, SNA 83, CF 1908.

Smith was informed that the Transvaal Government policy toward the AMEC remained unchanged, that Derrick was simply permitted to explain to the Minister of Native Affairs the policies he as Bishop planned to pursue in Transvaal.¹

That the Transvaal Government was amenable to at least permitting a dialogue between it and the American AMEs at this particular period is attributable to several factors: (1) The SANAC Report which recommended scrutiny rather than repression of the independent churches; (2) the old excuse of seditious propaganda was no longer viable. The Transvaal Government, in spite of its efforts to do so, never produced any evidence which led to the arrest of an AME for any seditious activity; (3) The AMEC had been cleared of any connection with the Bambata Rebellion. This last factor was certainly a trump card in the hands of Derrick.²

To be sure, following the Bambata disturbances, Natal's Prime Minister, F. R. Moor, and his ministers were convinced

¹Private Secretary to the Governor to the American Vice Consul, 25 February 1908, GOV 1160.

²After leaving Cape Town, Derrick sent Selborne yet another "Declaration" from the House of Bishops thanking the High Commissioner for the reception he gave Bishop Derrick and reiterating their loyalty to the British Government. Selborne found the tone of the communication "amusing." (Selborne to SNA, 16 April 1908, SNA 84 CF 1908). See Appendix VI.

that some type of concerted action and policy was necessary in order for the four colonies to check the spread of "Ethiopian" ideas. Moor requested his Governor, Matthew Nathan, to approach Selborne with the following suggestions for solving the "Ethiopian" problem:

(1) No African minister without European supervision should be recognized as a marriage officer; (2) no official recognition in the form of grants-in-aid or school sites should be given to independent churches; (3) all African churches under European control should be compelled to register; (4) no African minister or representative of a religious organization should be allowed to address an assembly of Africans without European supervision;¹ (5) that the AMEC specifically should be "discouraged" by the continued refusal to grant the Church recognition on the grounds that it was the "parent of Ethiopianism."²

Selborne sent copies of the Natal Ministers' suggestions to the representatives of the other three colonies. The Orange

¹The Natal Government enacted a resolution in 1907 whereby no African minister was allowed to preach in the goals unless a European minister who knew the language was present. The Wesleyan Church of South Africa was mortified by the scope of the resolution, and at the Wesleyan Conference in Pietermaritzberg, they declared that the act infringed on the rights of Africans and on their rights as a Christian Church. They appealed to Governor Nathan to forward a copy of their resolutions condemning the resolution to the Secretary of State (Nathan to Secretary of State, 22 May 1909, CO 879-101 #19521).

²Moor to Nathan, 18 January 1908, CO 879-97 #17694.

River Colony ministers substantially agreed with the Natal Ministers and recommended that the four governments confer on a common policy toward the independents as soon as possible. In the interim, they suggested holding in abeyance the question of recognition until a conference could be convened.¹

The Transvaal Ministers appreciated the need for concerted action in arresting the growth of the "racial" movements among Africans. They were prepared to cooperate in whatever common action on which the other three governments agreed. However, they could not agree to "repressing" the independent church movement. They viewed "tolerance" as the solution because they were not so sure that the propaganda of the independents was sufficiently dangerous to justify the enactment of special legislation aimed at stifling it. Nor could they agree with Natal's suggestion that unsupervised African ministers should be prohibited from speaking before assemblies of their people. The Transvaal Ministers did not feel that "the State should . . . interfere to that extent with the liberty of any particular section of the community except in grave emergency." As for Natal's suggestions about curtailing the activities of the independents, Transvaal's ministers pointed out that no non-white minister of any denomination had ever been recognized in their colony

¹Ibid., Goold Adams to Selborne, 4 March 1908.

as a marriage officer nor had any churches other than those "acknowledged in the Christian World" ever been recognized.¹

The Cape Ministers agreed that concerted policy and action was needed so long as it did not in any way interfere with the religious liberty of the people. However, they believed that Natal's suggestions would interfere.

In a memorandum written by the Cape's Secretary of Native Affairs in response to Selborne's inquiry, Dower emphasized the fact that the Cape had never enacted any special legislation to deal with the Ethiopian Movement. Its policy toward the movement was one of watchfulness. Dower did not agree that the AMEC was the "parent" of Ethiopianism nor did he agree that Ethiopianism fostered racial cleavage. He had seen nothing in the constitutions of the various independent churches which denied membership to Europeans.

Dower pointed out that certain ministers of the AMEC and the Presybggerian Church of Africa had been recognized as marriage officers. Grants-in-aid had been allocated to independent church schools when it was proved that they were

¹Ibid. Louis Botha to Selborne, 27 April 1908. This is a rather strange category in which to place the AMEC in that the Church was very much "acknowledged in the Christian World." AME delegates participated in a number of world ecumenical conferences; Bishop Derrick preached at Canterbury Cathedral and the usual courtesy of offering pulpits to foreign ministers was often extended to AME ministers who travelled abroad.

creditable institutions situated in places of demonstrated need. The Secretary expressed his willingness to compile a register of all the African churches under European supervision if such a register were necessary but he warned that it would be "dangerous and wrong" to prevent every minister or member of an unregistered church to address an assembly. He explained:

Freedom of speech is prized almost as highly by the natives as by the white man, and quite as seldom abused.

Dower could not understand why a man of Rubusana's caliber should be silenced.

Dower reasoned that the proper attitude toward the independents should be one of "tolerance" and even "sympathy." He suggested that if any special legislation should be enacted, it should be in the area of regulating the appointment of marriage officers.¹ In this way, government would have the power to enquire into the background and general character of any minister applying for a license to perform marriages.²

¹As it stood in the Cape, an ordained minister of any recognized Christian denomination was empowered to perform marriages without a civil license. In order to be recognized, a church had to have a "sufficiently exacting" constitution, proven stability and rules of discipline. The AMEC met these criteria but the names of its prospective marriage officers had to be submitted by the Bishop for government approval.

²Dower to J. X. Merriman, 1 April 1908, CO 879-97
#17694.

Clearly another factor contributing to the more relaxed attitude of the various governments was the fact that the spectre of a "black peril," which as Churchill pointed out, acted as a "unifying force" between Boer and Briton,¹ was no longer as integral to the unity between the two white races as it once had been. By 1907, the colonies were well on their way to union. Responsible Government had been granted to both the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony.

