

a dereliction of duty.

It was meant to be part of the management's excuse to avoid any critical examination of the conditions of employment and reasons which caused workers to leave in large numbers and justified the use of every possible punitive measure.<42>

The problems that face the African miners were enormous especially during the Anglo-Boer War when 20,000 or more workers were commandeered by the Boer government either to work without pay for the commandos or to work in other occupations related to the war effort. <43>

The wages were reduced by the Chamber of Mines from their pre-1900 Anglo-Boer War level of 50 shillings to 30 shillings per month.

By 1900 the maximum monthly wage of only 20 shillings was introduced by the government.

Not only that, a pass system was put into operation: all assemblies of Africans were prohibited; frequent police raids were made into the compounds to maintain control "over the labour force and to discourage any protests by workers".

Hardships accumulated: 8000 African workers were conscripted to build a new railway for transporting coal along the Reef at 10 pence, that is less than a shilling a day;

4000 men were drafted to form a cheap labour force for the army in the Anglo-Boer War and the rest were retained by the mines for maintenance work at one shilling a day.

Martial law restrictions were placed on the movement of the Africans - it was impossible to return home; they were therefore compelled to remain on the farms long after their contracts had expired.

Another problem which faced the African miners was the

## CHAPTER TWO

### SOURCES OF INSPIRATION 1900 – 1912

Towards the end of the 19th Century, new social forces began to emerge in South Africa.

These were ministers of religion, school teachers, magistrate's clerks, interpreters, small traders, peasants, farmers and workers.

These forces together with some of the traditional rulers, the chiefs, added a new chapter to the South African history.

At that time, the social structure of the Africans was changing and this had serious repercussions on the African traditional society, forms of organisation, thinking and ideology.

This was a period of widespread political expectation. African nationalism which cut across (but did not replace) ethnic characteristics, emerged.

"Tribal" organisation of society was being undermined and weakened by colonialism and new movements which were uniting the people emerged.

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In this chapter we shall deal with the emergence of these forces, their ideologies, trends and tendencies.

One thing that comes out clearly in this chapter is that the history of South Africa developed unevenly, the same and similar processes emerging and recurring at different times, prompted and motivated by different forces and motives, but expressing the same fundamental humanity:

the will to survive and defeat the forces of colonialism and reaction.

The process of the birth of African nationalism expressed and reflected itself on the thinking, philosophies, political behaviour and teachings of individuals



process in connection with the diamonds in Kimberley.

But

the gold mines on the Reef need special attention.

The process of proletarianisation of Africans was accompanied by the essentially coercive or extra-economic nature of this process, the continued existence of the pre-capitalist sector which was and continues to be perpetuated - the institutionalisation of migrant labour, low wages and many other disabilities which faced the Africans.

The Africans position was determined by the profit motive of the mining capitalists and also by the greed of white miners.

This emergence of a wage-earning class was enforced through two extra-economic methods, namely, the legislative power of the State and the creation of monopolistic recruiting organisations.

The laws which ensured the process of exploitation of the minerals and cheap African labour, were passed.

The pass laws controlled African labour (in the mines).

They were introduced under direct pressure from the Chamber of Mines in 1896.

They stipulated, among other things, that African miners must wear a metal plate or a "badge" on the arm.

This system was "improved" and the Africans were later expected to carry passes.

Now they could be completely controlled.

The Glen Grey Act was another instrument in this process of enslavement of Africans.

This Act introduced a tax which in the words of its owner, Cape politician and arch-imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, "removed Natives from the life of sloth and laziness, teaching them the dignity of labour, and made them

contribute to the prosperity of the state and made them give some  
return for our wise and good government.â\200\235<40>

~449â\200\224â\200\224

died.

Since 1922, "The Christian Express" has become known as "The South African Outlook", a missionary journal.

In Natal, work in this field was done by the American missionaries, Alden, Gron, Lindley, Tyler and others who introduced printing equipment and started one of the first periodicals at Esidumbini Mission Station

The Tswana newspapers, according to Eric Rosenthal, "were the first real newspapers ever issued for the Bantu people" (79). This refers to Molekudi wa Bechuana which appeared from 1856-57 and whose editor was the Rev. Mr Ludorf at the Wesleyan Mission at Thaba 'Dkoni.

It carried religious articles, but sections in it were on current politics and social events.

It appeared

monthly and "one of the very few surviving copies was in the hands of the well known journalist Solomon T Plaatje". (80)

Between 1883 and 1898, the London Missionary Society at Kuruman published a monthly, Mahoko a Bechwana (Batswana News).

It was printed at the Moffat Institute and the editors were Revds. John Brown, A J Gould and R Price.

It grew into an

attractive magazine.

Plaatje says about it:

"During the first week of each month the native peasants in Bechuanaland and elsewhere, used to look forward to its arrival as eagerly as the white country farmers now await the arrival of the daily papers.

How little the writer Chmamn when frequently called upon as a boy to read the news to groups of men sewing karosses under the shady trees outside the cattle fold, that journalism would

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afforded the opportunity to express their grievances and complaints; to explain the policies of their organisations and to suggest solutions to the problems facing the country.

Let us

look at a few examples.

On May 28, 1904, Mntuli gave testimony on behalf of the Natal Native Congress before the South African Native Affairs Commission. He explained that the Natal Native Congress was the voice of the Africans in Natal, who came together to talk about their problems and if they had any complaints they presented them to the government:

"If we want to talk to the Government cannot talk alone, we must come together and decide things, and hear the opinion of others on a certain thing. Then if it is necessary for it to go to the Government, we appoint some delegates from that meeting to talk with the Government on that subject". (108)

Martin Lutuli's ideas and opinion on the Secretary for Native Affairs are quite interesting:

he has no confidence in

him because he is representing other parties; he is not sent by Africans; he has to follow the line of those who sent him to Parliament and the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs who is a permanent officer will talk of the matters through the Secretary for Native Affairs "

... but all matters which go through him go through the Secretary for Native Affairs, and the Secretary for Native Affairs is sent by other parties". (109)

In the Eastern Cape, in 1902, Africans close to the East

~191-

afterwards mean his bread and cheese". (81>

Following the example of the London Missionary Society, the Lutheran Mission supported a monthly magazine, Moshupa Tsela (The Guide), at Bethanie in the Transvaal, edited by the Revds. Behreus and Meyer and later by Rev. Tonsing.

One of the developments in this missionary undertaking was the emergence not only of African contributors to the press but also that of African journalists, managers and editors.

One of these was Silas Molema.

Born in 1850 and educated at Healdtown, Molema returned to Mafeking and in 1878 set up a school. Plaatje remembered that:

"The school was often interrupted by the several quarrels with the Boers as the teacher, being a subâ chief, always went on active service at the head of his regiment." (82>

This school was the first in the area which was not a missionary institute and was housed in a chapel Molema's father had built.

Silas Molema taught until 1888 when the Wesleyans took charge and appointed him as headmaster.

On 21 April 1901, Molema established a Tswana/English weekly, Koranta ea Becoana (The Tswana Gazette) at Mafeking. Solomon T Plaatje assisted him in this.

At first, the paper was owned by G N H Whales, the editor of the local Mafeking Mail and printed on the Mail's press.

On September 5, 1901 and by which time twelve issues of Koranta had appeared a new agreement was 477



Africans by nonâ\200\224working class forces.

As early as 1882, the Africans in the Cape formed a political organisation, Imbumba yama Afrika (Union of Africans) which advocated African unity (as opposed to denominational diversity) and planned representations to white authorities.

In

December 1883, S N Mvambo, writing from Peddie, declared:

"Anyone looking at things as they are, could even go so far as to say it was a great mistake to bring so much church denominations to the black people.

For the

black man makes the fatal mistake of thinking that.if he is an Anglican he has nothing to do with anything suggested by a Wesleyan, and the Wesleyan also thinks so, and so does the Presbyterian.

Imbumba must make

sure that all these three are represented at the conference, for we must be united on political matters. In fighting for national rights, we must fight together.

Although they look as if they belong to various churches, the white people are solidly united when it comes to matters of this nature.

We Blacks

think that these churches are hostile to one another, and in that we lose our political rights.â\200\235 <106>

'This statement of purpose, aims and objects of Imbumba was necessary to counteract not only denominational divisions but also white unity at a political level - â\200\235for we must be united on

political matters" â\200\224 and this unity was supposed to form a basis for struggLa-â\200\224'Hflfighting for national rights, we must fight

campaigns vigorously against the disenfranchisement of Africans in the Eastern Cape in 1887, and the role he played in the establishment of Fort Hare; yet when all is said, his role was far from being positive.

In Natal, we have the example of Mark Radebe.

A versatile

press pioneer, born at Pietermaritzburg and educated at Lovedale, he first worked as a shop assistant with a firm in Durban and later began his newspaper, Ipepa lo Hlanga (The Paper of the Nation).

Ipepa was basically a non-party paper sponsored largely by the founders of the Natal Native Congress in 1900.

Ipepa lo Hlanga was replaced by Ilanga lase Natal (The Natal Sun).

In 1902, Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, also known as Mafukuzela, entered journalism with the Zulu/English Ilanga lase Natal.

We shall discuss the ideas and activities of Dube later on.

In Pretoria in 1912, Sefako Mapoch Makgahi (1897) (later to become President-General of the ANC) together with Alfred Mangena (a co-founder of the ANC) edited The Native Advocate.

These individual endeavours and, at times, isolated attempts culminated in the formation of Abantu Batho (The People) in 1912.

It was established with a capital of £3,000 most of which was supplied by the Queen Regent of Swaziland, Nabotsibeni.

Abantu Batho, produced in Johannesburg and whose Managing Director was Pixley ka (son of) Isaka Seme, differed from the up to then existing papers in that it was launched by people who had founded a national organisation; hence it became the mouthpiece and later official organ of the newly founded African National

Cape Ckikhony, particularly in connection with electoral politics. The political orientation of the South African Native Congress is entailed\_auui<:learly visible in a statement of its Executive in 1903 - "Questions Affecting the Natives and Coloured People Resident in British South Africa." (111)

In a rather modest and moderate tone, the document discusses problems of Education: "the disparity between the grants allowed per pupil to white and blackâ\200\235 and the question of the exploitation of the teachers - â\200\235the salaries paid to teachers are scandalously illiberal, forcing many to adopt other means to obtain a livelihood.â\200\235 <112> The docunmnHlealso discusses such questions as administration of justice, civil service, franchise, the labour question, etc. Of particular interest is the testimony of the Rev. E T Mpela, Rev. B Kumalo, J Twayi, Al Jordaan, J Mocher, J Lavers and Petre Thaslane of the Native Vigilance Association of the Orange River Colony on September 23, 1904.

What is striking (but not surprising if one takes into account the multi-ethnic composition of the province) is the "non-tribal" composition of the leadership of this organisation, that is judging by the delegation.

They belonged to Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu and other ethnic gnxxxxx; they were ministers of religion, a brickmaker, cartage contractors, a mason and a dray cart driver.

There seems to have been a misunderstanding between the Chairman of the Government Commission and the Rev. B Kumalo, the spokesman of the delegation of the Native Vigileuuxagkssociation of the Orange River Colony.

The argument was about the Christian and therefore â\200\235civilised" Africans and the â\200\235heathens" and therefore â\200\235backwardâ\200\235 i-\201fricans.

but is not extended to the native and coloured races of the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal and the Colony of Natal, and this Convention seriously deprecates the absence, in the said Draft Act of the principle of equal rights for all the races in the South African colonies ...

<121>

The Convention emphatically rejected clauses 25, 33 and 44 of the Draft South Africa Act which defended the bar and clause 55 entrenching the Cape vote was left unaltered.

The aim

of the Convention was to democratise the Draft Act and save it from racism.

These resolutions were delivered to the Governors and Prime Ministers of the four colonies (the Cape, Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal), to the Rt. Hon. Sir John H de Villiers and to Lord Selborne, the British High Commissioner, to transfer to the Secretary of State for Colonies.

If the Draft Act was amended:

amended, a deputation was to be sent to England.

The delegation

was to comprise of the Rev. W Rubusana, President of the Native Convention, T M Mapikela of the Orange River colony and D Dwanya of the Cape;

Hon. W P Schreiner was invited to join them.

The

Transvaal Native Congress appointed Alfred Mangena who was already in London and instructed him to "work in co-operation with the other delegates". <122>

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The formation of the African Political Organisation (APO) on a national level signified not only the first step in this direction, but also that the APO was the first nationwide political organisation to demand full equality for all South Africans. (126)

Soon there were branches in Johannesburg, Graaff Reinet, Cradock, Paarl and several towns in the Western Cape.

The second

conference of the APO, which was held in Graaff-Reinet in April 1904 and had 30 delegates from branches all over the country, elected Matt. J. Fredericks as Secretary.

Fredericks' name is the

first to stand out as a Coloured political leader of importance.

There was dissension in this APO conference - disputes largely personal - to

save the situation and the organisation,

Fredericks "effected a coup and assumed complete control" but

this was a non-aggressive "coup" because "as a result the APO came out of its crisis stronger than before." (127)

It was at this time that Fredericks and others asked Dr A

Abdurahman, a member of the Cape Town Municipal Council to assume

the presidency, and at a conference at Somerset East in

1905,

Abdurahman was elected president.

Lionel Forman

remarks:

Abdurahman for all his faults is undoubtedly one of the giants in the history of the liberation movement.

After Gandhi, he stands out among the men of

the early years of this country.

It is utterly

selfless.

It is no

less

significant.

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llis

biography.â\200\235 (128)

~202~

Khanyane Napo, an evangelist of the Anglican church in Pretoria, formed his own organisation, the African Church. (64) meese attempts were isolated and sporadic, but "when these ideas spread to the Witwatersrand, the whole movement took a new momentum" (65).

This was the fact that the discovery of gold in 1885 was a decisive factor for mission work. The Witwatersrand became an attraction for African labour and an important centre for missionary work.

Thousands of African workers went to work in the gold mines, some were Christian workers, most Wesleyans: In 1885, there were in Johannesburg no less than sixty-five such voluntary preachers of the Wesleyan church, coming from various parts of the country." (66)

One of these was a Wesleyan minister, Moses Mangena Mokone. He was born in the Transvaal in 1851 and in 1870 went to Natal and worked there for 10s a month on the sugar plantations.

He then went to Durban, where he worked as a domestic servant and attended night school.

In 1874, he was baptised by the Wesleyans and took up preaching.

Mokone resigned from the Wesleyan church in 1892 and was later followed by Revds. Marcus Gabashane, J G Xaba, P S Kuze, J M Dwane, Abraham Mngqibisa, J Z Tantsi and Samson Mtintso." (67)

Mokone opposed what he regarded as racial segregation within the Church, as seen by there being one conference for white and another for the African linuhars.

What was even more disturbing is the fact that the Whites had the right to attend the black meetings, if they so desired, while Blacks were excluded from white meetings.

Together with others (ministers, evangelists, teachers, and ordinary adherents of the Wesleyan church) Mokone formed the Ethiopian Church.

Thus the

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Tile had radical views on the proper relations of black and/to white in South Africa, in which ethnic considerations took second place to a common destiny of Blacks.

fi-\202ue Thembu Church

was an African run body, rejecting white racist and paternalistic control and asserting African independence of action.

Though it

used Wesleyan forms of worship which werermkhiied in that prayers were said for the paramount, his heir and rule, Tile did alter the wording of a traditional prayer in order to remove any implication that the Thembu were in a status of political subordinatjxni.

'The Church itself became more than just a place of religious worship.

It signified a political protest movement sought to escape the reality of colonial.lni-\20lhe.

It was only in

the Thembu Church where all men and women were emnurl and black.

There was no white racist control.

Whereas in the past white pressure led Africans to offer resistance by appealing to the ancestral spirits, the new church signified the usage of.a new tool in the struggle for freedom: ti-\202u3lise of a christian framework to express African equality in the age of white domination.

Tile broke with the church with

which he was associated, formed a new church and worked with the traditional polithxi-\202.leadership which he assisted in resisting colonialism.

Saunders, whose invaluable research on Tile has helped us to understand the man, comments:

"The head of the Thembu church set his political sights on a return to the days of independent chiefly rule, instead of looking forward to participation in a common society,i with the Transkeian territories part of a

!

~165â\200\224



arrived to settle at the Emgwali (Stutterheim) Mission Station from where they spread out to form other stations.

One of these

stations was at Emgwali whose first missionary was old Soga's son, Tiyo.

Tiyo Soga (1829-71) died at an early age.

But his short

life was full of incidents and rich in experience.

He was the

first ordained minister of the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland where he studied, in 1856.

The problem with Tiyo Soga -

according to his biographer - was that he was a "victim of cultural conquest." (53).

He was attached to royalty, especially

British royalty.

Tiyo Soga ~

"was always loyal to authority, even colonial

authority, which he saw as a means of disseminating

Christianity and civilisation among the Blacks.

This

subservience to authority, so noticable in his

negotiations with government about the establishment of

the mission station at Mgwali, was partly attributable

to his Calvinistic background." (54)

This put Tiyo Soga in a very difficult position, between the

missionaries who were generally opposed by the Africans because

they were regarded as agents of the colonial government, and the

rest of the Africans ~ his people.

But this was one aspect of Tiyo Soga's character.

He was

also a prolific writer of hymns, articles in newspapers, and

translator of books into Xhosa.

Tiyo Soga was Africa conscious ~

proud of the continent and people of Africa ~ and at the same

time



As early as 8 January (1902), Asaph Moruthani, the secretary to the Pedi Chief, Sekukuni II, who had been sent to accompany the work party to the gold fields and report on their conditions of service, complained that the men had been deceived concerning their ultimate destination.

Sekukuni had originally refused to supply workers to private industry, but on the assurance of the local administration that the men were required for government work, he had permitted them to leave."<46>

The workers also demanded equal remuneration or the right to look for work instead of working for a contractor.

The behaviour

of compound managers turned the workers' discontent into open anger, i.e. rejection out of hand of applications by workers for contemporary passes to leave the compound - leaving the compound meant visiting a store situated within a few hundred yards of the mine; a store that was vital for supplementing their diet.

Another complaint was ill treatment:

miners were thrashed in the

compound and downed with a cat-o-nine tails and thrashed on the testicles;

they were shut up like dogs.

They complained

to the magistrates about "ill treatment at the hands of the resident engineer who, they reported, regularly sjambokked workers and had them thrown among burning embers.<47>

In 1905 alone, more than 3,585 complaints were made at pass offices along the Reef.

This did result in some measure of

success, e.g. recovering wages due to them and improperly withheld or correcting some abuses and settling cases of

contracts being "extended" without the permission of the workers.

â\200\235APO, the mouthpiece of black, brown, snuff and butter"

(should have) "the seat of its pants kicked through the  
top of its pepperâ\200\224corned head ...

After a nigger has

absorbed the poison into his head, he will reckon that  
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editor ... should get 25 of the best (lashes)" (132)

On the other hand, the APO had a relatively advanced  
attitude to the class struggle.

During the strike of white

railway workers, the APO said of those who scabbed:

"It is impossible to conceive a more reprehensible and  
disreputable manner of obtaining work than by that  
which blacklegism ...

Late it be hoped that in seeking

work, men will never forget their moral obligations to  
their fellowâ\200\224men, be they white or black. (133)

On the occasion of the approval by Britainzh11909 of the  
Colour Bar Act of the Union, APO editorialised:

"The struggle has not ended.

Itlumsjust begun.

We,

the Coleured and Native peoples of South Africa, have a  
tremendous fight before us.

We have the war of wars to

wage ... No longer must we look to our flabby friends  
in Great Britain.

â\200\235Our political destiny is in our hands, and we must be

prepared to face the figi-vmth.grim determination to

~205w

the early history of the Methodist Church in South Africa, Nehemiah Tile established the Thembu church - "the earliest fully established independent church in the sub-continent"<sup>57</sup>, which developed into a significant movement of political protest, a response of the Africans to the process of expansion of colonialism in that area.

In the early 1870's he worked in Thembuland as a Wesleyan evangelist, helping the Rev. Peter Hargreaves, a pioneer missionary who fell within the Queenstown Missionary district.

Recognising Tile's potential, the Wesleyan church sent him to Healdtown College, where he joined a handful of Africans who were doing Theology and he came under the influence of leading African Wesleyans as Richard Kawa and James Dwane.

From 1879, Tile served as a probationer minister moving from one area to another in Thembuland.

He came into conflict with his superior in the Church, Rev. Theophilus Chubb, the Superintendent of the Clarkebury education institution and left the Wesleyan church.

Two reasons seem to have motivated this stand, namely racial discrimination in the church and the general political activity in the Thembu social life.

The Wesleyan church could not accept Tile's involvement in Thembu politics.

The church alleged that Tile:

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-

had stirred up hostility to the magistrates in Thembuland;  
had addressed a public meeting on the Sabbath;  
had not kept Chubb informed of his (Tile's) political work;  
and



had donated an ox at the circumcision of Dalindyebo, the son  
of the Thembu paramount chief.

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person, except a Cape Malay, may settle or remain in the Free State for longer than two months without Government permission. <135>

According to Ruth Tomaselli <136>, a Transvaal law passed in 1885 forced the Afrikaners to live in segregated areas and to pay £25 in order to enable them to trade; this fee was "beyond the means of the indentured Indians" <137>.