That the Ethiopian Movement was no longer considered the ultimate evil is borne out by the fact that the Assistant Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories issued a circular in January, 1907, calling for reports on the progress of the movement in the Territories.

In the reports he received, there was none of the hysteria characteristic of the earlier reports. The magistrates reported that things were quiet and people were going about the business of church work in a peaceful and non-disruptive manner. Nonetheless, the magistrates did recommend that the best course for insuring that things remained quiet was for government to continue in its refusal to grant church sites and to recognize as marriage officers members of the independent churches.²

¹Mansergh, op. cit., p. 74.

²Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, "Papers Relating to Claims by Native Separatist Churches 1906-1910," NA 754.

'A New Beginning: J. Albert Johnson'

It was in this less hysterical atmosphere that the AMEC despatched its fifth Bishop in ten years, J. Albert Johnson. As with his two immediate predecessors, Johnson was colonial born. Unlike Smith and Derrick, he was a man of gentle temperament. To this day, he is fondly remembered as a man who never lost the common touch, as a man who was eminently approachable by all.

Johnson arrived in Cape Town in late 1908 and he was to spend the next eight years there. He was the only AME Bishop to ever serve two terms in South Africa. He went armed with the authorization from the 1908 General Conference to pay off the last mortgage on Bethel Institute.

The Bishop entered the Cape in the midst of the agitation within the non-white community over the draft constitution. The Coloured community was embittered over the provision which excluded their membership in the proposed Union Parliament. They were justifiably upset over the provision which made it possible to abrogate the Cape non-European franchise.

The African Political Organization and a committee from the South African Native Congress, which included a number of AMEs on its various committees¹ and had as its General

¹Izwi Labantu, 17 July 1906.

Secretary, Chalmers Nyombolo,¹ appointed a delegation to proceed to London to appeal against the enactment of the draft constitution. One AME minister in Transvaal solicited funds with which to pay his expenses so that he could join the Schreiner delegation and vent the grievances of the AMEC as well.²

Francis Gow was tempted to debate the issue at a public reception for Bishop Johnson but thought better of it. He had sparked a controversy at the Coppin reception held four years earlier and he wanted to avoid a repetition of the disturbance it caused. Gow did, however, advise his audience to unite as Coloured men for the defense of their rights. In spite of Gow's caution, a reporter for The Argus said that, "The words 'draft constitution' seemed in some mysterious manner to float in the air. . . ." ³

Because American AMEs were still barred from travelling in Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal, Johnson decided early in his administration to devote more time to the interests of the Church in the Protectorates. The Resident Commissioner of Basutoland received him as "any

¹Ibid., 18 September 1906.

²Sub-Native Commissioner, Potgietersrust to Native Commissioner, Waterburg, 6 July 1909, SNA 90 CF 1909.

³The Cape Argus, 16 February 1909.

other man,"¹ and presumably he visited Bechuanaland and Swaziland as well.

Though barred, Johnson continued to appeal to the Transvaal administration for an entry permit. Finally, toward the end of 1909, he was given an interview with the new Minister of Native Affairs, Johann Rissik. Subsequent to the interview, Bishop Johnson was given a certificate to travel within the Transvaal at any time for the purpose of supervising the work of his church. The certificate was a concession which had taken the AMEs almost a decade of persistent effort to obtain.

With the new permit, Johnson was able to formally open the Fanny Coppin Hall at the Lillian Derrick Institute, later renamed Wilberforce. The Institute was the Transvaal counterpart to Bethel and it was located in the Evaton township. Wilberforce developed from the pioneering work of Charlotte Manye and her husband, Marshall Maxeke and it was envisioned as a Tuskee type facility.

The Bishop's next step, of course, was to petition for church recognition in Orange River Colony, Transvaal and Natal. A decision on the Johnson request was given

¹L. Wroughton to Private Secretary to the Governor, 18 February 1909, S3/9/2/5.

particular urgency because of a similar request by the Black Baptists in Orange River Colony.¹

The National Baptist Convention's representative in South Africa, Rev. D. E. Murff, was told that no decision could be made on his appeal until the status of the AMEC had been determined.² Finally, Prime Minister J. B. Hertzog suggested that the colonies should leave the decision on government recognition to the Union Parliament.³ His suggestion was supported by the Transvaal Ministers and the Ministers of Natal.⁴

After 18 years of constant struggle in South Africa the AMEC, with active branches in three of its four colonies, found itself at the advent of Union Government in 1910 still only recognized in one of them.

¹ D. E. Murff to NAD, Bloemfontein, 22 November 1909, GOV 1209.

² Ibid., Under Colonial Secretary to D. E. Murff, 8 December 1909.

³ Ibid., Hertzog Minute No. 2324/1, 20 December 1909.

⁴ F. R. Moor Minute No. 14/1910, 26 April 1910, GOV 1241.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the Ethiopian Church began as a protest organization composed of a small group of dissidents, principally confined to the Transvaal. This coterie of men was relatively urbanized, mission educated and was certainly petit bourgeois in outlook. Each of the early leaders had a history of disenchantment with the established churches and they were of varying ethnic groups.

The Ethiopian Church was a protest group which emerged out of the climate of general African resentment over the disarmament, cattle removal and vagrancy acts, the pass laws and the myriad other injustices which were levelled against them because of their race.

The armed struggle of the past had ended in defeat. The assegai as a weapon for liberation had given way to newspaper propaganda, education, racial organization and to a limited extent, the vote. The establishment of the multi-ethnic Ethiopian Church marked a break with the older tradition of Xhosa-led dependence on white liberalism which characterized the Jabavu school.

Nonetheless, like the Jabavuites, the church independents were committed to what Ranger calls the "Christian solution."

They were committed to the idea of integration into South African society as "civilized" British citizens. They were committed to the idea of attaining this integration by the Exeter Hall method of petitions and delegations.

That this protest movement should have arisen within the institution of the church is not difficult to understand.
 1
 As Piven and Cloward¹ have pointed out, people cannot defy institutions to which they have little or no access and to which they make little or no contribution. Thus perhaps the only institution to which Africans had access and made some contribution, the absence of which was crucial to the institution, was the church. It was within the church that organized and concerted protest first came to full fruition.

On looking at Mokone's Founder's Declaration and indeed on looking at the personal histories of his cohorts like Dwane or Mzimba, it is clear that these men smarted under the same disabilities as their fellow Africans. They were: general exploitation and discrimination in housing, wages and opportunities for advancement, all of which were exacerbated by unresponsive authorities.