The Gold Law of 1898, which curtailed appointments in the Transvaal proclaimed for mining, meant that the only available employment for indentured Indians was at the lowest economic levels.

It is these laws which led to the formation of the Natal Indian Congress by Gandhi in 1894.

The Indians in Natal were subjected to the same form of attack which stimulated the Africans to unite.

Natal's constitution of 1856, like that of the Cape, had a colour bar.

But within a year of the grant of responsible government in 1893, the Natal government set about enfranchising the Indians.

Again, just as in the Cape, it was necessary to word the Act so that it could be argued in Britain that there was no actual race discrimination.

This was done by excluding from the vote, any person, "irrespective of colour", who was a native of a country which did not itself enjoy parliamentary institutions.

The only people affected were, of course, the Indians.

In 1894, parliament unanimously passed this law. <137>

The attack on the Indians and the formation of the Natal Indian Congress coincided with the arrival from India of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a young advocate recently qualified in Britain, in 1893 <138>.



There were forces that were opposed to liberalism and that the liberals were not striving hard enough: they feared the growth of African nationalism.

According to Ngcongco, Jabavu's "failures were more striking than his successes.

Accordingly remember him not for what he did, but for what he could not do." (96)

This sounds to be a harsh judgment.

Perhaps it needs an explanation.

It would be easy for anyone to smile or even laugh at Jabavu's political position and actions.

But that would be a

reaction of a politically immature novice or a person who does not know our history, especially that of the colonisation; a person with neither touch nor feel for our reality.

The history of colonisation, especially the history of Christianity in South Africa, affected not just Jabavu but all those who came into contact with it; not just one generation but generations of people who were "uprooted" from their societies and fed with honey which proved to be sugar-coated pills; they were told to despise their traditions and culture; their people

even close relatives were described as "heathens".

This more

than anything else divided the Africans into "heathens" who supported the Chiefs, and Christians who supported the missionaries.

The division was not all that clear-cut but it was there.

Of course with Jabavu there was an added influence, that of white liberals, who like missionaries, encouraged him to move away from his people in a direction that was leading nowhere.

We do not dispute the fact that Jabavu played his role  
in the formation of the Native Electoral Association in 1884 and  
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together".

This statement was a call for a search for black identity.

In 1884, two additional organisations were formed in the Cape, namely the Native Education Association and the Native Electoral Association which were concerned mainly with electoral politics.

In Natal was during the Anglo-Boer War and immediately after the Peace of Vereeniging in May 1902, that concrete steps were taken by the Africans to form a movement which would devise some method of presenting grievances and complaints of the Africans to the Government.

This growing awareness and consciousness of a need for a political organisation of Africans on a broader basis led Martin Lutuli, Saul Msane and Josiah Gumede to meet Harriette Colenso (107) to discuss the formation of an African political organisation.

In July 1900, the Natal Native Congress was formed and its first Secretary was H C Matiwane and the Chairman was Martin Lutuli - an uncle of Chief Albert Lutuli.

Mark Radebe was a co-founder.

Martin Lutuli was Chairman for three years, after which he was replaced by Skweletu Nyongwana and Lutuli became Vice-Chairman.

The Natal Native Congress had a Secretary at Verulam;

local committees managed local affairs and members of the Congress were only Christians.

But the object and intention was to represent the whole African community in Natal.

From 1903 to 1905, the South African Native Commission - established to formulate a policy for Africans and on Africans - travelled throughout the four colonies to take evidence from both Africans and Whites.

These testimonies are interesting in that

the different representatives of African organisations were

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London newspaper Izwi Labantu and therefore proposed that the Batavian Republic's occupation with white politics founded the South African Native Congress.

Perhaps it is necessary to explain what we mean by "white politics".

Before 1884, few Africans were in a position to qualify as voters.

They had to have £25 property qualification or an alternative £50 a year wage qualification or had either to be former citizens of the Batavian Republic, "natural born" British subjects, or naturalised British subjects. The original franchise was based on a low property or wage qualification and was designed to make possible the enrollment of large numbers of Afrikaners.

But the low franchise qualification which allowed wide spread Afrikaner enfranchisement made African enrollment possible.

Most white colonists opposed the "non-racial" franchise.

Politicians within the English-speaking population opposed African disfranchisement because the removal of the African and Coloured voters, most of whom voted for English rather than Afrikaner candidates, would have left them at a disadvantage.

But interestingly enough, when conflict between English and Afrikaner reached a low ebb, agreement on African disfranchisement was possible, but whenever conflict worsened, English politicians again defended "non-racial" franchise. <110> All the same, this policy did bring some civil liberties for the Africans in the Cape, but the benefits gained, served only to deepen the sense of deprivation and led to a greater articulation of dissatisfaction.

Back to the South African Native Congress.

The tasks of this organisation were to coordinate African activities in the



reached, and for a consideration of £25, Molema purchased copyright from Whales and effectively assumed control of the paper. <83)

Molema did not stop at that.

He decided to order a

printing press so that Koranta could be independent of the Mail's press.

It was later called the "Bechuana Printing Works".

Koranta was the first Tswana newspaper to be run by Africans.

It

provided a vehicle for their education and representation

Solomon Plaatje became its editor.

Its popularity rose and many

people appreciated Plaatje's endeavours.

It continued until

1908.

At Pietersburg, Transvaal, Simon Majakathata Phamotse

started the Native Eye at the beginning of this century and in

1910, Daniel Simon Letanka launched Motsoalle (The Friend). The

name Motsoalle dissatisfied him and he therefore changed the

paper's name to Moronioa (The Messenger).

V

The appearance of John Tengo Jabavu on the political scene in

South Africa was a new development in the history of the black

press in this country.

Here was a black man whose paper was not

influenced by missionaries, but by white politicians.\* Born in

1859 at Tyatqmnna near Fort Beaufort, Tengo Jabavu began life by

herding his father's cattle;

went to the Healdtown Wesleyan

Mission School; became a teacher and "at this stage of his career

(he) first felt the lure of journalism". (84}

In 1876, he

decided to take an apprentice in a printing works at Somerset East

where he also obtained a chance of continuing his studies}

Originally, he wanted to learn the technical side of the trade

but was tempted to write:

he sent contributions to the Cape

Argus, articles which appeared under a pen~name.

Jabavu then

~178â\200\224

January 1843 and continued at intervals of three months till July 1884 (seven issues in all).

Then followed Ikwezi (Morning Star)

in August 1884 to December 1845 (four issues printed) at Tyum Mission Station.

It was on August 14, 1850 that Isitunywa

Senyanga (The Monthly Messenger) was printed in King

Williamstown, published by the Wesleyan Mission Press, with a circulation average of 800.

It was followed by Indaba (News), a

monthly brought out by the Lovedale mission Press in August 1862 until January 1865. <77)

It was edited by Rev. Bryce Ross, had a

circulation of 500-600 copies and two-thirds of its contents were in Xhosa and the rest in English.

Dr James Stewart was head of

Lovedale, the Presbyterian Mission College ~ replaced Indaba with

"The Kaffir Express" (with the Xhosa portion called Isigidimi

Sama Xosa) and continued until 1876 when the English portion was renamed "The Christian Express".

Rev. Tiyo Soga was a regular contributor to the "The Kaffir

Express" in the 1860's but his premature death put an end to this promising development". <78)

After 1870, the paper was

edited by John Knox Bokwe, who was then 15 years old.

A former

clerk at Lovedale, Bokwe became a Presbyterian minister, a writer of stories, religious books, hymns and even plays.

In 1876, the

African Section of "The Kaffir Express" was edited and managed by Rev. Elijah Makiwane.

Born in 1841 in Sheshegu, Rev. Makiwane

came to Lovedale in 1865 and qualified in Theology.

In 1875, a

year before he took over Isigidimi, he was ordained in the United Free Church of Scotland.

John Tengo Jabavu joined Isigidimi and

became its editor in 1881 up to 1884.

Isigidimi continued until

December 1888, when William Weir-Williamington quba (Jabavu's successor)

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In the 1890's we notice a powerful and well organised white capitalist class emerging with ownership of gold and diamond mines which were in the hands of a few groups of capitalists. Control was centralised.

Not only that, it was consolidated by the establishment of the Chamber of Mines in 1887 and two recruiting organisations: the Native Recruiting Corporation - which recruits labour from within South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) which recruits elsewhere in Africa.<41>

This institutionalised migrant labour ensured a cheap, rightless, voteless and unorganised labour force.

It became a justification for pathetically low wages; it hindered the class mobilisation of African migrants especially the emergence of trade unions; it prevented the workers from developing skills and in control of their work situation and the emergence of an effective formation of a class of African workers.

But the situation was not completely dark:

the young African workers developed ways and means, initiatives and actions that were suited to the environment and their active role corresponded to their situation as migrant workers.

In the period 1901~1902, there were strikes and what they called "desertions" - and this was on a mass scale at the Consolidated Main Reef, Geldenhuis, Langlaagte, and Durban Roodepoort Mines as well as at the Vereeniging Coal Mines.

Before we explain the reasons and nature of these Strikes it is important to state that the term "desertion" as applied by the management had a derogatory connotation and negative overtones in that it implied

rising rate of death:

it rose steeply from 92 in May 1902 to 247

in November of the same year â\200\224 between these months the average monthly death rate per thousand workers was 48.5 and in July 1903, it had reached 112,54 <44) â\200\224 in a sense working in the mines was a life or death question; that is why it was important for the miners to choose a mine where the conditions were relatively better:

"In an environment where death rates were sometimes one in ten, the choice of mine could be a matter of life or death".<45>

â\200\230And yet there was still another problem:

before they even

started work, the miners often arrived in a poor physical state, having travelled long distances on foot or in closed railway coaches with no sanitary facilities â\200\224 these were usually classified as goods rather than passenger trains.

Things became

so bad that one in eight recruits was found physically unfit to begin work.

It was under these conditions that the protests by black workers took place.

There were many forms of protestssaxi-\2021as

the refusal on arrival at the mines to begin work; this refusal to commence work expressed a dissatisfactionxmi-\202i-\202xthe rates of pay on the mines and conditions of work.

One of the grievances

was the deception practised by recruiting agentsxi-\202MDkuing the miners to work under false pretences.

Even the Chiefs were

involved at times on the side of the people:

time black conscious.

This was partly due to the fact thatlua

tuĩ-\202welf experienced racism in South Africa and Scotland â\200\224 where  
he studied â\200\224 and to make things worse he married a Scotammmuu

This is why he told his sons:

"You will ever cherish the memory of your mother as  
that of an upright conscientious thrifty christian  
Scotswoman.

You will ever be thankful for your  
connection by this tie to the white race.

But if )mnl

do not wish to feel the taunt of men, which you  
sometimes may well feel â\200\224 take your place in the world  
as coloured, not as white men; as Kafirs, not as  
Englishmen ....

For your own sakes, never appear  
ashamed that your father was a Kafir, and that you  
inherit some African blood." <55>

Soga's words were taken heed of by his sons - but in  
fairness to Tiyo Soga, we must point out that the word "Kafirâ\200\235 or  
"Kaffir", vĩ-\201ĩ-\202xĩ-\202i is of nonâ\200\224African origin, did not have the  
derogatory connotation attached to it today.

All the same; Tiyo

Soga was a â\200\235man of two worlds, who ultimately decided to throw in  
his lot with the Blacks".<56>

Tiyo Soga's biography reflects a  
certain trend or for that matter, a certain stage in the history  
of black Christianity in South Africa.

These early beginnings of black Christaninity grew and assumed  
a political Character.

It was Nehemia Tile who was to play a  
significant religious and political role.

Tile's origins are somewhat obscure.

A dominant figure iĩ-\201l

written "almost certainly" by Dr Abdurahman and because they are as true today as they were then, they show how far ahead of his time Dr Abdurahman, in his early years, was.

#### The Indian Community

The first batch of Indian immigrants arrived in South Africa in 1860, bringing with them a wide variety of backgrounds, culture, languages and customs.

They came as indentured labourers, who worked on the sugar plantations in Natal.

The living and working conditions were akin to slavery, working from sunrise to sunset for a pittance.

They were insulted and exploited, flogged and deprived of wages and rations.

As the time went on, they refused to renew their indentures and therefore became "free men"; found employment as market gardeners, mineworkers, railway and council workers, small traders, hawkers, hotel and domestic workers.

It is from these indentured labourers that Indian workers emerged who later played an important role in the Indian national movement.

These humiliations and insults to their dignity led to sharp economic, cultural and other differences and contradictions. They were segregated into specially designated areas and in 1891, they were summarily expelled from the province of the Orange Free State.

The letter of the Ordinance introduced in 1890 and adopted by the Provincial Administration after Union in 1910, read as follows:

"No Arab, Chinaman, coolie or other Asiatic coloured

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succeed ... How are we to set about (it)?

In our

Opinion tlmna is but one way and that is the economic method.

'Undoubtedly the Coloured and Native races of South Africa.luihi the strongest weapon ever placed in the hands of any class.

The very stability, the prosperity, even the continuance for but a few days of the economic existence of South Africa depends on the labour market; and we are the labour market ...

"It may ere long come about that the necessity will be imposed CHIIJS, not in any isolated sphere of labour or in any particular district, but in every sphere and throughout the whole subcontinent to refuse to bolster up the economic fabric of the people who refuse us political freedom.

That would bring the selfish white politicians to their knees."

The editorial goes further to predict:

"It would even go far to show the white manual workers the value of combination which is the only weapmn whereby they will free themselves from the shackles of that cursed wage system, which is sapping the independence of the people, weakening the national love of honour, and increasing the severity and extent of poverty for the prOduction of a few sordid millionaires." <134>

Lionel Fornmmi is of the opinion that these words were

~206â\200\224

These complaints were all too important because there were cases when the courts proved to be lenient towards the white miners who were convicted of assaulting black miners – a clear example of the State's collaborative role when acts of violence against black miners were condoned.

Mass withdrawal of labour, so-called "desertion", was another form of struggle.

Miners would break down gates of compounds – some carrying knobkerries, bottles and stones.

[At times, they demanded the dismissal of the compound manager.

They would strike work and march to town and demand to lay their grievances before the magistrates.

These strikes and acts of protest were small in scale, took place at various times, in a variety of districts, were not confined to one industry and were not coordinated.

But their significance lies in the fact that they were the earliest organised protests by black workers, the first generation of black industrial wage earners.

It is important to note that initial resistance was started by potential recruits in the rural areas.

They evolved forms of struggle suited to migrant labour.

The workers either developed their own routes to the Reef avoiding the WMLA tentacles or would make use of the system to their own advantage – they would take advantage of the facilities and transport provided by labour agents, study the complicated pass system and endeavour to forge passes or buy forced ones and would leave the mines to look for work in town.

In 1907, the Chairman of Rand Mines described the miners' form of strike as follows:

"The native method of striking is very simple.

It must



When Rev. Johannes Theodosius van der Kemp, from the London Missionary Society, arrived on the banks of Keiskamahoe River in the Cape in September 1799, his mission was clear: to evangelise the Africans.

We should remember that this was a period of tense conflict between bloody wars between the colonialists and the indigenous African population.

Dr van der Kemp was succeeded by Rev. James Read in 1811.

Their first African convert was Ntsikana, son of Gaba, who was converted "some time about 1815." <51>.

This new religion

which Ntsikana had embraced and was preaching on to him into conflict with some of his contemporaries, notably Makhandia (or Nxele, the Left-Handed as he was popularly known) whose religion was based more on African concepts of the spirits and was geared more towards confrontation with colonialism rather than towards reconciliation.

But the significance of Ntsikana's conversion lies in the fact that it was the beginning of colonial aggression and it meant the introduction of a new element in the history of the Africans:

the acceptance of Christianity.

But though

Ntsikana accepted Christianity, he foresaw the damage it might do to national unity, and warned against it.

That was his prophecy,

his greatness, for which he will ever be remembered by the African people;

John Knox Bokwe, who has a fair knowledge of this episode,

wrote that old Soga, the father of Tiyo Soga was the first to

embrace Ntsikana's new teaching and to accept Christianity. (52)

According to Bokwe, Soga's family and relatives formed the first nucleus of Christian congregation when European missionaries

~159~

multi-racial Cape.

In doing so he was moving in a

direction opposite not only to that of the bulk of the new African elite that emerged in the Eastern Cape and east of the Kei from the late 1870's, but also to the dominant tradition of the twentieth century African nationalism." (62)

Edward Roux (not without regret) states in connection with the independent African churches that "some of these churches were purely tribalistic affairs or confined to particular areas". (63)

'The younger generation of black South Africans who are the heirs and inheritors of this great heritage of militant tradition of resistance of the 19th Century and therefore indebted to their forefathers for the legacy and heritage they left behind for future generations, view the matter somewhat differently.

It is

their considered opinion that when the Africans fought in the last century they were not fighting for a "return to the past" or for the "preservation" of their social system.

On the contrary,

they fought for its defence and development, they fought and died

for the defence of hard-earned achievements, for a noble cause:

namely 'Christianity, and technical superiority should not be misused for the exploitation and his destruction but should be used for his progress.

In short, their

forefathers were forward looking.

As for the accusation that

some of these organisations were "tribally" or "tribalistically" inclined, the answer is simple.

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## The Coloured People

'The Coloured community was more proletarianised than the African people, hence the early signs of a Coloured classâcumânational consciousness.' In December 1884, there was a move by the Coloureds to commemorate the jubilee of slave emancipation.

A meeting called for a more general union among the Coloured classes, who have hitherto been separated by unimportant distinctions" and urged that the establishment of a newspaper suited to the Coloured classes be considered. (124)

The independent Coloured political activity goes back to the 1880's.

At that time, the Coloured people enjoyed "full political rights" in the Cape, but Britain was already considering forcing "confederation" on the various South African communities.

The end of the Anglo-Boer War brought new ideas and new threats.

As a result, in the opening months of 1902, a group of Coloured leaders formed the African People's Organisation, a Coloured organisation, in Cape Town.

The President was W Collins and the Secretary was P Eckstein.

The Coloureds were alert to the possibility that Britain would be happy to sell their rights as the price of unity and therefore an anonymous Coloured historian" put it:

The more intelligent of the Coloured people saw that in such an event it would be necessary to safeguard their interests, or there soon would be no interests to safeguard. (125)





tended to confine Africans in one area or region.

(Organisation

had to start somewhere and if by sheer accident of history the people spoke the same language and had the same culture, that is not necessarily tribalism.

Nehemiah Tile died shortly before Christmas in 1891.

But

his church lived on.

It was subjected to many pressures.

Splits

occurred in the church.

Tengo Jabavu, a staunch Wesleyan,

strongly opposed to the Thembu church, attacked it in the columns of his newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu.

By 1895, King Dalindyebo,

Ngangelizwe's successor, had severed all links with the church and its ministers ~ who had neither theological training nor government recognition, became frustrated.

If an impression is created that the movement for black church independence from missionary control was confined to the Cape, that has to be corrected.

In Natal, in 1846, the first

African convert in that part of our country, Umbulazi, was baptised by Dr Newton Adams of the American Board Missionary and that signalled the growth and spread of Christianity among Africans in our country.

In 1885, at Taung, then

Bechuanaland, the London Missionary Society came into many problems.

Chief Kgantlapane took an active part in the founding of the Native Independent Congregational Church and he appointed ministers of his own choice to lead this church.

Four years

later in 1889, a young and overzealous missionary of the

Berlin Mission to the Bapedi in the Transvaal, J A Winterg  
anxious to give the African church leaders responsibility,  
formed an independent church, the Lutheran Bapedi Church and  
~167~

presidential address in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth on July 4,

19138

in which

lie

referred

to

a

large number of

which met in Queenstown in 1908. (119)

It was

followed in October, 1908 by a petition organised by the

Transvaal Native Unions, with 3,764 signatures, and asking for a

common roll franchise throughout South Africa plus separate

representation for the mass of Africans unable to qualify for

this. (120)

In February 1909, the Orange Free State held its

Congress and further congresses were held in the Cape,

Natal and the Transvaal.

The draft South Africa Act published in February 1909, and

which was a draft of the constitution of the country, was

discussed at various meetings, resolutions deprecating the colour

bar and the failure to extend the African franchise from the Cape

to the north were passed.

It was from these regional conferences

that sixty elected delegates came to Bloemfontein to attend the

South African Native Convention on March 24, 1909.

The South

African Native Convention comprised of delegates from the Cape

Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Orange River colony and Bechuanaland

(now Botswana).

The leader of the Cape delegation for the South

African Native Congress Dr Rev. Walter Rubusana was elected

President of the Convention.

They discussed those clauses of the

Draft Act relating to Africans and Coloured people.

They

arrived, as far as the Draft Act was concerned, at the following  
decision:

â\200\235The franchise has been enjoyed for more than 50 years  
by the native and coloured races of the Cape Colony,  
â\200\224199~

Rev. Kumalo said: "Consider that the most of the people here in the Orange River Colony are civilised".

Asked about the

number of the Christians in the Orange River Colony, Rev. Kumalo replied: "I do not consider that Christianity forms what we call civilisation only".

The Chairman of the Commission, becoming frustrated and confused, asked about how many could read and write and the answer was simple: "Even that I do not consider as civilisation."