By virtue of their protest, i.e., secession from the established bodies, the Mokoneites had closed their access

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Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, Poor People's Movements. Why They Succeed, How They Fail (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

to the few educational facilities available to them. For Africans who wished to be treated equitably, education was viewed as the key to the instrument of equity, the franchise. Whether aware or not, the British Government had inculcated the notion to its westernized African population that voting was the channel through which change could and should properly occur. The franchise was indeed the badge of a British citizen.

From roughly 1893-1896, the Ethiopian Church was primarily limited to the Transvaal, and it made little disruption within the established religious bodies. As a result, the SAR Government virtually ignored it. Indeed, James Bryce did not even mention the "Ethiopians," and in fact he maintained that there was no serious friction between Africans and
¹
Europeans.

However, in 1896, the Ethiopian Church merged with the A.M.E. Church, another black institution which began as a protest organization. The AMEC offered the educational facilities so desperately needed by the Mokoneites; it was doctrinally and racially compatible; and through the impetus of Bishop Turner, the Church was embarked on a program of foreign expansion. Thus the merger between the AMEC and the Ethiopian Church was almost inevitable.

¹

James Bryce, Impressions of South Africa (New York: The Century Co., 1900), p. 375.

It was at the point when the Ethiopian protest not only began to expand regionally but internationally as personified by the visit of Bishop Turner, that the church and state authorities began to react negatively toward the movement.

From the evidence presented, it is evident that the initial alarmist reaction to the African/African-American connection began within ecclesiastical circles. The reasons are not difficult to ascertain. European missionaries had been toiling in South Africa for over a century, often at great personal sacrifice, with too few results and too much criticism from the colonists for their alleged liberal tendencies.

Moreover, many of the missionaries, particularly the LMS people, became the advisors of the indigenous leaders and acted as go-betweens for the government. Thus the introduction of a new denomination, particularly a Black one, in an already competitive and crowded field, caused the missionaries to view the independents with alarm. In a very real sense, the European churchmen had created a Frankenstein monster. It was from the small group of "privileged" mission educated Africans created by the missionaries that the movement found its leaders.

The Church of Scotland through its missions organ, The Christian Express, waged a personal vendetta against the AMEC and its "loud mouthed negroes." James Stewart felt particularly grieved given Lovedale's preeminence as the progressive center for the higher education of Africans. He believed himself and all he stood for to be threatened. Thus it was he who pointed

out the danger of permitting South Africans to be educated abroad, particularly in Black American colleges.

It was the European churchmen who generated the hysteria over the Ethiopian Movement and the alledged pernicious effects of the African-American on the "native mind." It should also be borne in mind that perhaps more than any other single groups in South Africa, missionaries were under attack in the Voice of Missions which was circulated through-out the colonies.

This ecclesiastical excitement was passed on to the local magistrates who were either mission trained, or missionary related or were in fact, missionaries themselves. They too felt their positions threat^eed by the assertiveness of the dissidents who either made their districts difficult to administer or who ignored them and went directly to the Secretary of Native Affairs, the Prime Minister, the Colonial Office, etc., for redress of their grievances. Both the European missionaries and the local magistrates communicated their dismay to the colonial governments.

Prior to the merger with the AMEC, the SAR Government chose to ignore the protesters. The lack of concern was motivated by the government's perception that the dissidents had little, if any power. With the circulation of the Voice of Missions with its articles on African emigration, its slogan of Africa for the African and the hint of some sort of Black International,

the various colonial governments were no longer so sure that the organization was powerless.

Moreover, the objective conditions within which the protesters agitated had changed shortly after the merger and the visit of Bishop Turner. The Anglo-Boer War was fought.

In the immediate post-war period, there was a degree of optimism within the mission-educated African community especially. It believed that with British ^{zeal} ~~sure~~zainty, "civilized" Africans would be able to assume their duties as British subjects within the reconstructed South Africa. Indeed part of the British war machine propaganda was the rationalization that the war was necessary to fight for the freedom of Africans.

There had been no African uprising during the war, as had been feared; Africans had suffered greatly at the hands of the Boers for their loyalty and they expected recompense. In a sense their optimism and expectations were not unlike those of Black Americans during the reconstruction period.

However, this post-war optimism was soon dashed. The Treaty of Vereeniging was signed in which the British, in effect, handed over the non-whites for subjugation in exchange for the Johannesburg mines.

Though betrayed, Africans organized new protest organizations to further their integration. Organizations such as the various vigilance associations and native congresses were formed by urbanized Christians as pressure groups to prod the British

into giving them a larger participatory role in the new British South Africa. Thus like post-reconstruction Blacks in America, South Africans were placed in the paradoxical situation of desiring integration while being forced to organize separate, race, organizations to press via petition and delegation for that integration.

These new organizations spoke to the need for concerted action regarding the issues that influenced their integration into South African society as full citizens: the primary ones being education and the franchise. As with the other new organizations, the South African AMEC touched on some of the major concerns of Africans at that period. AMEs were stymied in their quest for church sites not only because denial or obstruction was a method of containing the growth of the Church but also because an independent group of landholders whose intent was to use the land for independent schools was not something to be encouraged.

Ngcayiya's threat to withhold AME votes from those legislative members who were insensitive to AME grievances only stiffened white opposition to the "blanket vote." AME attempts to circumvent the pass laws and the location residence requirements, touched on issues the colonial government would have preferred to ignore.

Given the instability of the immediate post-war period, and the fact that political alignment with the Boers was not quite steady if even sure (indeed it was suggested

that the Bond was behind the movement) meant that the British Government could not afford to ignore all the protest organizations which made up the independent church movement.

The appearance of disorder whether real or imagined was threatening to the government. Moreover, the institution which was being disrupted, i.e., the European churches had historically been proved to be central to British interests and to the stability of the status quo. The missions through their church services and particularly their schools legitimized and reproduced the social order. Thus it was critical that stability be restored within the European churches or that the offshoots be destroyed or co-opted.

Given the instability and uncertainty of the post-war period and the fact that the British Government had reneged on its promise to ameliorate the political and economic condition of non-whites, the Government could not be entirely sure that the independent church movement was not in fact the portent of an armed uprising. The sentiments expressed in the Duchtellier letter comprised the ultimate colonial nightmare.