At which point, the Chairman of the South African Native Affairs commission, completely baffled, asked: "What is civilisation?" and Rev. Kumalo replied, coolly: "Civilisation is the state of living and of progressiveness, even whether you write or cannot write; if you live in a state of progressiveness, that is civilisation."

The Chairman then asked: "Is that in the dictionary?"

Rev. Kumalo: "I did not look at the dictionary; but I consider in my explanation of the thing, that that is the position."

Of course, the knowledge of writing and reading must come in sometimes to cause civilisation but that is not the most essential factor." <113>

Even religious groups could not escape the inquisition.

The

Rev. Samuel M. Brander, Rev. Joshua Mphahlele Mphela and Steven Nguato of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, appeared before the same South African Native Affairs Commission.

The

racist Chairman of the Commission must have been surprised and embarrassed by the answers of Rev. Brander, the African convert:

Chairman: "Would you like the white man to marry the Native woman?"

Rev. Brander: "I should think so."

Chairman: "And the Native man to marry the white woman?"



The movement expanded with new energy and vitality infused into it by the President, Abdurahman, branches were formed all over the country in Johannesburg, Cradock, and several other towns and the membership roll showed a most gratifying large increase.

What were the methods of struggle?

"All the Non-European organisations persevered with the deputation type of struggle until as late as 1920.

It

is not correct to sneer at these deputations.

In the

circumstances, the times, they marked a stage of development. In the times, they marked a stage of development, they were supported by the most advanced political leaders and strongly opposed by the government and its stooges. (129)

There was another dimension in the Coloured political life:

the African Coloured political unity. In 1907, the APO accepted an invitation to attend a joint Conference of Africans and Coloureds at Queenstown in November to agree to a common attitude to the Cape elections of 1908.

This was of great significance as

the first serious attempt to set the Africans and Coloureds into one political whole.

At the Conference there were 120 delegates.

What was the political organisation of the APO?

"Everything indicates that it reached a level of organisational stability and efficiency which has never been reached by any of the liberatory organisations which followed with the possible exception of the

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to IMDDdOrl to guit theia: case tx3 the ixmperial  
government. (139)

By July 1909, the statistics of the people arrested vary  
from 2,124 to "over 2,500" and, says Maureen Tayal, "it is  
impossible to confirm either of these figures without access to  
police records for the period which, I was informed by the chief  
archivist at the Pretoria Archives in September 1976, have been  
destroyed." (140)

The 1913 resistance was directed against a 3 annual poll  
tax imposed on all those indentured after 1895.

60,000 Indian

workers and farm labourers throughout Natal came out on strike  
the first mass strike of the Indian workers.

Racist authorities

opened fire, killing a number of Indian strikers.

\*\*\*\*\*

To generalise what we have said above, we can say that there  
were, in South Africa at the end of the 19th century, different  
trends and tendencies.

The history of resistance was uneven,  
starting with the Africans of the Cape, engulfing all the  
oppressed nationalities ~ Coloured and Indians and running  
parallel", that is each community rebelling against concrete  
injustices affecting it.

We see both resistance and  
collaboration expressing themselves.

The politico-religious  
movements, which took the form of the religion of the oppressed,  
were the principal expressions of the progressive tendencies of  
the anti-colonial resistance.

The African people at this time

~210



itself was not yet formed â\200\224 there was definitely growing a recognisable leadership.

#### Religious Influences: The Early Converts

â\200\230We have already said that colonialism in South Africa committed irreparable damage and unpardonable crimes against our people.

iNiis was all.:hn search of land, cattle, raw materials, markets and labour power.

Genocidal wars were waged, productive forces including innumerable lives wereci~\202xi~\201moyed,:i~\202hnuishing social systems were smashed, our material and spiritual cultures were ruined and the selfâ\200\224confidence and philosophy of life of our people were killed.

The colonialists obliterated the nascent will and embryonic national consciousness of our people, introduced new ways of thinking, alien norms of behaviour and foreign cultural values.

The aim in this was to inculcate among our people a feeling of inferiority towards and rejection of ourâ\200\230 heritage and potential.

In this process the missionaries played an unenviable role.

The introduction of Christianity in South Africa was a complicated process which affected many aspects of social life of the Africans â\200\224 especially those who came hĩ~\201x>contactvĩ~\201th the missionaries ; and their attitudes.

In analysing this process we shall have to start with the early beginnings; before Christianity Umĩ~\201<cxla mass character in South Africa; before the Africans formed their own independent churches with new concepts and values.

â\200\224158â\200\224

By "character" we mean the simple fact that it was a question of personal abilities and not royal descent that enabled this new generation of leaders to rise from lower social sections to be leaders in the struggle for freedom.

We use the term "relative unity" advisedly because some of the African papers were openly critical of the A.M.E. Church.

1

This was the golden age of the black South African press.

The determination and commitment of those pioneers in African newspaperdom can be appreciated properly if one takes into account the fact that then there was no national African organisation; the readership and circulation and therefore revenue were limited by the low level of African literacy.

The weakening of the African traditional organisation of society by colonial influence led to the emergence of movements that sought to unify Africans.

This became effective at the end of the last century ~ when armed resistance was coming to its close and therefore the fate of the Africans was seemingly sealed.

The compromise between cultural traditions and Christian religion, together with a vision of the future, ensured mass influence.

Ethiopianism - a link between the traditional and the new social forces which were beginning to emerge in the mines, plantations, seaports, compounds, mission stations etc. - became important since missions became a direct weapon of colonial expansion; missionaries became agents irrespective of their subjective will.

Religious nationalism corresponded with the new conditions.

Colonialism and capitalism in South Africa had a strange marriage.

Capitalism in South Africa is like in all colonies ~



te remembered that he is not a permanent workman.

He

is always going home, and if he is not satisfied with the conditions of employment, he simply does not come out again.

The conditions of South Africa make it perfectly possible for him to do this ... " <48)

To appreciate the strikes properly one has to take into consideration the fact that protest action on the part of black miners was made more difficult, and the conditions of life in the mining industry were made all the more unbearable.

Continuity of

oppression generated opposition to wage labour exploitation and resistance to recruitment by labour agents.

In a sense black

protest in the mines took place in a common environment and revealed a number of common features, the most characteristic being the fact that it developed within and was determined by a repressive, undemocratic economy;

in a situation where

management formed an alliance with the state and its institutions which devised and implemented measures which eroded the freedom of the mine workers.

What about the working class consciousness at this stage?

It should be remembered that we are dealing with the period before the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of

Clements Kadalie in 1919.

The characteristic feature

of these strikes, walkouts, withdrawal of labour, etc., was that they involved workers from different ethnic groups who confronted the mineowners and administration at different times and separately.

Groups of migrant workers originating from a particular area or ethnic group would withdraw their labour at a



I have known Charlotte Manye Maxeke since 1894, when I went to Wilberforce University as a teacher.

She was

one of the three or four students from South Africa, and was the only woman.

She was especially the friend

of Nina Gomer, the student who afterward became my wife.

We were interested in Charlotte Manye because of her clear mind, her fund of subtle humour and the straightforward honesty of her character ...  
her work with a slow, quiet determination that augured well for her future.

Since then, and at long

intervals, I have had the opportunity of following her work through the glimpses which I have had from far off South Africa.

I regard Mrs Maxeke as a pioneer in one of the greatest of human causes, working extraordinarily difficult circumstances to lead a people, <sup>1</sup> the face of prejudice, not only against her race but against her sex.

To fight not simply the natural and inherent difficulties of education and social uplift, but to fight with little money and little outside aid was indeed a tremendous task.

I think that what Mrs Maxeke has accomplished should encourage all men, and especially those of African descent.

An in addition to that, it should inspire the white residents of South Africa and of America to revise their hastily made judgments concerning the possibilities of the Negro race

There were other reasons which motivated Tile to react in the way he did.

It goes without saying that the Cape Native Affairs Department also put pressure on him.

The Transkeian

rebellion of 1880-1881, the influx of the Trekboers from what was then called the Cape Colony (a portion of the Eastern Cape) into Emigrant Thembuland in 1882/83 and the war of Dispossession of 1887 demonstrated not only the reality of white intrusion but also the hardships of armed resistance.

In 1883, Tile founded the Thembu church<sup>234</sup>

which signified a

continuation of his protest and meant a combination of religious and political aims.

This enabled Tile to articulate and provide

channels for the expression of deep felt grievances of the people.

"Tile now spearheaded another, more subtle, form of opposition" (58).

In August 1883, he organised a meeting at

Ngangelizwe's great place which adopted a petition to the Cape Government signed by the paramount and his three sons, requesting that all but one of the magistrates be removed from Thembuland.

In December, another petition followed, signed by more chiefs and members of Ngangelizwe's family.

The colonialists feared

Nehemiah Tile's influence on Ngangelizwe so much that in April 1884, Elliot, the Chief Magistrate wrote (not without regret) that Ngangelizwe was "entirely in the hands of Tile" (59).

By

May 1884, Tile's demands had grown:

no hut tax, for this would merely support the magistrates.

He took his campaign into the colonial press.

He did not stop at that.

He sent statements and  
articles in support of Ngangelizwe's petition to the Cape Mercury  
and the Cape Argus.

De Wet, the new Secretary for Native  
Affairs, visited Mtata in September 1884 and was confronted by

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Rev. Brander:â\200\235I should think so.â\200\235 (114)

'Phe testimonies and petitions to King Edward VII e.g. from the Native United Political Associations of the Transvaal Colony (April 25, 1905) or from the Orange River Colony Native Congress (June 1906) <n::from the Natal Native Congress (October 1908) or from the "aboriginal natives of South Africa, resident in the Transvaalâ\200\235, (October 22, 1908) and resolutions of the South African Native Congress (April 10, 1906) or the pmï-\202zition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, from the Natal Natiwe Congress (October 1908) give us a picture of and an insight into:

(a)

the problems and grievances of the Africans who showed an acute awareness of the magnitude of their disabilities and a sharp antagonism to any continuation of the political system of the Boer republics; (115)

(b)

the degree, depth and extent to which the new organisations accepted the promises, language if not ideology implicit and inherent in the teachings of the missionaries, of Christianity and the ideals of the British system of government.

There is a strong element of elitism inherent in the utterances of these early African radicals;

the division of

Africans:hux)"heathens" and Christians and by implication into the "backward" and â\200\235civilisedâ\200\235 and hence consequently all "qualified" Africans were expected to possess the same rights as white voters.

There is a noticeable shift of emphasis in the language used.

Whereas hi the earlier statements the hope and concern for a gradual (but irreversible) advance of all Africans was accompanied by a pride in being "loyal and civilised British â\200\224195â\200\224

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progressive-minded Africans on the African continent.