The reaction of the various governments to the church independents depended on the political exigencies in each of the colonies. In Natal, Joseph Booth's abortive but nevertheless frightening "African Christian Union" as well as the 1896 establishment of the Zulu Congregationalist Church caused the jittery government to effectively repress any AME activity

so that the Church was never a factor in that colony.

In the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, the Imperial Government was determined to assure the newly conquered Boers that there would continue to be no equality between whites and blacks. By agreeing to Clause 8, Britain had relinquished her "guardianship" of all non-white interests. She had pledged herself to continue the policy of non-equality between African and European in order to maintain the support of her white constituents. Thus in the two colonies, the government repressed the Church by way of constant and humiliating harassment.

In keeping with its "liberal" approach, the Cape Colony Government gave the AMEC a cautious, quasi-recognition. The government was both unable to ignore the implications of the movement and unwilling to resort to the use of force to curtail it.

After careful scrutiny and covert investigation which yielded no evidence of sedition, the government attempted to conciliate the leaders of the movement by responding to the overtures of the various delegations though conceding very little. Thus the government was willing to sit down with Gow or Coppin or Derrick, thus siphoning off the anger of the protesters and leading them back to manipulatable forms of behavior like petition and delegation.

In addition, the Colony Government undermined the movement by isolating it from potential supporters. That is to say,

it restricted whatever power it was willing to concede to the Church in the hands of the Bishop. Ultimately he was answerable to the Native Affairs Department for ministerial appointment approval, site allocation, solemnization of marriages, etc. Thus the ostensibly most independent, by virtue of his being non-South African, of the independents was in fact quite dependent. The Cape Colony Government also hampered the Church in a more devious way: It began to limit its negotiations to the Americans. This monopoly of American leadership was resented by the local churchmen but given the government's policy, it justified and supported the American monopoly.

The question to be asked is, was all the commotion and hysteria over the entrance of the AMEC into South Africa and its alleged spawning of the Ethiopian Movement justified? On the basis of the actual activities of the Church, the answer is no.

At no point was the AMEC in and of itself a danger to the government. By no stretch of the imagination was the American church a radical, let alone a seditious organization. What radicalism there was within the Church in South Africa came from the African brethren who often acted independently of the Americans. Africans had already moved toward the realization of the necessity of concerted action, were already writing petitions to the Colonial Office, and were already leading delegations to the Prime Minister's Office before the arrival of the New World Blacks.

It was Africans who made the strong nationalist statements in their letters to the Americans about retaking their land, of re-establishing the scattered kingdoms. It was they who invited their American kin to aid them in the resurrection.

The AMEs who answered the call were not the anarchists, the power-maddened zealots, made so by their participation in reconstruction politics, which the Europeans made them out to be. Instead, they were crusade-oriented missionaries who were in many respects similar to their European counterparts.

They too believed in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture, the inevitability of western encroachment, indeed the desirability of it. They too viewed themselves as the "savior," the "redeemers," the "uplifters" of their African brethren. Coppin, Smith, Attaway, etc., were just as repelled by and impatient with the customs and practices of Africans as was any European of the day. Coppin, perhaps more so than the others, differed from Europeans in that he envisioned the development of a "civilized" and therefore equal South African population within the foreseeable future. If for no other reason, he had the African-American post-slavery experience as an example of the possible.

It was of particular importance to men like Coppin and Parks as well as Bishop Turner that Africans "prove" themselves for it would reflect positively on all Black people and would demonstrate to the world that Black people were capable of guiding their own destinies.

The point to be emphasized is that the AMEC, for the most part, was a conservative organization. Richard Allen had set the tone with his emphasis on business ventures, thrift, hard work, in short the protestant ethic. This petit bourgeois organization had in 1896 merged with its South African counterpart, with what Ranger calls an "élite protest" group; and given the tradition of middle class values inherent in the AMEC, these same values of course were transported to South Africa.

"Business" was the watchword of the AMEC in keeping with good, old fashioned American enterprise. Many of the AME Bishops were men of comparative means, who had begun with little. Thus there was a streak of opportunism in men like Attaway who took their essentially exploitative tendencies with them; tendencies which were in a sense sanctioned by the Church.

AME conservatism spilled over into its educational institutions as well. Although at Wilberforce, liberal education was stressed over the industrial, many of its top administrators agreed with Booker T. Washington's 'sound philosophy' of foregoing political participation for racial economic advancement. Moreover, Washington counted more supporters among AME Bishops than he did detractors.

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August Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), p. 218.

AME Schools emphasized capital accumulation, character building, etc., as prerequisites to political participation at some vague point in the future. It is thus predictable that men like Rideout, Attaway, et. al., would preach these precepts given the fact that these men had gone to South Africa when the "Age of Booker T. Washington" flowered.¹

Therefore, Bishop Turner with his philosophy of militant protest, his belief in Africa for the African, and his appeal for international Black solidarity, as well as his activities in behalf of emigration, all of which were highlighted in the Voice of Missions, was the exceptional AME prelate rather than the rule. Indeed, he was considered something of a crank within his own church hierarchy.

The importance of the Voice of Missions in giving to the AMEC the illusion of radicalism should not be underestimated. The paper carried a number of letters written by Africans in the diaspora many of which had varying solutions to the "race problem" and many of which advocated emigration. However, the opinions expressed in the letters was never official AME policy. Thus the number of disclaimers written in the numerous

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By 1912, representatives from the AMEC as well as other black denominations implored Booker T. Washington to journey to South Africa in order to explain the purpose of African-American activity in South Africa: the stated purpose being: "redemption" and upliftment. [U.S. Government Archives, Washington, D.C., Booker T. Washington Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1912, CL-Conference-C2 917.] As late as 1925, Black American missionaries were still trying to convince the white mission bodies of the harmlessness of their purpose in Africa. [Edwin Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa (London: The International Missionary Council, 1926), p. 124.]

Declarations sent by the Church to the South African authorities, and the publication of the South African Christian Recorder to combat some of the opinions expressed in the Voice.

The circulation of the Voice of Missions as well as the coincidental arrival of men like Rideout, Dean, Sylvester Williams, Peregrino, made it appear that there was some sort of conspiracy in the making. This coupled with the fact that the various secessions seemed to proliferate at the same time, led people to believe that they were interconnected and thus formed a far-flung concerted effort.

I think it not unfair to say that in many respects the AMEC was an instrument of reaction. It pushed a philosophy, that of "Booker Tism", at a point when it had no economic relevance and therefore had no chance of success. Moreover, accomodationism was not working in the U.S., where Black people in fact, were at the "nadir" of their existence in that country. The AMEC through its Bishops, particularly the colonial born like Derrick and Smith, encouraged the dissidents to have faith in the British Government's sense of "fair play," and did all they could to stifle obstreperous tactics.

On the other hand, the AMEC provided the organizational structure and forum through which protest was channelled inside South Africa and more important perhaps, outside South Africa. Certainly through the Church organ, which was circulated all over the Black world, the South African struggle was internationalized.

The Church was the vehicle, as it were, on which some of the "triangular trade . . . of ideas" was transported. Through the Church and its emissaries, the South Africans were put in touch with the concerns and tactics of other oppressed people in similar situations.

It is a documented fact that study abroad nurtured and contributed to the development of the nationalist movements in other portions of the continent and South Africans were no exception. The annals of the Southern Africa nationalist movement abound with the names of individuals who studied in African-American institutions, an important component of which was AMEC institutions.

It is perhaps as a symbol of racial solidarity and successful group effort coupled with the exhortations of men like Turner and Arnett who implored and encouraged South Africans to rise above their circumstances by sheer force of will, in short it is in the psychological sphere that the Church was a progressive element. The AMEC did establish Bethel Institute, the first Black controlled school of higher learning in South Africa and the success of it demonstrated the efficacy of group solidarity and self-help.

It can be argued that the threat of the AMEC's alleged radicalism forced the government to yield some ground, to make some concessions, however inadequate. Though motivated perhaps more by design than desire, due to the activities of

people like Rideout and Attaway, the government conceded Lewanika his Barotse National School and Letsie his Basutoland counterpart; Fort Hare was a concession to the push for African higher education, a push in which the AMEC took an active role. Granted the overlying motive for making the concession was to halt the outward flow of Africans for study abroad. Nonetheless, it was a response to an articulated need, a response other than silence.

Due to the implications of the AMEC as an independent Black organization which operated exceedingly well without white supervision, the established churches were forced to move toward the position of acknowledging the reality and even the desirability of meaningful African leadership within the European denominations. A few African ministers were elevated to positions which would not have been possible without the AMEC "threat". Tokenism was a meager concession, admittedly, but it was a concession.

The failure of the independent church movement to evolve into a protest group to effect maximal social and political change meant that the dependence solely on the Christian solution ceased. New forms of secular protest were forced to emerge, all of which moved the struggle to a higher stage. It is interesting to note the number of church dissidents who ended up in the forefront of the secular protest groups. In a sense, the independent church movement was necessary if for no other reason than it led Africans closer to the stage of overt challenge to government authority.

Perhaps the ultimate irony of the early AMEC connection with South Africa is that the Church exported a philosophy of gradualism and accomodation; a philosophy which was considered the solution to the "Negro Problem" in the U.S. It was also a program to which liberal colonists looked favorably for answers to the South African questions of race. Yet within the context of South Africa, the progenitors of that philosophy were considered radical and extremist.

APPENDIX I

FOUNDER'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

1. Our district meetings have been separated from the Europeans since 1886. And yet we were compelled to have a white chairman and secretary.

2. Our district meetings were held in a more or less barbaric manner. We are just like a lot of Kaffirs before the landrost for passes. What the white man says is infallible, and no black can prove or dare prove it wrong.

3. This separation shows that we can't be brothers.

4. The wives and children of Native ministers have no allowance from the Society whatsoever, Only the whites have it. This is no doubt one of the reasons for the separation of the district meetings.

5. The Native ordained minister is of no use to his own people. He cannot exercise his rights as a minister or be placed in a position of trust as one who is a fellow labourer in the Lord. But the candidates of the whites will be placed over a black man as superintendent.

6. Native ministers only get from £ 24 to £60 per annum, while the white minister gets £ 300 per annum.

7. In the Transvaal no Native minister has the right to use the Mission property, moveable or unmoveable. Only the whites are supplied with ox-wagons, and furniture from the Society.

8. It is a great shame to see the homes of Native teachers and ministers. A stable is preferable. At Waterberg I was obliged to build my own house and at Makapanstad I spent £ 3/12/- on the house for reeds, skins, etc.

9. The Native minister holds class meetings, prayer meetings, visit the sick, pray for them, preach, bury and teach school, while the white ministers' work is to marry, baptize and administer communion. They will never go to visit the sick or pray for them, and when they die, your Native minister must go to bury your own people. This is not Christianity, not brotherly love, nor friendship. If this is true, then white ministers are unnecessary among the black people.

10. The white ministers don't even know the members of their circuits. They always build their homes one or two miles away from the congregation.

11. No Native minister is honoured among the white brethren. The more the Native humbles himself, the more they make a fool of him.

12. We have been in the Wesleyan Ministry for 12 years, and not one of us has ever received the Minutes or the Annual Report. We are simply ignorant of our own work. We are called 'Revs' but we are worse than the boy working for the Missionary, for he will now and then see the Missionary Notices. What advantage is to be obtained by remaining in this Society?

13. As Principal of Kilnerton Institute, I was not esteemed as one who belongs to and has any say in the school. A student may be discharged, or may leave school and no one would tell me anything about it, until I hear it from someone else not in any way connected with the Institution.

14. When a student is sick, the poor nigger will be sent for to come at once to the classroom, shivering under his blanket. He is then asked in the classroom what is the matter, and is then told that he is lazy, not sick, and to hurry and get better. The boy who speak rather straight will be considered a bad one. If all this is so, where is Justice? Where is brotherly love? Where is Christian sympathy? God in heaven is the witness, to all these wrongs.

THE STAR OF ZION, 9 November 1899.

A BARBAROUS NATION

How the Boers treat the Black Natives in South Africa
By Mr. Marshall Maxeke

Mr. Maxeke, a native of South Africa, writes the following facts in last week's New York Independent:

The Boers are a people who seem to know nothing of right and justice. I say this from the manner in which they treat the natives in the Transvaal. A dog is treated better by the Boers than a native; a dog can walk on the pavement, but according to law a native, male or female, cannot. They have to walk in the streets with cows, horses and carts, no matter how muddy it is. The natives are not allowed on the streets after nine o'clock at night without a written excuse.