President Kwame Nkrumah quoted Seme's speech in full when he

opened the First International Congress of Africanists in

accra, Ghana on December 2, 1962.

Surely Seme was a visionary!

He talked the language of

African nationalism realistically assessing some aspects of South

African and African reality, though at times not without a sense

of idealism and romantic spirit.

It is interesting to note the American influences on the

thinking of the men who later became the founding fathers of the

African National Congress.

Sundkler remarks:

"

... a surprising number of Ethiopian leaders have for

a shorter or longer time stmdied in America.

A Natal

Native Affairs Commissitulciâ\200\2311906â\200\22407 found that up to

that time, at least a hundraiñ-\202 and fifty Africans from

South Africa, some of them with definite Ethiopian

affiliations, had gone to America for studies." <117>

And Peter Walshe reckons that between 1896 and 1924,

twentyâ\200\224two South Africans attended the Lincoln University

alone. <118>

While such social awareness and political consciousness was

manifesting itself among the African students abroad, political

developments in South Africa were moving towards the formation of

a political movement of Africans.

Rev. James Calata, former

Secretary-General of the ANC and President of the Cape ANC made a

~198~



us, at the same time saying we had to forward all comms:

money to them.â\200\235 <72)

This caused a rift if not a split, between the black American A.M.E. and the independent churches in South Africa.

It is important to note that Mokone's group was not limited to any ethnic group and its interest, it had a wider horizon and appealed to all.

The term "Ethiopian" itself was an interpretation of the Scriptures - that itself being a departure from missionary education which demanded that Africans should only read (if necessary) the scriptures.

Mokone had heard the missionaries refer in their sermons to Psalm 68:31 "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto Godâ\200\235.

Mokone took the right of the Africans to independent church organisation under African leadership.

Mokone collaborated with Khanyane Napo, S Brander, Jonas Goduka Fikile's successor whom Mokone met in the Eastern Cape when he went to establish the possibility of working together with the Thembu Church) and James Dwane.

Who was James Dwane?

Born in 1848, and ordained in 1881 was a Wesleyan minister, he was gifted as a speaker, had ability and possessed a powerful personality.

He was sent to England in 1894â\200\22495 to represent his church and to solicit financial support.

As soon as he returned to South Africa, he quarrelled with his mission authorities about the disposal of the money. He left the mission church to join the independent churches in 1896 with Mokone and became a leader of the new movement.

In 1898 and 1899, Dwane travelled to the United States and in 1900 founded his "Order of Ethiopia

472â\200\224-

Becoana:

â\200\235So Koranta in a way inherited a dual tradition: that of its Tswana-language missionary predecessors, mentioned in its first issue, and that exemplified by Imvo, the secular vehicle for the expression of African opinion which was now to provide the model for its future development". (103)

There was also the element of white politicians taking interest in the black press â\200\224 as in the case of Imvo Zabantsundu - because the Africans in the Cape had the vote amĩ-\202tjmmefore were a significant constituency.

A C Jordan who has made a study<lf this period, especially the literature among the Xhosa, relates some of these discussions concerning the future of the African press:

"But another contributor, Booï Kwaza, has no illusions about any of the Xhosa papers that have existed hitherto.

He knows that they were all controlled by 'foreigners'.

He is concerned about the young intellectuals who, after soxnuch money has been spent on their education are not encouraged by senior compatriots to make the contribution to the cultural progress of their people.

'What are we educating them for?â\200\230 he asks.

'If you lay an egg and abandon it unhatched, who do you think will hatch it for you?â\200\231

He deplores the sorry spectacle of

â\200\224187u

white liberals and missionaries.

His elitism expressed itself

in his preference for better 'Civilised life' of "reclaimed" Africans

as opposed to the "institutions of barbarism" of the

less fortunate Africans, the "heathens", institutions he loathed.

This led him almost automatically and inevitably to accept the

white man's categorisation of African people into "civilised" and

"uncivilised" and by implication, the "civilised" Africans

deserved the same legal rights enjoyed by the Whites.

This

perhaps explains why Edward Roux said that Jabavu "founded a

family which carried on the tradition of what we might call

Bantu political liberalism". <93>

Surely, Jabavu's logic was faulty:

he saw African political

participation through the votes in the Cape - which never rose

above the ten per cent of the entire voting population in the

Cape - as an alternative to armed resistance.

And this was

during the period of the Bambata rebellion.

It was more to

it.

When Africans planned and formed the ANC in 1912:

"Jabavu was conspicuous by his absence ...

Likewise,

when the newly formed Congress attacked the Natives

Land Act of 1913 it was the only organ that saw any

merit in it.

Clearly Jabavu was now blindly following

Sauer". <94>

In 1910, Rev. Walter Rubusana was elected, despite Jabavu's

opposition, and became the first and only African member of the

Cape Provincial Parliament.

Dr Rubusana was born in 1858,

educated at Lovedale and in 1884 was ordained a minister of the

Anglican Church.



In Johannesburg, he immediately came into contact with the ANC headquarters and his long cherished wish, if not ambition and 'came to know the editor of Abantu-Batho.

Selope Thema confesses

in his unpublished autobiography, that Abantu-Batho "helped me in my journalistic endeavour and made it possible for me to express my Views on questions that affected Africans". <101>

What was

appealing to the Africans in the columns of Abantu-Batho was the message of unity and the freedom which came out every week.

Looking at the history of African newspaperdom, from its early missionary beginnings, one cannot fail to discern the contradictory role of the missionaries who were both agents of colonialism and European culture and educators of the people, that is education in a formal sense.

This affected even the early

African press which was produced by white missionaries for Africans.

This was the period when African hymnbooks were produced, the first edition having appeared in 1837 or perhaps even earlier, revisions being made from time to time ... " <102>

Many of the African converts and churchmen (some of them ministers of established churches) became "nationally" minded nationalists; contributed to a national awakening, even if their churches generally stood for law and order; some played a great role and had an influence in the community and even held leading positions in the ANC in later years.

With more participation of the Africans in the newspaperdom, there emerged a joint effort of white missionaries and Africans. This is not to suggest that this was a negation of the missionary initiative as Brian Willan states in respect to Koranta ea



against gxulitical domination by and economic penetration of colonialism as well as cultural (through religion and education) conquest.

## Black Journalism

Black journalism, which originally was a missionary undertaking, has played an important role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

In other words, the missionaries  
gĩ-\202eyed a pioneering role in the establishment of a black press and journalism in our country.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, which started during the Napoleonic wars, set as its aim the provision of the Scriptures in "every language".

They created a system of writing and of spelling words never set down, established rulesâ\200\230of typography and help to train compositors and printers.

These

were the birth pangs of the African press and journalism at Genadendal, the Moravian mission station in the Western Cape and in the Eastern Cape the Wesleyan missionaries introduced the printing of African languages with the same aim in mind: the preaching of the gospel and promoting literacy by providing religious literature in African languages.

In Lesotho (then called Basutoland) the French missionaries were active.

In the Eastern Cape they published a paper called Umshumayeli Wendaba (Preacher of the News) in July 1837 up to 1841.

1?ifteen numbers of these appear: the first ten being printed in Grahamstown and the rest in Peddie. <76>

Uĩ-\202ue second

periodical Isibutp Samava (collection of opinions) began in

1  
â\200\231

~174â\200\224



decided to publish a newspaper. He planned everyĩ-\202mhmi-\201 name of the projected paper, its political stance, printing of it â\200\224 partly in Xhosa and partly in Englisha Jabavu was then in his early twenties.

"He had everything in readiness except the money to start the venture .... " <85>

Two notorious Cape liberals, Sir James Roseâ\200\224Innes and Mr Weir came to his â\200\235rescue".

Imvo Zabantsundu (African Opinioms) was launched on November 3, 1884.

Rosenthal comments:

"Subscribers came in shoals and the demand for the Imvo increased rapidly - as did the printer's bill!

The

Natives received the paper with acclamation, reading it themselves and reading it aloud to others.

To them it

seemed to usher in a new era.

It was a long step

forward and was much appreciated." 86>

Soon Imvo experienced some problems:

bank overdraft and

subscriptions in arrears.

.Again the Cape liberals came to his

"rescue", emnmaintained an accountant and bookkeeper and "financial stability was restored". (87>

According to Sol Plaatje, Imvo

'Wuuiaal<ind of monopoly of African journalism and deserved wide reputation. (88>

But in 1876 Izwi Labantu (The Voice of the

People) "was started mnlkaLLondon by Reverend Walter Rubusana

and other members of the Cape African elite who were in disagreement with Jabavu's strategy in politics.

Izwi Labantu

-179â\200\224



ties with the tribal society would become of the very slenderest; the economic - and inevitably political weapon would be that of the workers of all lands, time strike.

Though by 1872, according to a contemporary press report, there were already an estimated 20,000 African workers at Kimberley, the operative word was "nucleus".

These workers were able, even at that early stage, to regard themselves not so much as Zulu, Xhosa, EsiTswana, etc. but as Africans.

This does mean that the ethnic element disappeared or was forgotten.

But it does mean that it was of secondary importance; these men

saw themselves as drawn into a single fraternity by their economic interest and this led to a consciousness that all Africans had a common political destiny and this was a prerequisite for an all-embracing African nationalism.

This was due to the fact that the emergence of the African working class in South Africa tended to enhance not so much class as national consciousness; the economic grievances that might have led to class struggles, including trade union action, produced instead a strong current of national feeling among Africans.

But the weapon of the working class ~ the strike soon became their form of struggle:

It is remarkable how soon these men were using the universal weapon of the working class ~ the strike.

In December 1872, before there is any record of a strike by white workers in South Africa, one hundred Africans

i

l

~146

at a Kimberley mine stopped work for two days and brought the mine to a halt, when wages were reduced from 253. to 205. per week ....

By 1884 there were at Kimberley no fewer than four different Nonâ\200\224European Benefit Societies, the predecessors of a trade union movement."<38>

Ekxme of these workers did not come to Kimberley because of starvation or the oppressive colonial system.

They had other motives.

Gwayi Tyamzashe, a Lovedale graduate, who in 1873, became the first African to complete his whole course of theological studies in South Africa, came to Kimberley to preach the gospel to the diamond diggers in.1872 and became a writer.

As an eye-witness reported:

"Those coming from far up in the interior come with the sole purpose of securing guns.

VPhey stay) rm: longer

here than is necessary tt>get some E6.canV. for the guns.

Hence you will see hundreds of them leaving the fields and as many arriving from the North almost every day."<39>

In other words, coming to work on the diamond fields was regarded as an aspect of the anticolonial armed resistance in defence of land, cattle and independence.

There was a real necessity for this.

But the working conditions on the diamond fields were

447â\200\224-

assures their regeneration resides in the awakened race  
consciousness ...