The natives have to wear a badge made of tin, resembling a dog's tag, around their arms, with a number stamped upon it, issued with paper, on which are written the name, height, age and features of its possessor. This paper, which is carried in the pocket, must be renewed monthly, under penalty of paying \$15 fine or be imprisoned. The Boers have a "Pass Law" and the native has to pay 25 cents, sometimes 50 cents, regularly, to secure a written paper to pass, and how it to a policeman when called for, and that paper must bear the name of his trade or occupation. If he is working for a white man, the name of his employer must be regularly written on it. To fail to have this paper means \$5 or \$6 fine and confinement to a month of hard labor to the native. Only house servants are allowed to reside near the white people; the rest are set apart in the most undesirable part of the towns in which each man rents from the city government at very high rates which keeps many constantly in debt to collectors. The Boers send haughty "Patrollers" to the natives' district to see how they behave and to ascertain if they all have their passes and badges. The natives never get a good position and are not allowed to learn to read, and fines are exacted from any one who is found teaching them. The more educated the native becomes, the more the Dutch hate him. But if he acts like a crazy man, the better they like him. The natives are satisfied that their condition would be vastly improved under the English.

Wilberforce University, Wilberforce Ohio.

THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER, May 10, 1900

At the Sunday evening service in the auditorium, Bishop Derrick, of New York, introduced the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, England is now engaged in war with the Dutch, a people calling themselves the Boers, a people who have, by grabbing, squatted in South Africa and monopolized a large portion of country and are now recognized as a nation; and,

Whereas, these people entertain the belief that the color a man's skin is a badge of inferiority to such extent that the native Africans or persons of color are prohibited from all the rights and privileges that any human being may be allowed to exercise or to testify in court against a white man or woman; neither are they allowed the privilege of enjoying the benefits of moneys derived by taxation for the education of the youths of the country, although they are compelled to pay their equal share into such fund, and many other ills too numerous to mention; therefore

Resolved, that while we deprecate war between nations, yet we heartily indorse the action of England in her efforts in teaching these misguided people the true lessons of our Christian civilization.

Resolved, that the sympathy of this meeting go out to the struggling natives who are groaning under the hell-born tyranny of oppression and wrong.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

The great war which has waged between the English and Dutch in South Africa is rapidly nearing its end. The English, by sheer force of numbers, will come out the victors, but the sturdy Dutchmen will ever be applauded for their masterly conduct of a war which, though lost, has raised them in the estimation of the world. That they displayed military genius of a very high order, no one conversant with the facts will deny. Had their resources been better and their numbers greater, the history of the war might have been entirely different.

We admire the bravery of the Boers, yet we cannot but feel relieved at the success of the English. If the reputed cruel treatment of the natives by the Dutch be true, all lovers of humanity will welcome the result of the struggle. As lovers of a Republican form of government, we regret the destruction of the South African Republic; but in view of the abuses practiced upon our brethren by that government, we wish it a long and continued residence in the land of oblivion.

We feel assured that with English rule will come human treatment of the natives of that country. No longer will they be treated as beasts of burden "with out soul." The influences of a very high order of Christianity will be thrown around them, and the moral and physical power of "the greatest nation on earth" will be exerted in

behalf of their civilization and Christianization.

The slave trade must be stopped for in no country ruled by England can that nefarious practice be carried on with impunity. For these and many other blessings which will follow the victory of the English, all right thinking people will be profoundly grateful.

We see that several governors of states in this country are anxious to have the defeated Boers settle in their states. It may do the Boers good to have them come "to the land of the free and the home of the brave," but whether the country at large will be benefitted by such an addition to its population is wholly problematical. It may not be too much to say that the result of the war will be a decided victory for righteousness.

VOICE OF MISSIONS, November, December, 1901

Dear Voice of Missions: In your issue of August last appeared an article, or notes, rather, under the captious caption of 'Women Settlers for South Africa,' etc. Now, it is certain that when the Conference met, the Travelers' Aid Society, the Girls' Friendly Society, the World's Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's Emigration Association were unconscious of the fact that their scheme is as unrighteous as were the inciting harangues of Peter the Hermit in 1903!

. . . Now, is it because at present it is loudly alleged that the sun does not set over the domains of Great Britain that she has permitted much of the past to fade from her memory? It . . . seems that she is only pretending that she has forgotten that after the exodus of the Romans she was so unable to defend herself from the invasions of the trampling Caledonians, whom she cannot even to-day absorb, that she supplicated protection from Teutonic hordes, who, too, were overglad to get a berth. Lady Frances Balfour's speech shows that like Gloucester on the battlefield of Bosworth, she was not free from retributive presentiments. When she called the convention to order certain pages in the histories of invaders presented themselves with an intensesness to her mind as worthy Richard's crimes did to him; it was therefore with attrition she declared the 'Victoria League felt strongly on the question of women emigration.' . . . She asserted: 'They (the league) were also very greatly interested in the work of caring for the graves of our soldiers who had fallen in South Africa.'

Did no 'British soldiers' fall at Waterloo, at Trafalgar and at the taking of mighty Sebastopol? If so, why was no caucus held by British dames that 'British women' should 'emigrate' on the Continent to dwell on the road to Brussels 'to care for the graves of their soldiers' that fell at Waterloo? Why did not the 'British women' leave their fireside 'to emigrate' on the Peninsula, to reside on the Andalusian coast 'to care [for] the graves of their 'soldiers fallen' at Trafalgar? What would the 'British women' allege against abiding in the country of the Semiramis of the North, when their only motive for sojourning there would have been the solicitous pretext of Lady Balfour: 'The caring of our soldiers' graves?' Were those fallen not worthy of being honored? Were their graves of no appraisalment? Those fallen soldiers needed no honoring. What care needed their graves when the bowels of the fields whereon they fell torn and gory were not pregnant with gold and diamonds?

'British women,' says her ladyship, 'for British settlers.' So that declaration an ethnological dictum, or is it ultra conservatism? Whether it be ethnological or conservative, if the Anglo-Saxon cannot mingle his blood by wedlock with the aborigines of the countries which he grabs why does he not keep his taurine hoofs in England on the fender of his hearth? Why do not his ethnological pride and his conservative principles guard him from polluting the women of those countries and from wickedly execrating the masculine element who, with the hapless women, are the veritable proprietors of the territories which he proceeds to rob by the force of superior weapons of warfare?

The Boer may have been dwelling in South Africa for the period of one hundred million years instead of a few centuries--they will still be exotics, and the worst species, too, for no African took them there. They obtruded and the English will do well to whip them until they get back to their Vaterland; and when our descendants shall be grown strong as were in the great centuries of yore, the foreparents of the foreparents of our foreparents, they will, if the British be still extant in Africa, whip them until they reseek the banks of the Thames--whip the British as the Afro-Haytians whiped the proud and bellicose Franks.

How would Lady Balfour have considered the theorem, if, an Afro Dame had in a conference in her home suggested that the women of her country should settle in Wales, Cornwall, Kent, Suffolks, etc., to marry the men of the African regiments, mounting guards and the Afro settlers in the various countries 'to raise up a strong and free race, and that the African women should do their part in that way to settle and restore the country' that has never, never been theirs? It is irrefragable that she would have deemed her sister-in-black and the Afro-Caucus not of sound minds, and the suggestion as an indiscreet intimation--and her conclusive opinion would have been grossly insulted. Were South Africa's womb not bursting with gold and crystalized carbons, would the British people, Lady Balfour, the honorable gynecian speakers at the conference and the 'Important Conference' included give to South Africa, even, a passing thought? No; they would then have no use for it!

. . . South Africa is not the white man's patrimony-- and he may seize it even for a millenium or two; but the same as Alfred the Great wrenched his throne from the talons of the Danes, the same as the Norman and Plantagenet lines became extinct, the same as the Stuarts, despite the tragic death of Charles I., were restored to the British throne, their heritage in like manner with South Africa incontestably revert to the Black or Negro, its rightful proprietary. Quite true, it will not be in Lady Balfour's day, nor in the day of her co-speakers, nor in our own; but it will be in its time and fit reason;

. . . It is truly regretful that the longevity of Methuselah is not the appanage of the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Cecil, for, were it so, she would certainly enjoy the refreshing pleasure of seeing her 'British' descendants 'bossed,' in the American sense of the term, and 'directed' in the Anglo-Saxon's sense of the expression by the Kaffirs who, it is evident, wonder why the white man who not too very long ago was a chattel in the slave mart of Europe will not now work, but is compelling them, the sons of liberty and freedom, to drudge for his (the white drone's) comfort, while he lavishly throws them, by way of indemnity for their toil, the invectives of his loathsome vocabulary.

. . . While, England is laying seizure to South Africa she is keeping guard in West Africa . . . but she will never be a mighty nation in neither the East, South, West nor North, not were she even to transport there her navy, her artillery, her Scotland Yard and her throne. We often hear it stated that the English language will be the universal tongue. We, as a race, have no objection whatever to that proposition, . . . but we emphatically object to British women and British men

fostering silently or loudly the tenet of universality--that is,
as far as Africa is concerned.

Marie Duchatellier

Tawawa Chimney Corner
Wilberforce, Ohio
June 19, 1902

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

The bearer of these presence, R. Rev. W. B. Derrick, D. C., of New York, one of the Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, is hereby authorized by us to meet the authorities of the British Government, and refute the slanderous intimations made by persons unknown to us, that the presence of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa is in any way, shape or form a menace to the government.

As a full fledged Church organization, we have worked under the American Government since 1816, during which time our country has passed through trying conflicts, and the loyalty of our Church has never been questioned. We teach our members to be loyal to the government under which they live and to respect the law and obey the authorities of the same.

Our Church has for sometime past, and now is at work, in His majesty's dominion, to wit, in the Dominion of Canada, Bermuda, Barbados, Trinidad, Demerara and Sierra Leone West Africa, and we refer to the authorities of those governemnts as a law-abiding organization.

Given under our hands and the Denominational Seal, at the Episcopal Rooms, this 19th day of June 1902.

(Signed) H.M. Turner
Senior Bishop

APPENDIX V
Declaration of the Bishops
of the
African Methodist Episcopal Church

Be it remembered that the Bishops' Council of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Annual Session assembled, at Wilberforce, County of Green, State of Ohio, United States of America, June 16, Anno Domini, 1904, do hereby declare and affirm that the following is the true purpose and policy of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa:

First.--We recall the fact that our entrance into South Africa was not of our own seeking, but that we were sought after and invited there by the Rev. M. M. Mokone, Rev. James M. Dwane, Rev. J. G. Xaba, Rev. J. Z. Tantsi and others, native ministers residents thereof. These ministers were connected with the Ethiopian Church, which was organized in Pretoria, Sunday, November 20th, 1892. In January, 1893, the Transvaal Government recognized the Ethiopian Church. At the third session of the Ethiopian Annual Conference, held at Pretoria, March 17th, 1896, the Rev. James A. Dwane and the Rev. J. G. Xaba were elected delegates to come to America and seek affiliation with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The delegates came, affiliation was effected, and the A.M.E. Church formally invited to begin operations in South Africa, with which the Ethiopian Church was to be amalgamated.

Second.--In all of our movements in South Africa we shall seek to help and not to hinder; to assist in advancing enlightened and healthful influences and not to impede them; to foster and encourage loyalty and obedience to lawfully constituted authority and not to breed disaffection and anarchy.

Third.--In relation to all religious denominations, our position is that of fraternity and co-operation in any and every way that will help to bring the heathen to a knowledge of the true God.

Fourth.--It is no part of our business to concern ourselves with politics. We shall strictly confine our endeavors to civilization, education and christianization. Our theory in regard to education of the natives is--the rudiments of an education for all, industrial training for the many, and a college education for the talented few.

Fifth.--As to the assurance of our fulfilment of this Declaration, we point to our history since the beginning of our organic life, in 1816; especially do we point to our history in those portions of the British Empire--such as the Dominion of Canada, the Bermudas, and the other English West India Islands, and Sierra Leone, West Africa, wherein we have been operating for many years--all of which we cite as the pledge and promise that in South Africa we shall seek the glory of God, faithfully maintain the ordinances and decrees of Government, honor the King, promote peace among the various peoples, and endeavour to enhance the moral, religious and industrial development of the natives.

Sixth.--Charles Spencer Smith, one of the Bishops of the A.M.E. Church, a native of the Dominion of Canada, a naturalized citizen of the United States, and appointed by the General Conference of 1904, as supervising Bishop of our work in South Africa for the next four years, is hereby instructed to file a copy of this Declaration with the various officials of the British Empire to whom it would be proper to address it.

HENRY M. TURNER,
 Chairman of Bishops'
 Council.