The African people, although not a  
strictly homogeneous race, possess a common fundamental  
sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising  
itself into one common controlling idea.

reflects

and strife are rapidly disappearing before perception  
of the true intertribal relation, which relation should  
subsist among a people with a common destiny."

In beautiful words, indeed poetic language, Seme describes  
this "new spirit" which acts as a leavening ferment" and  
therefore shall raise "the anxious and aspiring masses to the  
level of their ancient glory"; an ancestral greatness which  
constitutes the Africans' greatest source of civilization.

Seme

noted the Africans refusal "to camp forever on the borders of the  
industrial world";

the unquenchable thirst for knowledge which

forces the African to send his children to Europe, who return to  
their country like arrows, to drive darkness from the land ...

.

And with a sense of prophecy:

"The regeneration of Africa means a new and unique  
civilisation is soon to be added to the world".

We have quoted at length from Seme's speech because:

1)

it expresses and reflects the mood and thinking of a new  
generation of African intellectuals at the beginning of this  
century;

2)

the words uttered by Seme at the beginning of this century

197-200

Revds. Samuel Jacobus Brander, Joshua Mphothleng Mphela, and Steven Nguato of the Ethiopian Catholic Church imlikhon appeared before the South African Native Affairs Commission on October 4, 1904.

They explained the reasons for their breakaway from the "Church of England" to form the A.M.E.

They broke away from the "Church of England" to form the A.M.E. Church and later on affiliated to the A.M.E. of America.

They joined the black Americans because the black Americans "had education and other things better than we had.

We considered that it would be better for us to join them, so that they could help us, being Coloured people themselves.

This realisation was motivated by the fact that the Africans wanted to teach the gospel and erect schools, industrial schools, to educate the people in the Transvaal and because the people did not have the money.

Education was seen as a means to bridge the gap between the black and white.

But problems emerged.

The mother

of the black American church organisation, did not keep the promises.

They had promised that they would give a school from America at their expense - with teachers and all but their branch in South Africa found that they had to do everything themselves and at the same time collect our yearly income, and also take collections for Easter Day, contingent moneys, and all that money had to be forwarded to America".

Rev. Brander

reported to the above mentioned commission:

"I did that three times, when the Church was in danger of debt, three times I sent an application to America for them to help us, and they said they could not help



~171â\200\224

subjects" the language in later years changes.

We even see a

petition of October 22, 1908 from the "aboriginal natives of South Africa, resident in the Transvaal" (and not from "civilised loyal British subjects") who claimed "representation in the Parliament of a United South Africa."

These developments which were taking place in South Africa were reflected and found expression in the speeches and writings of the African students from South Africa abroad. Pixley ka (son of) Isaka Seme is perhaps the best example.

On April 1906,

Pixley won the first prize of the Curtis Medal Orations at Columbia University where he studied.

In this speech Seme chose

to speak on what was then an "obscure" topic: "The Regeneration of Africa".

He starts off by making a seemingly obvious fact: "I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile public opinion." (116)

In this sentence Seme articulated

not only the continental approach which has characterised the thinking of all progressive-minded African leaders and found expression in the formation of the OAU in 1963 but also expresses his anti-racism which is anti-colonial in essence and Seme asserts his national pride and identity.

Seme goes further:

"The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change.

The brighter day is rising upon

Africa .... Yes, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period.

By this term

regeneration I wish to be understood to mean the entrance into a new life embracing the diverse phases of a higher, complex existence.

The basic factor which



Tile who was the Chief spokeam nifKMâ\200\230Ngangelizwe and the Thembu at a mass meeting.

Because of his politico-religious activities, Tile was arrested and put in jail charged with â\200\235incitement" and denounced as an "agitatorâ\200\235.

This was supposed to intimidate him.

But, on

the contrary, this seemed to inspire him and his colleagues.

Rev. Dr. Bengt Sundkler, an authority on independent churches in South Africa, seems to know very little about Nehemiah Tile. <60)

It is therefore necessary and imporbmĩ-\201:tx>generalise and point out the significance of Tile and his movement.

Tile's

secession was a pointer to a new direction, an alternative, which would lead to the establishment of an independent African church.

It was a forerunner of a protest movement founded turlhav. Moses Mangena Mokone in 1894.

The Thembu Church was definitely the predecessor of the Ehiopian Church.

Tile's support derived from

the fact that the Wesleyan Church, the oldest and most influential mission in Thembuland, had become associated with the iĩ-\202mmĩ-\20lition of colonialism and Tile, expressing the deep-rooted feelings of the people, resented this.

Tile understood that

black Christianity, if it was to be a force of resistance with a lengthy existence, had to form an alliance with Unapmramount, endowing him with a religious sanctity and enhancing his traditional role, helping to buttress his authority which was being weakened and eroded by missionary activity and the political and economic penetration into the area by the colonialists. <61)

He understood the connection between colonialism and missionary activity.

â\200\224-164~â\200\224



first Ethiopian Church was founded on the Witwatersrand.

Recently Sechaba, the official organ of the ANC, wrote a profile of Charlotte Maxeke and showed the role she played in introducing the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) a black American church organisation, to South Africa. <68)

Who was Charlotte Maxeke?

Charlotte Makgomo Manye was born on April 7, 1874.

As a

young girl she had a lovely deep voice; sang in concerts in many places and joined a group of singers organised by a Mr Bam which later toured, Ekmi- "where she sang before Royalties" â\200\224 Queen Victoria.

Two years later, the group travelled to Canada and the United States where she was offered an opportunity for university training.

She entered Wilberforce University in Cleveland, Ohio â\200\224â\200\230a university which was controlled by the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church; a church run by Afroâ\200\224Americans.

That was not all; she wrote to Rev. M M Mokone who had \_ founded the Ethiopian church in Pretoria, tellhngYUï-\2011about the A.M.E. Church.

On Rev. Mokone's initiatjAne, the fourth Annual Conference of the Ethiopian Church decided to merge the Ethiopian Church with the A.M.E. Church.

?Huat was in 1896.

fï-\202iis is how

the A.M.E. Church penetrated South Africa.

While still in Wilberforce, she met and married Rev.

Marshall Maxeke, who was also a student there.

She made friends

with some of the future leaders of the black community in the United States.

One of them was Dr. W E B Du Bois, a leading Afroâ\200\224American, African statesman and academic, who, years later, remembered of her:

â\200\224169-



particular time. Ethnicity did play a role.

It was both a

dividing and binding force in the protests.

It stemmed from the

immediate grievances of the workers.

But this should not be

misconstrued to mean that "consciousness" had not yet begun to

transcend ethnic divisions.

But it does mean that "class

consciousness" was not seen as a "rejection" of ethnicity.

Speaking about the "social consciousness" of hostel dwellers (the

mineworkers) today - by which he means relaxation and

entertainment during weekends - Mtutuzeli Matshoba, who took the

trouble of studying their conditions, comments:

"Then, on Sunday, a sleeping social consciousness,

underlined by a strong traditional inclination, showed

itself ...

Don't mistake this for a reflection of

tribalism.

It was only their recollection of how they

used to spend their Sundays in the different country

areas they came from ..." <49>

The manifestation of resistance in ethnic identity rather

than overall worker consciousness does testify to the fact that

then the migrant worker was not a fully fledged worker but a

worker in the making.

In these circumstances migrant workers would

form groups, usually ethnically based, in their compounds to

protect themselves from the compound police, possibly from other

groups as well as from the coercive measures of management.

These groups provided a measure of security for individual

members faced with the daily struggle for survival in the

compound and underground.

It is true that the management

~156~



enforced tribalism in a variety of ways but this added cohesion only invigorated worker solidarity, defence and resistance:

Many of the work stoppages or strikes on the Reef in the early part of the decade appeared to coalesce along ethnic lines" (50>,

But this development of ethnic solidarity should be viewed as a particular form of response rather than transferral of tribal values.

Though these work stoppages, confrontations and mass worker action during the first decade of the century were limited in scope and numbers, isolated to particular mines and organised through ethnic cohesion, they did indicate the potential that existed for the articulation of worker grievances and the organisation of effective resistance.

There is enough evidence of an emerging and growing working class consciousness as the Inine workers' strikes of 1907 and 1913 testify.

At this period, the potential for organisation existed and grew and African miners were far from being passive; the patterns of resistance that were established in the decade persisted throughout the century;

the workers were quick to identify the strength and weaknesses of the exploitative system to which they were exposed and adjusted their actions accordingly.

There is also evidence to prove that within the confines of a highly repressive system, workers did make a positive attempt and contribution to alleviate their lot and to minimise the repression and oppression.

Though

at this time there was no permanent worker organisation, the ANC

7

were living in a period of widespread political expectation. This is the period when Enoch Mankayi Sontonga composed what later became the African national anthem ~ Nkosi Sikelel 'i Afrika in 1897.

Born in Lovedale, Cape Province, in 1860, Sontonga left school at an early age and went to live in Johannesburg.

A devout Christian, endowed with a wonderful voice and fond of music, Sontonga wrote the music and words.

Phelnade good use of his talent in the church.

Nkosi Sikelela was publicly sung i~\202yr the first time in 1899 at the ordination of Rev. M Bowen - a Methodist priest.

"The occasion was one of wide joy but the composition was inspired by a somewhat melancholy strain~\200\235.

This could not be cÄi~\202mnvise because the Africans were far from happy during the days of the Anglo~\200\224Boer War.

Sontonga died in 1904 but African teachers and poets such as J Llhĩ~\202xa(later ANC President~\200\224General), R T Caluza, and S E K Mqhayi popularised it.

The song was originally intended as a hymn but it began to be sung in schools and churches in all provinces and developed an adaptation acknowledging the unity of our people.

It was sung on January 8, 1912 when the ANC was formed and in 1925, the ANC adopted it as its national anthem.

Today it is sung beyond the borders of South Africa ~ in adapted forms it is the national anthem of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe,eĩ~\201xx and the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia.

The character of these forces allowed for the realisation of a relative unity in the i~\201oint resistance against the conquerors.



sent to South Africa to appear in a civil case.

This was in

1892.

Ghandhi helped to create and build the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and the Transvaal British Indian Association and the weekly journal, Indian Opinion in 1903.

Though Gandhi did not see the need to form an alliance with the Africans, especially during the Bambata rebellion of 1906 (138), he did mobilise the Indians in 1906 and 1913.

In 1906, the Transvaal government attempted to force the Indians to carry passes and Gandhi led the first "passive" resistance campaign, a form of struggle which was to become the symbol of Gandhism, influencing the character of the South African liberation movement and shaking British colonialism in India.

Maureen Tayal writes:

"In September 1906, the first passive resistance pledge was taken by some 3,000 Indians at a mass meeting in Johannesburg.