BENJAMIN W. ARNETT, Secretary

APPENDIX VI

Bishop's Court, Lillian Park,
Flushing, Greater New York
March 20, 1908

To the Hon. Earl of Selborne,

Pretoria, Transvaal Colony, South Africa

Dear Sir:

The Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, United States of America, at its session held in the city of Washington, D.C., on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th days of February, Nineteen hundred and eight, the Rt. Rev. William Benjamin Derrick, D.D., L.L.D., lately returned from a trip to South Africa, whence he had gone in October, 1907, at the request, and as the representative of the Council of Bishops of the said A.M.E. Church, being present, and reporting the results of his mission to us to our great satisfaction; it was ordered and decreed:

1. That the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church authorize, and it hereby directs, that record be made of the happy issue of his mission abroad to the "Mission fields" of the said church in the Transvaal, Orange River and Cape Colony, of the dominion of His Gracious Majesty, King Edward VII.

2. And the Council further directs that expressions of gratitude and high regard be forthwith communicated, in their name severally, and as a Council, to His Majesty's representative in the colonies of South Africa, the Honorable Earl of Selborne, for the gracious reception and marked esteem by him shown to his Lordship, the Rt. Rev. William B. Derrick, as well as for the assurance given by him to do whatever was possible, as the King's representative, to facilitate the work of opening all those colonies to the ministers and preachers of the said African Methodist Episcopal Church, in reaching and evangelizing the millions of heathen natives, subjects of His Majesty in South Africa.

3. It is ordered further, that the most solemn assurances, be, and they are hereby given, by the Council of Bishops, of said Church that nothing is, or has ever been farther from the purpose or intention of our said church, or any of its ministers or representatives, than a desire to meddle with the political affairs of those Colonies, or the incitement of any class of His Majesty's subjects, to disloyalty and violence. Our only mission in Africa, or else where in the world, is to bring to the lost and fallen, the blessed Gospel of "Peace on Earth; good-will to men." Neither in America, nor in Africa, do we concern ourselves with political affairs, further than to encourage subjection, respect, and obedience to the civil authorities, and that

the people lead sober, industrious and peaceable lives. And the history of our labours in the Bermudas, the other West India possessions of His Majesty, and the Dominion of Canada, for scores of years, proves conclusively, the sincerity of these declarations.

4. Be it further decreed, that we thank his Grace, the Earl of Selborne, in particular, and the several Governors of the Transvaal, Orange River, and Cape Colony, for distinguished consideration and courtesies by them shown to our colleague and representative, His Lordship William Benjamin Derrick, and for the grant of permission to travel at will throughout the said colonies; also for assurances that whatever can be done to enlarge the field of our efforts by the unrestricted travels of our duly accredited ministers throughout those colonies, will be done for them by the King's representatives in those colonies.

5. And finally, the Earl of Selborne, and the several Governors of His Gracious Majesty's Colonies in South Africa, are requested to advise His Majesty, and give our positive assurance and pledge, to so conduct our work of evangelization among the native peoples of his dominions, as to strengthen the hands of those in authority; to improve the morals, and piety of his subjects; and to conform, in all things, to the laws of the colonies wherein we are permitted to labor; requesting only that our task be made easy as that of other Christian churches cultivating the same fields.

Begging the pardon of His Excellency for sending so lengthy a communication, and with every assurance of our respect and gratitude and praying for the preservation of the lives of the King, and his distinguished representatives, we have the distinguished honor to be,
&c.

Sincerely yours in His Name,

Signed in behalf of the Council

(Sgd) W.B. Derrick

Bishop

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(Swaziland, November and December, 1975)

- Mrs. M. Mdlulu Charter member of the oldest AMEC in Swaziland, the Makhoseni branch; saw Rev. Mangena Mokone on his first visit to Swaziland in 1904.
- Mrs. J. Motsa Mother of Rev. S. Motsa, charter member of the AMEC and personal friend of Rev. Mangena Mokone.
- Rev. S. Motsa Presiding elder of the AMEC, educated at Wilberforce University, U.S.A.
- Mr. J.J. Nquku Lay-minister of the AMEC, former Inspector of Swaziland schools.
- Dr. Allen Nxumalo Minister of Swaziland Transportation; AME member and son of Benjamin Nxumalo. The elder Nxumalo was secretary to the Queen Regent, Nabotsibeni, and was responsible for her conversion to AMEism.

(Lesotho, April and July 1976)

- Rev. Peter Kemeng Presiding elder of the AMEC, pastor of Lesotho's largest AMEC.
- Mr. R. Machsi Local AME member
- Chief F. Moruthane AME member, son of one of the first chiefs to accept the AMEC.
- Rev. J. Mtimkulu AME minister.
- Rev. J.K. Tsolo AME minister who saw Bishop Turner during his 1898 visit to Bloemfontein; recalls Rideout's visit to Lerotholi at Matsieng.
- Rev. T. Tsolo Member of the AMEC for 65 years.

(Botswana, June, 1976)

Rev. W.R. Gulubane	Presiding Elder of the AMEC.
Rev. D.D. Khomela	Local AME minister.
Rev. M.P. Lekhori	Local AME minister.
Mr. M. Ranosamo	The most senior citizen in Serowe who recalls the visit of AME missionaries in a motor car.

(South Africa, Cape Town, May, 1976)

Rev. Easter Gordon	Son of a charter member of Bethel, Daniel P. Gordon.
Mrs. Ella Gow-Kleinsmith	Daughter of Rev. Francis Gow.
Mrs. Ellen Granger	Granddaughter of FZS Peregrino.
Bishop F.C. James	Bishop for Southern Africa 1972-1976.
Mrs. J.M. Mokone	Daughter-in-law of Rev. Mangena Mokone.
Mr. Francis Peregrino	Grandson of FZS Peregrino.
Mr. Kenneth Roberts	Grandson of W.A. Roberts.
Mrs. Ann Scott	Joined Bethel before Bishop Coppin's arrival.
Rev. Leslie Scott	Son of Mrs. Ann Scott, local AME minister.
Dr. Richard Van der Ross	Rector of the University of the Western Cape and an authority on the history of Cape Coloureds.

(South Africa, Transvaal, July, 1976)

Rev. L.C. Gow	Son of Rev. Francis Gow, staff member of Wilberforce Institute.
Mrs. Charlotte Opperman	Secretary to Wilberforce Institute since early 1920s.
Rev. N.B. Tantsi	Son of Rev. J.Z. Tantsi, charter member of the Ethiopian Church.

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