The meeting was by far the largest Indian political demonstration that had ever taken place in the Transvaal, the pledge the first act of political defiance against the government.

Both were the produce of a swift massive organisational effort such as had never been undertaken before.

The resisters pledged themselves to go to jail rather than take out registration certificates under the terms of a newly introduced ordinance meant, in the first instance, to determine wholly the right to reside in the Transvaal, after which no further Asian immigration would be permitted.

A deputation of resisters sailed

~209â\200\224

Communist Party. (130)

'The APO official, which was unimaginatively titled the 'APO' 235, was published fortnightly from May 24, 1909 and had 16 glossy well printed pages, containing well written articles, well argued discussion, and comprehensive coverage of branch activities.

The APO branches were meeting regularly and sending in full reports to the newspaper.

APO was functioning "amazingly well" 235 and had "stable, nationwide support".

Was this a left-wing movement or not?

At least in its earlier years, it was decidedly sympathetic to socialism - its 1908 conference met in the Socialist Hall in.

Buitenkant Street, Cape Town;

it supported A W Noon, a Cape Town

Municipal councillor, "a true friend of all workers of every class and creed and colour ... with declared socialist views". (131)

And in Kimberley the APO played a conspicuous part in the return of the militant white socialist J. F. Trembath to the municipal council.

But this APO Socialist friendship did not last long.

This came to an abrupt end in 1910, when the Labour Party betrayed socialism by adopting a white labour policy.

As a

result, the socialist movement and this black organisation moved from friendship into active hostility.

Trembath supported the Labour policy.

He stood for

parliament as a member of the Labour Party.

Trembath was

defeated largely as a result of the APO opposition.

To

demonstrate the reactionary nature of the Labour "let us quote from "The Worker", the organ of the Labour Party which wrote that the:



was not a result of internal developments or a bourgeois revolution against feudalism, as was the case in Europe.

It was

imposed on South Africa during the era of imperialism.

This

explains its deformity and distortion.

This explains the

peculiar nature of colonialism in South Africa.

fi-\202maLdberation

movement calls it colonialism of a special type. In 1910, when

white South Africa became â\200\235independentâ\200\235 of Britain, the colonial power was no longer in London but in Pretoria.

devastating to say the least.

The factors that militated against

the embryonic working class were:

the special structure of the

South African economy;

the wage difference between the

relatively small number of skilled white workers and the mass of

unskilled black workers, and the fact that the black workers had

their roots in the countryside and that their wage was an

"additional income" to a meagre harvest.

Migrant labour had

catastrophic repercussions on the peasant economy and the migrant

labourers, who could not improve their qualifications or

educational level without political rights, were victims of unheard

of exploitation and terrible diseases.

The conditions of

insecure existence influenced their mentality and their political

consciousness, especially when one considers the social

conventions and legal norms which determine the African's Choice

of profession and skill, legal rights and making use of a labour

market.

The drive towards profits and the lack of labour power led

the colonialists to take such steps as the introduction of tax

and pass system and continued with land robbery so as to force

the Africans to go to the diamond and gold mines.

These harsh conditions of the birth of the African working

class did contribute to the emergence of a nascent form of

African nationalism but it was not, however, at Kimberley that

the pioneering works were done in the development of the first

theoretical and organisational expression of African nationalism.

We have already noted that the emergence of the African

workers in South Africa is closely connected with the discovery

of diamonds.

We have already discussed, albeit briefly, this



We shall look at a few examples of these individuals in their historical context.

Our concern is not so much the biographical data that is but the social forces that forced these individuals to act in the way they did.

The emergence of the African working class

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the last third of the 19th Century was a significant event which led to an emergence of a new social force in African society: the working class.

But

even before that Africans were permanent dwellers around Cape Town:

"Africans were living and working in Cape Town as early as 1830's and by the beginning of this century there were 10,000 Africans in Cape Town." <35>

Since the time of Sir

George Grey in the 1850's, there had been groups of Africans employed in road-making and on the harbours in the Cape.

But the discovery of diamonds in 1860's made Kimberley something different:

there emerged an environment in which,

during the subsequent years, African nationalism was to grow most rapidly

The industrial sites drew migrant peasants and held them as urban proletarians.

This coming together of people from

different ethnic backgrounds into a single black brotherhood was a new phenomenon, as Lionel Forman remarks:

"Here was the nucleus of a true African proletariat, whose future would be in the cities, and whose only way of keeping lawfully alive would be by the sale of its labour.

Here was the nucleus of a new class, whose

~145

(The Voice of the People), was founded as a counterpoise to Imvo Zabantsundu;

the dissatisfaction of many Cape Africans with the role played by Jabavu in Cape politics especially during the 1890's gave urgency to the need for a rival organ and Imvo "could hardly hold its ground against the new rival".

Thus

editor of Izwi Labantu was A K Soga.

Sol T Plaatje, a contemporary of Jabavu and a prominent figure in African newspaperdom, records the difficulties and had to cast about for a financial rescuer and "prominent supporters of the Government came to rescue it; three out of ten members of the first Union Cabinet became shareholders in the sinking Imvo", and Plaatje became a "manager" in a paper which was becoming African only in appearance and Jabavu was not doing full justice to his employers because he did not tell them the whole truth about Afrhuni the paper Imvo Zabantsundu, which was supposed to do just that:

"God forbid that we should ever find that our mind had become the property of some one other than ourselves, but should such a misfortune ever overtake us, we should at least strive to serve our new proprietor diligently, and whenever our people are unanimously opposed to a policy we should consider it a part of our duty to tell him so; but that is not Mr Jabavu's way'

of serving a master." (92)

Jabavu seemed to have learnt a lot from his masters and the

Church".

The Abyssinian victory over the colonialists at Adowa in 1896, must have had a great impact on the leaders of Ethiopianism in South Africa.

Dwane even wrote to King Menelik of Ethiopia asking him to take oversight of the religious conditions in Egypt and the Sudan and that, Dwane, tried to collect funds for this purpose among the Negroes of America." <73)

In summary, we would like to say a few words about the reasons for and significance of the emergence of the Ethiopian movement.

The white man's God and gold influenced and changed the African belief and behaviour: the independent churches were a symptom of an inner revolt against the colonialists' missionary crusade; an expression of distrust, resistance and opposition; as sign of the vitality of the religious and cultural heritage of the Africans.

The independent churches were not only an opposition to European control but were also a positive desire to adapt the message of the church to the heritage of the Africans.

The root cause of Ethiopianism were:

a) the colour line between black and white, especially within the church;

b) the land question:

"some of the African land syndicates before 1913 were composed of Ethiopian leaders ... ">

c) African unemployment:

"Many of the outbursts of the independent church movements occurred during this period of bitterness caused by unemployment". <75)

In other words, reasons were both religious and political as

well as economic.

The religious expressions were a reflection of  
the deep underlying economic and political questions; a struggle

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Congress.

It was national in character; hence the "bilingualism" in its name (English-Xhosa/Sotho/Tswana) and articles were written in all major African languages in South Africa: Sesotho, Setswana, Xhosa, Zulu and English.

Other African papers, e.g. Motsoalle and Umlomo wa Bantu were incorporated.

The first editor was C Kunene, formerly a school master at Edendale, Phital and later on the staff of Ikwezi: "For five years - till his death in 1916 - Kunene ran the paper with considerable success". (98)

Abantu Batho was at one stage the most widely read paper among the Africans.

It attracted to itself many outstanding African nationalists.

Among those who were editors of the paper and/or regular contributors to its columns were T D Mveli Skota, Saul Msane, Robert Grendon, R I V Selope Thema, and D S Letanka. Of these Letanka had the longest period of service on the paper, being Assistant Editor/Editor at various times from 1912 to 1931. (99)

The political, educative and mobilising influence of the paper can be gauged among other things - by the impact it had on ordinary Africans.

Let us take the example of Selope Thema as an illustration.

Born in Mafarane in the Northern Transvaal on February 10, 1896, Selope Thema went to study in Lovedale in the Eastern Cape.. In 1912, S M Makgatho, then Provincial President of the Transvaal ANC came to Pietersburg and made an impression on Thema.

Early in 1915, Selope Thema found his way to Johannesburg after having organised a strong branch of the Congress which was destined to play a prominent part in the years that followed. (100)

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a whole people depending on milk from a 'one-teated cow' (Isigidimi), and all of them jostling and elbowing one another in order to get at this one teat ...

Countrymen, the time has come when something must be done by us ...

The time has come to fimi-\202cnuryoung men something to do.

The first thing we must acquire is a printing press ...

All I am saying is that we must have a paper owned by the black ones ... " <104>

This tendency asserted itself and inevitably led to the establishment of an African press which was produced by Africans.

Abantu-Batho, a newspaper which was aimed at developing the Exi-\202jtical awareness and national consciousness of the Africans Vwas entrusted.vi-\202iï-\202i such a task.

The historical significance of this development is that it established African political opinion as an autonomous factor in its own right in South African history ~ a task which was to be taken more seriously by the ANC in the succeeding years.

Political Organisation

Lionel Forman states that the devleopments in the years 1881 to 1884 are an illustration of the fact that history takes jumps forward â\200\224 that a change in the economy leads to the emergency of entirely new social phenomena. (105)

These economic changes ~ that is the discovery of diamond and gold with the resultant emergency of the African working class ~ were accompanied by another process: the articulation of the aspirations of the ~188â\200\224

London Missionary Society.

He went to the United States and was

awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the

McKinley University, the black college for his "History of South

Africa from the Native Standpoint.

He helped in standardising

the revised version of the Xhosa Bible.

Butxi-\202mxxhe stood for

reâ\200\224election on March 14, 1914 as a provincial councillor, Jabavu

contested a seat in the Transkei against Dr Rubusana.

'Nua

results were tragic:

Payne, the white candidate, received 1004

votes (gnxudtically all the white votes and a few African votes,

Rubusana got 852 and Jabavu 2941

It would be wrong tt>regard Jabavu's political history and

career as completely negative.

In 1909, he was on the delegation

that went to Britain in connection with the impending unification

of the four provinces and in 1911 he attended the Universal Races

Congress in London where he met such giants as Dr Du Bois.

jFrom 1908 until its Opening in 1916, he campaigned for the

founding of the University College of Fort Hare.

Pkaci-\201efinitely\_

belongs to the first generation of African leaders to mount a

sustained campaign to arouse political awareness and national

consciousness among the Africans in the Cape and proved

practically the significant role that could be played by the

press in this process.

Though he was a forerunner of a

nationalist mevement, his efforts, as L D Ngcongco states:

â\200\235fall outside the context of nationalism ...

In the

final analysis the failure of Tengo Jabavu as a

political leader was the failure of liberalism in Cape

politics.â\200\235 <95)



